

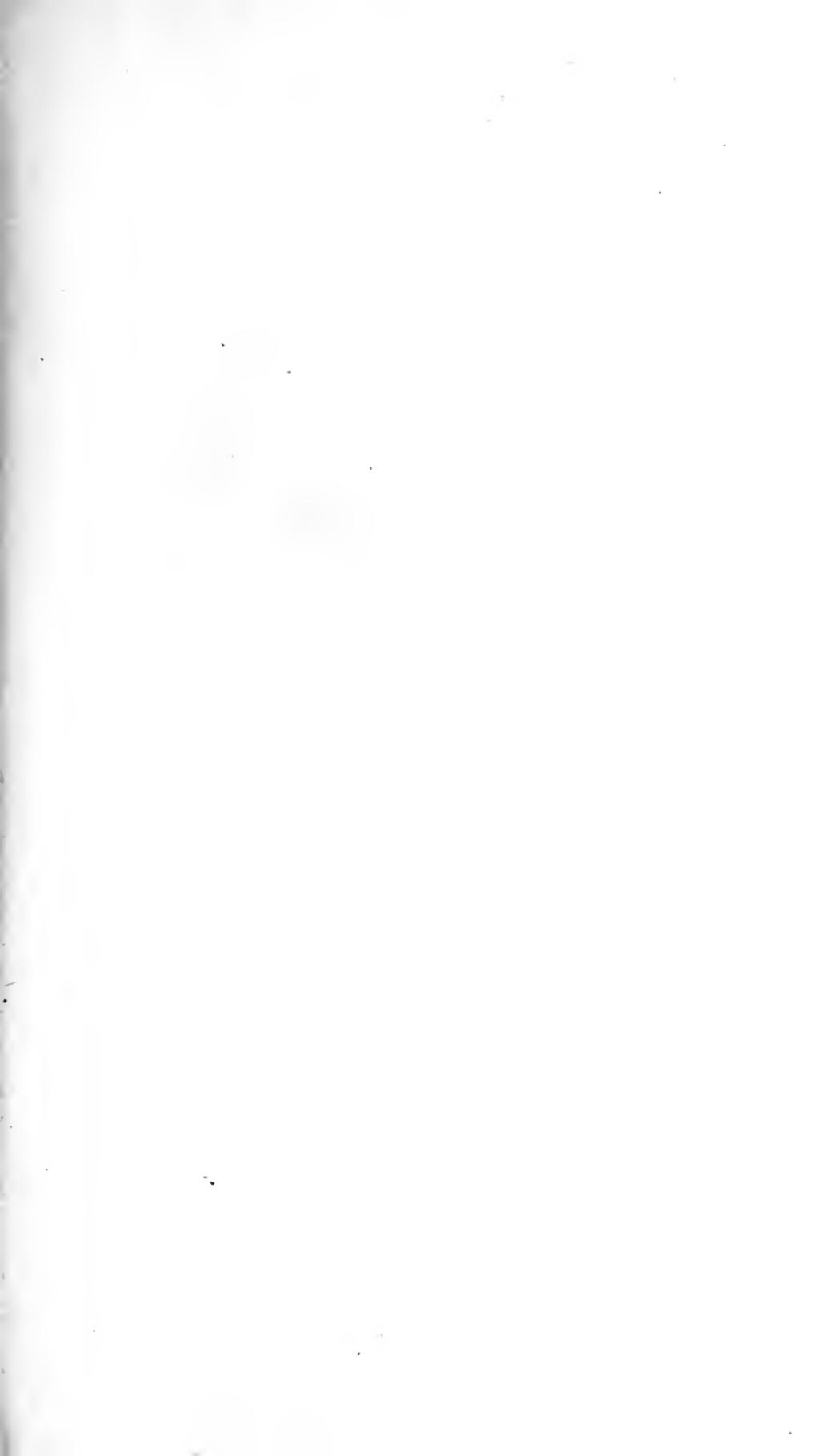
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GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH
HEBREW GRAMMAR

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.

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 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁 ^{carthg.}	𐤀	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁	א ב	א ב
𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄	𐤄 𐤅 𐤆	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅 𐤆	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅	ג ד	ג ד
𐤈 𐤉	𐤈 𐤉	𐤈	𐤈 𐤉 𐤊	𐤈 𐤉	𐤈 𐤉	𐤈 𐤉	𐤈 𐤉	ז ח	ז ח
𐤌 𐤍	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌	𐤌 𐤍 𐤎	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌 𐤍	ט י	ט י
𐤐 𐤑	𐤐 𐤑	𐤐	𐤐 𐤑 𐤒	𐤐 𐤑	𐤐 𐤑	𐤐 𐤑	𐤐 𐤑	כ ל	כ ל
𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔	𐤔 𐤕 𐤖	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	מ נ	מ נ
𐤘 𐤙	𐤘 𐤙	𐤘	𐤘 𐤙 𐤚	𐤘 𐤙	𐤘 𐤙	𐤘 𐤙	𐤘 𐤙	ס פ	ס פ
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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 *Encyclopædia 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, Phœnicia, 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 Phœnician 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 here¹.

¹ From Shem are derived (Gen. 10, 21 sqq.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), 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 semitologischen 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 (Tigré, 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, לָקַק, לָקַק, λείχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; לָקַק (kindr. לָקַק, לָקַק) κίλλω, κέλλω, κυλίω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. *to well*; לָקַק, לָקַק, לָקַק, χαράττω, Pers. *khârdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; לָקַק *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 אִמָּן (from which אִמָּן *people*, properly *assembly*), אִמָּן (*with*) *samt*, אִמָּן also, *moreover*, Arab. عَمَّ to collect; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (*at the same time*); Sans. *amā* (*with*), Gk. ἄμα (*ἄμφω*), ὄμος, ὄμου (*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. אֶרֶב, Egyptian properly *aur āa*, the great river, Coptic *yaro* or *yero*¹, nearly always of the Nile; אֶרֶב (Egyptian) Nile-reed; אֶרֶב (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = *παράδεισος*) *pleasure-garden*, *park*; אֶרֶב *daric*, Persian gold coin; אֶרֶב *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tōgai* or *tōghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as אֶרֶב (Sans. *kāpi*) *ape*, *κῆπος*, *κῆβος*; אֶרֶב (Pers. *kirbās*, Sans. *karpāsa*) *cotton*, *κάρπασος*, *carbasus*.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e.g. אֶרֶב *bússos*, *byssus*; אֶרֶב *λίβανος*, *λιβανωτός*, *incense*; אֶרֶב *κάνη*, *κάννα*, *canna*, *cane*; אֶרֶב *κύμνον*, *cuminum*, *cumin*; אֶרֶב *κασσία*, *cassia*; אֶרֶב *κάμηλος*, *camelus*; אֶרֶב *ἀρραβών*, *arrhabo*, *arrha*, *pledge*. Such transitions have probably been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. (Comp. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnwörter im älteren Griechisch,' in *Bezzenger's 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 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), אֶרֶב 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-Arabian literature from the sixth century A. D.) It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and 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; Berthean, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, 2. Anfl. 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 ἡλῶσσα 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 יְהוּדִית 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 Ἑβραῖοι) 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, *négeb* (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 'Εβραῖοι, 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 'Εβραῖοι 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 'Εβραῖς 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 'ebrāyā, '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, קְרִיַת סַפְּרָה, &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 פְּנֵעֵי, פְּנֵעֵי 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 = אַבְדָה, ša'ari or ša'ri = שַׁעַר, baṭmu = בַּטְמוֹן, 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 צִירוֹן *כהנים* for פְּהֻנִים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80. 2) beside נ (*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. שִׁפְטִים *sîfēt* (*judge*), שָׁלִשׁ *salûs* (*three*), רִישׁ *riûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound *y*, e.g. הַנְּנִי *ynnyunu* (*ecce eum*), אַתָּה (*aita*) *yth*; the *ע* as *o*, e.g. מֹעַר *Mocar* (comp. מֹעֲבָה 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 criticae sacrae argumento 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.*, 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*, *inflexions* 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 Alten 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 Duhm, 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; מִלֵּה *word* = דְּבָר; חִזָּה *to see* = רָאָה; אֲתָה *to come* = בֹּא.

To the poetic *significations of words* belongs the use of certain poetic epithets for the substantive; thus, for example, אֲזַכֵּיר *the strong one for God*; אֲזַכֵּיר *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, אֵלַי = אֶל, עָדַי = עַד; 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.

ii 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*; שלט = מלך *to govern*; תקף = נחיש *to be strong*.—Later meanings are, e.g. אמר (to say) *to command*; ענה (to answer) *to begin a conversation*.—*Orthographical* and *grammatical* peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of ו and י, e.g. דניר² (elsewhere דור), even קודש for קדש, רוב for רב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ון, ין, ית, &c. (Comp. for the Psalms, especially, Cheyne, *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 ש, the common form in Phœnician (as well as אש), for אש (§ 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 דניר 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 ^{to} one express statement occurs in the Old Test., namely in Jud. 12, 6, according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ו as ד. (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 Mēša' (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 (מסרה; מסרה, i.e. מוסרה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מסרה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מפרת) 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 Q^{erê} (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 Sopher 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 Ḥayyûg (also called Abu Zakaria Yaḥya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abû 'l-Walîd Merwân ibn Ġanâḥ, 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 פִּעַל, certain *voces memoriales*, as בְּנִדְרָפֶת 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-masoretische 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 *Opuscles 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 Hajjuz*, 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 Formeln,' 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 מְרֻבֵּעַ),
also the *Assyrian character* (אֲשֻּׁרִי) 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 אֲשֻּׁרִי (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-Aramaeon, 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, *Alljüd. 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>Bēth</i>	<i>b (bh)</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, as in French (soft s)</i>	7
ח	<i>Hēth</i>	<i>h, a strong guttural</i>	8
ט	<i>Tēth</i>	<i>t, emphatic 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>	' <i>a peculiar guttural (see below)</i>	70
פ, final ף	<i>Pē</i>	<i>p (ph)</i>	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Sādē</i>	<i>s, emphatic s</i>	90
ק	<i>Qōph</i>	<i>q, a strong k² formed at the back of the palate</i>	100
ר	<i>Rēš</i>	<i>r</i>	200
ש	<i>Šīn</i>	<i>š</i>	} 300
ׁש	<i>Šīn</i>	<i>š, pronounced 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 *קמנאפז* *Kamnāphās*, or better, with König, *קמנאפז* i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.

¹ Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten י and י', in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 639 sqq., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic י 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 *κόμμα*).

Of these \aleph , \beth , γ , δ 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 \aleph 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: \aleph \beth γ δ ζ (mnemonic word \aleph \beth γ δ ζ). In MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as \aleph , \beth , γ ; 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 *Yôd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. \aleph), but as a letter simply the sound 'y', with which this word begins; *Ayin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (\beth), stands for the consonant y. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (\aleph , \beth , γ , δ , ζ) 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*, γ *camel*, δ *door*, ζ *air-hole* (?), η *lattice-window* (?), θ *hook, nail*, ι *weapon* (unless, with Nestle, we are to infer from the Greek η ρα, that the original name was ι *olive-tree*), κ *fence, barrier*, λ *a winding* (?), perhaps *leather bottle*, according to others *snake*, μ *hand*, ν *bent hand*, ξ *ox-goad*, \omicron *water*, π *fish*, ρ *prop* (?), σ *eye*, τ (also ψ) *mouth*, υ *fish-hook* (?), ϕ *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head*, χ *head*, ψ *tooth*, ω *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 χ σεν, comp. Hebr. ψ *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. טת 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus טי 11, טכק 121. But 15 is expressed by טו 9 + 6, not ה' (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 Alphabetes 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 ה' had been originally written, and afterwards ה), 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 16, instead of יו, 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. 𐤀 1000.

- l b. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally לִיצִירָה *after the creation*) follows either the *full chronology* (לְפָרֵט נְדוּל or לִפ' ג'), with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* (לִפ' קָטוֹן), 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.
- 111 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*, ד' for דְּבָר *aliquid*, וְנו' 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 הַיְהוֹה.
- 112 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. Dent. 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 מִטְּשָׁה for מִטְּשָׁה), 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 (בְּקַמְיָהֶם), and Num. 7, 2 (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבֵּה Is. 9, 6, and *Mēm apertum* in הֵם פְּרוּצִים Neh. 2, 13. (6) *Nūn 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 *Qiddūšin*, 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 (א, ב, ג, ד, ו) 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 א and פ, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, א 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, גַּ'סָּם 'gā'sám. 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. קָרָא 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. נָהַפַּח 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 Γάζα, עֲמֹרָה Γόμορβα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus (lenis or asper)*, e.g. עָלִי 'חֲלִי, עֲמֹלֵק '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*, עֲמֹלֵק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or *'g*; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ' as אַרְבַּע 'arba', אַד '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 ש, צ and שׁ).

i שׁ and שׂ 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 שׂ (*ś*)¹.

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

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

² The original value of שׂ, and its relation to the original value of שׁ and שׂ, 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, שָׁבַל 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; שְׁבַלּוֹת for שְׁכַלּוֹת *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*, נּ *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, נ, 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; נ 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*.

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

(a) Gutturals	ח ה ע א	(אֵהָחַע);
(b) Palatals	ק נ כ ג	(גֵיכָק);
(c) Linguals	ט ד ר with נ and ל	(רֵדְטֵלְנֵט);
(d) Dentals or Sibilants	צ ש (שׁ and שׂ) ז ס	(וּסְצֵשׁ);
(e) Labials	פ ב מ ו	(בּוּמֵפּ).

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 ע ח
Palatal	ג	כ	ק			י				
Lingual				[ר]	ל	נ				
Dental							ז	שׁ	שׂ	צ
Labial	ב	פ				ו				

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. ר=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 *r* time certain nicer distinctions became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger *y* '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 *y*, as well as *π*, was pronounced only like *κ* (as in Ethiopic *y* like *κ*, *π* like *κ*, *ψ* like *s*).

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to designate especially as *weak*, are *s* those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. *κ*, *λ*, *ι*; as to *π*, comp. § 23. 4; or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19. 2, 3, as again *κ*, *λ*, *ι*, and *ν*, and in certain cases *π* and *ψ*; finally *γ* 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 *a* tongues, are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *ē* by a modification from *ī* or *ǎ*; short *ö* from *ū*; *é* from a contraction of *ai* (properly *ay*); and *ø* sometimes from a modification (obscuring) of *á*, 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 *ē* and *ø*, at least after weaker or softer consonants; comp. *بين* Arab. *bain*, *بن*, *بين* Arab. *yaum*, *yóm*. 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 *b* (*ה*, *ו*, *י*; *כ*), 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 δ and \acute{u} , and of י for \bar{e} and \bar{z} , 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 δ (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 אֲרֻצָּהּ בְּיָתָהּ (also בְּתָהּ), בְּנָהּ, בָּהּ, לָהּ, הַלְתַּחֲמָהּ; 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 וַיְחַלְפֶּה (l. 6), וַאֲסַחֲבֶהּ (l. 12 sq.) and וַיְנַרְשֶׁהּ (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 קְרִימָהּ, אֲרֻצָּהּ.

² Thus there occurs, e. g. in Melit. 1, l. 3 שְׁנֵי בְנֵי שַׁנְנַב = שְׁנֵי בְנֵי שַׁנְנַב *the two sons*; elsewhere כ for בּ (the inscriptions of Mêša' and Siloam exhibit the latter), ו for וּ (the latter in the Siloam inscription), בַּנַּת = בְּנֵיתִי (so Mêša') or בְּנֵיתִי, &c. Comp. on the other hand in Mêša', אַנְכּ = אַנְכִּי (unless it was actually pronounced 'anôkh by the Moabites!). As final \bar{a} is represented by ה and א and final \bar{e} by י, so final \acute{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 ^f above assumptions. Here (as on the Mēša' stone) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus שׂא, חֲצַבִּים, מִיָּמִן (or מִיָּמִן); אֶפְסָה, קָל, שְׁלֵשׁ, צָר. On the other hand מוֹצָא (from *mausa'*), עוֹר (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 ראֵשׁ. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by ה: אֶפְסָה, הִיָּה, זָרָה, נִקְבָּה. 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 Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, רִיבִן (= *Daibōn*, as the Δαῖβων of the LXX proves), חוֹרֶזֶן (*o* from *au*), and בֵּיתָה (*e* from *ai*), but also even הִשְׁעֲנִי instead of הִשְׁעֲנִי (from *hauš-*), וְאוֹשִׁיב = וְאוֹשִׁיב, בֵּית four times, בֵּיתָה once, בֵּית and בֵּיתָה (from *bait*); לֵלָה = לֵלָה, אֵן = אֵן or אֵן.

(c) In the present state of Old Testament orthography as it ^g 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 םוה were not so frequently used as in the Masoretic text.

¹ הִשְׁעֲנִי is the more strange since the name of king הִשְׁעֲנִי is represented as *A-u-sē* 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 ם 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 ם) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was 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. לִבֵּן can be read *qāṭal*, *qāṭāl*, *qāṭōl*, *q^eṭōl*, *qōṭēl*, *qittēl*, *qattēl*, *quṭṭal*, *qōṭel*, 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. Punktation*, 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); *רָשִׁים* *rāšīm* (chiefs).
2. — *Páthāh*, *ā*, *תָּ* *bāth* (daughter).

Also 3. — *S'ghól*, 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* *yăḏḏkĕm* (your hand) from *yăḏḏkĕm*—or in a tone-syllable as a half lengthening of *ā*, (the full lengthening would require *Qāmēš*), as in *פֶּסַח* *pēsāh* (πάσχα). Also with a following *י*, as *גִּלְנָה* *g'lenā* (cf. § 75. 2); *יָדְדֶכָּה* (cf. § 91. 2, end).

Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

- b* *I* { 1. '— or — (defectively written, see No. 4) *Hírēq longum* (*magnum*), *i*, e. g. *שָׁדַיִם* *šadāyīm* (righteous).
2. — *Hírēq breve* (*parvum*), *i*, *יִשְׁרָאֵל* *yīšrā'ēl*.
E { 3. '— *Šērī* or *Šéré* with *yod*, and — *Šéré* 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. — *S'ghól*, *ě*, a modification of *i*, e. g. *חִפְּזָה* (ground-form *hīphš*); *שִׁין* (ground-form *šīn*).

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.), *Pathah* 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 *ī* and *i*, *ū* and *u* is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark ⁴ 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. *פֶּסַח*. Comp. § 15, Rem. 2.

³ These *S'ghóls*, modified from *ǎ*, are very frequent in the language. The Babylonian punctuation (see below, p. 40, note) has for it and tone-bearing *Pathah* 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. שָׁרֵעַ *Šárēq*, *ú*, מוּת *múth* (to die), rarely also for *ü*.
 2. — *Qibbúš*, both for *ü*, e. g. סֵלָם *süllām* (ladder), and *ú*,
 e. g. קָמוּ (rise up) instead of the usual קָמוּ.
- O { 3. *i* and — *Hölēm*, *o* and *ō*, קוֹל *qōl* (voice), רֹב *rōbh* (multitude).
 Often also a defective — for *o*; rarely *i* for *ō*.
 4. — *Qāmēš-hatáph*, *ö*, e. g. חֹק *höq* (statute).
 5. The tone-bearing *è* in אַתֶּם *'attēm* (you), and a few other cases (comp. § 27, Rem. 4 *ò*), 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*); חִירָק (also חִירָק) *gnashing*; הִלָּם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i. e. of the mouth (also פִּי מִלֵּא *fullness of the mouth*); שׁוֹרֵק *a whistle* (*συσφύξ*); קִבּוּץ *contraction* (of the mouth). קָמִין¹ has also the same signification.

That the long *a* and the short *o* (קָמִין חֲסוּרָה *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 *á* in the West-Syrian pronunciation = *ò*, the Swedish *ä*, and the early weakening of *d* to *ò*, even in Hebrew, § 9. 10, 2)². On the rules for distinguishing *ā* and *ò*, see § 9. 12, Rem. *Sēghôl* (סִגּוּל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נִקְדוּת (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 *Sägôl*, *Qomes-hatáph*, *Qübbúš*.

possible, by means of writing. For a long time only שִׁבְעָה מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita, וַיֵּאמֶר אֱלִיָּהוּ, *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 *Dağzēš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated by *Qāmēš* and *Páthah*.

² In the *Babylonian* punctuation (see the following note) *ā* and *ò* 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 *Sēwá* to indicate even the full vowel *ò*). 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 *rē*, רֻ *rū*, &c. The *Pathah* called *furtivum* (§ 22. 2 b) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced *before* the consonant, רוּחַ *rūḥ* (wind, spirit). The *Hōlēm* (without *wāw*) stands on the left above the consonant, רֹ *rō* (but לֹ = *lō*). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with *ō*, the point is placed over its right arm, thus בֹּאֵשׁ, רֹאֵשׁ. On the other hand, e.g. בָּאֵם, 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 *šîn* or before *šîn*. Hence שֹׁנֵא *šônē* (hating), נֹשֵׂא *nōšē* (to bear), מֹשֶׁה *mōšē* (not מֹשֶׁה); but שֹׁמֵר *šômēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *šîn*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יֹרֵפֵשׁ *yirpōš* (he treads with the feet), הַנֹּשְׂאִים *hannōš'im* (those who carry).

In the sign ו, the ו may be also a consonant. The ו is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e.g. לוֹהַ *lōwə*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the ו, e.g. עֵוֹן *'āwōn* (iniquity) for עוֹוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between ו (wō) and ו (i. e. either *ō* or, 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 ו, 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 Sghōl*; ֿ = *ī*, ֿ = *ī*, ֿ = *ī*, and *Ḥaṭeph Qameš*. Lastly before *Dageš*, ֿ = *a*, ֿ = *ē*, ֿ = *i*, ֿ = *ī*, ֿ = *ō*. 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 Petropolitani* (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 $\overset{\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\text{ך}}}$ *h* in the middle and $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ח}}$, $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ס}}$, $\overset{\cdot}{\text{פ}}$ 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* ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{י}}$, $\overset{\cdot}{\text{י}}$, $\overset{\cdot}{\text{י}}$).

י with *Şúrëq* and *Hölëm* (י and י)¹.

In Arabic the long *a* is also regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. 'Ālīph ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{ا}}$), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$ 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*. קול, קים are written *plene*, קול, קם *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*, *ō*, *í*, *é*, *ē*, as well as for *è* in חוה &c. (§ 9. 3), also generally with *á*, *ā* (comp. however § 9. *d*), e. g. קטלו, קטלתי, ירי, מלכי (but the Masora requires in Jer. 26, 6. 44, 8; Ezer. 6, 21; 2 Chr. 32. 13 גוי which is for גוי; Zeph. 2, 9 גוי for גוי; Is. 40, 31 וקוי for וקוי; Jer. 38, 11 בלוי for בלוי). 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. גוים (*nations*) for גויים, מצוות (*commandments*) for מצוות.

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 וי (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, קְלוֹת; 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, יָ, יֹ, יֻ, 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, יָ, גֹי, עֲשֵׂי, יָ, בַיִת 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 יָ is the same as וָ, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וָ is often written defectively for יָ.

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

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

¹ In MSS. ו and י, in such combinations as יָ, יָ, 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 *Methög*, 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**, **בּוֹכֵב** (Arab. *yād*, *kaukāb*). In a closed syllable however it can only stand when this has the tone, **יָדָה**, **עוֹלָם**; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. **יָדָה**, **יָקוּם**, **יָסִיר**. 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^wā* (§ 27. 3); **יָדָה**, constr. state **יָדָה** (*h^akhām*); **יָדָה**, **יָדָה** (*ābhār*); **יָדָה**, **יָדָה**. 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 (**יָדָה** in the 2nd sing. masc. *d* perf., **יָדָה** in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 2nd and 3rd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in **יָדָה** *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes **יָדָה** and **יָדָה**, the final *ā* can stand even without a vowel letter. A *h* is however in these cases (except with **יָדָה**) 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 (**יָדָה**, **יָדָה**). 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. **יָדָה** (ground-form *nahl*), **יָדָה** (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} (ֹ), 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 (ֶֿ), 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. יִרְבֵּם (for *yad'khèm*), or with the tone, e. g. יִרְבֵּם 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 מְלִיכָה, צְדִיק. As a rule however in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the \check{e} is lengthened into *Qameš*, e. g. קָרְנָה, קָמְחָה. A *Seghól* apparently lengthened from *Šwá*, but in reality traceable to an original \check{a} , stands in pausal forms, as פָּרִי (ground-form *pāry*), יָהִי (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a \check{a} (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 \check{i} (a *fully* written *Hireq* ִֿ); but a naturally long \check{i} can, by an orthographic license, be also written *defectively* (§ 8. 4), e. g. צְדִיק (*righteous*), plur. צְדִיקִים *šaddīqīm*; יָרֵא (*he fears*), plur. יָרְאוּ. 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 יָרְאוּ from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16. 2).
- h* 5. The *short Hireq* (always¹ written *defectively*) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (אָמִי, קָטִיל), and in toneless closed syllables (פְּסַלְמִי *psalm*); comp. however וַיִּשְׁבֵּב in a closed tone-syllable, and even וַיִּשְׁבֵּב in a loosely closed tone-syllable. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from \bar{a} , as in דְּבָרִי from דְּבָר, צְדִיק (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 אֵי־בֵרֶךְ (thy enemy) from אֵי־בֵרֶךְ (ground-form 'áyib). It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in עֵיִת, § 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 \bar{e} , e.g. עֵיִי for עֵיִי \bar{e} Is. 3, 8; at the end of a word also הֵ־) is as a rule contracted from \bar{e} *ay* (*ai*), § 7. 1, e.g. הַיֵּבֶל (palace), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Sere* without *Yôdh* mostly represents the tone-long \bar{e} , \bar{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{e} . It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e.g. סֵפֶר (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*, גַּלְגַּל *let us go*. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as בֶּן *son*, אֵם *dumb*.

Exceptions: (*a*) \bar{e} is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in monosyllabic words before *Maqqeph*, e.g. עֵ־נֶזֶר 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 אֵ־אֵ Ex. 16, 29; comp. Jud. 9, 39.

8. The *Seghōl* of the I(E)-class is most frequently an obtuse \bar{e} , \bar{m} a modification of an original \bar{e} , either replacing (on loss of the tone) a tone-long \bar{e} , e.g. תֵּן from תֵּן (*give*), יֵצֵר from יֵצֵר (*thy creator*) from יֵצֵר, or in the case discussed in § 93. 1, Rem. 2, עֵזְרִי from the ground-forms *h̄ilq*, 'izr; comp. also § 64, Rem. 1. *Seghōl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סֵפֶר for *siph̄r*, יֵגֵל for *yigl* (§ 28. 4).

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

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

(1) the long \bar{u} , either (*a*) written fully, \bar{u} *Šureq* (corresponding to the \bar{u} of the second class), e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (*b*) defectively written \bar{u} *Qibbûs* (analogous to the long \bar{u} of the second class), גְּבוּל; יִמְחוּן; גְּבוּל;

(2) the short \bar{u} , *Qibbûs* proper (corresponding to the short *Hireq*), in a toneless closed syllable and especially in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), סֻבָּה (*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. עֲדָלִים 'Oδολλάμ, from which however it only follows, that this *ü* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by *ε*, e.g. אֲמָר = 'Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbús* 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 *bülbül* 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; *ı* (*Holem plenum*), e.g. שׁוֹם (*a whip*) Arab. *saut*, עוֹלָה (*civil*) from עוֹלָה. More rarely *defectively* as שׁוֹר (*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 *á*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. קָלִיל Arab. *qálil*, Aram. *qálēl*, אֵלֹהִים Arab. 'iláh, Aram. 'láh, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sáq*; בִּיֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gäbbár*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *hátám*, רְמוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rümmán*; שְׁלֵטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. *šlātūn* and שְׁלֵטוֹן Arab. *süllán*; שְׁלָמִים (*peace*), Aram. *šlám*, Arab. *sálám*. Sometimes the form in *á* also occurs side by side with that in *o*, as שְׁרֵיָן and שְׁרֵיָן (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 at the end). Comp. also § 68. 1.

r (3) The tone-long *o* which is lengthened from an original *ü*, or from an *ö* 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. קִרְיָשׁ (ground-form *quďš*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְיָשׁ for *burrakh*. יְלִקְטָיוֹן 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 *ö* (*ü*), in a closed syllable, returns, or, in an open syllable, a weakening to *Šwá* takes place. Comp. כָּל (*all*), כֹּל (*köl*), כֹּלָם (*küllām*); יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹלָהּ and יִקְטֹלוּ, 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.

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 *Šwā* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חֶכְמָה הֶחְכְּמָה *hōkh-mā* (wisdom), אֹכֵלָה 'ōkh-lā (food). With *Metheg* on the other hand (◌) is *ā* and stands in an open syllable. The following *Šwā* is then a half-vowel (*Šwā mobile*), e.g. אֹכֵלָה 'ā-kh'lā (she ate), according to § 16. 2.

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

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

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיָּקָם *wayyāqōm* (and he stood up). In the cases where *ā* or *ā* has in the final syllable become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16. 1) and yet must remain, e.g. כָּתִיב־בְּהַר־הַיְיָ Esth. 4, 8, נִשְׁתַּלֵּי Gen. 4, 25, it has in correct manuscripts and printed texts a *Metheg* beside it.

In cases like הַלְלָהּ, 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. עֲלֵי *his work*), or simple vocal *Šwā* (e.g. הַרְבֵּן *ox goad*; בְּעֵבְרוֹ Jos. 4, 7; נִשְׁמְרָה *preserve* Ps. 86, 2, comp. 16, 1; other examples are Obad. 11. Jud. 14, 15); *Haṭeph-Pathah* follows in לְמִשְׁתֵּךְ 1 Sam. 15, 1, לְהַרְנִיךְ 24, 11, and יִפְנֵשֶׁךְ (so Baer, Gen. 32, 18, others יִפְנֵשֶׁךְ); (b) before another *Qameš-ḥaṭufh*, e.g. עֲלֵי *thy work* (but יִרְבְּעָם *Yārob'ām*, because from imperf. יִרְבֵּ; אֲרָחֵלִי and קְבֵה־חֵלִי 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 הַרְרִי הַרְרִי (Ex. 11, 8), although it is so in הַרְרִי בָּנִי bā^o-nî (in the navy), since here the *ā* of the article appears under the ך.

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

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* 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 ex- *b*
tremely 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, *c*
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^o-mallē (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 *d*
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 הַרְרִי &c. (§ 93. I, A. 3) were really intended, and that *ð* was inaccurately represented by the similarly sounding *ā*.

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

time as a grace-note to the following syllable (§ 26. 2 *b*, Rem.). The *Šwá medium* accordingly stands half-way between the *Šwá quiescens* and the real *Šwá mobile*. In regard to pronunciation and other characteristics it is however to be reckoned with the latter; comp. e. g. לְמַנְצָח *la-m'naššē'āḥ* (for לְמַנְצָח), מַלְכֵי *ma-l'khē*, בִּנְפֹל *bin'phōl*, כִּנְפֹל *kin'phōl*.

e The sound *š* may be regarded as normally representing simple *Šwá mobile*, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by *ε*, even by *η*, פְּרוּבִים *Χερουβίμ*, הַלְלֵיהֶן *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. סֶדֶם *Σόδομα*, שְׁלֹמֹן *Σολομών* (as well as *Σαλωμών*), צְבָאוֹת *Σαβαώθ*, נְתַנְיָאֵל *Ναθαναήλ*¹. A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šwá* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages².

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

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

(ֿ) *Hátēph-Páthāḥ*, e. g. מֹדֵר *h'mōr*, ass.

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

(ֿֿֿ) *Hátēph-Qāmēs*, e. g. מְלִי *h'lí*, sickness.

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

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

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

² See especially *Yehuda Hayyúg*, 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 *Šwá 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*, שֵׁבְלֵי *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!* וְתִאֲלָצוּהוּ! 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. סוּרְרִים Ps. 68, 7; קָלְלָתָךְ Gen. 27, 13 (but not without exceptions, comp. e.g. חֲקֵקֶיךָ Jud. 5, 15. Is. 10, 1; צִלְלֵי Jer. 6, 5, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנוּ *behold us*; on כּ 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. תִּאֲבָקָה Gen. 3, 17; פִּרְכֵי Ps. 103, 1 (but וַיִּתְפָּרְכוּ 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 בִּרְכּוּ, &c.)²; (b) under initial sibilants after ו copulative, e.g. וַיְהִי Gen. 2, 12; cf. Jer. 48, 20; וַיִּבְחַר Is. 45, 14; וַיִּשְׂרֶה Lev. 25, 34; וַיִּשְׁקֶה 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; וַיִּבְרָחוּ Josh. 11, 2; וַיִּסְבְּחוּ Ps. 74, 5, for the same reason as the cases under (b)³; according to Baer also in וַיִּשְׁפְּמוּ 1 Sam. 30, 28; וַיִּפְּגְשׁוּ Gen. 32, 18 after ש (comp. § 9. 12, Rem. 2), as well as after *a* in וַיִּקְשִׁיבָה Dan. 9, 19; וַיִּבְרָכָה Gen. 27, 38; וַיִּמְצָרְעוּ 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 רָאָי (ground-form *ro'y*) *vision* (comp. § 93. 1, Rem. 6); וַיִּפְּגְשׁוּ 2 Chr. 31, 12, &c., *Qere* (*Keith*. "כונן") *Ammonitish women*, 1 Kings 11, 1 (sing. עַמּוֹנִיּוֹת; וַיִּרְדְּפוּ Ez. 35, 6, from וַיִּרְדֹּף Num. 23, 25. Jer. 31, 33, and elsewhere before suffixes, comp. § 60; וַיִּקְרָא *his pate* (from וַיִּקְרַד) Ps. 7, 17 and elsewhere; וַיִּשְׁקָטָה Is. 18, 4 *Qere*. Further, like ׀, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in וַיִּלְקָחָה (for וַיִּלְקַחָה) Gen. 2, 23. In this example, as in וַיִּסְעָרָה 1 Ki. 13, 7; וַיִּסְאָה 2 Ki. 7, 18; and וַיִּצְעָקֵי 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 ר; therefore Baer reads in Ps. 18, 7 וַיִּקְרָא; 49, 15 וַיִּשְׁאוּל; 65, 5 וַיִּבְחַר; 68, 24 וַיִּתְמַחֵן; Prov. 30, 17 וַיִּלְעַנּוּ; Job 29, 25 וַיִּבְחַר; comp. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 4th ed. p. 149, note.

U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed in similar cases after הָאֶפֶת-פַּתְחָה is preferred, see above letter δ ; but with לִקְחָה compare also סִבְלָה Is. 9, 3, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ immediately following.) In וְטָהַר (*A-l' hōr*) Job 17, 10 it is also due to the influence of the following O-sound. In קָמְטִי 1 Sam. 28, 8 *Q'erē*, the original form is קָמֹם ; where again the δ represents an δ . It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נִקְרָאָה Esth. 2, 14; נִבְהַל Prov. 28, 22; נִכְרַחָה Jer. 49, 7; אִשְׁמְעָה Is. 27, 4; וְאִשְׁמְעָה Dan. 8, 13; שִׁמְעָה Ps. 39, 13; בִּכְסֵרָה 2 Ki. 2, 1 (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); הִקְהָתִים 2 Chr. 34, 12 (the Mantua edition and Opatius have הִקְהָתִים). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (פ , ט , 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 $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ — serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ *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 י), 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*, תָּה *thou fem.*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou fem. hast killed*, וַיַּשְׁק *and he watered*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*, אַל-תִּשְׁתֵּה *drink thou not*; comp. on the other hand וַיִּרְא , חָטָא , &c.¹

k. However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ comes somewhat nearer to a vocal $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. תָּה 'att' from אָתִי 'atti, קָטַלְתָּ from קָטַלְתִּי (comp. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאתָ after a vowel, Gen. 16, 8. Mic. 4, 10 and elsewhere according to the readings of Baer), יִשָּׁב *isb* from יִשְׁבָּה , &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נָרַךְ borrowed from the Indian, as also in קִטְט (*qōṣṣ*) Prov. 22, 21; and in אַל-תּוֹסַף (*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* $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ *mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ is always *mobile* (a) at the beginning of a word (except in שְׁתִּי , שְׁתִּים § 97. 1, note 1); (b) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e. g. גִּיד-אֶפְרוֹ *gid-a'phū*; (c) after another $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$, e. g. יִקְטֹל *yiq' lū* (except at the end of the word, see above No. 3). (2) $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$ is *quiescens* (a) at the end of a word (even in the ך); (b) before another $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$.

¹ On $\text{יְ$ — as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs לִיָּה , 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. לִּפְּתֹל *qittēl*; or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters תִּפְּתֹל (*Dageš lene*). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13. 2, Rem.

The root $\psi\eta\eta$ 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 $\psi\eta\eta$ 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 $\psi\eta\eta$ *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 *sicilius* 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 בְּנִדְכָפֶת 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 *'appi*, רַבִּים *rabbím* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַל *yigdal* 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^ggadh^ephath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (*a*) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g. בְּכָל־לְבִי Ps. 9, 2, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (*b*) in cases like מַחְסִי Ps. 62, 8 = *maḥ-sí* (not *māḥ^o-sí*); (*c*) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לָ in the combination לָ לֹ Deut. 32, 5, or לָ לֹ 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^ggadh^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 וּ הּ אּ 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 הּ at the end of words (since הּ 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 אֶרְצָהּ '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 הּ 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 אּ, וּ, יּ, to mark them as consonants, *d* e. g. גּוֹי (gōy), גּוֹ (gāw). Comp. for the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), Ginsburg, *The Massorah, letter אּ*, § 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 אּ should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with אּ (אּ or אּ), Gen. 43, 26. Lev. 23, 17. Ezr. 8, 18 and Job 33, 21 (אּ); 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 בּוֹרַכַּח letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מֶלֶךְ מְלֶכְךָ, שֶׁתָּהּ, תִּפְרָה. 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, *מְשַׁפְּטֵי 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 *תנ"ך* (see below, 3 *b*), S. Baer, *תורת אמת* [*Accentual Laws of the Books תנ"ך*], 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 אמת*, 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. מְלִרָע i.e. accented *below*), e.g. קָטָל *qātál*; a word which has the tone on the penultima, *Mil'él* (Aram. מְלֵעִיל, accented *above*), e.g. מְלֵכָה *mèlèkh*. Moreover, in many cases a secondary tone is indicated in the word by *Mèthëg* (comp. § 16). Examples such as נְעֻמָּה יָחַד 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 נ' כ' 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, תְּהִלֹּת Psalms, מְשָׁלִי Proverbs, אֵיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their sequence, תֵּא"ם; thus תַּעֲמִי תֵּא"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. הָאָרָץ.

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. (—) Segôltâ, *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 Segôltâ (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 qâḥôn. 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 Tarhâ, 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. (—) Paštâ, *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, Paštâ is placed also over it, e. g. פִּשְׁתָּה Gen. 1, 2; comp. here Rem. 2 below.

- 8b. (→) Yethîbh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehuppākh. Yethîbh is used in place of Pašā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (→) Tēbhîr.
- 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. (→) Pāzēr, and
- 11b. (→) Pāzēr gādōl (Great Pāzēr) or Qarnê phārā (*cow-horns*) only used in sixteen places, always to express special emphasis.
12. (→) Telīšā gedōlā or Great Telīšā, *prepositive*.
13. (→) Legarmēh, i.e. Mûnāh (see below) with a following Pāsēq.

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

g

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

II. The Accents of the Books ם'אח.

A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

1. (→) Sillûq (see above).
2. (→) 'Ôlè weyôred², a stronger divider than

¹ Wickes requires Geršáyim (גֵּרְשָׁיִם).

² Wrongly called also Mērekhā mehuppākh (*Mērekha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mērekhā; 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 Mêrêkhā or Mahpākh.
8. (—) Rebhîa' qāṭôn (Little Rebhîa') immediately before 'Ôlè w'eyôrêd.
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 lēgarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with Pásēq.
- 11 b. (| —) 'Azlā lēgarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with Pásēq.

i

B. CONJUNCTIVI.

12. (—) Mêrêkhā (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.

- ĕ 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 *banú* (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 Pašfā (see above, I. 8 a, note); e.g. יִשְׁכְּבוּ בָרֶם *Gen. 19, 4*; so the prepositive sign in cases like יִהְיֶה *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 (*Zâqēph*, *R^ebhîa'*) occur consecutively, the accent which precedes causes a greater division than the one which follows; comp. e.g. the *Zâqēph*, *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 adjectival. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* 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 *R^ebhîa'* *mugrāš* before *Sillûq*, and the *D^ehî* 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 weyôred* 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 *עבדים* (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 (מִקְּפָה 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, מֵעֵם, 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-בֵן 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, ἐκ, ἐκ, ὡς, οὐ, which as ἄτονα lean on the following word.

c 2. Mèthëg (מֵתֵג 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 מִלְּהַצֵּר); 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. יִשְׁבְּעֵתִיכֶם. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open ultima, which is joined by Maqqēph to a word beginning with a toneless syllable and so without Mèthëg (e. g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קִשְׁתָּהּ, (לֹא־אֶהְיֶה, or to a word beginning with an initial Šewâ before the tone-syllable, e. g. מִי־לֶךְ, &c.; the object is to prevent the Šewâ becoming *quiescent*.

The ordinary *light Mèthëg* never stands with a moveable ו *copulative*, consequently we do not find וּבְנֵים, &c. (nor even וּבְנֵי, &c., contrary to *b, a*; but וּזְהָב, &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 Šewâ mobile preceding the tone-syllable, e. g. קִטְלָהּ, יִרְאוּ, יִשְׁנוּ, &c. (*β*) To emphasize a long vowel immediately before Maqqēph, e. g. שָׁת־לִי Gen. 4, 25 (not *št-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 *Sēghōl*, e. g. אֶהָב־דָּעַת Prov. 12, 1 (not *šhēbh*). (*δ*) With all vowels before composite Šewâ, 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 יַעֲמֹד, &c. (*ε*) In the initial syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be*, and הָיָה *to live*, to emphasize more sharply the Šewâ *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 *prithē!* to guard against the pronunciation *böttîm, önnâ*. Every kind of *light Mèthëg* may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. בַּתִּים 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 Šewâ: (*a*) with the *Pathah* of the article or of the prefixes ב, כ, ל, when followed by Šewâ under a consonant without *Dageš*, e. g. הַמֶּסְלָה, 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 *Pašā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common *Mèthëg*; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (*b*) with the interrogative הַ with *Pathah* (except when it precedes י, *Dageš forte* or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g.

¹ The common form is אֲנִי, or even with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimhî, 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.

הַאֵלֶּיךָ. When a Š^{wā} follows the הַ and after the Š^{wā} there is an untoned syllable, the *Mèthēg* stands to the right of the *Pathah*, e. g. הַבְּרָכָה Gen. 27, 38. The Š^{wā}-*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. לֹוּיִשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; פְּרָנָה 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 *ā*, and *ī* from *ī*; e. g. אִכְלָה *ā-khēlā* (she has eaten), but אִכְלָה *ā-khlā* (food), since the (־) stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ *yir'ū* (they fear), but יִרְאוּ *yir'ū* (they see), יִשְׁנוּ *yishnu* (they slept), but יִשְׁנוּ *yishnu* (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians however do not consider the syllables lengthened by *Mèthēg* as open. They regard the Š^{wā} as *quiescent* in cases like אִכְלָה, 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-ḥamim*, p. 13); although, as König rightly maintains, the absence of Dageš in the consonant which follows Š^{wā} (as e. g. כְּתִיבָה) is opposed to this.

§ 17. *Of the Q^{rē} and K^{thibh}.*

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^{thibh}*) 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. אַח 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; *Didduqe ha-ḥ'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. הוּיָא) in the Pentateuch wherever הוא stands for the feminine (§ 32, Rem. 6); נֶעֱרַךְ (Kethîbh נֶעַר, Qerê נֶעֱרַח) 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: יִשְׁכַּב (Q. יִשְׁכָּר) Gen. 30, 18 &c., comp. Ges. *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47. 2; יְרוּשָׁלַם (Q. יְרוּשָׁלַיִם), properly יְרוּשָׁלַם; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָי the Lord), or (after יְהוָי) יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה), properly יְהוָה *Yahwè* (comp. § 102. 2, Rem.); perhaps also שְׁתִי, שְׁנִי for שְׁתִי, שְׁנִי, 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. עֲלִין, עֲלָם, עֲלוּ *to exult*, לָאָה, לָהָה, Aram. לָעָא *to labour*, לָחִין and נָחִין *to press*, סָנַר 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 נָאַל *to reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ד, 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 ת and ט in *Hilpha'el* (§ 54. 2); (b) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yōd* (§ 69), יָרַךְ for וָרַךְ, &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 ג, e.g. מִן־שָׁם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִן־זֶה (for *min-zè*) from this, יָיִן (for *yintēn*) he gives. ג is not assimilated after the prefix לְ, e.g. לְגַבִּי, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ח), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. נֶחֱמָה (comp. however נֶחֱמָה for *nāthāntā*), 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 הִנְדִּי and הִנְדִּי Ps. 68, 3, cf. § 51, Rem. 1, and § 66, Rem. 1.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ת, ד, e.g. יָיִן (for *yilqah*) he takes; אֶת־יָיִן for אֶת־יָיִן; אֶת־הָאֵל for 'ahadt.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אֶת־הָאֵל from אֶת־הָאֵל; 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. אֶת־נֶסֶם (from 'anp), אֶת־תִּי (from *tinī*).

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. אֶת־תִּי from אֶת־תִּי (§ 59, Rem. 3). אֶת־אֵל from אֶת־אֵל (§ 66. 2) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the liquids ג 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, י, ל, ג) 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. נָחַנְנָה *we*, also אֲנַחְנָנָה; וְרַע for וְרָע; לָקַח for לָקַח; נָשׂ for נָשׂ, נָהִי for נָהִי Ezek. 2, 10.

i Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel perhaps occurs in יָרַד Jud. 19, 11 for יָרַד; in תִּתְּנָה 2 Sam. 22, 41 for תִּתְּנָה; in יָשׁוּב for יָשׁוּב 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 ל'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. גִּלְיָה pr. name of a city (comp. גִּילְנֵי Gilonite); וְיָרָא, where א really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל'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 ת־ *āth* to ה־ *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. אֶזְרוּעַ and אֶזְרוּעַ *arm* (comp. χθές, ἐχθές; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).

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

¹ Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in בִּי *prithē!* if this stands for בְּעֵי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְנִשְׁקָה Am. 8, 8, *K'ṯhīb* for וְנִשְׁקָה (comp. וְנִשְׁקָה 9, 5), and in בְּלָה Jos. 19, 3 for בְּעָלָה (as in 15, 29). Probably however וְנִשְׁקָה and בְּלָה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֵר Am. 8, 8 for כִּיאֵר (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 (שָׁבֵב and שָׁבֵב *lamb*, שְׂמֵלָה and שְׂמֵלָה *garment*), but is mostly confined to sibilants and liquids.

6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כֹּבֵב *star*, from *kaukabh* = *kawkabh* or for *kabkabh* (comp. Syriac *raurab* = *rabrab*); מְטַפֹּחַ *phylacteries* for *taphṭāphóth*; 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 *Šwá mobile*; thus we have נָתַנּוּ for נָתַן נָתַן *nāthän-nū* and שִׁתִּי for שִׁתִּי שִׁתִּי;

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19. 2), e.g. יַיִן 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. מַלְמֵי *camels* for *g'mālēm*; 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 *Šwá mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, it should be written with a *compound Šwá* preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הַלְלִים, הַלְלִת, &c. (comp. § 16). This pointing is not found before the suffix ך, e.g. הַבְּרָכָה Gen. 27, 4, although the first כ has a *vocal Šwá*, 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 Šwá*, 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-l'lá*. The form הַנְּנִי Ps. 9, 14 (not הַנְּנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'el = הַנְּנִי; in the imperat. Qal the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׂרַד Jer. 49, 28, and in the imperf. יִשְׂרַד 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־יִי (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'gadk'phath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְבָה־נָא Num. 22, 6; לִקְחָה־זֹאת Gen. 2, 23; יַעֲנֶה־לְךָ Ps. 91, 11; and even in רָעַל מִעֲנֶה־רָעָה Prov. 15, 1; וְאִשְׁנֶה־בְּפָנָי 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 וְ 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 וְוִה־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; וְוִה־פָּרַחְתָּ Num. 13, 27. 1 Chr. 22, 1. In הִנֵּה־נָא 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; כָּמֹכָה ver. 11, and perhaps also בָּאֵלֶם בָּאֵלֶת ver. 13; כָּאֵבֶן 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 *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; הֲרַחֵיבָה שְׂאוֹל Is. 5, 14; עָשָׂה פָּרִי Gen. 1, 11; אֲרָצָה בְּנֵעַן 11, 31; הִשְׁבַּעָה לִי 21, 23. The prefixes כִּי, כִּי, לִי and וְ alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לְךָ, which has always *Dageš*, and לְלִילָה Ps. 19, 3. Such forms as מְלֹאָה Ps. 26, 10; וְחָקָה פִּנִּי Job 21, 16; and even נַעֲמְדָה 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 לְאִמֹר 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' 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. עֲשֶׂה-פָּרִי 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 יִירָשֻׁהוּ Ps. 37, 9; אֲלֶהָ יַעֲקֹב Is. 44, 21; עֲשִׂיתָ קַעֲרָתִי 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 Dent. 32, 6, and כְּשִׁיתָ 32, 15, and נָעוֹת (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); תָּל־ Jos. 8, 28; בְּוִרוֹעַ Ps. 77, 16; בְּנִהְיָא 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 קָיָמוּ צָאוּ Gen. 19, 14; comp. Ex. 12, 31; Ex. 12, 15 (שָׂאֵר). Deut. 2, 24; also לָא Gen. 19, 2. 1 Sam. 8, 19; לוֹ Judg. 18, 19. Esth. 6, 13; מָעַט Hos. 8, 10; נָדַו Jer. 49, 30; הָרַו 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 *Šwā*. 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 *ī* (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 *Šwā* is sharpened by *Dageš forte* *h* *dirimens* to make the *Šwā* 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 *Qōph*; comp. עָנְבִי Lev. 25, 5. Deut. 32, 32 (for עָנְבִי); פְּנִלְתָּךְ Is. 33, 1 (where, however, פְּבִלְתָּךְ is to be read); comp. Nah. 3, 17. Job 9, 18. 17, 2. Joel 1, 17 (with *ḥ*); Is. 57, 6 (with *l*); Judg. 20, 43¹. 1 Sam. 1, 6 (with *ḥ*); Gen. 49, 10. 17 (and so always in עָקְבִי Judg. 5, 22. Song 1, 8

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

and עֲקִבֹת 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 (וַיַּחֲלֵי); 22, 12 (רַמְזִי); Ezek. 27, 19 (in נ); in ח Is. 33, 12. 41, 17. Jer. 51, 58, perhaps also Job 21, 13 (וַיַּחֲרֵץ).

k (d) When a Liquid is doubled by *Dageš forte firmativum* in the pronouns הַפֶּה, הַנֶּה, הַלֶּה, and in לָמָּה *why?* cf. also 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 עַמַם; 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 וּה, § 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, מְאִסְפִּי, as ed. Mant. correctly reads, while Baer has מְאִסִּי 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 Grammm.*, 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 הַיִּסְקָרָה *who layeth the beams*, but הַיִּסְקָרָה *the roof* Eccles. 10, 18 (comp. הַיִּסְקָרָה *the work*, &c.).

lengthening, and others even מִשְׁמַנִּי; מִאֲסִי Gen. 27, 28. 39; 38, 24 מְשַׁלֵּשׁ for מִשֵּׁשׁ הַשְּׁלֵכִים I Ki. 7, 28; אֲשַׁקֵּה I Ki. 19, 20 from נִשְׁקַע, הִשְׁפַּתִּים Ezek. 40, 43 and לִשְׁפָּנִים Ps. 104, 18; מִשְׁתִּים Jon. 4, 11, הִצְפַּרְדֵּים 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, נ in מְנַבְּרָתָם Ezek. 32, 30, ר in נִרְחִי (Is. 11, 12. 56, 8. Ps. 147, 2; *not* in Jer. 49, 36), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָרַח; lastly, ת in תִּתְחַצֵּוּ Is. 22, 10. Comp. moreover, הִנְיֹון and וְזָרוּן, the *constr. st.* of הִנְיֹון and וְזָרוּן, also שְׁנִינֹות the *constr. st. plur.* of שְׁנִינֹון.—Examples, וְיָהִי עֲוִרִים (so always the preformative י in the *imperf.* of verbs), לְמַנְצַח, הַלְלוּ, הִנְנִי, מְלֵאוּ, כְּסֵאוֹ, יִשְׂאוּ, יִקְחוּ, מַקְלוֹת, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* 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 *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 יִחַיְתָן (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 יִחַיְתָן with the LXX), וְיִקְוֹת Is. 50, 11 for וְיִקְוֹת.

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 מְעֻנֵּיהָ Is. 23, 11, מְעֻנֵּיהָ (or מְעֻנֵּיהָ) is to be read; and for תִּמְנוּ Lam. 3, 22, תִּמְנוּ is the correct reading. קָכְנוּ 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 תִּמְעֵי 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*, יָפְרוּץ *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 בְּאַשְׁרַי *and it was so, that when*, Judg. 11, 5 (on the other hand 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. וּמִצָּן בָּהּ, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (exceptions קִרְתָּהּ Is. 34, 11; שָׁלַן בָּהּ Ezek. 23, 42; and אֲרָנִי Ps. 68, 18), as well as by ה with *Mappiq*, 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; כָּנ is uncertain; כֶּב, כִּב, and כֶּפ according to David Qimḥi should remain aspirated, also כִּנ, כִּב, 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 בְּחַמְצָה 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; Χερσὺβ, Χαλδαῖοι, Φαρφάρ, &c. The forms בְּכֶבֶד (after וַיִּשְׁמְתֵי) Is. 54, 12, and בְּלִבָּל (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 יִקְהָל Jos. 15, 38 (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), 2 Ki. 14, 7, and יִקְדַּע Jos. 15, 56 are inexplicable exceptions.

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

On קָטְלֵתֶם, 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. רָדַף *pursue ye* (not רָדְפוּ) from רָדַף; מַלְכֵי (not מְלֻכֵי), because it is properly *mälākhē* (but מְלֻכֵי 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 שְׁלַחְתָּ *thou (fem.) hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ח after the vowel, were originally שְׁלַחַחְתָּ, &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 ח.

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 ח—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 *Dages̄* 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) מֵאֵן for *mi''ēn*; הָאָדָם for *ha''ādām*; יְהִיבָהּ (for *yihhābē'*); further אָהָר, הָחָנִי, הָהָרִים, הָעֵנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ע in § 35).—Of (b) מִחָזֵק (from *minhūṭ*), הָהוּא, בְּעָר, נִאִין, &c.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dages̄ forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dages̄ 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, *Pathah̄* readily takes the place of another short vowel as well as of a rhythmically long *ē* and *ō*, e. g. זָבַח *sacrifice*, not *zèbēḥ*; 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 *yis̄lōḥ*); 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^ghōl remains before א in such cases as דָּשָׁא, טָנָא, פָּלָא, פָּרָא, 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 *Qames̄*, the hard gutturals (consequently not א) require, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ā* (*Pathah̄ furtive*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah̄* 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. רָאָה *rā'āh*, נָוַע, רָע, הִשְׁלִיחַ, נָבוֹא (when consonantal ה is final it necessarily takes Mappiq̄). But at the beginning of a syllable, e. g. רִוְחִי &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ā* 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 *mesiah*, 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 N ω ϵ , יָדוּעַ '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'ér*) a youth, פֶּעַל (not *p \bar{o} 'él*) deed. The only exceptions are רָחַם, לָחַם, בָּהֵן, אָהֵל.

2. Where in the present form of the language *ř*, attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S \bar{e} ghól* as being between *ǎ* and *ř* is frequently used instead, e. g. יְהִי, יְהִי, יְהִי (also יְהִי), עֲמָדָה, נְאָדָר, חֲבָלִי.

On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the syllable is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e. g. חֲפָה, הֲנִיָּה, הֲלֵל; but when this sharpening falls away, *S \bar{e} ghól* is apt to reappear, e. g. הֲנִיּוֹן constr. הֲנִיּוֹן, הֲנִיּוֹן constr. הֲנִיּוֹן.

3. Instead of simple *S \bar{e} wá mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a compound *S \bar{e} wá*, e. g. שְׁחָטוּ, אֲמַטְל, אָמַר, אָהֵלִים, &c.

4. When a guttural with *quiescent S \bar{e} wá* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strong closed syllable (with *quiescent S \bar{e} wá*) 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 S \bar{e} wá* (owing to the nature of the gutturals), and especially the *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יְחַשְׁבֵּ- (also יְחַשְׁבֵּ); יְחַזֵּק (also יְחַזֵּק); פֶּעַל (for פֶּעַל). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *S \bar{e} wá mobile*, then instead of *Hateph* its vowel alone is written, e. g. יְעַמְדוּ (from יְעַמְדוּ), נְעַרְמוּ, פֶּעַל (from פֶּעַל). The original forms, according to § 28. 3, were *ya'm'dhá*, *ne'r má*, *p \bar{o} 'lkhá*. Hence יְעַמְדוּ, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יְעַמְדוּ, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'm'dhá*, &c.

Rem. 1. The grammarians call simple *S \bar{e} wá* under the gutturals *hard* (שְׁחָטוּ), and the compound *S \bar{e} wá* they call *soft* (יְחַשְׁבֵּ). 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 \bar{e} r*), *fire* (*fī \bar{e} r*), *pure* (*pū \bar{e} r*), and *our* (*ou \bar{e} 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 אֲלִי) *to*, but אָלֶיכֶם *to you*, אָכַל *to eat*, but אָכַלְתָּ (^{ʾākhəl}, 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. אָרִי *lion*, ground-form 'ary), and --- if there be a weakening of an original *u* (e. g. אָנִי *a fleet*, עָנִי *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. מְאֵנָה, הַעֲלָה (see § 63, Rem. 4); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭēph* is regulated by it, e. g. *Perf. Hiph.* הֶעֱמִיד (see above, No. 2, Rem. 2), *Infin.* הֶעֱמִיד (after the form הֶקְטִיל); *Perf. Hoph.* הֶעֱמַד (after הֶקְטַל); but cf. שָׁחַד 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. בָּרַךְ *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 וַיֵּרֵא); 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 *šōrrēkh*, Ezek. 16, 4 (comp. Prov. 3, 8); וְרַתְּוֹ Song 5, 2; הֶרַתְּוֹ 1 Sam. 1, 6; הֶרַתְּוֹ 1 Sam. 10, 24. 17, 25. 2 Ki. 6, 32; הֶרַתְּוֹ Jud. 20, 43 (cf. § 20. 2 b); מְרַתְּוֹ 1 Sam. 23, 28. 2 Sam. 18, 16; also on account of דְּחַת (*§ 20. c*) Jer. 22, 22. Prov. 15, 1. 20, 22. 2 Chron. 26, 10; and אֶתִי מְרַחֵק (*§ 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 מְ for מִן) is found in מְרַתְּוֹ Is. 14, 3. In Samaritan and Arabic this doubling has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e. g. Σάππα for שָׂרָה.

§ 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, מְצֵא, הוֹצִיא (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to No. 2, e. g. מְצָאִי, הוֹצִיאִי, 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 רָשָׁע, פְּלָא (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, הָאָסוּ, or when it is protected by a *Ḥateph* in a partially closed syllable, e.g. לְאֵבֶל, and, as an exception, even in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šwā* after a preceding *S'ghōl*, e.g. וְיִאָסֵר, וְיִאָדָר *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*), מֵאֵתַים *two hundred* (for *m'ātāyim*), שְׁאֵטָךְ Ezek. 25, 6 for שְׁאֵטָךְ; בּוֹרְאֵם Neh. 6, 8 for בּוֹרְאֵם; מֵאֵים Job 31, 7. Dan. 1, 4 for מֵאֵים; פְּאָרָה for פְּאָרָה Is. 10, 33; הֹלְטִים *hōlīm*, 1 Sam. 14, 33 for הֹלְטִים (comp. § 74, Rem. 2, and § 75, Rem. 21); הִרְאִיבִנִי Num. 34, 14, from הִרְאִיבִנִי; so always חֲטָאֲת or חֲטָאוֹת 1 Kings 14, 16. Mic. 1, 5, &c., for חֲטָאוֹת. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the א occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלֵאכָה *work* for מְלֵאכָה, יִשְׁמְעָאֵל for יִשְׁמְעָאֵל; שְׂמֹאל or שְׂמֹאל *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. וְיִאָצֵל Num. 11, 25 for וְיִאָצֵל (comp. Judg. 9, 41), and פְּאָרָר Joel 2, 6 for פְּאָרָר; יֵאֵבֶל obscured from יֵאֵבֶל for יֵאֵבֶל (comp., however, § 68. 1); לְאָמַר for לְאָמַר, &c. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וְאִדְרִי, &c. (see § 102. 2), וְיֵאֵת Is. 41, 25, וְיִאָבְדָךְ Ezek. 28, 16 for וְיִאָבְדָךְ; 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, בּוֹרָר *buffalo* for בּוֹרָר; comp. also לֹא for לֹא *not* 1 Sam. 2, 16 and frequently in the *K'thīb*. 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; אחטנה 31, 39 for אחטננה; שלתך 1 Sam. 1, 17 for "שאלך"; רמים Ps. 22, 22 for רמים; גוה Job 22, 29 for גאוה; הברתי 1 Chron. 11, 39 for הברתי, and so 2 Sam. 23, 37; שרית 1 Chron. 12, 38 for שארית; להשות 2 Ki. 19, 25 *K^ethibh* for להשאות (comp. Is. 37, 26); חמאה Job 29, 6 for חמאה. In מכלת 1 Ki. 5, 25 (for "מאכ") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; but in מסרת Ezek. 20, 37 (if for "מאם") 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* המלאכים *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. גיזר *gizle* for גזר; 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*, *ē*, and *ō*, e. g. הלכנו 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 ינשאו Jer. 10, 5 for ינשאו; and in נשוא Ps. 139, 20 for נשאו. 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, גחנת is unquestionably a corruption of גנחת for גנחת.

² Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עשהאל, פדהצור, which are compounded of two words and consequently are sometimes divided. Cf. forms like חואל for חואל. 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. הָּ̄ to her for הָּ, 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 *Šwā 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 בְּהַאֲרִיז; פְּקִיד *Impf. Hiph'il* for יְהַפְקִיד; יִנְתֵּן for יְהוֹנְתֵּן; בְּנִיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֶם 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 (וָּ = רָאָה, הָּ = תָּבִיָּה 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 and י 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 Šwā* 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.

יִיזִין for יִיזִין; 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. שָׁלוֹם quiet, וַי the month of May, גוֹי nation, נִגְלוּ 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 בּ, וּ, כּ, 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. בָּכָה from *bakhy*, as well as the regularly formed בָּכָה 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. פָּרִי 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 'Iovdá for יְהוּדָה, 'Iosaák for יִצְחָק. 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-Naphtali¹) וַיִּלְלָת Jer. 25, 36 for וַיִּלְלָת (so Baer), בְּיַתְרוֹן Eccles. 2, 13 for בְּיַתְרוֹן, even וַיִּחַלֵּו Job 29, 21 (in some editions) for וַיִּחַלֵּו. According to Qimḥi 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, בִּיקְרִי and לִיקְרִי (comp. *Dikduke ha-š'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 ī), see above, 1, a.

(b) With ā they form the diphthongs o and ē 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 שָׁלַח for šālāw². On the development of יִגְלִי from יִגְלִי, see § 75. 1; on קָם as perf. and part. of קָם, see § 72. 2 and 4; on יִגְרֵךְ, &c., from וְלָךְ, 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 Śwā*.

1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule, unchangeable *b* vowels of the *second* and *third* class, ī, ē, ū, o, can mostly be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (יִ, יֵ, יוּ, וּ); e. g. יִטִּיב *he does well*, הֵיכַל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8. 4) is indeed common enough, e. g. יִטִּיב and יִטִּיב for יִטִּיב; גְּבוּל 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); אִימִרִים Hos. 7, 12; הִישֵׁר Ps. 5, 9 *Q^{er}*; the locatives בְּיַתָּה, מִצְרַיִם, &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 סיני סινω. 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 לָבַל 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, מְמַלְכָה 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. מִיָּעַן for *mi''ēn*; בִּרְרָה for *burrakh*.

§ 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 תֵּבֵבָה, &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 יֵ or יִ, see § 24. *e*, and especially § 47. *b*, note.

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

י before Š^{wā}, and the labials, e. g. וְיָרִיב, וְיָמְלֵךְ: the Babylonian punctuation, however, even in these cases has י, i. e. י. On the other hand, in such cases as יָמַר 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, לָבַב. See No. 5. Such are also the syllables *sharpened* by a following Dageš, as the first in קָטַל qat-*tāl*. See No. 6.

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

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

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a long vowel, whether *e* they have the tone as in בָּרָךְ in *thee*, סֵפֶר *book*, קִדְשׁ *sanctuary*, or are toneless as in קָטַל, עֵנַב *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, לָבַב.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 *f* 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 Š^{wā} (לְהוֹן, יָקוּם, קָטַל, לָבַב); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes vocal Š^{wā}, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel takes the place of Š^{wā} 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 Š^{wā}.

yirb; comp. also $\text{דִּי} \text{---}$ 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. ($\text{נִי} \text{---}$ *me*), e.g. קָטַלְנִי (Arab. *qātālānī*). The not infrequent form $\text{נִי} \text{---}$ (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 $\text{נִי} \text{---}$ (§ 102 at the end) *Pathah* is retained with the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.

h (c) Sometimes before the toneless $\text{ה} \text{---}$ *local* (§ 90. 2), e.g. מִדְּבָרָה *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the const. state (1 Ki. 19, 15), since the toneless $\text{ה} \text{---}$ 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 $\text{---} \text{---}$, $\text{---} \text{---}$, $\text{---} \text{---}$, e.g. נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*, יִאָּכֵר *he will bind*, פַּעְלֹוֹ *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. יִאָּכֵר with יִאָּכֵר). 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 , $\text{כִּי} \text{---}$, &c.

k (e) In forins like יִתְּקַוּוּ *yeḥē-šē-qū* (they are strong), פַּעְלֵךְ *phō-šē-khā* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יִתְּקַוּוּ also occurs); פַּעְלֵךְ ought properly to be pronounced *phō-šē-khā*; compare generally § 22. 4 at the end, and § 28. 3.

l Such cases as הַחַיִּים (§ 96), הַחַתָּת (§ 67, Rem. 6) do not come under this head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *Sghōl* which is lengthened from *ā* in suffixes (e.g. דְּבָרְךָ), and other cases, nor *Sghōl* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qameš* (§ 22. c). On שְׂרָשִׁים and קְרָשִׁים (*š* for ---), 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) *lḥī*; חֲלִי (sickness) *ḥlī*; יְלִמְדוּ *yl-mēdhū*. 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. יִקְטִלֵּוּ Arab. *yaqtūlū*, בָּךְ Arab. *blak*, &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*, וָיָסַר *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 Seghôl². The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the tone-long \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , not the longest \bar{i} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , \bar{u} ; of the *short* vowels, only \check{a} , \check{e} , not \check{i} , \check{u} , \check{o} . Thus יִקְרָאֵלִי (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תִּקְרָאֵלֶיךָ 3rd pl. fem., and קָמוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קָמוּ 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. אָמִי *'im-mi*, כָּלֹ *kül-lô*. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but if bearing the tone, either short vowels as בָּרַב, הֶנְנִי, or long, as שָׁמָּה, הֵמָּה.

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 גָּרַדְתָּ, וַיִּגְדַּךְ, or *Holem*, הוֹסֵפְתָּ קִשְׁטָּ. 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 שָׁתַלְתִּי 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. שָׁמַעְתִּי Gen. 2, 13; עָיִן Gen. 2, 16.

² See § 9. 2, 3. \check{i} occurs thus only in the particles אֵם, עֵם, מֵן; but these usually (מֵן 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 šadāqāl) righteousness, קָטָלוּ (Arab. qātālú), יָקַטְלוּ (Arab. jūqattilú).
- 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, *ǎ* into *ā*, *ǐ* into *ē*, *ǔ* 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. māṭār) rain, in close dependence on a following genitive (in the *construct state*), becomes מְטָר; עֲקֵב (Arab. 'āqīb) heel, dual עֲקֵבַיְם, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ǎ* of the first syllable to *ǐ*) עֲקֵבַי; יָקַטְלוּ (Arab. jāqtülú), plur. יָקַטְלוּ (Arab. jāqtülú). For instances of complete loss, as in בְּסָפִי, 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. אֹיֵב *enemy*, אֹיֵבְךָ *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקַם, וַיָּקַם (*wāyāqōm*); יָלַךְ, 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*; מִקְדָּשׁ *sanctuary*, מִקְדָּשִׁי *my sanctuary*.

In such cases, according to what has been said, \bar{e} passes into \bar{i} or $\bar{\epsilon}$ (under certain circumstances also into \bar{a} ; comp. § 93, Parad. II, c and e), and \bar{o} into $\bar{\delta}$, rarely into \bar{u} . On the change of a closed syllable with a long vowel into a sharpened syllable, \bar{e} reverts to the original \bar{i} , \bar{o} mostly to \bar{u} , e. g. מִן *mother*, מִי *my mother*; קֵן *law*, plur. קֵיִן; but יֵן *strength*, יֵי *my strength*.

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

(a) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e. g. קָטַל לוֹ | קָטַלְתָּ *he has killed him*; מִיָּסַף תִּי primarily from מִיָּסַף: so \bar{a} mostly becomes \bar{a} even before a suffix beginning with *šwá mobile*; e. g. קָטַלְתָּ from קָטַלְתָּ.

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

(c) When a weak consonant (\aleph , ι , γ) following the short vowel, g according to § 23. 1, 2, 24. 2, quiesces in this vowel, e. g. מִצָּף for מִצָּף, where the \aleph , 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 *šwá mobile* (or *šwá medium*), or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*šwá quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, שֵׁם *name*, pl. שְׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דְּבַר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צְדָקָת (with *šwá medium*); an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרָכָה. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes vocal *šwá* (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 *šwá*.

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; לֵבָב *heart*, לֵבָבִי *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. קָטַל, fem. קָטַלְתָּ *qāṭ'la*; יָקַטְלוּ, יָקַטְלוּ *yiq'lu*; comp., however, also יִלְקֹטוּן, תִּרְבְּקוּן, &c., according to § 47. *m* and *o*. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מִלְכִי *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. יִקְטְלוּ *pausal-form* for יָקַטְלוּ.
- m* Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *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 \acute{a} (see § 9), sometimes becomes \acute{u} , when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נָקוּם, נָקוּמוּתָהּ (see *Paradigm Perf. Niph.*); מָנוּס *flight*, fem. מָנוּסָה, with suffix מָנוּסָי. Similarly the \acute{e} , arising from *ay* = *ai*, in the Perfect of verbs לָ'ה (§ 75. 2) frequently becomes \acute{i} . The not uncommon use of \check{v} in a sharpened syllable, as בְּהוֹנֵי Ez. 20, 18 (for בְּחֻנֵי), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases \acute{u} may really have been intended by the *K^ethibh*.
- 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*, יָקַם *jussive*, *let him arise*, וַיָּקַם *and he arose*. The only instance of \check{u} in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַיָּרֵם 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. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקַם *let him raise*, וַיָּקַם *and he raised*. The only instance of \check{i} in an ultima which has lost the tone, is וַתִּרְיַן Judg. 9, 53 (see § 67. *x*).
- p* 2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not unfrequently find (according to § 9. 3) a *S^ghól*, \acute{e} or \acute{i} , 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. יָדְכֶם *your hand*, for *yad^ekhèm*).

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

(*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 כֶּלֶב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kellb*)¹, *yarḥ* (*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 *yagl*.

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, מְדוּ *his measure*, for מְדוּ (in a sharpened syllable); יִלְדֶתִיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יִלְדֶתִי 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 Μελαχισεδέκ for מֶלֶכִּי־עֶדֶק.

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

vowel groups ֿֿֿֿ , ֿֿֿֿ , ֿֿֿֿ , e. g. וַאֲנִי and *I*, בְּאִשֶׁר as, לְעִבֹד 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 *Hateph*, e. g. לְהִטָּב for לְחָטָב ; לְחַמָּם Is. 47, 14 for לְחַמָּם (see § 67. *cc*); לְאַסֹּר but also לְאַסֹּר ; and even וְעָצָר 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. לְהִיּוֹת to *be*, וְהָיָה and *be ye!* even with מִן , as מִהְיֹוֹת , for which compare § 102. *b*: וְהָיָה and *be!* וְחָיָה and *live*, for וְהָיָה , וְחָיָה , alone have *ě* instead of *ĩ* under the prefix. For the Metheg, comp. § 16. *f*, *ε*.

3. When a *Hateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional changes, would stand before a vocal *S'wá*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This includes especially the cases in which the *Hateph* stands under a guttural instead of a quiescent *S'wá*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד *he will stand* (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ for ya'á-m'dhú , and נִהְפְּכוּ for něh'ph'khú (*they have turned themselves*), פְּעֹלֶיךָ *thy work*, comp. § 26. *k*. The syllables are to be divided ya'á-m'dhú , and the second *á* 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 , ת^2), e. g. יִשָּׁב *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשָּׂא and *he caused to drink*, אָמַרְתְּ *thou (fem.) hast said*, וַיִּבֶךְ and *he wept*, וַיִּרְדּוּ 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 *S'ghól*, but with gutturals *Pathah*³, and after *Hireq*, e. g. וַיִּגַּל and *he revealed*, for wayyigl ; יָרַב *let it multiply*, for yirb ; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, ground-form qudš ; נַחַל *brook*, ground-form nahł ; שָׁלַחְתָּ for šl'chtá *thou hast sent*; בַּיִת ground-form bayt . These helping

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

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

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

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. קִדְשֵׁי 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 *š*, 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. קָטַל, דָּבַר, דְּבָרָה, דְּבָרִים, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְוּ, קִדְרוֹן—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה night, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְוּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, לָבְנָה, קָמְנָה), 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. דְּבַר word, plur. דְּבָרִים; דְּבָרַיְכֶם your words; קִדְשׁ sanctuary, plur. קִדְשֵׁי; קָטַלְתָּ with קָטַלְתָּהוּ. 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* (ו) 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 לְיָהּ 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 כֶּם-, נוֹ-, הֶם-, הוּ-, 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 קִין 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 פֶּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is. 41, 7, for הוֹלֵם פֶּעַם. 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 בֵּן 1 Sam. 10, 5; וְכָחַשׁ בוֹ Job 8, 18, cf. Lev. 5, 22; לְעֶזְקָה בָּנוּ 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 הָשֵׁן Is. 45, 7, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; comp., however, Amos 4, 13.

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

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

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

The meeting of two tone-syllables (No. 3, d) 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*, 'Athmáh, and in the accentuation of the books מ'תא, 'Ólè *wyóred*. 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!); בָּרַךְ becomes in *pause* בָּרַךְ.

l Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ä* is intentionally retained in *pause*, especially if the following consonant be doubled, e. g. בָּרַךְ Job 4, 20, or ought to be doubled, e. g. בָּבָ Is. 8, 1, &c.; and even without the doubling, e. g. עָרַ Gen. 49, 27; וַהֲקִרְשָׁנוּ 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 *munah*, is very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphāt'et*. In the same way הִי־עָלָה 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 Š'wā*, 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, מְלֹאָה, יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ¹ (sing. יִקְטֹל). The fuller endings of the Imperfect וַיִּ and וַיִּ- (§ 47. *m* and *o*) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָחִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy, pary*), the original *ā* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *S'ghól*, thus לָחִי, 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 לָחִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects וַיְהִי and וַיְהִי become in *pause* וַיְהִי, וַיְהִי, because in the full forms וַיְהִי *he will be* and וַיְהִי *he will live* the *ī* is attenuated from an original *ā*. We may also mention here שֵׁבֶם *the neck*, in *pause* שֵׁבֶם (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. תְּבָרַךְ *thy word*, in *pause* תְּבָרַךְ; וַיִּשְׁמְרֶךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* וַיִּשְׁמְרֶךָ; 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 אֲנִכִּי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִכִּי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented Books also אַתָּה, since in those Books 'Athnah, especially after 'Olè *w'yōbrēd*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יִפְלְאוּ. Prov. 24, 4 instead of יִפְלְאוּ²); עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like בָּלוּ Ps. 37, 20 for בָּלוּ: but in 1 Sam. 12, 25 Baer's reading תִּסְפְּזוּ 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 יִפְלְאוּ Ps. 45, 6, comp. also יִבְלָמוּ Ps. 40, 15, is to be explained in the same way, but not תִּפְלְאוּ Zech. 2, 11, where, on the analogy of הִשְׁמְרֶךָ Jer. 9, 3, we should expect תִּפְלְמוּ.

- q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an \bar{e} (lengthened from \dot{e}) to the more distinct \dot{a} (see above, letter l), e.g. הָתוֹ for הִתּוֹ Is. 18, 5 (comp. § 67. *v*; § 72. *dd*); קָמַל Is. 33, 9; אָצַל I Chron. 8, 38 (beside אֲצַל [see *v*. 37. Cf. טָבַאֵל Is. 7, 6 (טָבַאֵל Ezr. 4, 7); שִׁשָּׁר Jer. 22, 14; סָפָרָר Ob. 20; וַיִּנְפָּשׁ Ex. 31, 17; וַיֵּאָנֵשׁ 2 Sam. 12, 15 (below, § 51. *m*)—S. R. D.]); הָפַר Gen. 17, 14; הָפָצַר I Sam. 15, 23; הִתְאַחֵר Ps. 40, 18; הִרְחַק Job 13, 21, &c., mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הִשָּׁב Is. 42, 22, and without the *pause* הִרָר Lam. 3, 48). So also וַיִּלָּךְ (shortened from וַיִּלָּךְ) becomes in *pause* וַיִּלָּךְ; compare וַיִּלָּךְ Lam. 3, 2; וַיִּלָּךְ for וַיִּלָּךְ Jud. 19, 20. On *S^ghöl* in *pause* instead of *Şere*, comp. § 52. *n*, and especially § 75. *n*, on וַהֲיָה Prov. 4, 4 and 7, 2.
- r (2) The transition from \dot{a} to \dot{e} in the ultima; so always in the formula לְעוֹלָם לְעוֹד (for עַד) for *ever and ever*.
- s (3) The *pausal Qameş* in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Şere*, e.g. יִתְהַלֵּךְ Job 18, 8 for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. According to § 54. *k*, this *Qameş* is lengthened from an original \dot{a} .
- t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e.g. אָתוּ, בָּעֵינֵי Is. 21, 12, for אָתוּ, בָּעֵינֵי, 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 שָׂאֵלָה Is. 7, 11, if it be a locative of שָׂאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׂאֵל; שָׂבַלְתִּי Gen. 43, 14 for שָׂבַלְתִּי; עָו Gen. 49, 3; יִטְרָף Gen. 49, 27; perhaps also שָׂרִיָן I Ki. 22, 34. Is. 59, 17, and מִשְׁתַּלְחָת Is. 28, 17, comp. 2 Ki. 21, 13. On the other hand the regular *pausal* form יִחַפֵּינָה, which is found as well as the ordinary Imperfect יִחַפֵּינָה, must be referred to a Perfect חָפִינָה (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^ghöl*, according to § 22. *c* and § 27. *g*, e.g. אָחֵי my brothers, in *pause* אָחֵי; comp. יִתְנַחֵם Deut. 32, 36. Num. 8, 7. 23, 19. Ezek. 5, 13. Ps. 135, 14.—On *pausal Şere*, for *S^ghöl*, 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*, עֵמֶק *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*, חָכֵם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e.g. 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*, נָהַק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun is sometimes without the corresponding verb, e.g. אֶבֶן *stone*, נֹגֵב *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^ogab (*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: מִלַּךְ, 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. מָלַךְ. 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 צָרָר (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. יָרַם for יָרַם, in the Imperfect Qal of verbs עָרַע. Even such nouns, as אָב *father*, אִם *mother*, אָח *brother*, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a trilateral stem.

- g On the other hand, a large number of trilateral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria, biliteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several trilateral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *ä* 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 \surd , e.g. \surd כּר as the root of כּרר, כּרה, כּור, אכּר. 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 דּכה, דּכא, דּיה, דּכה may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דּך (*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 קיץ (no doubt *onomatopœic*, or imitating a sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off, cutting in pieces*, are derived immediately: קציץ and קצה to *cut, to cut off*; the latter metaph. to *decide, to judge* (whence קציץ, Arab. *qaḍi, a judge*); also קצב to *cut off, to shear*, קצה to *tear, to break*, קצע to *cut into*, קצר to *cut off, to reap*. With a softer sibilant קש, קס, whence קסס to *cut off*, קשיש and קטיה to *peel off, to rub off*. With a lingual instead of the sibilant, קט, קר, whence קטב to *cut in pieces, to destroy*, קטל to *cut down, to kill*, קטף to *tear off, to pluck off*, קדר to *cut in pieces, to cleave*. With the initial letter softened, the same root becomes כס, whence כפח to *cut off*, and כסם to *shave*; comp. also נכס Syr. to *slay (to sacrifice), to kill*. With the greatest softening to נו and נר; נון to *cut off, to shear*; נוה to *hew stone*; נוע, נום, נול, נול to *cut off, to tear off, eat up*; similarly נדר to *cut into*, נדע to *cut off*; comp. also נרה, נרף, נר. Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural sound (ח), e.g. חדר to *split, cut*; comp. also חרל, חרק, חדר, חרש, and further חום, חוץ, חזה, חוט, חטט, חטט, חטט, חטל, חסל, חסם, חסף, חצב, חצה, חצין, חצר in the Lexicon.

The root הם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (*μούω*); hence הָמם, הום, הָמה, הָהם (נָהם), Arab. *hámhama, to buzz, to hum, to snarl, &c.*

As developments from the root רע comp. the stems רעד, רעל, רעם, רעע, רעין, רעץ, רעש. Not less numerous are the developments of the root בר (פר, פל) 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. תם to *be finished*, קל *light*. The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and

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. כָּחַרְחַר from כָּחַר, 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 שִׁלְהֹת flame from לָהַב, corresponding to the Aramaic conjugation Šaph'ēl, שִׁלְהַב.

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

Comp. Aram. עָרַל to roll, expanded from עָל (conjugation Pa'ēl, corresponding to the Hebrew Pi'ēl). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the expansion is principally made by ל and ן, e.g. אַרְוֹן axe, בְּרִמְלֹךְ orchard (from בְּרִמָּה), גְּבֻעַל corolla (גְּבֻיעַ cup); comp. § 85. xi.

Rem. on (b) Forms such as צַפְרֵרֶע frog, חֲבַצְלֵל 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, הִתְקַטִּיל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטִּיל. 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. Com. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי; } אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי } I.	1. Com. אֲנַחְנִי, in pause אֲנַחְנִי } (נַחְנִי, in pause נַחְנִי), (אֲנִי) } we.
2. { m. אַתָּה (את), in pause אַתָּה or אַתָּה } f. אַתְּ (אתי) properly אַתְּי, } thou. in pause אַתְּ }	2. { m. אַתֶּם f. אַתֶּנּוּ (אתֶּנּוּ); אַתֶּן (אתֶּן) } ye.
3. { m. הוּא he (it). f. הִיא she (it). }	3. { m. הֵם (הֵם), הֵנּוּ } f. הֵנּוּ after prefixes הֵן, הֵן } they.

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 *o* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *a* (comp. Aram. אָנָּה, Arab. 'ána). The pausal form אָנָּה occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנָּה וְ as *I live!* also Is. 49, 18 with *Munah*, Ps. 119, 25 with *Merkha* (which however has been altered from *Dēhî*) 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 *K^ethibh*. 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. 'ántunna, 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 א) occurs five times, e.g. Ps. 6, 4, always as *K^ethibh*, with אָנָּה as *Q^{er}e*. 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 *K^ethibh* (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 *é* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the Imperative and Imperfect. The final *é* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, letter *f*) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The *é* 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 *é*. 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^{er}e* הָיָה (see § 17). The same final ה appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix כִּי־הָיָה (§§ 58, 91).

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

III. Third Person.

6. (a) In הָיָהוּ and הָיָהוּ (*hū* and *hū*) 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 לָהּוּ , נָקָהוּ , &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 *hūwā* and *hūyā*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *hūwwa* and *hūyya*. 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'tū* (= *hu'a-tū*) for הָיָהוּ , *ye'tū* (= *hi'a-tū*) 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^{er}e* הָיָהוּ (*Q^{er}e 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 Mēša' (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 הווא for היא 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 היא for הווא in 1 Ki. 17, 15. Is. 30, 33. Job 31, 11, or הווא for היא 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 הווא was written for both forms (see letter *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into הווא. 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 הווא and היא, 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, הַמּוֹנִי (אֲמּוֹן, הַמּוֹנִי), Syr. *henūn* (*enūn*), Arab. *hūmā* (the archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *lōmā* there is an *ō* or *ā* appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מוֹ, מוֹ, מוֹ (§ 58. *g*).

11 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 עֲרֵיהֶּם, 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 וּ (from *āhū*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him* (also קָטַלְתִּיו), קָטַלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhū* contracted into *ō*) קָטַלְתָּהּ *thou hast killed him*; אוֹרְהוּ (also, rarely [see § 91. *d*], אוֹרְהוּ) *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 ἐμού*; 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. קָטַלְתִּי הוּא 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. בֵּינֵי, 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 (לְ sign of the dative, מִן *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e.g. לוֹ *to him (ei)* and *to himself (sibi)*, בּוֹ *in him*, מֵנִי (usually מִיָּנִי) *from me*.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (לְךָ, &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. מֵנִי *me*, מֵנִי *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. { m. הַזֶּה¹
f. הַזֵּה (הִיא, הִיא)² } *this*. Plur. com. הֵלֵּךְ (rarely הֵלֵּךְ) *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, הַזֵּה *masc.*, הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה *fem.* (*this*); Sansk. *sa, sã, tat*; Gothic *sa, sô, 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 וְזֹאת has undoubtedly arisen from וְזֹאתָ, by obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for וְזֹאתָ = וְזֹאתָ comp. the Arab. *hā-dā*, *this*, masc.; for ת as the feminine ending § 80), and the forms וְזֹה, וְזֹו, both of which are rare¹, are shortened from וְזֹאתָ, by rejection of the ת. In Ps. 132, 12 וְזֹו is used as a *relative*, comp. וְזֹו below. In Jer. 26, 6, *Kethibh*, הַזֹּאתָה (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַֿ) is found for וְזֹאתָה. The forms הַזֹּאתָה and הַזֹּאתָה are plurals of וְזֹה and וְזֹו by usage, not etymologically. The form הַזֹּאתָה 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, הַזֹּאתָה, and in 1 Chron. 20, 8 without the article [cf. Driver on Dent. 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 הַזֹּאתָה *to this* (comp. for הַ, § 102. *g*), הַזֹּאתָה, הַזֹּאתָה *to this* (fem.), הַזֹּאתָה, הַזֹּאתָה *to these*; הַזֹּאתָה *hunc*, הַזֹּאתָה *hanc*, הַזֹּאתָה *hos*, also without הַֿ, even before the verb Ps. 75, 8 and elsewhere. Note also הַזֹּאתָה *pretium huius* (1 Ki. 21, 2), &c.
- d* 2. The secondary form וְזֹו occurs only in poetic style, and is used mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who*. Like וְזֹו (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.
- e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַזֹּאתָה, הַזֹּאתָה, הַזֹּאתָה) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126. 5; e. g. הַזֹּאתָה *this man*, but הַזֹּאתָה *this is the man*.
- f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַזֹּאתָה Gen. 24, 65. 37, 19; הַזֹּאתָה *fem.* Ezek. 36, 35, and shortened הַזֹּאתָה, 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 *'allāqī* 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 הַ, with a sharply pronounced *ā* and a doubling of the following consonant, e. g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיָּאָר *the river*, הַלְוִיִּם *the Levites* (according to § 20. *m* for הַיָּאָר, הַלְוִיִּם).
- b* Rem. With regard to the *Dages* in י after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ו follows the י, e. g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעֵבֵדִים *the weary*

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

² According to Kuenen (comp. above, § 2. *n*) the form הַזֹּאתָה 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 הַ.

(כִּי־עֵינַיִם Lam. 4, 3 *Qerē* 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. q).

(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*, הַאֱלֹהִים *θεός*, הַרְגֵּל *the foot*, הַרָּאשׁ *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. הַאֲנָן verse 1); הַסּוּרִים Eccles. 4, 14 for הַאִם; 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 ה; e.g. הַחֹזֶן *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*. Before ח, \bar{a} occurs only in הַחֵי Gen. 6, 19; הַחֲרִיטִים Is. 3, 22; הַחֲמִנִים Is. 17, 8; before ה, always in הַחֵם, הַחֵה, הַחֵהָה.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. הַעֵיִן *the eye*, הַעִיר *the city*, הַעֲבָד *the servant*, plur. הַעֲבָדִים; הַלְעֵנָלִים 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 העֹבֶרֶת 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 וְ the article is always הָ, otherwise it is הֶ; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הַהָר *the mountain*, הָעָלֶיךָ (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 הֶ without regard to the tone; e.g. הַחָכָם *the wise man*, הַחֹג *the festival*.

k (3) When the guttural has \bar{a} the article is הֶ before הָ, e.g. הַחֳדָשִׁים *the months*; בְּתַרְבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article 'תָּה) Ezek. 33, 27, comp. 2 Chron. 27, 4; but הֶ before וְ, 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 הֶ is generally considered to have been הָל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יָחַח from יָלַחַח, § 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 בַּמָּה, בַּמָּה, &c., § 102. k).

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

n 2. When the prefixes הָ, לְ, בְ (§ 102) come before the article, the הֶ is syncopated, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Šwâ (§ 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, בְּחַדְשֵׁי 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 *Q^{re}*. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהַיּוֹם about this time (Gen. 39, 11. 1 Sam. 9, 13, &c.) and בְּיוֹם 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*); הָאָרֶץ, הָהָר, הַחַג, הָעָם, הַבַּר; compare also אֲרוֹן ark, with the article always הָאָרוֹן.

§ 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 שִׁ before אֲ Jud. 6, 17 (elsewhere before a guttural שֶׁ), before ה even שֶׁ Eccles. 3, 18, and according to some (e.g. Qimḥi) also in Eccles. 2, 22².

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is מִי *who?* (of persons, even before 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. 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 בְּעַפְרָה instead of the impossible בְּעַפְרָה.

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*, ׀ִמָּה stands with a following *Dageš* (§ 20. *d*), e. g. ׀ִמָּה־לָּךְ *what is it to thee?* and even in *one* word, as ׀ִמָּלְכֶם *what is it to you?* Is. 3, 15; comp. Ex. 4, 2. Mal. 1, 13, and even before a guttural, as ׀ִמָּוה Ezek. 8, 6 *K^ethibh*.
- d* (b) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or a conjunctive accent, it is either ׀ִמָּה 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 *ā* is fully lengthened to *Qameš* (comp. § 35. 2)—so always before א and ׀ִ—or half-lengthened to *S^eghôl*, especially before ׀ִ, ׀ִ, ׀ִ (before ׀ִ however also ׀ִמָּה). The omission of the doubling also takes place as a rule with the hard gutturals, when they have not *Qameš*, and then the form is either ׀ִמָּה or ׀ִמָּה, the latter especially before ׀ִ or ׀ִ, when *Maqqeph* follows.
- e* The longer forms ׀ִמָּה and ׀ִמָּה also remain before letters which are not gutturals, if they are not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule ׀ִמָּה is then used, but ׀ִמָּה when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (on ׀ִמָּה in the combinations בְּמָה, בְּמָה, and even ׀ִמָּה־לָּךְ, 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102. *k* and *l*).
- f* (c) In the principal pause ׀ִמָּה is used without exception; also as a rule with the smaller *disjunctives*, and especially almost always before gutturals (׀ִמָּה only in very few cases). On the other hand, ׀ִמָּה 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 ׀ִמָּי and ׀ִמָּה as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *quodcunque*, 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 שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרֵשׁ *root* (§ 52. *h*).

This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative *d* verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לָבַן *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגָה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּג *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'ו'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 קְיָוּנוֹת, 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 (קָטַל, קָטַל), 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 הָתָּ, הָתָּ, הָתָּ 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. *Pô'el* and *Pô'al* (see § 55. *b*); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'el* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpô'el* (see § 55. *b*); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'el* (see § 54. *l*); 9. *Pi'lél* (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>	תִּ . . .	1. <i>c.</i>	וּ . . .

IMPERFECT.

Singular.				Plural.			
3. m.	.	.	י	3. m.	י	.	י
3. f.	.	.	ת	3. f.	ת	י	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 ננש, סבב, קים, §§ 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 י'שב, ח'צא, נ'לה.

Taking the old paradigm ל'פעל 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* פ'ע for a verb whose first radical is פ (*primae radicalis*, [*sc. literae*] פ); 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. כָּבֵד 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 קָבַר 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 *qätälä*), 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 (*ä*, *ē*), it becomes vocal *Ṣwâ*, e.g. קָטַלְתֶּם 2nd plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Ṣwâ*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms are pronounced in Arabic as *qätülä*, *qätülä*; 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: הָמַר to cover with pitch, from הָמַר pitch; מָלַח to salt, from מָלַח salt; שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) to buy or sell corn, from שָׁבַר corn; see above, § 38. *c*.

§ 44. Flexion of the Perfect of 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. מָלַא 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. (נִי—) is just as certainly to be connected with the termination of אֲנִינִי, אֲנִי *we*. The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (תִּי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ת (cf. § 33. f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי, I¹. In the *third* person הִיא (originally ת—, 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. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also ו) in Hebrew, also *ūna* (in the construct state *ū*) as the termination of the masc. plur. of nouns in literary Arabic.

2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *Š'wā* ^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 *Qames* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Š'wā*; as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 27. i and § 43. b. On the retention of *ā* 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 *Sere*, and never of a *Hireq*, of which the *Sere* is a lengthening (comp. § 26. p). On the other hand, *Sere* 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. יִבְרַךְ *it cleaveth*, Job 29, 10 (not יִבְרַךְ), comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23. Job 41, 15; even (contrary to § 29. q) 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*, נֶחֱדָשׁ *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 *kā*; 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 וַיִּלְדָּךְ *to bring forth, to beget*; וַיִּלְדָּתִיךְ Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12; Jer. 2, 27. 15, 10); from וַיִּפְשָׁתָּם Mal. 3, 20; from $\text{וַיִּשְׁאַלְתִּי$ *I have asked him*, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (Jud. 13, 6), and three times וַיִּשְׁאַלְתָּם 1 Sam. 12, 13. 25, 5. Job 21, 29. Qimḥi already indicates the explanation, that the ʾ (ʾ) of these forms of וַיִּשְׁאַל and וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ is the original vowel, since along with וַיִּשְׁאַל and וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ are also found וַיִּשְׁאַל and וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ , see § 69. s); the ʾ in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of ā (§ 27. s), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the ʾ 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. וַיִּנְדָּתָהּ *thou didst tremble*; וַיִּכְלוּ in *pause* for וַיִּכְלוּ *they were able*; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel reappears in the form of a *Qames-ḥatuph*; וַיִּכְלֵתִי *I have prevailed against him*, Ps. 13, 5; $\text{וַיִּכְלֵתָּ$ (see § 49. h) *then shalt thou be able*, Ex. 18, 23; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal $\text{Ṣ}^wā$, e. g. וַיִּכְלֵה .
- f 4. Rarer forms¹ are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in — (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic), e. g. וַיִּנְזַחְתָּ *it is gone*, Deut. 32, 36 (but $\text{וַיִּנְשַׁבְּחָתָּ}$ Is. 23, 15, which Qimḥi and others so explain, is more correctly to be taken as a Participle); from a verb וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתָּ , 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 āt (which is frequent also in stems א' § 74. g), and also with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal $\text{Ṣ}^wā$ before the pleonastic ending — , e. g. וַיִּנְזַחְתָּ § 75. i. In Ezek. 31, 5 the Aramaic orthography, וַיִּנְזַחְתָּ occurs instead of וַיִּנְזַחְתָּ .
- g 2nd *masc.* וַיִּנְדָּתָהּ for וַיִּנְדָּתָהּ (differing only orthographically), e. g. וַיִּנְדָּתָהּ *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12 (וַיִּנְדָּתָהּ which is twice as common as וַיִּנְדָּתָהּ , 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 וַיִּלְכְּתִי *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). וַיִּלְכְּתִי is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading וַיִּלְכְּתִי (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 (Syriasms) 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 וַיִּלְכְּתִי as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e. g. in Jer. 2, 20 (twice), Mic. 4, 13, it has rather taken the form

אָתִי (אָתִי) § 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^ethibh), Ps. 16, 2 without a Q^erê; in 2 Ki. 18, 20 also יָדַעְתָּ is really intended, as appears from Is. 36, 5. The Q^erê requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the K^ethibh 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 עֲזַבְתֶּם 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 תָּנִיחַ (according to others תָּנִיחַ) Am. 4, 3, but since ת follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; comp., however, תָּנִיחַ § 32. *i*.

3rd *comm.* has three times the termination וִינִי; יָדַעְתִּי 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 יָקַיִן Is. 26, 16; on וִינִי 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 Dent. 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 ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 sqq.) definitely explains all these K^ethibh, 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'ה, as היה K^ethibh six times in the above examples.

5. The affirmatives תָּ, (תָּ), תִּי, נִי are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mil'el* (תָּתְּלִית, &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 Šewâ under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as קָטַלְתָּ for קָטַלְתָּ (דָּבַרְתָּ for דָּבַרְתָּ), and קָטַלְוּ for קָטַלְוּ (מָלְאוּ for מָלְאוּ); (*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 קָמַת 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 ת with the ת of the affirmative occurs e.g. in פָּרַתִּי Hag. 2, 5, &c.; cf. Is. 14, 20, &c. in the *Perf. Po'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 נ with the affirmative וְנ occurs in וְנָתַנּוּ Gen. 34, 16; in *Niph.* Ezr. 9, 7, comp. 2 Chron. 14, 10; in *Hiph.* 2 Chron. 29, 19; with the affirmative וְנָה in the *Imperfect Qal* Ezek. 17, 23; *Pi'el* Ps. 71, 23, where with Baer הִתְרַנְּנָה is to be read, according to others הִתְרַנְּנָה (comp. in *Pil.* הִתְקוּנְנָה Ezek. 32, 16), but certainly not הִתְרַנְּנָה with the Mantua ed., Opatius and Hahn; with וְנָה 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 קָטַל, 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 *qu!l* (*qo!l*); hence e. g. with a suffix, קָטַלִּי *qō!li*, *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 *qā!l*). 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. לְאַשְׁמָה לֵאמֹר *to be guilty*, Lev. 5, 26, אֶהְבֶּה *to love*, שִׂנְאָה *to hate*; לְיִרְאָה, often in Deut., *to fear*; וְקִנְיָה *to be old*; קִרְאָה *to meet* (in לְקִרְאָתָא § 19. k); לְרַבְעָה *to lie down*, Lev. 20, 16; לְמִשְׁחָה *to anoint*, Ex. 29, 29; לְרַחֲצָה *to wash*, Ex. 30, 18, &c.; לְטִמְאַה (also a subst. = *uncleaness*, like טִמְאַה, *to be unclean*, Lev. 15, 32; קִרְבָּה *to approach*, Ex. 36, 2 and elsewhere; comp. Deut. 11, 22. Is. 30, 19. Ezek. 21, 16. Hag. 1, 6; also רַחֲקָה *to be far off*, Ezek. 8, 6; חַמְלָה *to pity*, Ezek. 16, 5; comp. Hos. 7, 4. On the other hand in חַמְלָה Gen. 19, 16, the original *ā* has been modified to *ē*; comp. חֲזָקָה 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; מְשִׁלּוּחַ *to send*, Est. 9, 19; מְקָרָא *to call* and מְפָע *to depart*, Num. 10, 2 (Deut. 10, 11); מְקַחַ *to take*, 2 Chron. 19, 7 and elsewhere; מְשִׂא *to carry*, Num. 4, 24 and elsewhere (comp. even לְמִשְׁאוֹת Ezek. 17, 9); also with a feminine ending מְעַלָּה *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. לְשָׁפַב Gen. 34, 7; לְנַפַל Ps. 118, 13, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin-pōl*; hence, also *liq-īl*, &c.; but בְּנַפַל *bin^e-phōl*, Job 4, 13; בְּנַפַל 2 Sam. 3, 34. Exceptions לְצַבָא Num. 4, 23. 8, 24; לְנַתוֹשׁ וְלְנַתוֹיָן Jer. 1, 10. 18, 7. 31, 28; לְשִׁרְוֹד Jer. 47, 4; לְטַבּוֹחַ 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 בְּשִׁפְן Gen. 35, 22; בְּזִפְרַן Jer. 17, 2. For the meaningless לְרִיִּישׁ 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 Qimhi'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 הַּ 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 1 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* (qīl'li, qīl'li, and so שָׁפְכִי, &c. without *Dageš lene*, and even מִשְׁבּוּ with *Metheg*, Ex. 12, 21; but compare אֶסְפִּי Jer. 10, 17, and with the same phonetic combination הִשְׁפִּי Is. 47, 2; see analogous cases in § 93. *m*); less frequently we find an *δ* instead of the *l*, e.g. מִלְכִי *rule*, Jud. 9, 10; מִשְׁבּוּ *draw*, Ez. 32, 20; חָרְבוּ Jer. 2, 12 (comp. חָרְבִי Is. 44, 27); on קָסַמְי 1 Sam. 28, 8 *Cré*; צָעֲקִי Jer. 22, 20 (comp. 1 Ki. 13, 7), see § 10. *g*. This *δ* arises (see above, letter *a*) from a singular ground-form qūl'il, not from a retraction of the original *l* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *l* in the first syllable (cf. also אֶמְרִי, הִנְרִי, מְבַרִי, עֲבָרִי) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *δ*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG*. 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *l*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47. *i* and 48. *i*; 61. *b*, 63. *n*.
- e* The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is נִזְרוּ 1 Ki. 3, 26; from שָׁמַע, שָׁמְעוּ, &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבָרִי Is. 23, 12; even without the *pause* מְלוּכִי Jud. 9, 10. 12, *Keth.*; קֹסַמִי 1 Sam. 28, 8, *Keth.* (comp. with this also מְלוּכָה, &c., § 48. *i*); from שָׂמַח, שָׂמְחוּ Joel 2, 21.
- f* 3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמְעֶנּוּ occurs once, in Gen. 4, 23 (for שָׁמְעֶנָּה) with loss of the הַּ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמְעֶנּוּ. Also instead of the abnormal קָרְאֶנּוּ Ex. 2, 20 (for קָרְאֶנָּה) we should perhaps read as in Ruth 1, 20 קָרְאֶנּוּ (comp. מִצָּאֶנּוּ 1, 9 and לִבְנֶנּוּ 1, 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, ם, 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 *ı* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *S^eghöl* 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 *נָקַטְל* (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and *יָקַטְל*, which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iq̄töl*¹.

- c* The preformative *n* of the *second* persons (*נָקַטְתָּ*, ground-form *täqtül*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the *n* of *נָתַתָּ*, *נָתַתָּ*, &c., and the *affirmative* *ı* of the 2nd fem. sing. *יָקַטְתְּ* with the *i* of the original feminine form *נָתַתְּ* (see § 32. *h*). The *affirmative* *ı* of the 2nd masc. plur. *יָקַטְתֶּם* (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* *n* (also *ı*) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with *נָתַתְּ* *eae* and *נָתַתְּ* *vos* (fem.).
- d* The preformatives of the *third* persons (*ı* in the masc. *יָקַטְל*³, ground-form *yäqtül*, plur. *יָקַטְלוּ*, ground-form *yäqtülü*; *n* in the fem. *תָּקַטְל*, plur. *תָּקַטְלָנָה*) 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 *נָטַ* (in Prov. 18, 24 *נָטַ*, 2 Sam. 14, 19. Mic. 6, 10, for *נָטַ*, and *נָטַ* I Chron. 2, 13 for *נָטַ* (as verse 12). Also *נָטַ* Mic. 6, 11 is probably for *נָטַ* = *נָטַ*, *נָטַ* Is. 10, 12 for *נָטַ*; *נָטַ* Is. 51, 19 for *נָטַ*; and conversely (according to Wellhausen, *Text der BB. Sam.* p. 5) *נָטַ* was written for *נָטַ*. Similarly, *נָטַ* I Sam. 14, 49 is probably for *נָטַ* or *נָטַ*; in 2 Sam. 23, 8 *נָטַ* is, according to the LXX, an error for *נָטַ* = *נָטַ*. In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew *ı* as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *n*, *ın*. 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^eälü*, *q^eälün*, with the feminine form *q^eälên*, in Western Aramaic *q^eälü*, fem. *q^eälä*; in Arabic *qätälü*, fem. *qätälü*, Ethiopic *qätälü*, *qätälä*.

³ The usual derivation of the *ı* from the *ı* of the pronoun *נָתַתָּ*, comparing *נָטַ* for *נָטַ* (§ 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 *yēh* (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 (וִ) 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* = וִיבְלִי; 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 יִשְׁפּוּטוּ הֵם 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 מִיָּה לֹא-תֵעָבְרִי מִיָּה Ruth 2, 8; תִּשְׁמְרוּם (in principal pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפּוּטוּ and תֵּעָבְרִי (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 impf., e. g. רָבַץ, יִרְבֹּץ to couch, שָׁכַב, יִשְׁכַּב to lie down (לָמַד, יִלְמַד to learn is also originally intransitive = to accustom oneself); נָדַל, יִנְדַּל to become great (but comp. שָׁכַן and שָׁבַן imperf. יִשְׁכְּנוּ and יִשְׁבְּנוּ to dwell and to inhabit, נָבַל imperf. יִבֹּל 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 those with \check{a} an intransitive meaning, e. g. יִקְצַר he cuts off, יִקְצַר he is cut off, i. e. is short; חָלַשׁ impf. \bar{o} , to overcome, Ex. 17, 13; impf. \check{a} , to be overcome, Job 14, 10. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e. g. יִשֶּׁה and יִשֶּׁה 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 impf. of verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, comp. § 64. *b*; § 65. *b*. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63. *n*), ע'ע' (§ 67. *p*), ו'פ' (§ 69. 1), and פ'פ' (§ 68. 1), and in יָתַן for *yintēn* from נָתַן to give, instead of \check{a} or \bar{o} a moveable *Sere* (originally \check{r}) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects² in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וַיִּמְכְּרוּ 2 Ki. 7, 8, since טָמַן otherwise only occurs in *Qal*. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel impf. *o*, impf. *a*, impf. *e*.

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 פ'פ' and ו'פ' (§§ 69-71).

² Cf. Barth, 'Das *i*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 177 sqq.

k 3. For the 3rd *sing. fem.* תִּקְטֹל (= *tiq-tōl*), Baer requires in 1 Sam. 25, 20 תִּפְגֵּשׁ (read with ed. Mant. &c. תִּפְגֵּשׁ). 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 יִשְׁלַח; 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 נָּה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutive* (see § 49. 2), simply נָּה, 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, תִּלְבְּשׁוּ (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 וַעַי and וַעַי, § 67. *d*; § 72. *i*; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in הִ 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 יִלְקְטוּ 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 יִרְכְּבוּ קֶשֶׁת, 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 (קִצְרוּ 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: *יִבְשׁוּ יַחַד וְיִבְשׁוּ יַחַד בְּלִי יַחַד וְיִבְשׁוּ יַחַד* 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 ׀ (old Arabic *inā*) 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) יִבְשׁוּ Jer. 10, 5, evidently an error for יִבְשׁוּ, caused by the preceding נִשְׁוּ.—In יִשְׁוּ Is. 35, 1, the ending ׀ is changed into ׀ before the following ׀.

5. Corresponding to the use of ׀ for ׀ there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., although much less frequently, the fuller ending ׀ (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inā*), always with the tone, for ׀, 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 (תִּשְׁבְּרִין). Jer. 31, 22. Is. 45, 10.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ō* which had become *šwā* in the forms תִּקְטְלִי, &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. יִנְדְּלִי, תִּנְדְּלִי. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e. g. יִנְדְּלִי, in pause יִנְדְּלִי. Only the fuller forms in *in* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ū* and *ī* 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 *Nūn*, 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., *yāqtūlūnnā* 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. אֶקְטֹל from קָטַל¹. 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 ו 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 Piel נִנְתְּקֵהָ *let us break asunder*, Ps. 2, 3; on אֶשְׁמְרָה Is. 18, 4 *Q'ré* (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, אֶקְטֹל and אֶקְטֹלָה; 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'ré*, 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 *Qimḥi*, be regarded as 2nd masc. The doubly irregular form תִּבְּוֹאָתָה Deut. 33, 16 (for תִּבְּוֹאָתָה = תִּבְּוֹאָה) is to be explained with Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תִּבְּוֹאָתָה in verse 14. For תִּבְּוֹאָתָה Job 22, 21 the noun תִּבְּוֹאָתָה *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.* יִוְשִׁיב, juss. יִוְשֵׁב; 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 *Pri'el* יָצוּ from the indic. יָצוּה (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 נִשְׁמַר 1 Sam. 14, 36, parallel with cohortatives; and נִרְאָה Is. 41, 23 *K^eth*.

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'rā*, comp. קָטְלִי *qit'lī*, § 46. *d*); עֹזֵב Jer. 49, 11; שֹׁבֵב *lie down*; שָׁמַע *hear*, in lesser pause שְׁמָעָה Dan. 9, 19. Comp., however, also מְכַרָּה *sell*, Gen. 25, 31, notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכַּרָּה; עֹרְבָה Job 33, 5 (comp. עָרְבוּ Jer. 46, 3), but impf. יַעֲרֹב; אֶסְפָּה *collect*, Num. 11, 16 (for אָסַף comp. § 63. *l* and the plural אֶסְפְּנוּ), but 2nd masc. אֶסְפֵּה; נִצְרָה Ps. 141, 3. Barth (see above, § 47. *i* note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63. *u*. On the other hand, קָרָה 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. תְּחַנֵּן and רָנָה (in both cases with *Tiphkha*) Is. 32, 11; יִרְשָׁה Deut. 33, 23. But also without the pause we find פְּשַׁטָּה 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* נָלַ from נָלָה. 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 הֵן give, הֵנָּה הֵנָּה give up!*

l Rem. The form דַּעָה 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 Jnd. 9, 29 (from

¹ On the reading יִשְׁמְרָה (i.e. *šimērā*, 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'el* רָבֵה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative הִצַּטֵּ (from הִצַּט) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending הַ—, with imperatives of verbs ה'ל', 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 *Mēša'* 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 וַיִּקְטַל and *he killed*; before *ס* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22. 1) with *Qames*, as וַיִּקְטַל and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַיִּצְרַח Ezek. 16, 10 according to the *Diqduqe ha-ʿamim*, § 71; also וַיִּמְתְּהוּ 2 Sam. 1, 10 according to *Qimḥi*; but in Jud. 6, 9 וַיִּנְרֹשׁ should be read according to *Baer*, and וַיִּנְרֹשׁ in both places in Jud. 20, 6. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative וַ, 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 וַיִּקְטַל (§ 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 וַיִּלְחֹם occurs more rarely; e.g. always וַיִּלְחֹם (or וַיִּלְחֹם, 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 הַ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later Books, e.g. וַיִּשְׁלַחַהּ 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 וַיִּ also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive*; comp., however, וַיִּרְיבֵינוּ Jud. 8, 1. 11, 18. Am. 6, 3. Ezek. 44, 8. Deut. 4, 11. 5, 20. The 2nd fem. sing. in וַיִּ never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

³ In the 1st plur. וַיִּנְעַמְדִּי Neh. 4, 3 is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (comp. וַיִּנְשׁוּבֵנוּ, i. e. וַיִּנְשׁוּבֵנוּ, 4, 9 *Keth.*; וַיִּנְשׁוּבֵנוּ). 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 וְאֵעִירָהּ may have been originally intended; in Ps. 73, 16 וְאֵחָה and in Job 30, 26 וְאֵי.

This וְ 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. בְּפֹה, בְּפֹה, בְּפֹה (for בְּפֹה), where the prepositions בְּ and לְ, and the particle וְ, are closely connected with פֹּה in the same way.

The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in לְפֹה (for לְפֹה, § 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 (וְ, וְ, 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. הֵלַכְתִּי I went, consecutive form וְהֵלַכְתִּי and I will go, Jud. 1, 3, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*; הִבְדִּילָהּ, consecutive וְהִבְדִּילָהּ and it shall divide, Ex. 26, 33, but this removing of the tone from an *í* in the second syllable in *Hiph'il*, as well as in the *perf. Qal* of verbs ל'ה (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 וְיָקַטַל arose by contraction from הָיָה וְיָקַטַל (= הָיָה) it happened (that) he killed, is as untenable as the derivation from וְהָיָה יָקַטַל.

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. וְיִכְלֹתָ 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"ה, 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. וְקָרָאתָ, Jer. 2, 2, &c.)¹.

l But before a following \aleph the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e.g. וּבְצֵדָה אֶל־ Gen. 6, 18. Ex. 3, 18. Zech. 6, 10 (by the side of וּבְצֵדָה etc. (comp., however, וְקָרָאתָ, before \aleph , Gen. 17, 19. Jer. 7, 27. Ezek. 36, 29); וְהִפִּיתָ אֶת־ Jud. 6, 16, cf. Lev. 24, 5 (but also וְעֵינָיִי אֶת־ Lev. 25, 21). Likewise, before ϵ , e.g. וְהִיָּתָּה 2 Sam. 15, 33 (comp., however, וְקָרָאתָ עָלָיו, Ezek. 33, 21); on verbs $\epsilon''\epsilon$, see § 67. *k* and *ee*.

(c) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, e.g. וְשָׁבַעְתָּ 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 qalon*; and frequently also immediately *before* a tone-syllable (according to § 29. *e*), as in וְשָׁבַתָּה בָּהָרָה Deut. 17, 14, comp. 23, 13; Ezek. 14, 13. 17, 22. Amos 1, 4. 7. 10. 12—but also וְהִשְׁקֵתָּ בָּהָרָה Deut. 21, 11. 23, 14. 24, 19.

§ 50. The Participle.

a 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'ēl* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ūl* (פְּעוּל).

Pā'ūl 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'ēl* 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 *qu'ūl* 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 יָשָׁן; (only orthographically different from the perf. יָנַח) *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 קָיָל (so even from the

¹ The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Aser 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 *Qameš* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms קָטַן and קָטַר, 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 (קָטַלָּה or קָטַלְתָּ) 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. קָטַלָּה); and that the *š* of קָטַל on the other hand is weakened from an unchangeable *ā*. 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. קָטַלִּים; קָטַר, constr. pl. קָטַרִּי).

תּוֹמִיךְ Ps. 16, 15, instead of the form קָטַל, is an anomaly; it is possible, *e* however, that תּוֹמִיךְ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (comp. סְבִיב 2 Ki. 8, 21), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of תּוֹמִיךְ. 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); אֹבְדִיל 1 Chron. 27, 30, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבַר (constr. state of אָבַר), 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 *f* not admit of a passive. It then denotes an inherent quality, e. g. אֲנָשׁ דְּסָפָה desperate, Jer. 15, 18, &c.; בְּטוּחַ trustful, Is. 26, 3. Ps. 112, 7; עָצוֹם strong; שָׂכָר drunken, Is. 51, 21; and even from a transitive verb, אֲחֻזָּה handling, Cant. 3, 8; נְכוֹר 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 נִקְטַל; (*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. 'inḡātālā; 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. נִלְחַץ to thrust oneself (against), נִשְׁמַר to take heed to oneself, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to hide oneself, נִנְאֵל 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, נִנְאֵחַ 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. דִּבְּרָה 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 (נִלְחָחַם), altercari, luctari (נִנְאֵחַ 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. *פָּבַר* to be in honour, *Pi'el* to honour, *Niph.* to be honoured (as well as *Pu'al* *פָּבַר*); *פָּחַר* *Pi'el* to conceal, *Hiph.* to destroy, *Niph.* passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (*הָלָה* *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.* *נִקְטָלוּ* 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; *נִשְׂאָל* 1 Sam. 20, 6. 28, all in connexion with the perfect.

Examples of the form *הִקְטָלוּ* (in connexion with imperfects) are, *הִנְתָּן* Jer. 32, 4; *הִאָּכַל* Lev. 7, 18; once *הִאָּדַרְשׁ* Ezek. 14, 3, where, perhaps, the subsequent *אָדַרְשׁ* has led to the corruption of *א* for *ה*.—Moreover, the form *הִקְטָלוּ* 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 *בָּהִנְדָּה* Ps. 68, 3 (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent *הִנְדָּה*, but probably a 'forma mixta,' combining the readings *בָּהִנְדָּה* and *בָּהִנְדָּה*), 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 *הִקְטָלוּ*, 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 *נִקְטָלוּ*), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

- l Syncope of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּבִשְׁלוֹ Prov. 24, 17 (for בְּהַפֵּן), בְּהֵרֵג Ezek. 26, 15 and בְּעֵטָף Lam. 2, 11; also in verbs ל'ה Ex. 10, 3 (לְעֵנוֹת); 34, 24 and Is. 1, 12 (לְרֵאוֹת); in verbs ו'ע Job 33, 30 (לְאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *K'ethibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in Lam. 2, 11, as appears from comparison with Ps. 61, 3.
- 111 2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, the original *Pathah* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּזְמַל Gen. 21, 8; comp. Ex. 31, 17. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final שׁ); 17, 23 (with ק); Jon. 1, 5 (with מ); see § 29. q. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּזְכְּרֶנָּה Is. 65, 17; *Sere* occurs only in תִּעַנְנָה Ruth 1, 13, from עָנַן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּעַנְנָה; comp. even תִּאֲמַנָה Is. 60, 14.—With *Nān paragogicum* (see § 47. m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, יִלְכְּדוּן, יִלְכְּמוּן, &c., in pause יִבְהִילוּן, יִשְׁמְרוּן, &c.; but Job 19, 24 (comp. 24, 24) יִהְיֶיבוּן.
- 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'ghōl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. יִבְשֶׁל בָּהּ Ezek. 33, 12; וַיַּעֲתֶר לוֹ Gen. 25, 21; in the imperative, 13, 9.—So always לֶךְ הִשְׁמֵר לְךָ (since לְךָ counts as *one* syllable) Gen. 24, 6, &c., comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תִּעֹב אֲרִין 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. וַיִּשְׁפָּר Gen. 7, 25; וַיִּלְחֶם Num. 21, 1 and elsewhere frequently, וַיִּצְמַד 25, 3; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמֵר 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, יִפְלִט, &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*, לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gen. 21, 23, &c.
- p 4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶקְטִל is as frequent as אֶקְטִל, 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 *t* 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. *qātlā*) 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 *S^eghól*, 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, קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְנוּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qāṭāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (יִקְטַל), and *participle* (מְקַטֵּל) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *S^ewá* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; comp. the Arabic imperfect *yūqāṭīl*, participle *mūqāṭīl*.

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 *S^ewá* under it (comp. § 20. *m*), e.g. שָׁחַח for שָׁחַח Ezek. 17, 7; בָּקַשׁהוּ 2 Chron. 15, 15 (but in the *imperative* always בְּקַשׁהוּ 1 Sam. 28, 7, &c.), and so always in הִלְלוּ *praise!* The vocal character of the *S^ewá* 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 קָטַח Gen. 2, 23, with $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, comp. פָּעֵלוּ פָּעֵלוּ, &c.; Gen. 9, 14. Jud. 16, 16. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *S^ewá* 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*.

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. הֵיָהּ 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; רָשַׁן to remove the ashes (רָשָׁן), 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 כָּעִיף 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. בָּקַשׁ, *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. חָתַח in *Pi'el* to be broken in pieces, Jer. 51, 56; פָּחַח 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, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי), קָטְלוּ. In the 3rd *sing. perf.*, דִּבֶּר to *speak*, בָּפַר to *pardon*, and כָּבַם to *wash clothes* (also כָּבַם Gen. 49, 11) take *S^gghôl*, but become in *pause* דִּבֶּר, בָּפַר (2 Sam. 19, 25); the *pausal* form of כָּפַר never occurs.

m Pathah in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gen. 41, 51, נִשְׁנִי he *made me forget*, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מִנְשָׁה.

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^gghôl*, e. g. יִבְקֶשְׁלֹוּ he *seeks for himself*, Is. 40, 20; קִדְּשִׁלִי *sanctify unto me*, Ex. 13, 2. *Pausal-forms* with *S^gghôl* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחֶף 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; אֲנֹרָה 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. תִּדְבְּרוּן Ps. 58, 2 (but Gen. 32, 20 תִּדְבְּרוּן, 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 תִּקְטְלֶנָּה, forms like תִּקְטְלֶנָּה are also found, e. g. Is. 3, 16. 13, 18, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also בִּפְלֵנִי Ps. 55, 10 occurs as the 2nd *sing. imperative* (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בִּפְלַע 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 *ā* attenuated to *ʾ* as in the *perfect*), e. g. in 1 Chron. 8, 8 שְׁלַחֹוּ; probably also קָטַר Jer. 44, 21; and for the sake of *assonance* even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 (נִאֲמַתָּה). 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; וַיַּפְרָה Ps. 147, 1; with ת of the *fem.*, שְׁלַכְתָּ Is. 6, 13; before a suffix עֲדִיקְתָּהּ Ezek. 16, 52. On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. *Pa'ul* (קָטְלָהּ), see § 84*b*, No. 22.

q 4. In *Pu'al* *ā* is sometimes found instead of *ʾ* in the initial syllable, e. g. מֵאֲדָם *dyed red*, Ex. 25, 5 &c. Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7 שְׁדָדָה; 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 הַרְצִיחֵנִי. It is merely an orthographic licence when *š* is written fully, e.g. יִצְרָח Jud. 18, 29.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find נָצַח 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. אָבַל Ex. 3, 2; יִצְרָח (for מִיִצְרָח) 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 יִקְשִׁיחַ, according to § 20. *n*, stands for יִקְשִׁיחַ = מִיִקְשִׁיחַ); but, according to the Masora, *not* Ezek. 26, 17, since הִרְצִיחֵנִי 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 מִמְשִׁיחַ); Prov. 25, 19; so also in the participle *Pi'el* מִאֵן Ex. 7, 27 &c. &c. (always after אֵן, but cf. also הַמְאִינִים Jer. 13, 10) and מִהָרַר Zeph. 1, 14 (and Is. 8, 1. 3?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָבַל 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 מִרְבַּע 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 *š*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 יִהִקְטִיל and מִיִהִקְטִיל; § 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 *š* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs יִ'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 הקטילנה , תקטילנה 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.* הקטל or הקטל , *Imperf.* יקטל (syncopated from יהקטל) or יקטל , *Part.* מקטל or מקטל (from מהקטל); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הקטל . 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 \ddot{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. עָקַשׁ , 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 , צִוֵּן to be bright, to shine (to give forth lustre); opposed to הִשְׁתָּה to become dark; חָזַק , גָּבַר , אָמַן to be strong (to develop strength), עָטַף to be weak; אָרַף to be long (to acquire length); גָּבַה 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 , הִשָּׂה , סָכַת , צָמַת to be silent (*silentium facere*,

Pliny); *מתק* to be sweet; *צלה* 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; *ווד* to become boiling, to boil over; *חלה* to become ill, *חלם* to become healthy; *חכר* to come to want; *חרה* to become hot; *יבש* to become dry, to become ashamed; *יתר* to attain superiority; *סכן* to become familiar; *עור*, *קין* to become awake; *קשה* to become hard; *רנע*, *שקט* to become quiet (to keep quiet); *שמם* to be astonished. The *Hiph'il* forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: *ננש* 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: *חטא* to err; *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*, *רשע* 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 *וְאֶצְרָהּ* is to be read, as in Neh. 7, 2); *בכר* to bring forth a firstborn; *גשם* to cause to rain; *זרע* to produce seed; *ימין* (*Hiph'il* *הַיְמִין*) to go to the right, cf. *הַשְּׂמָאל* to go to the left; *פרם* to get or to have hoofs; *קרן* to get or to have horns; *שבל* to produce abortion; *שלב* to become snow-white; *שמון* to grow fat, to become fat; *שרש* to put forth roots, &c.; so also according to the ordinary acceptance *הִאֲזִיחוּ* Is. 19, 6, they have become stinking, from *אֲזַח* stinking or stench, with retention of the *א* prosthetic, § 19. *m* (but see below, letter *p*).

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: *אזן* (scarcely to prick up the ears, but) to act with the ears, to hear; comp. *לשן* 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. *הִשְׁלִיךְ* *proiecit*, *הִשְׁלָךְ* or *הִשְׁלָךְ* *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes *Hoph'al* also takes the place of a passive of *Qal*, as *נָקַם* 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{t} is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to \bar{S}^ewd (see letters *n* and *o*).

- k* 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הַקָּטִיל 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 לַעֲשֹׂת Deut. 26, 12 (which looks like an infinitive Hiph'il with syncope of the ה, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֹׂר, since elsewhere the Pi'el alone occurs with the meaning to *tithe*; for בַּעֲשֹׂר Neh. 10, 39 perhaps the inf. Qal (בַּעֲשֹׂר) 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* הַקָּטִיל 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. הַפָּצַר 1 Sam. 15, 23).—In the Aram. manner הַשְׁמַעוֹת 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{t} is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to letter *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61. 2), and הַפָּרָגִיחַ *paragogic*, e.g. הַקָּטִיבָה 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{t} (comp. Arabic *áqtíl*) is lengthened to \bar{e} , e.g. הַשְׁמֵן make fat, and becomes $\bar{S}^ghól$ before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הַסְּבִיבָה Job 22, 21.—The form הַקָּטִיל 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 הַקָּטִיל, e.g. 2 Ki. 8, 6; comp. Ps. 142, 5.—In Lam. 5, 1 הַבִּיטָה is required by the \bar{Q}^re 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{t} 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*) וַיִּגֶשׁ Jud. 6, 19; in the lesser pause וַיִּקְרָה Lam. 3, 5. Before *Maqqeph* the *Şere* becomes *S^gghöl*, e.g. וַיִּחְקְרוּבֹו Jud. 19, 4. In the plural, on the other hand, and before suffixes, *ä* remains in the forms יִקְטִילוּ, תִּקְטְלוּ, 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 וַיִּרְכּוּ Jer. 9, 2; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 Sam. 14, 22. 31, 2. 1 Chron. 10, 2; וַעֲבָרוּ Jer. 11, 15; וַאֲזַצְרָה Neh. 13, 13, if it is *Hiph'il* of אָצַר, but probably וַאֲזַצְרָה is to be read, as in 7, 2; perhaps also תִּהְרָרוּ 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 *Pr'el* = וַיַּעֲשֵׂנִי, since the *Hiph'il* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yaqtll*. 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. יִשְׁלֹם 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 תִּרְשָׁא, with *Metheg*.

5. In the *participle*, מוֹצֵא Ps. 135, 7 appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *maqtll*; 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, מְעוֹנִים 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 מוֹבְרַת Num. 5, 15, מְשַׁנֶּת Lev. 14, 21; in pause מְשַׁבֶּלֶת Prov. 19, 14.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הִכְלַמְנִי 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 אֲנִאֲלִיתִי ¹ *I have stained*, Is. 63, 3, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, letter *k*, on אֲשֵׁבִים. 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 וְהִוְנָה.

¹ Most probably, however, אֲנִאֲלִיתִי (*perfect Pr'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 וְאֲדַרְכֶם 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.

see § 69. *r*; on וַיִּשְׁמַע &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 (*qattēl*, *qattal*) the syllable הִתְ (Western Aramaic הִתְ, but in Biblical Aramaic הִתְ; Syr. *et*¹). Like the preformative הִ (הִתְ) of *Niph'al*, הִתְ 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 ס, 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 ש, 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. הִדְבַּר speaking, conversing; הִדְבַּס to be crushed, הִדְבַּר to purify oneself, הִדְבַּס to defile oneself, הִדְבַּס to act uprightly. (An exception occurs in Jud. 19, 22.) The assimilation of the ת occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנְבֵּא to prophesy, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (comp. Num. 24, 7. Ezek. 5, 13. Dan. 11, 14); הִכְנִיחַ Num. 21, 27 (comp. Is. 54, 14. Ps. 59, 5); הִכְפַּח 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 (הִדְבַּר Is. 1, 16) the ת is assimilated to the י, — unless indeed הִדְבַּר, 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. הִתְאַוֵּר to gird oneself, הִתְקַדְּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases; e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם to show oneself revengeful (*Niph.* simply to take revenge), and in the numerous instances where the

¹ So also in Hebrew הִתְחַבֵּר 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. הִתְנַדָּל *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. הִתְרְאוּ *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: הִטְמִינָה *to be defiled*, Deut. 24, 4; infinitive הִבְבַּסְתָּ *to be washed*, Lev. 13, 55-56; הִרְשִׁינָה (for הִתְרִשְׁנָה, 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 הִתְיַהֲדָה *to embrace Judaism*, from יהוד (יהודיה) *Judah*; הִצְטִיךְ *to provision oneself for a journey*, from צִדָּה *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. הִתְאַזְּקָה 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. הִתְחַבֵּם 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; הִתְחַוֶּה 1 Ki. 20, 22. Ps. 37, 4. Esth. 5, 10.—In Lev. 11, 44-

20, 7 and Ezek. 38, 23 *ř* for *ā* occurs before *š* (comp. § 44. *d*), and in the last passage before *l*. In the *perfect*, *imperfect* (with the exception of Eccles. 7, 16), and *imperative* of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpō'el*, *Hithpa'tel*, *Hithpalpēl*, § 55) the original *ā* always returns in *pause* as *Qames*, e. g. הִתְאַזַּר Ps. 93, 1; יְתַאָּבֵל Ezek. 7, 27; יְתַלְכְּבָרֵי Job 18, 8; יְתַלְכְּבָרֵי 38, 30; הִתְאַקְרָשׁוּ Jos. 3, 5; comp. Job 33, 5 and § 74. *b*. The *ā* also appears before the fuller ending *in* in the plural of the *imperfect* (comp. § 47. *m*) as in Ps. 12, 9. Job 9, 6, 16, 10.—Like the *Pi'el* הִתְקַטְּלָה (§ 52. *n*), forms occur in *Hithpa'el* like הִתְהַלְכְּבָרָה 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* הִתְחַבְּרִית occurs in Dan. 11, 23 (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הִשְׁמַעְתָּ in Ezek. 24, 26).

2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַטְּל (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. הִתְפַּקְדִי Judges 20, 15. 17, *imperfect* יְתַפַּקְדִי 20, 15. 21, 9. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְדָּה 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 אִתְּקַטְּל, Syr. אִתְּקַטְּל) and the Ethiopic *taqa'tla*, 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 *p* being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, also with the *n* transposed, occurs in הִלְתַּחֵם (on the analogy of Old Test. Hebrew to be pronounced 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, 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 *n* 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. *qūtillā*, 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 *ā*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: *participle* 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 *K^{eth}*. The *Q^{erē}* requires, without apparent reason, מְלִשְׁנִי (*m^{lōšni}*); וְרָמוּ *they have poured out*, Ps. 77, 18 (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹדְעֵתִי *I have appointed*, 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless הוֹדְעֵתִי should be read); יִסְעַר Hos. 13, 3; שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, passive שׁוֹרֵשׁ, *denominative* from שָׁרַשׁ *root* (on the other hand, שָׁרַשׁ is *to root out*); from a verb ל'ה שׁוֹשֵׁתִי Is. 10, 13; *Hithp^{āl}ēl* Jer. 25, 16. 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (*participle* מְזַאֲרִין for מְזַאֲרִין).

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 *P^{āl}ēl*) 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 עוֹיִן 1 Sam. 18, 9 *Q^{erē}* (probably for מְעוֹיִן, 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'lēl*, generally with the *ā* attenuated to *ī*=*P^{īl}ēl* (*P^{īl}al*), קָטַל and קָטַל; the *ē* in the final syllable also arises from *ī*, and this again from *ā*; passive *Pu'al* קָטַל, reflexive *Hithpa'lēl* הִתְקַטַּל, like the Arabic conjugations IX. 'iqṭāllā and XI. 'iqṭāllā, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; comp. שָׁאֲנַן *to be at rest*, רַעֲנַן *to be green*, passive אֶמְלַל *to be withered*, all of them found only in the *perfect* and with no corresponding *Qal* form. (For the barbarous form צִפְתַּתוֹנִי Ps. 88, 17 read צִפְתַּתוֹנִי; for נִפְלַל Ezek. 28, 23, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נִפְלַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע'ע, where they take the place of *P^{āl}ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 72. m). Comp. also § 75. kk.

e 3. *P^{ea'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 הִצְוֹצַר *a trumpet*, but only in the *participle*, 1 Chron. 15, 24 &c. *K^{eth}*.) for הִצְרַצַּר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ā* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ā* to *o*. On the other hand, for the meaningless הִבְּוִי Hos. 4, 18 (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for הִבְּוִי read הִבְּוִי, and for the equally meaningless יִפְּיִתָּהּ Ps. 45, 3 read יִפְּיִתָּהּ). 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^{ea'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*; *פָּלַל* from *פָּיל*, passive *פָּלַל*; reflexive *הִתְנַלְּל* to roll oneself down; comp. also *טָאטָא* (so Baer after Qimhi; others *טָאטָא*) Is. 14, 23, and with *א* in both syllables owing to the influence of *ר*, *קָרָר* from *קור* Num. 24, 17 (comp. however, in the parallel passage, Jer. 48, 45 *קָרָר*) 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 *מְלַצִּים* (comp. § 52. s), and *סָאסָא* Is. 27, 8, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive סָאסָא*; perhaps also *שָׂשָׂא* Ezek. 39, 2 for *שָׂאשָׂא*. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound¹, e. g. *צָפְצָף* to chirp; comp. in the *Lexicon* the nouns derived from *נָרַר*, *עוּף*, and *צָלַל*.

As *Hithpalpel* we find *יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן* Nah. 2, 5; *וַיְתַחֲלַחַל* Esth. 4, 4; *וַיְתַמְרַמַּר* *ג* Dan. 8, 7. 11, 11. Of the same form is *אָרְדָּה* Is. 38, 15, if contracted from *אָתְרִידָה* or *אתרירדה* (from the root *דו* or *רו*), and also *הִתְמַמְהוּ* tarry ye, Is. 29, 9, *וַיְתַמְהֶמָה* (in pause) Gen. 19, 16 &c., if it is to be derived from *מַהֶה*.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el'*): *תַּקְטַל*, with *ת* prefixed, comp. *תִּרְנַלְתִּי* to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from *רְגַל* a foot?) Hos. 11, 3; from a stem *ל'ה*, the imperfect *יִתְחַרְהוּ* to contend with, Jer. 12, 5; *participle*, 22, 15 (from *חַרְהוּ* to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, *תַּרְגַּם* to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive *participle* *מִתְרַגֵּם* Ezr. 4, 7.

6. *Šaph'el*: *שִׁקְטַל*, frequent in Syriac, e. g. *שִׁלְהַב* from *להב* to flame; whence in Hebrew *שִׁלְהַבַת* flame. Perhaps of the same form is *שִׁבְלֹל* a snail (unless it be from the stem *שבל*), and *שִׁקְעוּרֹת* hollow strakes, comp. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the *ה*, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant.

* * *

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

7. *קָטַלַט*, passive *קָטַלַט*; as *מִחְסָפָם* peeled off, like scales, Ex. 16, 4, from *חָסַף*, *חָשַׁף* to peel, to scale.

8. *קָטַקַל*, in *וַרְוִיף* a sudden shower of rain, from *רָף*.

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, *דָּקַדַק* to pound, *טָפַף* to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e. g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln*, *-ern*, e. g. *flimmern*, *trillern*, *tröpfeln*, to trickle.

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 **וְנִתְוַפְּרוּ** for **וְנִתְוַפְּרוּ** *that they may be taught*, Ezek. 23, 48; **נִפְּטָר** probably an error for **הִתְפַּחַר** *to be forgiven*, Deut. 21, 8. On **נִשְׁתַּוָּה** 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*: **פָּרַסָם**, *imperfect יִכְרַסְמֶנָה* *he doth ravage it*, Ps. 80, 14 from **פָּרַסָם**, comp. **נָוַם**. *Passive הִתְפַּשׂ* *to grow fresh again*, Job 33, 25. *Participle מְכַרְבֵּל* *girt, clothed* (comp. Aramaic **כַּבַּל** *to bind*) 1 Chron. 15, 27. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals **פָּרַשׂוּ** 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 **פָּרַשׂ** *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first **שׁ** to **שׁ**, and the second to **וּ**. Moreover, the reading **פָּרַשׂוּ** 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*: **הִשְׁמַאל**, by syncope **הִשְׁמַאִיל** and **הִשְׁמַיִל** *to turn to the left* (denom. from **שְׂמאל**) Gen. 13, 9. Is. 30, 21, and elsewhere. On **הִאֲוִיָּהוּ** 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 (**הִתְנַחַל** *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. הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ 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. ׁ	ׁ (in pause ׁ־, also ׁ־)	ׁ thee.
f. ׁ	ׁ־ ׁ־, rarely ׁ־	ׁ
3. m. הִי, ם	הִי, ם (הִי)	הִי him.
f. הִי	הִי	הִי her.
Plur. 1. com. נו	נו	נו us (nos).
2. m. ׁם	ׁם	ׁם you (vos).
f. ³		
3. m. ׁם, ׁם	ׁם (from ׁם־), ׁם־	ׁם (from ׁם־) eos.
poet. ׁם	ׁם	ׁם
f. ׁ	ׁ, ׁ־	. . . . .³ eas.

¹ On the cases where תָּנִי 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 תָּנִי (themselves) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex. 5, 19 תָּנִי after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of themselves.

³ ׁ occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Dent. 32, 26, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, ׁ from ׁ־ is to be read), while the forms ׁ (2nd f. pl.) and ׁ־ and ׁ־ (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, וְנ, 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, מְּ and מְּ 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 וְ (see § 7. *c*). In the feminine, the suffix וְ should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (comp. below, letter *f*, note), as וְ or וְ, on the analogy of *āhū*; instead of וְ, however, it was simply pronounced וְ, with the rejection of the final vowel, and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to וְ 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 וְ, וְ, וְ (only after *ē*), וְ, (מְ) מ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. וְ; וְ; וְ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get וְ, pronounced *q^etallū*; cf. § 8. *m*.

f (*b*) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*¹ (וְ, וְ), 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. וְ, וְ, וְ; and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g. וְ, וְ, וְ; 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 וְ (comp., however, § 60. *d*). With וְ, מְ, 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. וְ. 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 , דָּבַף , e.g. $\text{קָטַף$ (*q^otāl^okhā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, קָטַף , e.g. קָטַף . In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ā*) reappears as *Sghōl* 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 *ā* 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 *i*); *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. plur. 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 nonn-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 (*ān*) is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) 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 *Nūn* 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^eghól*. 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. יְבָרֵךְ־נָהוּ *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15, comp. Jer. 5, 22), יִכְבֹּד־נִנְי *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23); rarely in the perfect, Deut. 24, 13. On examples like וְנִנְי 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. וְנִי (even in pause, Job 7, 14 and elsewhere), וְנִי (for וְנִי, וְנִי).

2nd pers. וְנִי (Jer. 22, 24 in pause וְנִי) and, only orthographically different,

וְנִי (Is. 10, 24. Prov. 2, 11 in pause).

3rd pers. וְנִי (for וְנִי)², fem. וְנִי for וְנִי.

[1st pers. plur. וְנִי (for וְנִי), 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 וְנִי as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Job 31, 15 (but hardly in Hos. 12, 5); comp. הִנֵּנוּ *behold us*, Gen. 44, 16. 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for הִנֵּנוּ.—In Ezek. 4, 12 the Masora requires הִנֵּנוּ, 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 וְנִי = וְנִי 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 תְּ we find תִּ, to which the connecting vowel is closely attached, but the only clear instances of this are with נִי־¹.

(c) 2nd *sing. fem.* תִּי, the original form of תִּי; comp. תִּי, תִּי, § 32. f; § 44. g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd *plur. masc.* תִּי for תִּי, a change which is explained by the Arabic 'antum, qatallum², Aram. תִּי, תִּי for Heb. תִּי, תִּי (§ 32. i). The only examples are Num. 20, 5. 21, 5. Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* תִּי 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 *b* 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. <i>m.</i> תִּי		3. <i>c.</i> תִּי
3. <i>f.</i> תִּי		2. <i>m.</i> תִּי
2. <i>m.</i> תִּי, תִּי		1. <i>c.</i> תִּי
2. <i>f.</i> תִּי, תִּי		
1. <i>c.</i> תִּי		

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 *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see 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 *Šewā*; (b) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the 3rd *sing. fem.* and 3rd *plur.* had become *Šewā*, now reappears, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is even

¹ Even here it is extremely probable that the *ā* 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 *tumā*.

lengthened to *Qames*; similarly original *i* (as in the 3rd *sing. masc. without* a suffix) reappears, and is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. אֶהְבֵּךְ 1 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> קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתְּ, 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'ghol*, and sometimes into *vocal Š'wā*.

e Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. קָמְתֶם and הָמְתֶם, 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 קָמְתִי and הָמְתִי) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect קָמְתֶם alone occurs, Ps. 118, 26. The form קָטַלְתֶם which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd *sing. masc.* before קָמְתֶם and קָמְתִי is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the Old Testament.

f 2. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ (especially in verbs ל'ה; in the strong verb only in Jer. 20, 15 in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קָטַלְו, according to § 23. *k*; likewise in the 2nd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ to קָטַלְתִּי.—As a suffix of the 1st *sing.* קָטַלְתִּי 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 הָרַנִּי Job 30, 19; עָנְנִי 1 Sam. 28, 15 (where, however, the reading עָנְנִי is also found).

g 3. The 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטַלְתְּ (= קָטַלְתְּ) 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, הָ, 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. אֶהְבֵּךְ, אֶהְבֵּכֶם, e.g. אֶהְבֵּכֶם she loves thee, Ruth 4, 15; אֶהְבֵּכֶם she has stolen them, Gen. 31, 32; אֶהְבֵּכֶם it burns them, Is. 47, 14. Jos. 2, 6. Hos. 2, 14. Ps. 48, 7. For אֶהְבֵּכֶם, אֶהְבֵּכֶם

¹ אֶהְבֵּכֶם Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. אֶהְבֵּכֶם 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 תַּבְּלִתְךָ, *she was in travail with thee*, in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The form קָטַלְתָּ (e. g. Ruth 4, 15) has arisen, through the loss of the ה and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נָחַץ and נָחַץ for נָחַץ and נָחַץ, 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 קָטַלְתָּהּ; comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6. Is. 34, 17. Jer. 49, 24. Ruth 3, 6; in *pause* Ezek. 14, 15, always, on the authority of Qimhi, 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. עֹבַדְתָּנִי Ps. 22, 2; Jud. 1, 15 (with *Zaqeph qaton*); comp., however, also יִצְרַפְתָּנִי Ps. 17, 3 with *Mer'kha*.—In the 2nd *sing. fem.* תִּי— is also written defectively, רָמִיתָנִי 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 וַיִּפְרָנִי is probably intended as an *imperfect*.

5. In verbs *middle e*, the *e* remains even before suffixes (see above, letter *c*), e. g. אָהַבְתָּהוּ 1 Sam. 18, 28, comp. 18, 22; יִרְאוּהוּ Job 37, 24. From a verb *middle o* there occurs יִבְלַתִּי *I have prevailed against him*, Ps. 13, 5, from בָּלַל 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'wā*), 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, בָּךְ, however, it is shortened to *ō* (*Qames-hatuph*), e. g. יִשְׁמְרְךָ (but in *pause* יִשְׁמְרְךָ or יִשְׁמְרְךָ; with *Nún energicum*, see § 58. 4), &c. Instead of תַּקְטִילְנָה, the form יִתְקַטְלוּ 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 וַתִּקְרְבוּ is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וַיִּקְרְבוּ, intended to suggest the reading וַתִּקְרְבוּ, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצָמוֹת.

- b* Rem. 1. יְחַבְּרֶהָ Ps. 94, 20 is an anomalous form for יִחַבְּרֶהָ (comp. the analogous יִחַבְּרֶהָ § 67. *n*) and יִפְנֹשֶׁף (so Baer; others יִפְנֹשֶׁף) Gen. 32, 18 for יִפְנֹשֶׁף. To the same category as יִחַבְּרֶהָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תִּעְבְּדֶם (from תִּעְבֹּד), Ex. 20, 5, 23, 24. Deut. 5, 9, and נִעְבַּר 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 יִעְבְּדֶנִּי)? 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; וַיִּנְאֲלוּהוּ 3, 5; וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Jos. 8, 3; וַיִּקְרָאוּ Ps. 145, 18; but also וַיִּקְרָאוּ 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. תִּבְרַכְנִי Gen. 19, 19, comp. 29, 32. Ex. 33, 20. Num. 22, 33. 1 Ki. 2, 24 *Qere*, Is. 56, 3. Job 9, 18; also נִי, Gen. 27, 19. Job 7, 14. 9, 34. 13, 21 (in principal *pause*); וַיִּבְרָהָ Gen. 37, 33, comp. 16, 7. 2 Sam. 11, 27. Is. 26, 5. Job 28, 27. 1 Chron. 20, 2; וַיִּבְרָנוּ Is. 63, 16 (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיִּרְעֲנוּ); וַיִּלְבְּשֵׁם Ex. 29, 30, comp. 2, 17. Num. 21, 30. Deut. 7, 15. Ps. 74, 8; even וַיִּמְלֵם 118, 10–12; וַיִּוֹשִׁיעֵן Ex. 2, 17, and וַיִּחַיְתֶן Hab. 2, 17 (where, however, the old versions read וַיִּחַיְתֶךָ); even וַיִּרְדְּפוּ (*o* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3; comp. Ex. 22, 29, Jos. 2, 4. 1 Sam. 18, 1 *Keth.*, 21, 14 (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 Sam. 14, 6 (where it would be better to read וַיִּכְפוּ, or with the old versions וַיִּוּי); Jer. 23, 6 (see § 74. *e*). Ps. 35, 8. Eccles. 4, 12.—On pausal *Seghôl* for *Šere* in וַיִּאֲבָרְכֶם Gen. 48, 9 and וַיִּתְאַבְּרֶהוּ (so Baer, but not ed. Mant.) Jud. 16, 6, see § 29. *q*.
- e* 3. Suffixes are sometimes also appended to the plural forms in וַי, e. g. תִּבְרַכְנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Job 19, 2; וַיִּשְׁרַתְנֶנָּה (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is. 60, 7. 10; Prov. 5, 22 (*i*); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; וַיִּקְרָאֲנִי with two other examples Prov. 1, 28. Hos. 5, 15; comp. וַיִּקְרָה Ps. 63, 4. 91, 12; וַיִּקְרָהוּ Jer. 5, 22; וַיִּקְרָה Jer. 2, 24 — all in principal *pause*.
- f* 4. In *Pi'el*, *Pö'el*, and *Po'el*, the *Šere* of the final syllable, like the *o* in *Qal*, becomes vocal *Šewâ*; but before the suffixes וַי and וַיִּ it is shortened to *Seghôl*, e. g. וַיִּקְבְּצֶהָ Deut. 30, 4. Ps. 34, 12. Is. 51, 2. With a final guttural, however, *o* is retained in the tone-syllable וַיִּשְׁבְּחֶךָ Gen. 32, 27; also Prov. 4, 8, where with *Qimhî* תִּבְרַכְּךָ is to be read; an analogous case in *Hiph'el* is וַיִּנְדְּרֶהָ Deut. 32, 7. Less frequently *Šere* is sharpened into *Hireq*, e. g. וַיִּאֲמַצְכֶם Job 16, 5, comp. Ex. 31, 13. Is. 1, 15. 52, 12; so in *Po'el*, Is. 25, 1. Ps. 30, 2. 37, 34. 145, 1, and probably also in *Qal* וַיִּסְפַּד 1 Sam. 15, 6; comp. § 68. *h*.
- g* 5. In *Hiph'el* the long *i* 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 וַיִּוְשַׁעַן occurs immediately after); 39, 18. 20. 1 Sam. 6, 10 (where also בְּנִיָּהֶם is for בְּנִיָּהֶן, 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. לְרִשְׁנִי 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 *qōl*, the short vowel returning to the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūlūl*, see § 46. a). The result is, as a rule, a half-closed syllable, e. g. בְּכַתְּבוֹ in his writing, Jer. 45, 1, not כֹּתְבוֹ *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 הֶ־ and כֶּ־ also the syllable is completely closed, e. g. פְּאַסְפְּךָ Ex. 23, 16. Lev. 23, 39 (but in pause לְהַרְגֶךָ 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), § 84a, 1; § 93. g.

Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the *imperfect* *b* of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qūl*, before suffixes, e. g. בְּכַתְּבוֹ Ex. 21, 8; מְכַרְם Am. 2, 6 (but מְכַרְהָ Ex. 21, 8), נִפְלוֹ 2 Sam. 1, 10 (but נִפְלוֹ 1 Sam. 29, 3), שָׁבְרִי 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 שְׁכַבְּךָ and שְׁכַבְּוֹ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qat̄l*, as וַעֲפּוֹ Jon. 1, 15 (and, with the syllable only half closed, בַּעֲפּוֹ Jud. 13, 25), רַקַּעְךָ Ezek. 25, 6; sometimes *qūl*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially verbs third guttural; as בְּטַחְךָ, בְּלַעִי, בְּקַעַם, בְּנַעֵו, בְּנַעֵו, בְּנַחִי.—Contrary to § 58. f נִי־ (1 Chron. 12, 17) and נִי־ (Ex. 14, 11) are found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי־ and נִי־. On רדופי *my following*

Ps. 38, 21, for which the *Q^rē* requires **רָפִי**, comp. the analogous examples in § 46. *e*.

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; **עֲמַרְךָ** (others **עֲמַרְךָ**)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 **קִצְרְתֶּךָ** *your harvesting*, Lev. 19, 23, 22 (with a return of the original *ā*), and **כִּי־אֲסַפְתֶּם** (read *mōss^ekhēm*) *your despising*, Is. 30, 12; comp. Deut. 20, 2; on **בְּמַצְאֵיכֶם** Gen. 32, 20 (for **בְּמַצְיֶיךָ**), see § 74. *h*.

e Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, **הִשְׁמַרְךָ** Ex. 14, 18; **הִשְׁמַרְךָ** Deut. 28, 20 (in *pause*, **הִשְׁמַרְךָ** verse 24); **הִשְׁפֹּטוּ** Ps. 37, 33; **הִזְכַּרְתֶּם** Ezek. 21, 29; **הִשְׁמַרְתֶּם** Deut. 7, 23. In the *infinitive* of *P^rēl* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60. *f*) the *ē* before the suff. **ִי**; **ִם** becomes *S^eghōl*, e. g. **רָפְרַךְ** Ex. 4, 10, and with a sharpening to *ʾ* **פָּרַשְׁתֶּם** Is. 1, 15 (see § 60. *f*). In the *infinitive Pō'el*, **בּוֹשְׁתֶּם** occurs (with *a* for *ē* or *ʾ*) 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 *qū!ūl*). In the *imperative* also *ō* stands in a half-closed syllable, e. g. **כֹּחְתֶּם** *kōth^h bhēm* (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 **קָטַלְתָּה**, the masc. form **קָטַלְתָּ** 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 *Qames* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60. *c*), e. g. **שְׁלַחֵנִי** *send me*, Is. 6, 8, **בְּהַגְנִי** Ps. 26, 2, **קְרֵאֵנִי** Ps. 50, 15, **שְׁמַעֵנִי** 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^rrēnī* required by the Masora in Ps. 16, 1 (also **שְׁמַרְתָּ** Ps. 86, 2. 119, 167; comp. Is. 38, 14 and **עֲמַרְךָ** 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 *Qames 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 קָהָם-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 \bar{e} on account of the open syllable, comp. § 60. *g*), e. g. הַקְרִיבֵהּ *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 \bar{S}^{ewa} before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתָּ, &c.; but before \bar{S}^{ewa} mobile קָטַלְתָּ, &c., or with sharpening קָטַלְתָּ Ex. 23, 4 and elsewhere, קָטַלְתָּ 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 (קָטַלְתָּ), קָטַלְתָּ; with a third guttural, קָטַלְתָּ Is. 43, 1, but קָטַלְתָּ, comp. § 65. *d*. The form קָטַלְתָּ, with suffix קָטַלְתָּ; before \bar{S}^{ewa} sometimes like קָטַלְתָּ Is. 48, 17, מְנַחֲמֶם 51, 12, sometimes like מְאַסְפֶם 52, 12. In Is. 47, 10, רָאִי is irregular for רָאִי; instead of the quite meaningless מְקַלְלֵי Jer. 15, 10, the true reading is קְלָלֵי.

§ 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 יִהְמוּ, whilst elsewhere it is attenuated to \bar{i} , יִקְטִל.—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.

a 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 קָטַל and קָטַלְתֶּם, and אָבָל to קָטַל, and so always with initial א before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22. o.

b 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*.

c 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, יָחַשֵׁף, יָעַקֵב Jer. 9, 3 (probably to distinguish it from the name יָעַקֵב, 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 נ of the *perfect Niph'al*: נָחַצְתָּ 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*;

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 א' פ' the *infinitive construct and imperative* take *Hateph-Seghol* in the first syllable (according to § 22. o), e. g. אָזַר *gird thou*, Job 38, 3, אָהַב *love thou*, Hos. 3, 1, אָחַז *seize thou*, Ex. 4, 4 (on אָפַי *bake ye*, Ex. 16, 23, see § 76. d); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix אָחַז, אָכַל, אָבַל Is. 5, 24; אָהַב Eccles. 3, 8. Sometimes, however, *Hateph-Pathah* is found as well, e. g. *infinitive* אָחַז 1 Ki. 6, 6; אָכַל האֵשׁ Num. 26, 10 (before a suffix אָכַלְךָ § 61. d); comp. Deut. 7, 20. 12, 23. Ezek. 25, 8. Ps. 102, 5. Prov. 25, 7 (אָמַרְךָ), Job 34, 18, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל comp. אָחַזְתָּ Is. 30, 2; אָחַזְתָּ 30, 14. Hag. 2, 16; אָחַזְתָּ Ex. 31, 4, &c.; אָחַזְתָּ 2 Sam. 18, 3 *Qere*, but also אָחַזְתָּ 1 Chron. 15, 26.

k הִתְהַדְּרִיתִי Jud. 9, 9. 11. 13 is altogether anomalous. According to Qimhi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הִתְהַדְּרִיתִי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of הִתְהַדְּרִיתִי nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הִתְהַדְּרִיתִי. But since the *Qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in הִתְהַדְּרִיתִי, without the ה interrogative, it was weakened, not to simple *Sewa*, but to --- , in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *o*) at least in a shortened form. The *Seghol* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100. n (comp. the similar pointing of the article, e. g. in הִתְהַדְּרִיתִים, § 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. אָסַף *gather thou*, Num. 11, 16; אָרְבָּה *set in order*, Job 33, 5; אָשַׁף *strip off*, Is. 47, 2 (comp. on this irregular *Dageš* § 46. d), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e. g. אָהַב Am. 5, 15. Ps. 31, 24; comp. Zech. 8, 19; אָחַז Cant. 2, 15; comp. also in verbs אָנַח *sing ye*, Num. 21, 17. Ps. 147, 7 (compared with אָנַח *answer ye*, 1 Sam. 12, 3) and אָלִי Joel 1, 8.—*Pathah* occurs in אָחַזְתָּ *hold him in pledge*, Prov. 20, 16, and probably also in Ps. 9, 14 (אָחַזְתָּ).—As a pausal form for אָחַזְתָּ (comp. the *plur.* Jer. 2, 12) we

¹ אָעֲמֵד Job 19, 7 (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read אָעֲמֵד, with Baer.

find in Is. 44, 27 חֲרַבִּי (comp. the imperf. יִחַרַב) with a repetition of the *h* 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. יִחַדְלָם, יִחַבְּסוּ) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time *h*'s, e. g. יִחַדְּהוּ &c. (but comp. יִחַדְּהוּ &c., יִחַדְּהוּ Prov. 6, 27, יִחַדְּהוּ ed. Mant., Ex. 3, 20). Even in the strong verb יִחַדְּהוּ is found along with יִחַדְּהוּ. Comp. also וַיַּעֲנֵב Ezek. 23, 5; וַיַּעֲקֵבֵנִי Gen. 27, 36 (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעֲקֵבֵנִי); וַיַּחֲלִקְסוּ Neh. 9, 22, and so always in the imperfect *Qal* of עוֹר with suffixes, Gen. 49, 25 &c.—וַיַּחֲבֹבוּ Prov. 1, 22 (for וַיַּחֲבֹבוּ) 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 בְּאֵר, בְּאֵר, § 93. *t*.—On יִחַדְּהוּ Ps. 94, 20 for יִחַדְּהוּ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) comp. § 60. *b*.

יִחַדְּהוּ Ps. 58, 5 and יַעֲרֵם 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 וַיַּחֲלִקְסוּ (so ed. Mant.; Baer as in 24, 3) 1 Chron. 23, 6 and וַיַּחֲוֶה 24, 3 the *Qal* וַיַּחֲלִקְסוּ is to be read. The form יִרְדֶּה 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* (יִרְדֶּה) and *Pi'el* (יִרְדֶּה), can only be understood as a development of יִרְדֶּה (comp. § 64. *h* and § 69. *x* on וַיַּחֲלִקְסוּ Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in וַיַּשְׁמַעְתָּ § 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. וַיַּעֲמִדְתָּ, but וַיַּעֲמִדְתָּ Num. 3, 6. 8, 13. 27, 19; וַיַּעֲבִרְתִּי, but וַיַּעֲבִרְתִּי Jer. 15, 14. Ezek. 20, 37; even in the 3rd sing. וַיַּחֲוִין 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 וַיַּעֲתִיר; verse 5 וַיַּעֲתִיר; 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; וַיַּעֲבִרְתָּ Jos. 7, 7, וַיַּעֲלֶה Hab. 1, 15, וַיַּעֲלֶה Jud. 6, 28. 2 Chron. 20, 34. Nah. 2, 8. On a further case of this kind (וַיַּעֲמֶה) see § 64. *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qāḏl*; comp. § 93. *q*, and (on וַיַּחֲוִין &c. for וַיַּחֲוִין) § 84 *a*, III. 12. On the *Hoph'al* וַיַּעֲבִרְתָּ 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 יִחִיָּה, *Niph'al* נִהְיֶה;

but in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִחִייה (2nd plur. וְהִחִיתֶם Jos. 2, 13, and even without *wāw consecutive*, Jud. 8, 19). Initial ה always has *Haṭeph-S^ghōl* instead of *vocal Š^ewā*; הִיָּה, הִיֹּת, הִיֹּתֶם 1 Sam. 25, 7, הִיָּתָם (except הִיָּי be thou! fem. Gen. 24, 60). The 2nd sing. fem. *imperative* of חִיָּה is חִיִּי live thou, Ezek. 16, 6; the infinitive, with suffix, חִיֹּתֶם Jos. 5, 8. After the prefixes ה, כ, 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, חִיֹּת &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 *Haṭeph*, and almost always *Haṭeph-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 *Haṭeph-Pathah*, since the syllable is only half closed, thus, וְשַׁחַטוּ, &c.; in אֶחָבּוּ the preference of the א for *S^ghōl* (but cf. also אֶחָבּוּהָ Jer. 13, 21) has caused the change from ä to ě; in שָׁחַטְרֵי Job 6, 22, the י remains even before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e. g. אֶחָבּוּהָ to love, דִּבְרָאֵהָ to pine; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְכַעֲדָהָ Is. 9, 6; to the same form also belongs, according to König, שָׁחַטָה 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 *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal*, both in the *construct* שָׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction of the *o* רַחַצָּה and רַחַצָּה, comp. § 45. b) and in the *absolute* שָׁחַט, but also, for the most part, the *Sere* 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'il* 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; *אָחַז* Ex. 4, 4. 2 Sam. 2, 21, *fem.* *אָחַזְי* Ruth 3, 15 (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Hateph-Qames*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* *אָחַזוּ* Neh. 7, 3; without the *pause* *אָחַזוּ* 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, *פָּנַח*, *בָּחַר*, *פָּחַט*); 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 *Dages 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, *יִבְעַרְתִּי* 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, נָאָז 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 שָׂאָשׁ Eccles. 2, 20, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאָה Job 33, 21, comp. § 14. d.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׂאָל to ask, to beg, some forms of the perfect *Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form middle *e*, comp. שָׂאָלָךְ Gen. 32, 18. Jud. 4, 20; שָׂאָלוּנִי Ps. 137, 3; שָׂאָלוּם 1 Sam. 12, 13. 25, 5. Job 21, 29; שָׂאָלוּתִיהוּ Jud. 13, 6. 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph'il* הִשְׂאָלוּתִיהוּ 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. לְשֵׁרֶת שָׂם 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, וַיִּגְרֹשׁ 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 וְאֶחְרָה); in the perfect *Pi'el* אָחַרוּ Jud. 5, 28 (perhaps primarily for אֶחְרוּ; according to Gen. 34, 19 אֶחְרוּ would be expected), and similarly יִהְיֶמְתְּנִי Ps. 51, 7 for יִהְיֶמְתְּנִי; in the imperative *Pi'el* קָרַב 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 הִנְחַת Joel 4, 11.

i 4. As infinitive *Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֵשׂ Ezr. 8, 1, and elsewhere, with a firmly closed syllable, also the participle מְתַיַחֵשׂ Neh. 7, 64; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׂ &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וְנִשְׂאָר Ezek. 9, 8 (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִשְׂאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִשְׂאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וְנִשְׂאָר (*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 *Pi'el* appears to be intended by the Masora (*y^{tho}rēkhū* with an irregular shortening of the *ö* for 'יתאר'; comp. מְלִשְׁנִי Ps. 101, 5 *Qere*); on the other hand Qimhī, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pi'el*, *y^{thā}rēkhū* with an irregular --- for --- , as in the reading אֶלְקָטָה 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* הַשְׁלִיחַ, *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 וְנָעוּ 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.* (חֲסַלְתָּ *Q'el*); 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 *d* forms שְׁלַח (with suff. שְׁלַחִי, but שְׁלַחְךָ) מְשַׁלֵּחַ (with suff. מְשַׁלֵּחְךָ) and מְשַׁלֵּעַ 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. רָקַע 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, תָּמַהּ to be astonished, מָרַהּ (only in *Hithpalpel*) to delay.

(elsewhere הִטְבַּע Jer. 7, 9, 12, 16 twice, in each case without the pause); תִּבְקַע Hab. 3, 9, with תִּבְקַע Ezek. 13, 11; בִּלְע to devour Hab. 1, 13. Num. 4, 20 with בִּלְע 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 שִׁלַּח , except לְשַׁלַּח Ex. 10, 4.— יִבַּח Hab. 1, 16 has \bar{e} , though not in *pause*, and even וַיִּבַּח 2 Ki. 16, 4. 2 Chron. 28, 4; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* $\text{הִאֲבִיחָה$ Ezek. 21, 11; *jussive Pi'el* תִּאֲחָר Ps. 40, 18; comp. § 52. *n*. An example of \bar{a} in the *imperative Pi'el* under the influence of a final \bar{r} is פַּתְרֵהוּ Job 36, 2, in the *imperfect Niph'al* וַתַּעְצֵר Num. 17, 13, &c.—In יִפְרַח 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 prosper thou, יִבְטַח let him make to trust, וַיִּצְמַח and he made to grow (so in *Hithpalpel* וַיִּחַמְּכֵהוּ , &c., Hab. 2, 3); even in *pause* וַיִּצְלַח 1 Chron. 29, 23 (but also with the pausal lengthening of the \bar{a} to \bar{a} וַיִּזְכַּח 1 Chron. 12, 17); $\text{וַיִּשְׁעֶבְדְּכֶם}$ Is. 35, 4 is to be emended into וַיִּשְׁעֵן (= וַיִּוִּשְׁעֵן).—In the *infinitive absolute Sere* remains, e. g. $\text{הִנְבִּיחָה$ 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'wá* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e. g. שָׁלַחְתִּי שָׁלַחְתָּהּ . But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *S'wá*, שָׁכַחְתְּ 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'wá* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e. g. יָדַעְתִּיךָ we know thee, Hos. 8, 2 (comp. Gen. 26, 29. Ps. 44, 18. 132, 6). Before the *suffixes* ךָ and כֶּם , the guttural must have ָ , e. g. אֶשְׁלַחְךָ I will send thee, 1 Sam. 16, 1; וַאֲשַׁלְּחֶךָ 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. נָשַׁב 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* נָשׂוּ, *infinitive* properly נָשׂוּ, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ת to the segholate form נָשׂוּת¹; with *suffix* נָשׂוּתָהּ Gen. 33, 3; with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַעַתּוּ *to touch*, *imperfect* נָגַעַתּוּ, *infinitive* נָגַעַתּוּ (also נָגַעַתּוּ, see below); נָטַעַתּוּ *to plant*, *infinitive* נָטַעַתּוּ (also נָטַעַתּוּ, 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 *o* in the *imperfect*, e. g. נָפַל *to fall*, *imperfect* יָפַל, *infinitive* נָפַל, with *suffix* יָפַלְתָּ, also יָפַלְתָּ; נָפַדְתָּ Num. 6, 2 and elsewhere; comp., moreover, לָנָעַתּוּ Gen. 20, 6 and elsewhere, וְנָנְעוּ Ex. 19, 12 (even לָנָעוּ Job 6, 7; comp. Jer. 1, 10); with *suffix* בְּנָנְעוּ Lev. 15, 23. Also לָנָעַתּוּ Is. 51, 16 (but לָנָעַתּוּ Eccles. 3, 2); נָשָׂא Is. 1, 14. 18, 3; with *suffix* בְּנָשָׂא Ps. 28, 2 (elsewhere שָׂאתָ, comp. § 74. *i* and § 76. *b*), לָנָשָׂקָּ 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* נָשׂוּ (frequently with *paragogic a*, נָשׂוּהָ; before *Maqqeph* also נָשׂוּ Gen. 19, 9), *plur.* נָשׂוּוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *o*, נָשׂוּ Ruth 2, 14 (with *retarding* *Metheg* in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29. *e*, before הָלַם) and נָשׂוּ Jos. 3, 9 (before הָנָה). 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* יָנְהַג, without assimilation of the Nûn); comp. also the verbs נָהַל, which are at the same time נָהַל; נָהַל Ezek. 32, 18, נָהַל Ex. 32, 34, נָהַל Ex. 8, 1 and elsewhere; the verb נָשָׂא Ps. 10, 12 (usually נָשָׂא). Here also the *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *o* 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*; יִיָּאֵשׁ for *yingaš*; יִיָּתֵן 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* נִיָּאֵשׁ for *ningaš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִיָּיֵשׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuš*, in a sharpened syllable, comp. § 9. *n*) הִיָּיֵשׁ.

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

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

e The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a preformative is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פִּי' (§ 71), and even in verbs עִ'ע' (§ 67). The *infinitive* תִּשָּׁט and the *imperative* שִׁט, also נִשָּׂט (Gen. 19, 9) and יִתֵּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פִּ' (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, קַח, and יִקַּחַת, from לָקַח *to take*, see letter *g*.—In יִקֹּם (*imperfect Niph'al* of קָם), and in similar forms of verbs עִ'ע' (§ 72), the full writing of the *š* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָם, &c.—Also אָפַק (Ps. 139, 8) is not to be derived from נָסַק, but stands for אָפַקַק (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 יִנְצַר (without the *pause* יִצַר 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 לָנַפַל Num. 5, 22 read לְנַפַל, according to § 53. *q*. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e. g. יִנְחַל *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יִחַת (also יִנְחַת) *he will descend*, Jer. 21, 13 (even יִחַתת 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 פִּ' (§ 19. *d*). Hence

¹ Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פִּ'פִּ', פִּ'פִּ', פִּ'פִּ', in the *Revue des études Juives*, xxvii. 136 sqq.

² An imperfect in *a* (יִיָּשׁ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

imperfect Qal קָח, cohortative (§ 20. *m*) אֲקַח, *imperative* קַח, in *pause* and before *suffixes* קַח (on אֲקַח־נָפִי Gen. 48, 9, see § 61. *g*), *paragogic form* קַח־י; קַח־י, &c. (but comp. also לָקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ezek. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16, לָקַח־י 1 Ki. 17, 11); *infinitive construct* קַחַת (once קַחַת 2 Ki. 12, 9, comp. § 93. *h*); with לְ, לְקַחַת; with *suffix* קַח־י; *Hoph'al* (comp., however, § 53. *u*) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always יִקַּח־י.—On קַח Ezek. 17, 5 and קַח־י 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* (יָתַן for *yintēn*; יָתַן only in Jud. 16, 5, elsewhere before *Maqqeph* יָתַן, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* יָתַן or (very frequently) נָתַן, which the Masora must intend even in Ps. 8, 2, although the text is certainly corrupt; before *Maqqeph* יָתַן, *fem.* יָתַנִּי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nūn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; יָתַנִּי for *nāthānī*, יָתַנִּי or, very frequently, יָתַנִּי, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nūn* (comp. § 44. *g*); *Niph'al perfect* יָתַתָּה Lev. 26, 25. Ezr. 9, 7.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* *i* (as יָתַתָּה from יָתַתָּה), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to יָתַתָּה, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20. *l*; but with suffixes יָתַתָּה, יָתַתָּה, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לְ = לְיָתַתָּה, 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 יָתַתָּה Num. 20, 21 and יָתַתָּה Gen. 38, 9; comp. § 69. *m*, note 2. On the other hand, יָתַתָּה 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 יָתַתָּה, just as the *Qeṣṣ*, 1 Ki. 17, 14, requires יָתַתָּה for יָתַתָּה.

In other stems, the *Ṣ* is retained as the third radical, e.g. יָתַתָּה, יָתַתָּה, comp. § 19. *c* and § 44. *n*. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nūn* with a strong vowel in יָתַתָּה (for יָתַתָּה) 2 Sam. 22, 41, comp. § 19. *i*.—On the *passive imperfect* יָתַתָּה, 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. פָּבַב, סָבְבָה, סָבְבוּ : הָבֵן Gen. 33, 5 (but with suffix חַבְנִי, 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. קָבַב, קָבוּב), or where the strengthening of the second radical is required by the character of the form, e. g. חָלַל, שָׁדַד, &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 טָטַל.
- 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, טַב, not תָּם, טָב; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e. g. תָּמוּ, טָבוּ, טָבוּנִי, &c.
- d* 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative, in the *perfect* ו, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* וְ, e. g. טָבוּנִי, טָבוּנִי, *imperfect* תָּסַבְנִי (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* מָנַח (for מָנַחֵ) Num. 17, 28. Ps. 64, 7 (Jer. 44, 18 מָנַחֵ with *e Silluq*), owing to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs ו'ע (comp. מָנַחֵ from מָנַח).

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* יָסַב for *yā-sēb*, *imperative* יָסַבֵּה for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *ī*, either the original *ā* (which was attenuated to *ī*) is restored and lengthened, e. g. יָסַב in *imperfect Qal* for *yā-sōb*, or the *ī* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e. g. יָסַבֵּה *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 *ā* of the *Hoph'al*, lengthened from an original *ā*, יָסַבֵּה for *hū-sāb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šēwā*, according to § 27. 3 (under *š* and ה *compound Šēwā*), e. g. יָסַבֵּה, but יָסַבֵּהֵה; *imperfect Hiph'il* יָסַבֵּה, but יָסַבֵּהֵה; *perfect* יָסַבֵּהֵה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another which predominates *g* in *Aramaic*, in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יָסַבֵּה, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, comp. יָסַבֵּה 1 Ki. 9, 8, יָסַבֵּה Gen. 24, 26, יָסַבֵּה; with *a* in the second syllable, יָסַבֵּה Lev. 11, 7, יָסַבֵּה (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 Ki. 1, 1; in the plural, יָסַבֵּהֵה Num. 14, 35, &c. (in pause יָסַבֵּהֵה).

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 *ī* of the imperfect as differentiated from *u*, *ē*. 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 ו'ע in formations like יָסַבֵּה, יָסַבֵּה; 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 *madáda*, *madádati*, *madádatu*, uses the forms *maddét*, *maddéti*, *maddét*, and even *maddát*. The last of these forms might indicate that the *ē* 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 *maddautu*, which he holds to be also the ground-form of יָסַבֵּה. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 229 f.]

Ps. 102, 28); perhaps also יָפַל , יָדַל , יָפַה , יָשַח (unless these four forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, as certainly יָדַמו is, 1 Sam. 2, 9); with suffix תִּקְבְּנוּ occurs (comp. § 10. *h*) in Num. 23, 25; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יָתַם , *Hoph'al* יָבַח , &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. וַיִּקְדְּוּ Gen. 43, 28 and elsewhere for וַיִּקְדְּוּ 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, וַיִּסְבְּבוּ Jud. 18, 23, וַיִּבְּתוּ Jer. 46, 5. Job 4, 20). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תִּצְלְלְנָה (without the separating vowel, for תִּצְלְלֵינָה , 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* יָסַב for *yä-sōb* (comp. §§ 47. *b*, 63. *b*, and for verbs $\text{יָעַ$ § 72); (*b*) in the *perfect Niph'al* נָסַב for *nä-sāb* (§ 51. *a*), as well as in the *imperfect יסב* (comp. on *ä* in the final syllable of strong *imperfects Niph'al*, § 51. *m*); (*c*) in *Hoph'al* הוֹסַב , with irregular lengthening for *hōsāb* from *hü-sab*, *imperfect יסב* 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. יָמַר for *yä-mär* (see letter *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִסַב from *hü-sēb* (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. הִסְבֹּתָ . 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 הִסַבְתָּ , $\text{וּ$ and יָסַבְתָּ (2nd sing. fem. imperfect); e. g. 3rd sing. fem. perfect הִסְבָּתָהּ , in pause הִסְבָּתָהּ ; with ר and gutturals מָרָה (for מָרָהּ) Ps. 44, 26; on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּרְבָּה Is. 6, 12 (but וַיִּרְבֵּה

¹ Possibly the analogy of verbs $\text{יָפַ$ 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, קָמוּ, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the imperfect Qal in הָסְבוּ, יָסְבוּ; perfect Hiph'il הִסְבֵּה, הִסְבֵּה; imperfect הָסְבוּ, יָסְבוּ, &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. סָבוּהָ, הָסְבִינָה, &c.; except before the endings הָ 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 \ddot{u} (δ , see letter *n*), hence הִסְבוּהָ from הִסְבֵּה, הָסְבִינָה from יָסְבֵּה: on the vowel of the preformative becoming $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$, see above, letter *f*.

8. In numerous verbs ו'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. גָּלְגַל to roll, *Hithpālṣēl* הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); שִׁעֲשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעָשַׁע to be caressed (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pi'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*.—For תִּתְבָּרַר 2 Sam. 22, 27 read, according to Ps. 18, 27, תִּתְבָּרַר.

REMARKS.

I. On Qal.

1. In the perfect, isolated examples are found with *Hölēm* in the first syllable, ^m which it is customary to refer to trilateral stems with middle \bar{o} (like יָכַל, § 43. a); viz. רָמוּ to רָמוּם they are exalted, Job 24, 24; רָבוּ to רָבַב they shot, Gen. 49, 23; אָרוּ Is. 1, 6 to אָרוּר. 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- ¹¹ 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; חָנַן to make pleasing, חוֹנֵן to have pity; הָלַל to praise, הוֹלֵל to make foolish; סָבַב to turn, to change, סוֹבֵב 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 *ō*, in a sharpened syllable *ō̄*, or not infrequently even *ō̄* (see above, letter *k*). Examples of *ō̄* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רָן (*rān*) *to rejoice*, Job 38, 7; וַיִּסָּב Jud. 11, 18 (once even with *ō̄* in a toneless final syllable, וַיִּרָם Ex. 16, 20); on the other hand, in the *plur.* וַיִּסָּבוּ, *fem.* וַתִּסָּבִינָה; (b) before a tone-bearing *affirmative* or *suffix*, e.g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* רָנִי, רָנִי (comp. letter *ff*); חַנּוּנִי *pity me*; סֵלָהּ Jer. 50, 26; יִשְׁרָם Prov. 11, 3 *Q^{er}*; תַּחְנֹהוּ Ex. 12, 14; for the defective writing, cf. יִסָּבֵהוּ Job 40, 22. In יִחַנֶּה Gen. 43, 29. Is. 30, 19 (for יִחַנֶּה) this *ō̄* 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* קָבֵה־לִי Num. 22, 11, 17, and אָרָה־לִי 22, 6, 23, 7, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קָבֵה, אָרָה (comp. עָרָה Is. 32, 11). If these forms are to be read *qāballi*, 'ārallī, they would be analogous to such cases as מִרְבָּרָה (§ 90. i), the addition of the *paragogic* ה causing no change in the form of the word (קָב *qōb* like רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballī*, 'ārallī, then in both cases the *Qames* would have to be explained, with Stade, as the equivalent of an *ō̄* (קָבֵה־לִי, &c.; comp. § 9. v). Still more striking is קָבְנוּ *curse him*, Num. 23, 13, for קָבְנוּ or 'קָב.

p 3. Examples with *Pathah* in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* are בַּר (in לְבָרָם *to prove them*, Eccles. 3, 18); רַד *to trample down*, Is. 45, 1; שָׁן Jer. 5, 26; perhaps also בְּשִׁנָּם *in their error*, Gen. 6, 3 (Baer, following the versions and the Masora, (בְּשִׁנָּם). Also נָל *take away*, Ps. 119, 22; and the *imperfects* יָחַם *it is hot*, Deut. 19, 6 &c. (on the *ē* cf. letter *n*); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is. 24, 9; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is. 7, 4; תִּישַׁם *it is desolate*, Ezek. 12, 19 (in *pause* תִּישַׁם Gen. 47, 19); וַתִּקַּל *she was despised*, Gen. 16, 4 (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e.g. וַיִּצַר Gen. 32, 8 and elsewhere; וַיִּרַע Gen. 21, 11 and elsewhere, comp. Ezek. 19, 7); in the 1st *sing. imperfect* יָיַתָּם² Ps. 19, 14, contrary to rule written fully for יָיַתָּם, unless יָיַתָּם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd *sing.* יָיַתָּם.—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as *imperfects Qal* with original *i* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their *Hiph'il* in the same sense: וַיִּנָּל Gen. 29, 10; יָנַן Is. 31, 5, &c.; וַיִּסָּה Ex. 40, 21. Ps. 91, 4, &c.; perhaps also וַתִּצְקִינָה 1 Sam. 3, 11 and יָהַל Job 31, 26, &c.; in accordance

¹ For נו as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in וַיִּשְׁנֹו, § 100. o, and probably in the *Nūn* of the Phoenician suffix נם; cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643.

² Also in Ezek. 6, 6, instead of תִּישַׁמְנָה, which could only come from יָשַׁם, תִּישַׁם is intended, and יָשַׁמוּ in the same verse is probably only an error for יָשַׁמוּ.

with this last form, **הָלוּ** (בְּ) Job 29, 3 would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not *Hiph'il* (for **הָלוּ**), as formerly explained below, letter *w*. Finally the very peculiar form **וְתָרַץ** 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. **יָרוּן**, 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); **יָרִין** (if from **רָצִין**) Is. 42, 4 and elsewhere (also defectively written **אָרִין** Ps. 18, 30; but in Eccles. 12, 6, according to Baer, **וְתָרִין**); **תָּתַם** Ezek. 24, 11 (on the sharpening of the *t* cf. letter *g* above)¹.

A similar analogy with verbs *y'w* is seen in the infinitives **לְבַר** (for **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 **וְתַ** (on the analogy of verbs **ל'ה**) are rare in Ps. 77, 10, **שְׂמוֹת** Ezek. 36, 3; also with a suffix **תְּלֹתֵי הָיָא** 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 **שֹׁסְפִיה** for **שֹׁסְפִיה** occurs in K^ethîbh, Jer. 30, 16 (the *Q^{re}* points to a *participle* from **שָׁפַה**); 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 *pause* **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; **נָסְבָה** (for **נָסְבָה**) 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 *y'w* (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *o*), we find **תָּרַמִּי** thou shalt be brought to silence, Jer. 48, 2 (unless this form should be referred to *Qal*); **תִּירוּן** (for *tirros*) Ezek. 29, 7; with *e* in the second syllable **תַּחַל** she profanes herself, Lev. 21, 9, but **וַיַּחַל** Ezek. 22, 26, and **יַחַל** 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, **יַחַל** Ezek. 20, 9. 14, 22, but with suffix **הַחֲלוּ** Lev. 21, 4; also **הַבּוּז** to be plundered, and **הַבּוֹק** to be emptied, Is. 24, 3; in the *imperative* only, **הַבְּרוּ** be ye clean, Is. 52, 11. On **הִרְמוּ** 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, **נַחַל** it is profaned, Ezek. 22, 16. 25, 3 (from **חָלַל**); **נָחַר** (from **חָרַר**) Ps. 69, 4. 102, 4 (also **נָחַר** Jer. 6, 29); **נָחַת** *fractus est* (from **חָתַת**) Mal. 2, 5; comp. with this in the *participle*, **נַחְמִים** (for *nihhamim*) Is. 57, 5, and **נִחְרִים** 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* הָמַר *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 הִשְׁירוּ Hos. 8, 4 (perhaps also in יְהִיתֵן 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 התו Is. 18, 5 from תוּן, 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. הָרַק 2 Ki. 23, 15, הָקַל Is. 8, 23; הָרַךְ Job 23, 16; plur. הִכְבִּי 1 Sam. 5, 9. 10 (and so usually in the 3rd plur. *perf.*, except before *ר* and gutturals, e. g. הִרְעוּ); *imper.* הִשָּׂע *besmear*, Is. 6, 10; plur. הִשְׁכִּמוּ *be astonished*, Job 21, 5; *imperfect* תִּרְעַע *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* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Jud. 16, 26 *Q'ré*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְמַקְּדִי Is. 33, 1).

7. The *e* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *z*, e. g. בִּי הִחָלֵל Gen. 31, 7 (comp. also letter *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53. *k*) to find the *e* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהַפִּיר 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 הִחַלְתִּי 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 יְהַחֲתִמֵּי Jer. 49, 37, see below, letter *dd*.

8. 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. וַיִּרְעוּ 1 Ki. 6, 11: so also when the second radical is ר, as וַיִּצַּר 2 Chron. 28, 20. Deut. 2, 9—but cf. also וַיִּפֹּר Neh. 4, 9.

9. Aramaizing forms in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסַּב Ex. 13, 18; comp. Jud. 18, 23; וַיִּכְתְּבוּ אֶל־תַּמָּר Exod. 23, 21; וַיִּכְתְּבוּ Deut. 1, 44 (comp. Num. 14, 45); אֶחָל *profanabo*, Ezek. 39, 7; תַּחַם Job 22, 3; without syncope of the ה (comp. § 53. *g*) וַיִּחַלְלֵנוּ 1 Ki. 18, 27; with *l* in the second syllable וַיִּשָּׂם Jer. 49, 20. 50, 45; comp. וַיִּשְׁאִימוּ Num. 21, 30; in the *perfect* הִזְלִיגָה Lam. 1, 8. In *Hoph'al*, הִכְבִּי *they are brought low*, Job 24, 24; יִבַּח *he is smitten*, Is. 24, 12 (plur. Jer. 46, 5. Mic. 1, 7); in *pause*, יִחַקוּ Job 19, 23, but also יִבַּחוּ Job 4, 20; with *o* in the initial syllable, הִשְׁטִמָּה (*infinitive* with *suffix* = הִשְׁטִמָּה, comp. § 91. *e*) Lev. 26, 34 sq., comp. 2 Chron. 36, 21; בְּהִשְׁטָמָה, with irregular syncope for בְּהִשְׁטָ, 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. יָכַח and יָקוּם הַקָּב).

Qal, הִצַּרְי Is. 49, 19 (*plur. masc.* Job 18, 7); יָרַעוּ 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* נִסְכָּהּ for נִסְכָּהּ Ezek. 41, 7; נָזְלוּ Jud. 5, 5 for נָזְלוּ; נִמְלָהֶם for נִמְלָהֶם Gen. 17, 11 (as if from מָלַל not מוּל to circumcise), comp. Is. 19, 3. Jer. 8, 14; *Imperfect* תִּפְקֹנָה Zech. 14, 12; *Participle* נִתְּמִים, comp. letter *u*. So also נִפְיָן 1 Sam. 13, 11, נִפְצָה Gen. 9, 19 (comp. Is. 33, 3), are perfects *Niph'al* from פָּצַן (= פָּצַן), not *Qal* from נִפְיָן.—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-It*) from הִתְּתִי.

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in לְהַפְרֹכֶם Lev. 26, 15.—On the perfect הִלְיוּ Prov. 26, 7, comp. § 75, letter *u*.

cc 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. וְהִצַּרְתִּי 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, וְחֲלַתִּי (though in this passage, and in Ps. 17, 3, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ôth*; see above, letter *r*, and Delitzsch on Job 19, 17); in the 2nd *sing.* וְקִצַּתָּהּ (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 שָׂתוּ (ע"ז), comp. § 72. *dd*) is שָׂתוּ 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; עֲזֹהּ (= עֲזֹה) 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 *šwā*, when they no longer stand before the tone, see letter *g*.

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. Verbs א"ב, e.g. אָבַל 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, אָבַהּ to be willing, אָבַל to eat, אָמַר to say, אָפַהּ to bake) regularly allow the א to

quiesce in a long *ō*, e. g. יֵאָבֵל¹. In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יֵאָחֵז (18 times) and יֵאָחֵז (3 times) *he takes hold*; יֵאָסֵף (see letter *h*), also יֵאָסֵף, *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. יֵאָבֵלֵן Deut. 18, 1, without the pause יֵאָבֵלֵן Deut. 4, 28. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אָמַר, however, *ā* is always retained in *pause*, יֵאָמַר and אָמַר, cf. also תֵּאָבֵל 1 Sam. 1, 7, &c. But with conjunctive accents in continuous discourse, *ā* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e. g. תֵּאָבֵד לְעַד Ps. 9, 19, but in *pause* תֵּאָבֵד Ps. 1, 6; תֵּאָמַר 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 אָבַד and אָכַל, with a conjunctive accent, always takes *Pathah*, e. g. יֵאָבֵד יוֹם Job 3, 3, יֵאָכַל and *he did eat*; in אָמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw* consecutive (but never in the 1st *sing.*, וְאָמַר; cf. וְאָכַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *S'ghól*, וְיֵאָמַר and *he said*.

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* always has the form יֵאָבֵל (but *plur.* always יֵאָבֵלוּ, וְיֵאָכְלוּ, וְיֵאָמְרוּ; except וְיֵאָמַר 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 וְתֵאָמַרְלוּ Prov. 7, 13. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֵאָחֵז and וְיֵאָחֵז, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49. *e*, וְיֵאָחֵז Jud. 20, 6; comp. וְיֵאָכַל Gen. 3, 12. 13 in *pause*.—אָכַה and אָפַה are, at the same time, verbs ל"ה, hence *imperfect* יֵאָכַה (§ 75. *c*).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š^wā, as יֵאָכְלוּ, but תֵּאָכְלוּם.—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 אָכַל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אָכַל, the Arabic *ya'kul*, and the Aramaic יֵאָכַל, as well as by the fact that יֵאָחֵז and יֵאָסֵף are found along with יֵאָחֵז and יֵאָסֵף.

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. תָּאֵתָהּ *it shall come*, Mic. 4, 8, from תָּאֵתָהּ (from אֵתָהּ); אֶהֱבֶה (for אֶהֱבֶה) *I love*, Prov. 8, 17, also אֶהֱבֶה Mal. 1, 2, &c., with suffixes אֶהֱבֶהוּ Hos. 11, 1. 14, 5, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise יֶאֱהָבֶה , &c., from אֶהֱבֶה , אֶהֱבֶה); וַיֵּאָחֵז 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 é , 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 וַתֵּאָכֵל Job 20, 26 we should simply emend וַתֵּאָכֵל ; for the view that it is *imperfect Pô'él* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of é to é , be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of Ps. 62, 4 (see § 52. *q*) and Ps. 101, 5 *Q^orê* (see § 55. *é*), while the view that it is *Pi'él* ($\text{וַתֵּאָכֵל} = \text{וַתֵּאָכֵל} = \text{וַתֵּאָכֵל}$) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that וַתֵּאָכֵל stands for וַתֵּאָכֵל , *Pu'al* (comp. וַתֵּאָכֵל for וַתֵּאָכֵל , § 27. *q*); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation וַתֵּאָכֵל .

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 אֵמַר 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 é or é , 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 וַתֵּאָסַף for וַתֵּאָסַף Ps. 104, 29; וַיֵּאָסַף 2 Sam. 6, 1 (but for וַיֵּאָסַף Job 27, 19 read וַיֵּאָסַף with the LXX); comp. also in the 1st *pers.* Mic. 4, 6 and וַיֵּאָסַף 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, וַיֵּאָסַף (with *é*, 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 אָסַף . Furthermore, וַיֵּמְרֶהָ Ps. 139, 20 (where certainly וַיֵּמְרֶהָ is to be read); וַתֵּבֵא Prov. 1, 10 (comp. § 75. *hh*); וַתֵּפָּהָה 1 Sam. 28, 24; וַיֵּכֶלֶוּ Ezek. 42, 5; וַתֵּמְרוּ 2 Sam. 19, 14; וַתֵּחֲזוּ 2 Sam. 20, 9; וַתֵּהֲלִי *thou gaddest about* (from וַתֵּהֲלִי), Jer. 2, 36; וַיֵּתָא Deut. 33, 21 (for וַיֵּתָא), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75. *p*) וַיֵּתָא , וַיֵּתָא or וַיֵּתָא .

¹ The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to é 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 yá'kūlū , tá'kūlū , but the 1st *pers.* 'á'kūlū, not 'á'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.* וַיָּרֶב (for וַיִּנְאָרֶב?) and he laid wait, 1 Sam. 15, 5; אָזַן I listen, Job 32, 11; אוֹכֵל (ð from á) I give to eat, Hos. 11, 4; אֲבִיֶדָה (ð from á) I will destroy, Jer. 46, 8; וַיִּוָּחַר 2 Sam. 20, 5 *Q^ere* (for וַיִּנְאָח); the *K^ethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּיחַר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וַיִּיחַר = 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 פִּיל); *Participle* מְזַיֵּן giveth ear, Prov. 17, 4. *Imperative* הִתִּיב bring (from אָתַתָּה) Jer. 12, 9. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is. 21, 14, comp. § 76. d.)

2. In the *Pi'el* the א is sometimes dropped by syncope, like ה in וַיִּקְטִיל, *k* וַיִּקְטִיל, thus מִלֵּךְ (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for מִמְלֵךְ Job 35, 11; יָהֵל for יִאֵהֵל Is. 13, 20; וַתְּחַגְּרֵנִי thou hast girded me, 2 Sam. 22, 40, for וַתְּחַגְּרֵנִי, as Ps. 18, 40; וַאֲבַדְדָּךְ 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. *a* 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 ו'פ (see § 71).

With regard to verbs ו'פ (i. e. ו'פ with original *Wāw*) it is to be *b* 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* יִשָּׁב, 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; יִלְךְ; יִצֵּא), or under the influence of a guttural with *ā* in the second (יִרַע, יִקַּע, יִחַר).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to the shortening to *Sghól* or vocal *S'wá*, e.g. יִשָּׁב, יִשָּׁבוּ, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *S'wá* in such cases as יִרַע, &c., but is lengthened to *Qameš* in *pause* (יִרְעֵי) and before suffixes (יִרְעֵם).

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

C. *Infinitive* שָׁבָה from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פָּ' (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. יִרְעֵם Hos. 14, 10), but also in יִרְעֵךְ 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 *yāliḏū*, *yāšibū* (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 יִקַּר) only in Mic. 1, 8 and Ezek. 35, 9 *Keth.*; in Ps. 138, 6 the Masora prefers to point יִרַע.—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*: הֶקִים *hēqim* for *haiqim* from *haqim*, Aramaic *'aqim*; מִקִים from *maqim*, &c. The latter comparison must indeed be rejected, since the *e* in הֶקִים and מִקִים is not unchangeable; but Stade's view has the advantage of attempting to explain at any rate the unchangeableness of the first *e* in יִשָּׁב 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 דָּעָה, 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 שָׁבְתִי, &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 יָצַק, יָרַשׁ (see letter *f*) and infinitive יָסַר is a strong consonant, but in the imperfect יִרְשׁ, properly *yirraš*, merges with the preceding *i* into *ī*.

In the second syllable imperfects of this form regularly have *ä*.

(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. *wälädä*, imperf. *yälidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wäg'ilä*, *yaug'alu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

(b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; *f* comp. צָק 2 Ki. 4, 41 and יָצַק *pour*, Ezek. 24, 3 (comp. יָצַקוּ 1 Ki. 18, 34 and the infn. צָקַת Ex. 38, 27); יָרַשׁ *take possession*, Deut. 1, 21. 1 Ki. 21, 15 (comp., however, letter *s*), רָשׁ (in *pause* for רָשׁ) Deut. 2, 24, 31; plur. רָשׁוּ Deut. 1, 8, 9, 23, but also, with ה—*paragogic*, יָרְשָׁה 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 יִחַמוּ Gen. 30, 39, for יִחַמוּ, beside יִחַמְנָה verse 38, is remarkable.

(c) On יָרַד Jud. 19, 11 for יָרַד and שׁוּב Jer. 42, 10 for the infinitive absolute יָשׁוּב, 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 (= יִרְדֶּה) *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 *ä* 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*, יָשָׁן *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 לִסְפַּת (comp. יִסְפַּתִּי, l. 29), we must also read in Is. 30, 1 (Num. 32, 14. Deut. 29, 18) סְפַתִּי for סְפוֹת. The 2nd plur. masc. imperative סְפִי Is. 29, 1. Jer. 7, 21 corresponds to שָׁכְבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סְפַתִּי *addere*, there remains only אִסְפַּתִּי Deut. 32, 23, for which, according to 2 Sam. 12, 8, אִסְפַּתִּי 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, הִתְיַנְּחָה from יָנַח, הִתְיַנְּחָה from יָנַח; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e. g. וְלֵר *proles* from יָלַד *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous vowel *ū* coalesces into *ū*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e. g. הוֹשֵׁב 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. נֹשֵׂב from an original *nāwšābh*, הוֹשֵׁב from an original *hāwšābh*.
- k* The first radical always appears as *Yōdh* in the *perfect* and *participle Qal*, יָשַׁב &c., יָשׁוּב, יָשׁוּב, even when י precedes, e. g. וַיָּשֵׁב (but וַיִּשְׁבְּתָם, according to § 24. b), also throughout *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, e. g. יַחַל *to wait*, יֵלֵד *to be born*, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יַחַל מְיַדַע *known* (from יָדַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e. g. הִתְיַלֵּד, הִתְיַנְּחָה, הִתְיַנְּחָה (as against הִתְיַדַע, &c. with *Wāw*).
- l* The beginner may recognize verbs פ"י 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 הוֹלִיד, is rare). Verbs פ"י have forms like יָשַׁב (יָדַע), נֹשֵׂב, in common with verbs פ"י. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ע.
- m* Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (נֹשֵׂב, ground-form *šibh*, 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, יָדַעְתָּ Is. 37, 2 (2 Ki. 19, 3); Jer. 13, 21. Hos. 9, 11; מְרַדָּה² *to descend*, Gen. 46, 3, where the change of the *ē* 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'āth*, see § 94. f. From יָרַד there occurs in Ps. 30, 4 in *Q^{el}* מְיַרְדֵּי (the *K^{el}* requires מְיַרְדֵּי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מְיַרְדֵּי). 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 **ד** to **ת** in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לִית = *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 לִיִּסָד Is. 51, 16 (but 2 Chron. 31, 7 according to Ben Naphtali לִיִּסָד, where the *y* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the **ס**; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיִּסָד, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישָׁן Eccles. 5, 11; לָרָא 1 Sam. 18, 29 is irregular, probably, however, לָרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *suff.* בִּיִּסְדִּי Job 38, 4, comp. Jud. 14, 15. Ezr. 3, 12; with *fem.* תִּלְכָּת *to be able*, Num. 14, 16. On יִבְשָׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, comp. the note on § 70. *a*.

2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by ה־, e. g. שָׁבָה *sit thou*, ירדה *descend thou*. From יָהַב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הַב *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, הָבִי 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 תִּירַד Jer. 13, 17 (comp. Lam. 3, 48) and in the pausal form יִלְךָ Job 27, 21 &c. (from הִלְךָ, see letter *x*); on יִקַּד Is. 10, 16 see above, letter *f*. The *ā* in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative נָה (תִּרְנָה &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. יִשְׁבֶּנָּה Gen. 44, 33; וְיִרְדּוּ; וְיִשָּׁבּוּ; 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 וְיִשָּׁבּוּ Ruth 4, 1 or וְיִרְדּוּ Ps. 18, 10; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְיִאָרֵד, וְיִאָלֵד &c., except וְיִאָלֶךְ Job 19, 10, see letter *x*. For יִירָע Ps. 138, 6 (comp. the note above, on letter *b* and the analogous cases, § 70. *d*) יִירָע 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. יִיעָפוּ Is. 40, 30, יִנְעוּ 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 יִיקָף Ex. 30, 32, see § 73, letter *f*.

From יִיבַל *to prevail; to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִיבַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִיבַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaw-khal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from אוֹבַל, just as, according to § 47. *b*, אָקַטַל is differentiated from יִקַּטַל. Comp. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yōru'u*) from *war'u'a*, *yaugalu* (*yōgālu*) from *waḡila*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūsal* &c. from *waṣala*. Others regard יִיבַל 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 *i* 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. וְיָרַשְׁתֶּם, &c., Deut. 4, 1. 8, 1. 17, 14. 19, 1. 26, 1. 31, 3 (always after וי for וי). 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 יִרַשׁ (comp. § 44. *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb has the form *wāriṣā*. The forms וְיָרַשְׁוּ Ezek. 36, 12 and וְיָרַשְׁוּהָ Ps. 69, 36, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *i*.

5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a *i* instead of the *u*, e. g. וַיֵּהָל and he stayed, Gen. 8, 12 (unless the *Pi'el* or וַיִּהָל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), comp. Ex. 19, 13; 1 Sam. 13, 8 *K^ethibh*.—The first person always has the form אֶשָׁב, not אָשָׁב, comp. § 51. *p*.—In the plural of the *participle* נֹשְׁבִי (from-נָשָׁה, 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* נִוְלַד *null^edhū*, 1 Chron. 3, 5. 20, 8, for נִוְלַדוּ 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 א, § 68. *k*), e. g. וַיִּנְהַה for וַיִּנְהַה and he has grieved, Lam. 3, 33, וַיִּדְדוּ for וַיִּדְדוּ and they have cast, verse 53: on the other hand, in וַיִּדְדוּ לוֹתֵי הֵם 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"י, of the second class, וַיַּבֶּשֶׁה for וַיַּבֶּשֶׁה and he made it dry, Nah. 1, 4; comp. וַיִּשְׁרַם 2 Chron. 32, 30 *Q^erē* (the *K^eth.* points either to *Pi'el* וַיִּשְׁרַם or *Hiph'il* וַיִּשְׁרַם).

7. In the *imperative Hiph'il* instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, *i* is also found in the second syllable; הוֹצִיָּא Is. 43, 8; הוֹפִיעַ Ps. 94, 1 (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעָה); הוֹבִיחַ Prov. 19, 25. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ā*, as הוֹדַע, הוֹשִׁיעַ, comp. also הִקַּר Prov. 25, 17 (as in the *infin. constr.* הוֹבִיחַ Job 6, 26; see § 65. *d*). On the other hand, *i* always reappears when the syllable becomes open, thus הוֹשִׁיבָה, הוֹשִׁיעָה, and so also before suffixes (§ 61. *g*). הוֹצִיא Gen. 8, 17 *Q^erē* (*K^eth.* הוֹצִיא, see § 70. *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S^eghōl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e. g. יוֹסֶף that he may increase, Prov. 1, 5, before לָקַח; cf. Ex. 10, 28. Dent. 3, 26; יוֹסֶף (תוֹסֶף Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause*, however, also תוֹסֶף as *jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usual *jussive* in *pause* יוֹשִׁב &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* וַתִּתֵּר Ruth 2, 14: on וַיִּשְׁעֶכֶם Is. 35, 4, comp. § 65. *f*).—On forms like יוֹהִשִׁיעַ, see § 53. *q*.

In *Hoph'al* δ stands instead of η , in הורע (for הורע) Lev. 4, 23, 28, הנה 2 Sam. 20, 13, and perhaps in יורא (for יורה) Prov. 11, 25; but comp. Delitzsch on the passage.—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הלקרת Gen. 40, 20, for הלקרת = הול; comp. above, letter *t*, on נולר, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הלך *to go*, belongs in some respects to the פ"ב class, for it forms α (as if from הלך) *imperfect* ילך, with *wāw consecutive* ילך (in *pause* וילך Gen. 24, 61, &c.), 1st sing. ואלך (but in Job 19, 17 ואלך); *infinitive construct* לך with suff. לך, &c.; *imperative* לך, לך, in the lengthened form לכה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gen. 19, 32, or a *plural*, Gen. 31, 44) and לך (Num. 23, 13. Jud. 19, 13. 2 Chron. 25, 17, and the Mēša' inscription, line 14); *Hiph.* הולך (also in Ex. 2, 9 הולכי 2nd *fem. imperative* is to be read for הילכי, which probably arose merely through confusion with the following הנהיך); *imperfect* יוליך, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always ואלך Lev. 26, 13. Amos 2, 11, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively in the later Books or in poetry, the regular inflexions of הלך are also found: *imperf.* יהלך (Ps. 58, 9, &c.; but תהלך Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9; comp. § 64. *a* and *h*); יהלך Job 16, 22, also Mēša' inscription, line 14, אהלך; *inf.* הלך (Ex. 3, 19. Num. 22, 13 sq. 16¹. Eccles. 6, 8. 9), *imperative plur.* הלכו Jer. 51, 50. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always הלך, *participle* הלך, *infinitive absolute* הלך, *Niph'al* נהלך, *Piel* הלך, *Hithpa'el* התהלך, so that a η never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete הלך. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ"ב forms of הלך 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. יטב *to be good.* Paradigm *L.*

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

1. In *Qal* the initial *Yōdh* never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form יבש², the *imperfect* ייבש, ייבש, ייבש (in *pause* ייבש), also written יבש, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing \tilde{a} in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. וייבש, except וייבש Gen. 9, 24,

¹ Comp. above, letter *m*, second note.

² This may be inferred from ביש (= ביש) Is. 27, 11, which with its fem. ביש Gen. 8, 7, is the only example of an *infinitive construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently יבש, &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 וַיִּשְׂרֹו 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're* (the *K'th.* requires הוֹשֵׁר according to the form of verbs פ' (comp. Is. 45, 2, אוֹשֵׁר *K'th.*, אֲשִׁיִּר *Q're*), comp. Gen. 8, 17 *Q're*; סְמִינִים 1 Chron. 12, 2, to be explained as a denominative from יָמִין; אֲסִירָם Hos. 7, 12 (§ 24. f, note); but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading אֲסִירָם.

c Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יָטַב *to be good* (only in the *imperfect Qal* and in *Hiph'il*; in the *perfect Qal* טוֹב, a verb ע' is used instead), יָנַק *to suck*, יָקַן *to awake*, יָצַר *to form* (but see above, letter a), הִלִּיל *Hiph'il* הִלִּיל *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; וַיִּלֵּל Is. 15, 2, 3, 16, 7; וַיִּלֵּל 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 uncontracted forms וַיְהִיל, &c. (comp. Is. 52, 5). It would, perhaps, be more correct to suppose that the regular forms (וַיִּטֵּב, וַיִּלֵּל) 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* וַהִיטַבְתִּי Ezek. 36, 11 with separating vowel (for הִיטַבְתִּי) on the analogy of verbs ע'; *imperfect* וַיִּטֵּב for וַיִּטֵּב 1 Ki. 1, 47; הִיטַבְתִּי (*imperfect Qal* for הִיטַבְתִּי) Nah. 3, 8; וַהִיטַבְתִּי *imperfect Hiph'il*, Ex. 2, 9, either an error for וַהִיטַבְתִּי, 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 יָקַן. On וַיְבִשְׁתֶּהוּ 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 *Kethib* והוציתיה, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ'ו, to the imperative והצייתנה 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. נצב (*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 ותר' according to § 47. k) 1 Sam. 6, 12; ליפור 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 וקרת Gen. 40, 20. Ezek. 16, 5 (comp. וקרת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of ילד (comp. וילד § 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 ' 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 אָוַר *luxit*, בּוֹשׁ *he was ashamed*². Comp. letters *n* to *r*.

consónantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Pi'el* (עָוַר, the ו usually passing into י as in קָיַם, 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. *šayat*) was always assumed, and יָקוּם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* קוּם to original *qāwōm*, the *participle passive* קוֹם to original *qāwūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עָוַר, קָיַם (letter *m*) are only to be found in the latest Books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קוּיַם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָוַם, 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 Qimḥi קָמָה, קָמָתִי, &c. are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e. g. קָמָתִי Mic. 7, 8, מָתַנִּי 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 אָוַר, &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 *ū*, and similarly the *e* of מָת to lengthening of an original *i*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *o* in בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁתִי, בָּשָׁנִי 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 *i* attenuated from *ä* (§ 67. *h*; but cf. also below, letter *h* on יב'ש), hence יק' for *yäqúm*; נק' for *näqóm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* הק' for *hüqím*; *participle* מק' (on the *Şere* cf. letter *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* חק' for *hüqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and becomes *vocal Šewá* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. ימ'תנו *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nún paragogic*; ימ'תנו (without *Nún* ימ'תו). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *e* in יה'מיר Jer. 2, 11 (beside המ'ר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended into יה'מיר; 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 *ú* retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ö* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ו'ע).

4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in letter *b* are: *imperfect Qal* יק' (also in Arabic *yäqúmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48. *g*), יק', with retraction of the tone יק' (*yäqóm*), יק' (in *pause* יק'); *imperative* ק'; the normal lengthening of the *ü* occurs in the 2nd *plur. fem.* קמ'נה, since, according to § 26. *p*, *ü* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* ק'. In *Hiph'il* the lengthening of the original *i* to *i* (הק', *imperfect* יק', *jussive* יק', with retraction of the tone יק', יק') exactly agrees with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53. *a*).

The following forms require special consideration: the *participle g Qal* ק' is to be traced to the ground-form with *ä* unobscured, Arab. *qátil*, § 9. *g*, and § 50. *b*. The analogous form *qáim*¹, after absorption of the *i*, became ק', owing to the predominating character of the *ä*. The unchangeableness of the *ä* (*plur.* קמ', *constr.* קמ', &c.) favours this explanation.

3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2) written defectively. Forms like ב'ש, ב'ש, א'ר, &c. are therefore to be treated as orthographic licences.

¹ So in Arabic (prop. *qá'im*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *h*, comp. Aram. קמ'); but also contracted, as *šák, hák*, for *šá'ík, &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 *ú*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā̄*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יבוא (יבא), ויבא, &c., from the *perfect* בא he has come. In the *imperfects* יאור and יבוש from the *intransitive perfects* אור, בוש (see above, letter *c*), most probably also in יאתו 2 Ki. 12, 9, יאות Gen. 34, 15 from an unused אות to consent, and perhaps in ותהם 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 *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš̄*, and finally *yē-bōš̄*. Finally the *Niph.* נקום (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יקום from *y^ehinqām* (§ 51. *a*) = *yiqqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā̄* lengthened from *ā*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* a *ī* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons and ו regularly in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'il*, before the termination נה (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 וה and הן 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 הקים, הקימו (or 'הק), but והקמת, &c., Ex. 26, 30, &c.; Deut. 4, 39. Num. 18, 26 (comp., however, והקמנו 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 *ú* (נקימותי); comp. letter *v*. In the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel ו always bears the tone (תקיימנה).

k Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *ō* and *ē* instead of *ú* and *ī* we find in *imperfect Qal* תבאנה (see § 76. *g*); תשבך Ezek. 16, 55 (also תשבךינה in the same verse); ותשבנה 1 Sam. 7, 14 (comp. Ezek. 35, 9 *Q^erē*;

¹ והשיבתם 1 Sam. 6, 7 (comp. 2 Chron. 6, 25) could only be an orthographic licence for והשב; perhaps, however, והשב was originally intended.

on the *K^ethibh* תִּישָׁבְנָה comp. above, note on § 69. *b*); תִּאָרְנָה 1 Sam. 14, 27 from אִוַּר (*K^ethibh* תִּרְאֲנָה they saw, see § 75. *w*); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִנְפֹּתָ Ex. 20, 25, also הִנְפֹּתִי Job 31, 21; וְהִטְלִיתִי Jer. 22, 26; תִּשָׁבְנָה Job 20, 10; with a separating vowel, e.g. תְּבִיאֵינָה Lev. 7, 30 from בִּוּא. *S^eghöl* without *ʾ* occurs in the *imperfect Qal* in תְּמוֹתָנָה 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 תְּקִימָנָה Jer. 44, 25, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for תְּקִימָינָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תְּקִימָנָה or תְּקִימָנָה.

6. The tone as in verbs ע"ו (comp. § 67. *k*) is also retained in verbs ע"ו before the affirmatives ה־, י, י', 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); תְּקִימוּ, but before a *suffix* or with *Nún paragogic* וַיִּסְכּוּם 2 Chron. 28, 15; יְקִימוּ 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 ע"ו. It is only in the latest Books that we find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ע"ו (with consonantal ו, see below, letter *gg*); e.g. the *Pi'el* עָוַר to surround, Ps. 119, 61, and with change of ו to י, קִים, *infinitive* קִים Esth. 9, 31. 32, &c., from קִים; וְהִיבְתֵם Dan. 1, 10 from הִיב 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'lél* (properly *Pa'lél*, 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. קִיַּם from *qāmēm* with obscuring of *ā* to *ō* (comp. § 55. *b*) to set up from קִים; מוֹתָהּ to slaughter, 1 Sam. 14, 13. 17, 51. 2 Sam. 1, 9, from מוּת; רוֹמֵם to exalt, passive רוֹמָם from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרַר to stir up oneself (comp. יִתְעַרַר Job 17, 8 in *pause*) from עוּר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשְׁשׁוּ to be ashamed before one another, Gen. 2, 25. The conjugation *Pilpél* (§ 55. *f*) is less common, e.g. טָלַטַל to hurl away from טוּל; קָרַר to destroy from קַר.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

- n* 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: *מת* *he is dead*, *fem.* מֵתָהּ, 2nd *masc.* מָתָהּ (comp. § 44. *g*; § 66. *h*); 1st *sing.* מָתִי, מָתִי (even in *pause*, Gen. 19, 19); *plur.* מָתוּ, 1st *pers.* מָתַנּוּ, in *pause* מָתַנּוּ; *נָד* *it fleeth away*, Is. 17, 11; *בָּשָׂה* *he was ashamed*, בָּשָׂתִי, בָּשָׂתָהּ, בָּשָׂנוּ; *אֹזַר* *it has shone*, *plur.* אֹזְרוּ; *טוֹב* *to be good*, טָבוּ. *Participles* מָת *a dead man* (*plur.* מֵתִים, מֵתִי); בּוֹשִׂים *ashamed*, Ezek. 32, 30.
- o* Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: *הִשָּׁבַת* (with the original ending of the *fem.* for *הִשָּׁבָה*) Ezek. 46, 17 (see § 44. *f*); *צָקוּן* Is. 26, 16 (*Nûn* *paragogic* with the *perfect* elsewhere only in Deut. 8, 3. 16).—In *בָּאָנוּ* 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for *בָּאוּ* from *בָּאוּ*) the *N* has been dropped contrary to custom. In *בָּאוּ* Jer. 27, 18 (instead of *בָּאוּ*) the *Masora* seems to point to the *imperfect* *יָבֹאוּ* which is what would be expected; as *Yddh* 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; *נִשְׂאָטִים* *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 *בוֹשִׂים*, 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*, מוּל *circumcised*; but *סוֹג* *a backslider*, Prov. 14, 14, and *סוֹרָה* *put aside*, Is. 49, 21 (cf. Jer. 17, 13 *Q^{re}*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qātûl* (§ 50. *f*), not passive participles. For *הַשִּׁים* *hastening*, Num. 32, 17, read *הַשִּׁים* as in Ex. 13, 18.
- q* 2. With *imperfects* in *ú* there are almost always the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *ú*, as *יָקוּם*, *imperative* and *infinitive* *קוּם* (also defectively written *יָקָם*, *קָם*); but with *יִרְאֵשׁ* *he threshes* (*insfn.* *רִאֵשׁ*) the *imperative* *רִאֵשׁ* (*fem.*) occurs in Mic. 4, 13; with *יִמוֹט* *it slippeth*, the *infinitive* *מוֹט* (Ps. 38, 17. 46, 3); comp. *נוֹחַ* (also *נִוַחַ*) Num. 11, 25 and *נוֹעַ* Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere *נוֹעַ*) with the *imperfects* *יִנַחַ* and *יִנוֹעַ*; *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* *יָבֹא* (*יָבֹא*), *infinitive*, &c., *בֹּא* or *בֹּא*¹; *וַיֵּאָר* 2 Sam. 2, 32, *אֹרִי*, *אֹרִי*; *בָּשָׂה*, *בָּשָׂה*, &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 *יָקִשָׁן* (as if from *קָשָׁן*) occurs as *imperfect* of *יָקֵשׁ* (*ע"ע*), on the analogy of *יָבֹא*, &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. d)? Similarly לֹא תַחֲסֹם (עֲיִנְךָ) 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 תַחֲסֹם 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, קָוְמוּ) the tone is on the stem syllable; comp., however, עוֹרִי Jud. 5, 12 intentionally varied from עוֹרִי; also עוֹרִי Zech. 13, 7 and Is. 51, 9 beside עוֹרִי בְיָמֵי; עוֹרִי גִלְעָד Zech. 9, 9; עוֹרִי Is. 21, 2, שָׁבְרִי Ps. 116, 7 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So also the lengthened form, as שָׁבְרָה Jer. 3, 12 Ps. 7, 8, and עוֹרָה verse 7. But if an א, ה or ו follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קוֹמָה, &c.¹, in order to avoid a hiatus, e. g. Jud. 4, 18. Ps. 82, 8; hence also before יְהוָה, *Qrè perpetuum* יִדְרִי (§ 17), e. g. Ps. 3, 8. 7, 7 קוֹמָה (comp., however, in the same verse עוֹרָה before א; קוֹמָה Ps. 44, 27, and רוֹמָה Ps. 57, 6. 12, before ע; שָׁבָה 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 יָקָם (see above, letter *f*), יָקוּם also occurs (as subjunctive, Eccles. 12, 4; נָסוּגוּ Ps. 80, 19 may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקָם (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; וַיִּנְעַע 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); וַיִּצַּר 2 Ki. 5, 23. 17, 5 (but also וַיִּנְרַר both from נָרַר *to sojourn*, and נָרַר *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 וַיִּיעַף from יַעַף is intended. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֹמוּ, וַיִּסְאָרוּ, &c. On וַיִּקָּמוּ (וַיִּקָּמוּ), see § 49. e.

Examples of the full plural ending וֹן with the tone (see above, letter *l*) are וֹן תִּמְתְּנוּ Gen. 3, 3. 4; יִנְסוּנוּ Ps. 104, 7; יִרְצוּנוּ Joel 2, 4. 7. 9.

II. On *Niph'al*.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְוַמְתִּי, which frequently occurs (נִסְגַּמְתִּי, *ו* 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 *š* (not *š*), viz. *נִפְּוֹצֶתֶם* *ye have been scattered*, Ezek. 11, 17. 20, 34. 41, and *נִקְטַתֶּם* and *ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ezek. 20, 43. 36, 31.—To the *š* (instead of *š*) 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 *הַדָּוֵשׁ* occurs in Is. 25, 10; in *לְאוּר* Job 33, 30, the Masora assumes the syncope of the ה (for *לְהָאוּר*); 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'il*, *Hoph'al*, and *Pi'l'el*.

- 70 6. Examples of the perfect without a separating vowel (see above, letter *k*) are: *הִכָּאתָ*, &c. (see further, § 76. *g*); *הִכָּאתָ* (from *כָּוַת*) for *kēmāth-tā* (comp. § 20. *a*, and such cases as *הִכָּאתָ* 3rd fem. perfect *Hiph'il* from *כָּוַת* or *כָּוַת* 1 Ki. 21, 25; *הִכָּנּוּ* 1st plur. perfect *Hiph'il* from *כָּנּוּ* 2 Chron. 29, 19), even *הִמָּתֶם* (§ 27. *s*) Num. 17, 6, and elsewhere; cf. 2 Sam. 13, 28, also *וְהִמָּתֶן* Ex. 1, 16, and *וְהִמָּתִי* Hos. 2, 5; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive *וְהִמָּתִי* Is. 14, 30; comp. *וְהִטָּלְתִּי* 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. *וְהִקְמַתִּי* 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 *Ḥateph-S'ghōl*, in the other persons always *Ḥateph-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 *וְהִוְשַׁבְתִּים* Zech. 10, 6 has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. *וְהִוְשַׁבְתִּים* (from *יָשַׁב*) and *וְהִוְשַׁבְתִּים* (from *יָשַׁב*): the latter is to be preferred.—On *הִבִּישׁ* and *הִבִּישׁ* as a (metaplastic) perfect *Hiph'il* of *בִּישׁ*, 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 *הִקְיֵם* is also found. With suffix *הִקְיֵמִי*, &c. The imperative *הִבִּיא* Jer. 17, 18 is irregular (for *הִבֵּא* Gen. 43, 16); perhaps *הִבִּיא* (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 *לְהִבִּיא*); הִֿ 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 *הִבִּין* 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'athibh*), 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 וַיֵּשֶׁב Neh. 2, 20, less frequently the form וַיֵּשֶׁב Jos. 14, 7; וַיֵּעַד 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. תִּרְוֹמִים גּוֹי Prov. 14, 34; לֹו תְהוֹלֵל לוֹ Job 35, 14; comp. also בִּי תִתְבַּנֶּנּוּ Job 30, 20; always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Şere*, 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 תִּרְוֹמִים Job 31, 15, יַעֲרֹנּוּ 41, 2, וְהִמּוֹנְנוּ Is. 64, 6 for וַיִּבְנֶנּוּ, &c.; also תִּרְוֹמִים Job 17, 4 for תִּרְוֹמִים.—In Is. 15, 5 יַעֲרֹו appears to have arisen from the *Pilpel* יַעֲרֹו, the *ā* after the loss of the *ḥ* having been lengthened to *ā*, which has then been changed into the obscure *δ*.—The strange form בְּתִקּוּמִיךָ Ps. 139, 21 cannot (according to § 52. s) be explained as a *participle* with the *ו* omitted, but must be emended to בְּתִקּוּךָ.

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 *Pō'el* of verbs ע'ע; see § 67. z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע'ו sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע'ע, e.g. *perfect Qal* בָּזַז *he has despised* (from בָּזַז, as if from בָּזַז) Zech. 4, 10, טָח (for טָח) *he hath daubed*, Is. 44, 18; *perfect Niph'al* נָמַר Jer. 48, 11 (for נָמַר from מָוַר, as if from מָרַר). The same explanation equally applies to נָקְטָה Job 10, 1 for נָקְטָה (comp. § 67. dd) = נָקְטָה from קָיַט, and נָקְטָה Ezek. 6, 9 (for נָקְטָה); יָרָמוּ Ezek. 10, 17 and יָרָמוּ verse 15; הָרָמוּ (*imperative*) Num. 17, 10; יָסַג Mic. 2, 6; *Hiph'il perfect* הָתוּ Is. 18, 5 for הָתוּ (comp. § 29. g), which is for הָתוּ from הָתוּ. 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. z, 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. הָפַיַח *to incite*, imperfect יָפַיַח (also יָפַיַח, יָפַיַח); הָפַיַח, imperfect יָפַיַח *to remove* (from סָיַח), also *Hoph'al* הָפַיַח Is. 59, 14 (on הָפַיַח comp. § 29. g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הָפַיַח *to cause to rest*¹, but הָפַיַח

¹ As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הָפַיַח, which is, no doubt, to be read for הָפַיַח in Lam. 5, 5.

(*imperfect* יָנַח, *consecutive* וַיִּנַּח Gen. 39, 16; *imperative* הֲנִיחוּ, 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 הֲקִימַת 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 יָלַן to spend the night, to remain, but יָלַן Ex. 16, 7 *Q'rê* (תִּלְוֵנוּ *Kethibh*; on the contrary, verse 2 תִּלְוֵנוּ *Q'rê*), *participle* כּוֹלֵן Ex. 16, 8. Num. 14, 27. 17, 20, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלַן only וַיִּלָּן is found, Ex. 17, 3. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִמּוּל he was circumcised, Gen. 17, 26 sq.; *participle* 34, 22 (from מוּל, not כּוּל); גָּעוּר 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. וַתַּחֲשׁ for וַתַּחֲשׁ and she hastened (from חָשׂ) Job 31, 5; וַיָּעַט (another reading וַיִּעַט), וַתַּעַט I Sam. 15, 19. 25, 14 (14, 32 *Q'rê*) from עָט or עֵט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from הִשָּׂה and עָטָה (ל"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

gg 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. הָוֹר, *imperfect* יִהְיוּר to be white; פָּוַע, *imperfect* יִפְוַע to expire; רָוַח to be wide; צָוַח to cry; פִּיעַל, *imperfect* יִפְיעַל to act wickedly; עִוַת to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעִוַת 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 אֲרִיבָהוּ Is. 16, 9, see § 75. *dd*) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle I (*vulgo* ע'ע), e. g. בִּין to discern. *Paradigm N.*

a 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs ע'ע, 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'ע, 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; בִּינְתִי 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 *ē* (like

the *û* lengthened to *û* 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 קין, 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 קִין Dan. 10, 1), *infinitive* הָבִין (but *infin. abs.* קִין Prov. 23, 1), *imperative* הָבִין (but Dan. 9, 23 וְקִין immediately before הָבִין, also קִינִי three times, and קִינָה Ps. 5, 2), *participle* מְבִין¹. Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מְרִיב (also רָב), מְשִׁים *placing* (but only in Job 4, 20, which, with the critically untenable הָשִׁימוּ Ezek. 21, 21, is the only instance of שום 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 שִׁיר to *sing*, יִשָּׁת from שִׁית to *set*.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived from verbs ו'ע²; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ו'ע is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבִין, *Pi'lél* בּוֹנֵן and *Hithpa'lél* הִתְבּוֹנֵן. The very close relation existing between verbs ו'ע and ו'ע is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from חָיַל to *turn round*, *imperative* also חָיְלִי Mic. 4, 10; שִׁים to *place*, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׁים, *imperfect* יִשִּׁים, but Ex. 4, 11 יִשִּׁים. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. גָּיַל to *exult* (גָּיַל only Prov. 23, 24 *Kethibh*); from לָוַן (perhaps denominative from לָלַיַן) to *spend the night*, לָלַיַן occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָלַיַן only in Gen. 24, 23; the *imperative* is always לָוַן, &c.—Of verbs ו'ע the most common are, שִׁית to *set*, רָיַב to *strive*, דָּיַן to *judge*, שִׂישׁ to *rejoice*; comp. also *perfect* כָּל (middle *Yôdh* in Arabic) to *comprehend, to measure*, Is. 40, 12; עִים (as in

¹ Since בָּנָה Ps. 139, 2, might be intended for בָּנָת, there remains really no form of בִּין 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* יָבִין, 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 ו'ע-forms are alike to be classed as ו'ע, 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* קָזַח (from קָזַח) to *pass the summer*, Is. 18, 6. On the other hand, וְדָגוּם and they shall fish them, Jer. 16, 16, generally explained as *perfect Qal*, denominative from דָּג fish, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְדָגוּם.

c Corresponding to verbs properly וָע, mentioned in § 72. gg, there are certain verbs וָע with consonantal *Yōdh*, as אָב to hate, פָּה to faint, הָיָה to become, to be, הָיָה 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 וּרְהָה Is. 59, 5); comp. the analogous examples in § 48. l and § 80. i.—2nd sing. masc. שָׁתָה Ps. 90, 8, *Q'ré* (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 *lān-nā*. The lengthened *imperative* has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, הוֹהּ יהוה Ps. 35, 1; see further, § 72. s.—Examples of the *infinite absolute* are: רָב *litigando*, Jud. 11, 25. Job 40, 2; שוֹם Jer. 42, 15; שֵׁת *ponendo*, Is. 22, 7. On the other hand, רָב יָרִיב Jer. 50, 34, פָּיִן פָּיִן Prov. 23, 1, חוֹל תְּחוּל Ezek. 30, 16 *K'eth.*, are irregular; for the last the *Q'ré* requires תְּחוּל חוֹל; comp. § 113. x.

e 2. The *shortened imperfect* usually has the form וְשָׁתָה, וְשָׁתָה; more rarely the tone is moved back, e. g. לֹא יָרִיב Jud. 6, 31; cf. Ex. 23, 1. 1 Sam. 9, 20. So with *wāw* consecutive וְשָׁתָה and he placed, וְשָׁתָה and he perceived; with a middle guttural וְשָׁתָה 1 Sam. 25, 14 (see § 72. ee). As jussive of לָיִן, לָיִן is found in Jud. 19, 20 (in *pause*) and Job 17, 2, for לָיִן.

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* שוֹמָה 2 Sam. 13, 32, in the *Q'ré*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 36, note 2): the *K'ethibh* has שָׁיִמָה.—A *passive of Qal* (cf. above, § 52. e and s, § 53. u) from שָׁיִם may perhaps be seen in וְשָׁיִם Gen. 50, 26 (also Gen. 24, 33 *K'ethibh* וְשָׁיִם, *Q'ré* וְשָׁיִם); the Samaritan in both places has וְשָׁיִם, and also in יָסַף Ex. 30, 32, Samaritan יוֹסַף. Against the explanation of יוֹסַף as a *Hoph'al*-form from יוֹסַף, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . des Dr. I. Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of יוֹסַף is the doubtful וְיָסַף, which is probably an *ē*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of וְשָׁיִם as a *passive of Qal* arising from *yisam*, &c. = *yusam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1) is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

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g 4. In verbs וָע the ו 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 וְנָאוּ Eccles. 12, 5 as *imperfect Hiph'il* (for וְנָאוּ); if the form has been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to וְנָאוּ, and regarded as incorrectly written for וְנָאוּ.

§ 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 *ú* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ unites with a preceding *ǎ* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ǎ* 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 *ǎ* it regularly becomes *Qames* (מִצָּדָהּ for מִצָּדָהּ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations it is preceded by *Sere* (נִמְצָדָהּ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S'ghól*, מִצָּדָהּ, מִצָּדָהּ.

(*a*) The *S'ghól* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be considered throughout as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ǎ* (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 *ǎ* (as in other cases the *ē* and *ǎ* in the final syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect* of these conjugations), although this *ǎ* may have only been attenuated from an original *ǎ*. According to another, and perhaps, a more correct explanation, both the *Sere* and the *S'ghól* are due to the analogy of verbs ל"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.* הִבְצָדָהּ Ezek. 40, 4, lengthened according to rule.

(*b*) As before the suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e. g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the *e* נ retains its consonantal value, so also before ה and כּם, e. g. הִמְצָדָהּ Cant. 8, 1; הִבְצָדָהּ Ezek. 28, 13 (comp. § 65. *h*), not הִמְצָדָהּ, &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 מְהַאֵךְ Ezek. 25, 6; *participle* with suffix בְּרַאֲךָ Is. 43, 1; as *infinitive Pi'el* בְּמַצְאֵכֶם.—Instead of the doubly anomalous form יְקַרְאוּ Jer. 23, 6 (for יְקַרְאוּהוּ) probably יְקַרְאוּ 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*, מְצַאֵי, &c. (in *pause* מְצַאָה, מְצַאֵי).

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; יְרַאֲתֶם; מְלֵאוּ Est. 7, 5 are due to their transitive use. Instead of מְצַאָה the form קְרַאת *she names*, on the analogy of the ל'-forms noticed in § 75. *m*, occurs in Is. 7, 14 (from קְרַאת, 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 לְעַמֶּיךָ); in *Niph'al* נִפְלְאת Ps. 118, 23; in *Hoph'al* הִבְאֵת Gen. 33, 11.

h 2. The *inf. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל'ה (גְלוֹת, &c., see § 75. *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֵאת *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, קְרַאת Jud. 8, 1; שְׁנֵאת Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes, Ezek. 33, 12, and likewise in *Niph.* זֶחַךְ 13, 4; also in *Pi'el* לְמַלְאֵת 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 לְקַרַּאת *obviam*, § 19. *k*.—מְצַאֲכֶם *when ye find*, Gen. 32, 20, stands, according to § 93. *g*, for מְצַאֲכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַבְּאָה Ps. 41, 5 as *Mil'ra'* (before נִבְשִׁי) 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 קְרַאֲנִי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מְצַאֲנִי, קְרַאֲנִי.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מְצַאת (for מְצַאֲת) 2 Sam. 18, 22, comp. Est. 2, 15; so *Niph'al* נִפְלְאת Deut. 30, 11. Zech. 5, 7, and *Hoph'al*, Gen. 38, 25; less frequent forms are, מְצַאֲת Cant. 8, 10; נִשְׂאָת 1 Ki. 10, 22 (comp. § 76. *b*, שֵׂאָת beside לִשְׂאָת as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׂאָת) and without א (see letter *k*) יוֹצֵת (from יִצָּא) Deut. 28, 57. In the forms חַטָּאִים *sinning*, 1 Sam. 14, 33, comp. Ps. 99, 6; בְּרַאֲם *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; צָמַתִּי 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* אֶחַתְּנָה Gen. 31, 39; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמַתֶּם Lev. 11, 43; comp. Jos. 2, 16. (*ḥ*) at the end of the word; ויבו 1 Ki. 12, 12 *Kethibh*; *Hiph'il* הִתְכַּיֵּי 2 Ki. 13, 6, comp. Is. 53, 10 (לְהַתְּכַיֵּי for הִתְּכַיֵּי *perfect*, *Hiph'il* of תְּכַיֵּי formed after the manner of verbs ל"ה); in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* יִשְׂי Ps. 55, 16 *Kethibh*; יִנִּי Ps. 141, 5; אָבִי 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* (מְכִי, 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 יִשְׂיָא); ויביא Neh. 8, 2 (before ע); ויחַטָּא 2 Ki. 21, 11 (comp. 1 Ki. 16, 2. 21, 22); ויחַבָּא 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 יִשְׁלֹוּ (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. נָנָה).—In Aramaic, the confusion of these forms is carried still farther, verbs נ"ל also coinciding with verbs ה"ל, i. e. with verbs ו"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 *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiaie 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 הַטְּבִילָה, &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, בָּלָה, נָנָה, נָהָה, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, יִנְהֶה, נִהֶה, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הֲנַהֵה, הֲנַהֵה, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הִנְהֵה, &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 *y* reappearing at the end, נִהְיֶה; 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* הַלֹּחֵה, *Pi'el* הַלֹּחֵה, &c., except הִרְאֵה Jud. 13, 21. 1 Sam. 3, 21.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָנָה stands, according to the above, for (י)נָה, and, similarly, in *Niph'al*, *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* may be based on the forms הַתְּקַטֵּל (§ 52. *l*; and § 54. *k*), and *Hiph'il* on the form הַתְּקַטֵּל, on the analogy of the \bar{a} in the second syllable of the Arabic 'áqtāllā (§ 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 \bar{e} (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 יִנְלָה corresponds to the Arab. *yaǧlū* (vulgar *yaǧlī*), Eth. *yǧlū*; יִבְכֶּה Arab. *yabkī*, Eth. *yēbki*; יִחַיֶּה Arab. *yahyā*, Eth. *yēhyaw*; יִרְעֶה Arab. *yar'ā*, Eth. *yēr'ay*. So also in *Pi'el* יִנְלֶה 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' verbs, various vowels were originally used, which only later, in an endeavour after a complete analogy, uniformly became *S^ghōl*. 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^ghōl* in all the forms, as a modification and partial lengthening of the *ā* (as in יִנְלֶה 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 הֶ in the *imperfect* and *participle* of the active conjugations arose from an original *iy*, and in the passives from original *ay*, as יִנְלֶה from *yiglīy*, יִנְלֶה from *yiggallīy*, יִנְלֶה from *yūgallīy*, &c.¹, but יִנְלֶה from *y^ggullay*, יִנְלֶה from *yūglay*. 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 הֶ in these forms, and not הֶ as in other cases. Nor does this view supply any satisfactory explanation of the הֶ 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* (׳—). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ē* (׳—), 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*, ׳ with the tone always appears before the affirmative הֶ. Here again the question recurs (see above) whether this ׳ is to be regarded as an equivalent for ׳ (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^ghōl*. 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. נָלִיתָ ;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes *é*, sometimes *i*, נָלִיתָ and נָלִיתָ ; נָלִיתָ and נָלִיתָ ;

In the perfect passive always *é*, e. g. נָלִיתָ ;

In the imperfects and imperatives always *y*, e. g. נָלִינָה , תִּנָּלִינָה .

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. נָלִיתָ*), and so too the Western Aramaic נָלִיתָ , but also נָלִיתָ .

h **3.** Before the vocalic affirmatives (נָ , נָ , נָ) the *Yôdh* is usually dropped altogether, e. g. נָלִי (ground-form *gälâyû*), תִּנָּלִי , *participle fem.* נָלִיָהּ , *plur. masc.* נָלִים ; 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. נָלִיָּךְ (letter *ll*).

i **4.** In the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect*, the feminine ending נָ is appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Yôdh*, arose properly forms like נָלִתָּ , 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 נָ was added pleonastically to the ending נָ . Before the נָ the vowel of the ending נָ , which thus loses the tone, becomes *š^ewā*, and thus there arise such forms as נָלִתָּהּ , נָלִתָּהּ , &c. (but in *pause* נָלִתָּהּ , &c.).

For similar cases see § 70. *d*; § 91. *m*.

k **5.** Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs נָ is the rejection of the ending נָ 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 נָ (see Rems. 12, 16).

l **6.** The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending נָ serves in verbs נָ to express the cohortative also (§ 48. *c*); comp. Gen. 1, 26.

2, 18, &c. With a final ה־ there occur only: in *Qal*, אָשַׁע Ps. 119, 117, אָהַמִּיָּה (with the י retained, see below, letter *u*) Ps. 77, 4; and in *Hithpa'el*, וְנִשְׁחָעָה 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 עָשַׂת (before א) Lev. 25, 21 (comp. 2 Ki. 9, 37 *Kethibh*)¹; likewise in *Hiph'il* הִרְצַח (before א) Lev. 26, 34; הִלָּאת 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 גָּלִיתָ Is. 57, 8; עָשִׂיתָ Jer. 2, 23. Ezek. 16, 48, &c. (so וְהוֹצֵאתָ 1 Ki. 17, 13 from יָצָא). 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 הָעוּ (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with בָּנְעוּ); and in Job 24, 1 הָזוּ.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49. *k*.

2. The *infm. absol.* frequently has ה (probably a survival of the older ortho- ¹¹²graphy) for ה־, e. g. הָיו 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 נִשְׁתוֹת Is. 22, 13 (beside נִשְׁתוּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to נִשְׁחַט; so in Is. 42, 20 *Q^{er}el* and Hos. 10, 4, אָלוֹת (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and בָּרוֹת; cf. also עָרוֹת Hab. 3, 13.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלוֹת such forms are occasionally found as גָּלוּה or גָּלוּ, 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 רָאוֹת) Ezek. 28, 17, analogous to nouns like נִנְאוּה (comp. § 45. *d*), is strange, but הָיָה as *infm.* Ezek. 21, 15 is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָגוּ 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* וְהִיָּה 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 *e* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *e*; 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, הִיתָ may be read הִיתָ quite as well as [הִיתָ].

² All these infinitives construct in *β*, 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; וַיִּבְּנוּ and he built; יָשַׁע he looks; וַיִּמָּח and he destroyed, Gen. 7, 23.

p (b) The *î* of the preformative under these circumstances is sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. רָאָה he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative *ת*, whilst after *י* the homogeneous *î* remains, e.g. וַיִּתְּבַל (but וַיִּתְּבַל), (but וַיִּתְּבַל); with middle guttural וַיִּתְּבַל וַיִּתְּבַל Job 17, 7 (from וַיִּתְּבַל). The unusual position of the tone in וַיִּתְּבַל (Baer and Ginsburg וַיִּתְּבַל) Zech. 9, 5, וַיִּתְּבַל (Baer and Ginsburg וַיִּתְּבַל) Mic. 7, 10, and וַיִּתְּבַל (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; וַיִּשָּׂבּ Num. 21, 1. Jer. 41, 10, comp. וַיִּשָּׂבּ Job 31, 27; on the other hand, with *î* lengthened into *ē* (see letter *p*) וַיִּשָּׂבּ, וַיִּבְרַךְ, וַיִּרְדַּךְ, וַיִּשְׂמַט. The form וַיִּרְאָה he sees, occurs parallel with וַיִּרְאָה and he saw (but 3rd fem. always וַיִּרְאָה), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following *ר*, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the *imperfect consecutive* *Hiph'il*, 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'il*. 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. וַיִּחַנו), וַיִּחַד (with *Dages lene* and *S^ewā*) let it rejoice, Job 3, 6; cf. Ex. 18, 9.—On וַיִּזַּן, וַיִּזַּן, וַיִּזַּן (ל"ה) as well as וַיִּפַּן, &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 יָחִי, the second *Yōdh* being resolved into *î* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29. n) יָהִי, יָחִי, with the original *ā* 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 חָשָׂה, however, in Deut. 32, 18, since no verb חָשָׂה exists, we must read either חָשָׂה, or better חָשָׂה (Samaritan חָשָׂה) as *imperfect Qal* of חָשָׂה to forget.—Analogous to יָהִי from הָיָה, there occurs once, from הָוָה to be, the form יָהוּא for יָהוּא he will be, Eccles. 11, 3 (on the נ see § 23. i).

t Moreover, the full forms (without apocope of the הָ, comp. § 49. e) 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 (וַיַּעַלָה); Deut. 1, 16 (וַיִּצְוָה), 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 םִן, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* חָסִיָּה Ps. 57, 2, חָסִיָּה Dent. 32, 37, comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Q^rel*; *imperative* בְּעֵי יִשְׁלִיָּו Is. 21, 12. *Imperfect* יֵאָתִי Job 16, 22, 30, 14 (without the *pause*, Ps. 68, 32); יִשְׁלִיָּו Ps. 122, 6. Job 12, 6, comp. Ps. 77, 4; יִרְבִּיָּן Dent. 18, 13; Ps. 36, 9: more frequently like יִשְׁתַּיִן 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 דְּלִיָּו, as *perf. Qal* from דָּלָה, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly דְּלִיָּו, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; דְּלִיָּו probably points to דָּלָה 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. בּוֹכְיָה (= בָּכָה) *weeping*, Lam. 1, 16; הוֹמְיָה *tumultuous*, Is. 22, 2 (*plur.* Prov. 1, 21); צוֹפְיָה *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 עֹטְיָה Cant. 1, 7, but perhaps there also עֹטְיָה was intended. For רָאָנִי Is. 47, 10, רָאָנִי is to be read.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as י (§ 24. *b*), comp. עָשׂוּ *made*, Job 41, 25, צָפוּ 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 ^aśūwōth) 1 Sam. 25, 18 *K^ethibh*, נִטּוּת (read n^etūwōth) 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 וְהִיָּת 2 Sam. 15, 33 (comp. *w* § 49. *l*); בְּנִיָּי 1 Ki. 8, 44, comp. 1 Ki. 9, 3; וְהִדְלִיָּהָ Ex. 2, 16 (comp. Jer. 18, 21, 48, 6. 1 Chron. 7, 15. Job 17, 5 and elsewhere), and the pronunciation תִּרְאִיָּנָה Mic. 7, 10, comp. תִּעֲנַנְנָה 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 נִפְיָת Gen. 24, 8); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always י, as נִנְלִינוּ 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With י retained in *pause* נִפְיוּ 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 *Ḥateph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתָּוהוּ Prov. 27, 15 (in *pause* for נִשְׁתָּוהוּ) ו and ת may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתָּוהוּ.

8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection of the ה, e. g. יִנְלִי from יִנְלָה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form *y*

occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יָמַח (for יִמַּח) Ps. 109, 13, as in verbs עָע; but in *pause* תָּמַח in the same Psalm, verse 14. Comp. letter *bb*.—The *infinitive absolute* נָנְלוֹת emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 Sam. 6, 20, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הַגְּלוֹת.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with syncope of the ה see § 51. *l*.—The irregular תָּעַלוֹ Ezek. 36, 3 has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תָּעַלוֹ (*Qal*) and תִּעָלוֹ (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְכָּהוּ 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 וְנִמְאַסְתָּ.

III. On *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*.

- a* 9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the diphthong *ei* in the second syllable is in most of the instances weakened to *i*, as קָוִיתִי, דָּפִיתִי; always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e. g. דָּפִיתָנוּ Gen. 37, 26, קָוִינוּ Ps. 44, 20. The form with *ei* 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 *ei* 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 *ei*, e. g. עִשִׂיתִי Ps. 139, 15.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pō'el* שִׁוִּשְׁתִּי (= שִׁוִּסְתִּי) occurs in Is. 10, 13.
- aa* 10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form קָנָה, פִּלָּה (like קָטַל, the more frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52. *o*); with *θ* only in Ps. 40, 2 קָנָה; with *δth*, Hab. 3, 13 עָרוֹת (comp. above, letter *n*). On הָרוּ and הָרוּ, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pō'el*, see above, letter *n*.—As *infinitive construct* חָבִי occurs in *Pi'el*, Hos. 6, 9 (only orthographically different from חָבִה, 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, תָּעַר (for תִּעָרָה = *t'arrè*) Ps. 141, 8; comp. Gen. 24, 20; וַיִּתְּנֵל *Hithpa'el* and he uncovered himself, Gen. 9, 21; וַתִּתְּרַע Prov. 22, 24; comp. Ps. 37, 1. 7. 8. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וַיִּתֵּן and he made marks, occurs in 1 Sam. 21, 14 (read, however, with Thenius וַיִּתֶּן, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנֵן in the same verse, וַיִּשְׁנֵן). In *Hithpa'el* וַאֲלֵתִּתְּנֵר, in close connexion, Dent. 2, 9. 19; וַיִּשְׁתַּע Is. 41, 10; according to Qimḥi also וַיִּתְּאוּ Ps. 45, 12. Prov. 23. 3. 6. 24, 1. 1 Chron. 11, 17, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities וַיִּתְּאוּ (comp., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 597)¹.—On וַאֲחֹנֶךָ Job 15, 17 (for וַאֲחֹנֶךָ) comp. § 20. *m*; on וַאֲבָלְךָ Ex. 33, 3, see § 27. *q*; on וַיִּרְדּוּ Jud. 5, 13, see § 69. *g*. Finally, on וַיִּרְדּוּ, 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; כֹּן prepare thou, Ps. 61, 8;

¹ In Num. 34, 7 sq., according to verse 10, וַיִּתְּאוּ (= וַיִּתְּאוּ) is intended to be read for וַיִּתְּאוּ (*imperfect Pi'el* from וַתְּאוּ).

נָס for נָפָה *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 עָרַו (for עָרַו) for rhythmical reasons (comp., however, וַיֵּעָרַו in the *imperfect*, 2 Chron. 24, 11).

13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* הִרְמִיּוּן *dd* Is. 40, 18, comp. verse 25 and 46, 5; יִכְסִימוּ *they cover them*, Ex. 15, 5; *participle Pu'al* מְמַחֵם 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^ghōl* is found in the first syllable *ee* as well as *i* (§ 53. p), especially in הִנָּלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִנָּלָה 2 Ki. 24, 14), הִרְאָה, הִלָּאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הִנָּלַם 1 Chron. 8, 7, הִלָּאֵנִי Job 16, 7, וְהִפְדָּהּ Ex. 21, 8. The *S^ghōl* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הִלָּאֵתִי Mic. 6, 3. On וְהִרְאִיתִי Nah. 3, 5, cf. § 53. p. The forms with *ē* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִפְתִּי 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 *ē*. Before *suffixes* the forms with *i* (Gen. 18, 4, and elsewhere) predominate throughout as being somewhat shorter; comp., however, *ē* in Ex. 4, 12. Mic. 6, 3. Prov. 4, 11. In *Hoph'al* only *u* occurs.

15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רָבָה *to be abundant*, besides the *infinitive ff* *construct* הִרְבוֹת 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^{re}* requires הִרְבַּת for the *K^ethibh* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבוֹת. 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 הִפְרוֹת Job 17, 2 (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20. h.—In 2 Ki. 3, 24 הִפּוֹת (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 ה, comp. § 53. q.

16. The *shortened imperfect Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפֵּת *gg* *let him enlarge*, Gen. 9, 27; יִרְדֵּה *he shall subdue*, Is. 41, 2; וַיִּשְׁקֵן *and he watered*, Gen. 29, 10, and elsewhere; וַיִּרְאֵה *and he showed*, 2 Ki. 11, 4 (see § 28. d): or else has a helping vowel, as וַיִּנָּל (for וַיִּנְלֵה, see § 27. r), e. g. וַיִּנָּל 2 Ki. 18, 11; וַיִּפְרֵךְ Ps. 105, 24; וַיִּתְחַרֵּךְ Ezek. 5, 6; וַיִּתְחַע 2 Chron. 33, 9; וַיִּאָרְבֵּה i. e. probably וַיִּאָרְבֵּה Jos. 24, 3 *K^ethibh* וַיִּאָרְבָּה *Q^{re}*.—Examples of verbs *P^e* guttural: וַיַּעַל Num. 23, 2, וַיַּאֲעַל &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. הֵט, הֵךְ, § 76. c) has a helping vowel, *S^ghōl* or *Pathah*, e. g. הִרְבֵּה *increase thou* (for הִרְבָּה, הִרְבֵּה) Ps. 51, 4 *Q^{re}*, 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 הִנְיִין Job 19, 2, from יָנָה . Comp. letter *u*.

V. In General.

lh 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 Pi'el* הִנְיִין , see above, letter *aa*; *imperative Qal* הוּא Job 37, 6 (in the sense of fall); *imperfect Pa'al* יִרָא let him look out, Gen. 41, 33 (see, however, above, letter *p*); *imperfect Pa'al* יַעֲשֶׂה he will do, Is. 64, 3; אֶל-תְּבֹא Jer. 17, 17; אֶל-תִּבְנֶה 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 *Q^{re}*); אֶהְיֶה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will be, Jer. 31, 1; וַיַּעֲשֶׂה Jos. 9, 24; תִּרְאֶה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph'al* יִמְצָה 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; אֶזְרָה Ezek. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*; Baer אֶזְרָה). 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*¹. 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 *é* 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 $\text{וַתִּנְיִינִי שָׂם}$ 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-תִּמְחֵי 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* הִחְיִי he

¹ Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S^{gh}bl* 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 tone, 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 חלה, 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* נאווה¹ (in Ps. 93, 5 the Masora requires נאווה), contracted to נאווה to be beautiful, from נאה; מטתו Gen. 21, 16 archers (from טחה); but most frequently in שחה to bend, *Pa'lél* שתחה not in use, whence reflexive השתחה to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd pers. in שת and 1st pers. in שתי, imperfect השתחה, consecutive 3rd sing. masc. וישתחו for wayyishṭahw (analogous to the noun-forms, like שח for saḥw); 3rd plur. ישתחו. — Instead of the Aramaic infinitive with suffix בהשתחית 2 Ki. 5, 18 read with König בהשתחית; משתחיים Ezek. 8, 16 is still more certainly a scribal error for משתחיים.

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. נחני Gen. 24, 27; in pause ענני 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 ענני, Job 30, 19; comp. § 59. *h*; ענה, in pause ענה, Is. 30, 19 (and even when not in pause Jer. 23, 37) or like קנה Deut. 32, 6; ורבך Gen. 28, 3; comp. also ענה, ענם, imperfect הבה, העלך, הפני, יענה, יענהו.

Only very seldom does י take the place of the final ה or ה, e. g. *mm* אפאיהם Deut. 32, 26; יבכימו Ps. 140, 10 *Q^{re}* הפיני 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 גלת (see letter *i*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. פלתו (פלתהו) Zech. 5, 4; in pause עשתני Job 33, 4; ראתך 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* בלאתי I have refrained, Ps. 119, 101; participle הוטא חוטא sinning, Eccles. 2, 26. 8, 12. 9, 2. 18; comp. Is. 65, 20; מוצא Eccles. 7, 26; נשא lending, 1 Sam. 22, 2; *Pi'el* perfect מלא 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; רפאתי I heal, 2 Ki. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; imperfect ינמא Job 39, 24; *Niph'al* perfect נבלאתה (like נבלתה) it was wonderful, 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph'il* perfect הפלא Deut. 28, 59; ההבאתה (in the *Textus*

¹ According to Buxtorf and others (comp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185) נאווה is rather *Niph'al* from אווה.

receptus incorrectly אָתָה—, comp. above, 2 Sam. 1, 26) *she hid*, Jos. 6, 17. On the other hand, forms like חָטְאִים 1 Sam. 14, 33, קָרְאִים Ps. 99, 6, נִרְפְּאוּ Ezek. 47, 8, תִּרְפְּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Job 19, 2 (comp. Gen. 31, 39 אֶחָפְּנָה), 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 נִשְׂוֵא Ps. 139, 20. see § 23. *i*.

pp (b) Forms in ה, but with ל' pointing, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֲרַפָּא Jer. 3, 22; *imperative* רַפֵּה *heal thou*, Ps. 60, 4; *Niph'al* נִחַבֵּה Jer. 49, 10 (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחַבֵּה as in verse 23), and הִחַבֵּה *to hide oneself*, 1 Ki. 22, 25, comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi'el imperfect* יִמְלֵה *he will fill*, Job 8, 21.

qq (c) Forms entirely of a ל' character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וְנִצַּחַת *and when thou art athirst*, Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 3, 8; בָּלוּ *they shut up*, 1 Sam. 6, 10; comp. 25, 33; מָלוּ *they are full*, Ezek. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *infinitive* חָטוּ (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; תִּרְפְּינָה *they heal*, Job 5, 18; *participle* בּוֹטֵה Prov. 12, 18; *fem.* יִצָּא Eccles. 10, 5; *plur.* צָבִיחַ Is. 29, 7; *participle passive* נִשְׂוֵי Ps. 32, 1; *Niph'al* נִרְפְּתָה Jer. 51, 9; גִּבִּיתְךָ *thou hast prophesied*, Jer. 26, 9 (comp. Ps. 139, 14. Job 18, 3); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפּוּ 2 Ki. 2, 22 (*infinitive* Jer. 19, 11); *Pi'el imperfect* וַיִּרְפּוּ Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hiph'il participle* מִקְנֵה Ezek. 8, 3; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבֵּית 1 Sam. 10, 6; *infinitive* הִתְנַבֵּוּת 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *Kethibh* לְהִשְׂאוֹת 2 Ki. 10, 25, Jablonski and others require as *Qere* the form לְהִשְׂאוֹת (so Is. 37, 26); the *Kethibh* would have to be read לְהִשְׂאוֹת, with syncope of the א and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל'ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל'ל, e. g. in their consonants אָתָא *he comes*, Is. 21, 12; בָּרָא 2 Sam. 12, 17 (*Textus receptus* בָּרָה) וְרָצִיתִי Ezek. 43, 27; יִשְׂנָא Job 8, 11; יִשְׂנָא Lam. 4, 1; וַיִּחַלֵּא 2 Chron. 16, 12; תִּקְרָאנָה Ex. 1, 10. Lev. 10, 19; תִּלְאִים Deut. 28, 66 (comp. Hos. 11, 7); נִקְרָא (*inf. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרָיתִי) 2 Sam. 1, 6; שְׂנָא 2 Ki. 25, 29; מִרְפָּא Jer. 38, 4; יִשְׂנָא Eccles. 8, 1; in their vowels, אָתָנָה 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 פְּרָאוֹת (so Baer, Ezek. 17, 6, comp. 31, 8), which can only be intended for פְּרָאוֹת as *participle fem. plur.* from פָּרָא = פָּרָה, read, according to Ezek. 31, 5, &c., פְּאֲרוֹת *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''); *Hiph'el* הִדָּד (like a verb ע'ע'), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יָדַד (as פ'').

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פ'' and ל'' (comp. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נָשָׂא to bear, imperative נִשֵּׂא (Ps. 10, 12 נִשְׂא, of which נָסָה Ps. 4, 7 is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שִׂאָתָא (for שִׂאָתָא; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93. t), also נִשָּׂא Is. 1, 14. 18, 3; Gen. 4, 13 נִשְׂאָא; Ps. 89, 10 שִׂאָא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לְשִׂאָתָא (the contracted form only occurs in מִשְׂתָּאוּ Job 41, 17, with rejection of the ל); *imperfect* תִּשְׂאָנָה for תִּשְׂאָנָה Ruth 1, 14; wholly irregular are תִּשְׂאָנָה Ezek. 23, 49 (so Baer after Qimhi; *Textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשְׂאָנָה) and תִּשְׂאָתָא 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'' and ל'' (comp. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה to bow, to incline, נָכָה to smite. Hence *imperfect Qal* נִטָּה, *apocopated* וַיִּטּוּ (Gen. 26, 25 וַיִּטּוּ) and he bowed; וַיִּנּוּ (so, probably, also Is. 63, 3 for וַיִּנּוּ) 2 Ki. 9, 33 and there was sprinkled (from נָוָה); *perfect Hiph'el* הִכָּה he smote, *imperfect* יִכֶּה, *apocopated* יָךְ, יָךְ (even with *Athnah* 2 Ki. 15, 16; but also ten times וַיִּכֶּה, וַיִּכֶּה Deut. 2, 33; so also וַיִּנּוּ Lev. 8, 11. 30; אֶל־תִּטּוּ Ps. 141, 4 (comp. Job 23, 11); *imperative* הִכֵּה, *apocopated* הָךְ smite thou (like הִטּוּ incline, with הִטָּה), *infinitive* הִכּוֹת, *participle* מִכֶּה; *Hoph'al* הִכָּה, *participle* מִכָּה.

(c) Verbs פ'' and ל'' (comp. § 68 and § 75), as נָפָה to be willing, אָפָה to bake, אָתָה to come. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יִאָּפֶה, יִאָּפֶה, plur. יִאָּפוּ (comp. § 68. h) Deut. 33, 21 for וַיִּאָּתֶה (= וַיִּאָּתֶה); *imperfect apocopated* וַיִּאָּתֶה Is. 41, 25 for וַיִּאָּתֶה; *imperative* אָתֵי Is. 21, 12. 56, 9. 12 (comp. אָפִי bake ye, Ex. 16, 23) for אָתֵי, אָתֵי (§ 23. h; § 75. u); *Hiph'el perfect* הִאָּתֵי for הִאָּתֵי (הִאָּתֵי) Is. 21, 14; *imperfect apocopated* וַיִּאָּאֵל and he adjured, 1 Sam. 14, 24, properly וַיִּאָּאֵל from אָאֵל, whence יִאָּאֵל, and, with the obscuring to *o*, יִאָּאֵל; instead of the simple *apocope* (וַיִּאָּאֵל) the ל which had already become quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S^eghol* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'el* of יִאָּאֵל).

(d) Verbs פ'' and ל'' (comp. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as יָצָא to go forth, *imperative* יֵצֵא go forth, with הַ— *paragogic* יֵצֵאָה Jud. 9, 29 in principal pause for יֵצֵא; 2nd fem. plur. יֵצֵאָנָה Cant. 3, 11; *infinitive* יֵצֵאָתָא; *Hiph'el* הוֹצִיא to bring forth.—יָרָא to fear, *imperfect* יִירָא and יִירָא (or יִירָא), *imperative* יָרָא; *imperfect Niph'al* יִירָא Ps. 130, 4, *participle* נוֹרָא.

(e) Verbs פ'' and ל'' (comp. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. יָדָה to throw, *f*

Hiph'il to confess, to praise, and ירה to throw (both properly verbs פ'ו), and יפה to be beautiful. Infinitive ירה, ירות; imperative ירה; imperfect consecutive ייירי Ezek. 31, 7 (comp. also ותיפי 16, 13); with suffixes ויירם we have shot at them (from ירה) Num. 21, 30; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX ונינם and their race (also in Ps. 74, 8 נינם is probably a substantive, and not the imperfect Qal with suffix from ינה); Pi'el ויידו for ויידו (§ 69. u). Hiph'il הורה, הורה; infinitive absolute הורת (as infinitive absolute 2 Chron. 7, 3), הורת, imperfect יורה, comp. אל-הנו Jer. 22, 3; apocopated ויור 2 Ki. 13, 17.

g (f) Verbs פ'ע and פ'ל, particularly בוא to come. Perfect פאת, פאת, פאת or פאת (Gen. 16, 8. 2 Sam. 14, 3. Mic. 4, 10; comp. § 75. m), once פנו for פנו 1 Sam. 25, 8; for באו Jer. 27, 18, which is apparently the perfect, read יבאו. In the imperfect Qal the separating vowel occurs (תבאנה) instead of the more common תבאנה, comp. also תבאו Gen. 30, 38) only in Jer. 9, 16. Ps. 45, 16 and 1 Sam. 10, 7 *K^ethibh*.

h For ותבאת 1 Sam. 25, 34 *Q^re* (the *K^ethibh* ותבאתי evidently combines the two readings ותבאת and ותבאי; cf. Nestle, *ZAW*. 14, p. 319), read ותבאי; on the impossible forms Deut. 33, 16 and Job 22, 21 comp. § 48. d. In the perfect Hiph'il הביא and (only before a suffix) הביאת; the latter form is also certainly intended in Num. 14, 31, where the Masora requires והביאתי, 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^eghol*, e.g. הביאי, הביאי; elsewhere invariably *Hateph-Pathah*, e.g. הביאתנו or הביאתנו. On the other hand, *e* is retained in the secondary tone in the perfect consecutive when without suffixes, e.g. והביאת. Cf., moreover, והקאתו, והקאתו in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Prov. 25, 16, from קיא; but קוי *spue ye*, Jer. 25, 27 (perhaps only a mistake for קיא), is not to be referred to קיא but to a secondary stem קיה. In the imperfect נתקא is found once, Lev. 18, 25, besides יקא (analogous to ויבא).—On אבי (for אביא), בני, מבי, see § 74. k.

i (g) The verb הי to live, in the perfect Qal, besides the ordinary development to חי (fem. חיית), is also treated as a verb פ'ע, and then has the form חי in the 3rd pers. perfect, in pause חי, and with *waw* consecutive וחי Gen. 3, 22, and frequently. In Lev. 25, 36 even the contraction to חי occurs in the perfect consecutive. The form וחי stands in Ex. 1, 16 in pause for וחי (3rd fem.) with *Dages* omitted on account of the pausal lengthening of *ā* 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'ו and פ'ו, פ'ל and פ'ל, 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 ךף there occur with the same meaning דָּכָא , דָּכָה , דָּכָה to *strike*, to *crush*; and from the root נדר — נִדַּר , נִדָּר , נִדָּר to *flee*.

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

1. Verbs ע"ו and ע"ע in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e. g. מָוֶה and מָכָה to *become poor*; מִשֵּׁשׁ and מִשָּׂשׁ to *feel*; נִדַּר and נִדָּר to *flee*.

2. Verbs פ"ו and פ"ן ; e. g. יָצַב and יָצַב to *place*, נָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) to *lay snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1. (especially ע"ו) are frequently related also to verbs פ"פ and פ"ן , e. g. יָנַח and יָנַח to *fear*; טוֹב and טוֹב to *be good*; נָפַח and $\text{פּוֹחַ$ to *blow*; נָפַץ and פּוֹץ to *dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"א are less frequently connected with these classes, e. g. אָשַׂם , אָשַׂם and יָשַׂם to *be destroyed*, אָרַשׁ and דָּרַשׁ to *thresh*, &c.

3. Verbs ל"ו 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 דָּכָא and דָּכָה to *crush*, קָרָא and קָרָה to *meet* (comp. § 75, letter *nn*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצָה and מָצַץ to *suck*, דָּחָה and דָּחַץ 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—

בּוֹשׁ to *be ashamed*. *Hiph'el* הִבִּישׁוּת (inferred from הִבִּישׁוּת), but also הִבִּישׁ , הוֹבִישׁ , as if from יָבַשׁ , on the analogy of verbs פ"ו ; also in Is. 30, 5 the *Q^{re}* requires הִבִּישׁ , where the *K^{ethibh}* has הִבִּיאִישׁ from בִּיאִישׁ .

טוֹב to *be good*. *Perfect* טוֹב ; but *imperfect* יִטַּב and *Hiph'el* הִיטִיב from יִטַּב (comp., however, הִטִּיבְתָ 2 Ki. 10, 30).

יָנַח to *be afraid*. *Imperfect* יָנַח (from נָח).

יָקִין *to awake*, only in the *imperf.* יִקִּין; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'il* הִקִּין is used (from קִין).

נָפֵין *to break in pieces*. *Imperfect* יִפִּין (from פִּין). *Imperative* פִּין. *Niph'al* נִפִּין. *Pi'el* נִפִּין (from נָפֵין). *Pi'el* פִּוִּצִין (from פִּין). *Reflexive* הִתְפִּצִין. *Hiph'il* הִפִּין. Also פִּצְפִּין 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.* הִשְׁתָּה *to give to drink*, from a *Qal* שָׁתָה which is not used in Hebrew.

On הִלָּךְ (הִלָּךְ) *to go*, see above, § 69. *x*.

c Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the *tenses* or *moods* not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

יִסַּף *to add*. The *infinitive* (comp., however, § 69. *h*, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (on יוֹסִיף 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* יִגִּשׁ, *imperative* נִגַּשׁ, and *infinitive* מִגִּשָּׁת from *Qal* only are in use.

נָהַה *to lead*. *Perfect* usually נָהַה in *Qal*, so *imperative* נַהֵה, 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 ָ , as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44. *a*). This ָ , 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 ָ (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 ָ , e. g. סוּס *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in ָ , like עֵבֶרָה, the feminine (by § 24. *b*) is עֵבֶרָהּ, cf. § 86. *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (הִקְטִילָהּ, &c.), this ָ has arisen by the rejection of the final ָ , and the lengthening of the *ä* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה 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 ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e.g. יהוּדִי *Jew*, יהוּדִית *d Jewess*. The same ending ת is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *S^eghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטַלָה, *killing*; before suffixes, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי, according to the rule given in § 69. c, comp. also § 84 a, letter s; מוֹרַע *an acquaintance*, *fem.* מוֹרַעַת. 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 יוֹלְרָת (for יוֹלְרָתָה, which is used elsewhere) Gen. 16, 11. Jud. 13, 5. 7; comp. Jer. 22, 23 and 51, 13 *Q^rê*, also מְשַׁרְת 1 Ki. 1, 15, *participle fem.* *Pi'êl*, contracted from *m^ešâratt* = מְשַׁרְתָּת; also מְבַעֲרָה (*participle fem.* *Pi'êl* with suffix) arises from the form מְבַעֲרַת contracted from מְבַעֲרָתָה.

Rem. 1. The fem. form in ת־ָ is in general less frequent, and occurs almost exclusively when the form in ת־ is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ more common than קָטַלָה, לָרַת than לָרְתָה.

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(a) ת־ with the tone, viz. בְּרָקֶת *emerald*, *f* Ezek. 28, 13 (also בְּרָקֶת Ex. 28, 17); שְׂפָעֶת *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 ת־ was the usual fem. ending, § 2. d) and other neighbouring tribes², e.g. צָרְפָת *Sarepta*, גִּבְעָת *Gib'ath*, קִירְיָת *Qiryath*, אֵילָת *Greek Ailana in Idumea*; אֲחֻזָּת Gen. 26, 26: on the reading קִירְיָת cf. letter g. Comp. moreover, מְחַלָּת Ps. 53, 1. 88, 1; נְגִינָת Ps. 61, 1 (prob. originally נְגִינָת); חַיָּת (LXX חַיֹּת) 74, 19 a; פּוֹנֵת Lam. 2, 18; רַבָּת *nuch*, 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) ת־, which likewise occurs in some names of places, e.g. חֶלְקֶת, בְּעֵלָת, *g* as well as in the *masc.* proper name גְּלִית 1 Sam. 17, 4, &c. (in 17, 23, and 21, 10, ed. Mant. has גְּלִית), and in the *fem.* proper name שְׂמַעַת; otherwise, almost

¹ מְשַׁחָת Mal. 1, 14 (so e.g. the Mantua ed.), might stand for מְשַׁחָתָה as *participle fem.* *Hoph'al*; but מְשַׁחָת (so Baer and Ginsburg) is also supported by good authority.

² Comp. the Méša' stone, line 3, חַמַּת הַבְּמָת *this high place*; line 26, הַמְּסַלַּת *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 *i*, 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 *yê*;' so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 sq.); גְּחִלְתִּי *heritage*, Ps. 16, 6 (either again for גְּחִלְתִּי *my heritage*, or for גְּחִלְתָּהּ, comp. § 90. g, as probably also עֲזָרָה *help*, Ps. 60, 13. 108, 13). Comp. also פְּרֵת *fecunda* (a fruitful tree) Gen. 49, 22; יְתֵרָה *abundance*, Jer. 48, 36 (before *ע*; but in Is. 15, 7 (יְתֵרָה)); שְׁנָת *sleep* (for יְשֵׁנָה) Ps. 132, 4; and in prose קָפָת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is. 34, 11, to the form קָפָת), also מִחָרָת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמְחָרָת.¹ תְּהִלְתִּי — Jer. 49, 25 *Q^{re}* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהִלְתִּי, parallel to מִשׁוֹשֵׁי; comp. above, on זְמִירָתִי &c.

h (c) אֲ— the Aramaic orthography for הֲ—, chiefly in the later writers; זָרָא *loathing*, Num. 11, 20; אֲהָרָא *a terror*, Is. 19, 17; אֲשָׁנָא *sleep*, Ps. 127, 2; לְבִיָּא *a lioness*, Ezek. 19, 2 (unless לְבִיָּא is intended); מִצְרָא *a mark*, Lam. 3, 12; cf. also דִּשְׂאָה *threshing* (participle *Qal* from דִּישָׁה) Jer. 50, 11; מִרָא *bitter*, Ruth 1, 20. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קְרָחָה *baldness* is to be read in Ezek. 27, 31; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הֲ—, an obtuse form of הֲ— (§ 27. u), only in זִרְהָה for זִרְהָה Is. 59, 5; comp. לִנְהָה for לִנְהָה Zech. 5, 4; אֲנָהּ 1 Ki. 2, 36. 42 (§ 90. i, and § 48. d).

k (e) הֲ— without the tone, e.g. רִחְמָה Deut. 14, 17 [Lev. 11, 18 רִחֵם]; פִּעֲרָה *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 הֲ— 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 הֲ), as also in Job 42, 13, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) אֲ—, 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 הֲ—² as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending תֵּ— 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 מִמְחָרָת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opitius, and Ginsburg, מִמְחָרָת.

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 *mihr*;' 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 *a* connected with any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אב *father*, אם *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אב, אם, &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. רם *high*, רמה *high place*, מרום *height*, from רום *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מרגלות *the place at the feet*, from רגל *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem and, there- *b* fore, 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. מלכות, ממלכה. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה א מ נ ת יו (האמנתיו)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 *c* *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. בליעל *worth-* *d* *lessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גבריאל (*man of God*), יהוֹיָקִים (*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 צְפַרְדֵּי (comp. below, § 85. *w*) and צִלְמוֹת (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 שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׂעֵרָה *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 מְקַטֵּל (as a *noun* also מְקַטֵּל), further 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 (*gutul, 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, qutl, qitl*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal, qattâl; qittil, 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, קטף infinitive of יקטף, &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. *qutl* 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 *qutl*-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 *qātl*, *qīl*, *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 *ā* was heard after the second radical. The corresponding *qātl*-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. *e* and § 93. *d*) and the forms mentioned below, letter *e*, point rather to the ground-forms *mālak*, *sīphar*, *qūdaš*; cf. Philippi, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleich. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, ii. 372 sqq.—The explanation, formerly adopted also in this Grammar, of *qātl*-forms as originally *qāṭīl*-forms (cf. De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 72 sqq.) is supported by the Arabic *mālik* (rarely *malk*), and still more by *גָּדֵר*, *יָרִיחַ*, *קָבֵד*, *קָתַף*, the connective forms of *גָּדַר*, &c., from ground-forms *gādir*, *yārīkh*, *kābīd*, *kāṭīp*. 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*, *qill*, *quṭl*, unless it be assumed that their plurals have been affected by the analogy of the (more numerous) forms with *ā* in the second syllable.

(*a*) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to *קָטַל*¹, *קִיל*, *קִיל* (comp. § 27. *r* and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, *a-c*); without a helping vowel (§ 28. *d*) *קִשְׁטָ* *truth*. If the second or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *S^cghōl*,

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 *גָּדַר*, *אָבֹן*, *אָדַר*, *תָּרַב*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for *קָדַם*, *שֶׁקַל*, *דָּבַר*, &c.

according to § 22. *d*, e. g. זָרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, פֶּעַל *work*; but, with middle ה or ח, also לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רַחֵם) *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 *ä* to *è* does not occur, e. g. רֶהַב, 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 סִתָּר), אֹכֶלָה *food* (also אֹכֵל); with a middle guttural נַעֲרָה *girl*, טַהֲרָה *purity* (also טַהַר). 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. חֲמַת *wheat*; (*β*) from stems ע"ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, *l-n*); פַּח *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עַם; with article הָעַם, 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 Stade, *Grammatik*, § 193. *b*); with the *ä* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ä* to *i*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qūll, מֵאָה *mother*, fem. נִנְיָה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūll, חֹק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (*γ*) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, *g* and *i*); מָוֶת *death* (from mā-ut, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in תְּוֹךְ *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׂוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūll, צוּר *a rock*, fem. סוּפָה *a storm*. (*δ*) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, *h*); יָוֵת *an olive-tree* (with a helping Hīreq instead of a helping Sēghōl) from zā-it, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 Ki. 18, 17 (elsewhere חֵיל) *host*; fem. שֵׁיבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qūll, דֵּין *judgement*, fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (*ε*) from stems ל"ה (Paradigm I, *k*); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, הִנְיָה *murmuring*, נָרָה *a present*, קֶצֶה *the end*, partly such as אָרִי, בָּבִי *a lion* (ground-form bākū, 'āry); comp. also the forms from stems originally ל"י שָׂחַ *swimming* (ground-form sāhw); fem. שָׁלוּחַ *rest*, גִּיאָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"י אֵלֶיָה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ä* to *i* שְׁבִיָּה *captivity*, also שְׁבִית, formed directly from the masc. שְׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qūll, חֲצִי (from hāsy); fem. חֲרוּהַ *joy*, עֲרִיָה and עֲרוּהַ *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūll, בָּרוּהַ (from bōhw); fem. דְּלִיָּה, 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^etāl, q^etīl, q^etūl), e. g. דְּבַשׁ *honey*, דָּוִי *sickness*, חֲתַח *terror*; and so always with middle א, בָּאָר *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 *dibás* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבִישׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבִישׁ (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 בִּיאַר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בָּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'úš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qū'ūl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל¹.

II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

- f* 3. The ground-form *qāṭāl*, fem. *qāṭā'āt*, develops in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *a, b*) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, *a, b*), mostly adjectives, as חָכֵם *wise*, הַרְיֵט *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דְּבָרָא *a word*, and even abstracts, as אִשְׁמָא *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 בָּרַד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*: passive הִלָּל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ל the final *Yōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *ē*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the *y* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרְה (comp. § 93, Paradigm II, *f*); fem., e.g. יָפָה (masc. יָפָה *beautiful*); comp. § 95, Paradigm II, *c*. From a verb ל"ל the strong form עָנָן, *afflicted*, occurs.
- g* 4. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, fem. *qāṭī'āt*, 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. וְקָן *old, an old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אִפְלָה and הַיִּשְׁכָּה *darkness*, probably also אִימָה *terror* if it be contracted from אִימָה.—From verbs פ"פ: הֵמָה *heat*, שָׁנָה *sleep*. Irregular, דְּלִיזוֹתַי *the branches of it*, Jer. 11, 16, &c., generally referred to a sing. דְּלִית (stem דלה), and הַרְיוֹתַי Hos. 14, 1 *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הַרְתָּ, *plur. st. absol. and constr.* הַרְוֹת).—From a verb ל"ל with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלִיו Job 21, 23.
- h* 5. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e.g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרַד *piebald*, מְתוּק *sweet*, נִקְרָה *speckled*, עֵבֶת *interwoven*, עֵלֵל *round*, עֵמֹק *deep*, עֵקֵב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *small*, only in

¹ On this theory cf. Stade, *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), *šaacca* (צַעֲקָה), *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 *qāṭūl*, 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. אֵיפָה, פְּבוּדָה (*glorious*), עֲבֵתָה, עֲנָנָה (*delicate*), עֲנָלָה, עֲמָקָה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and, similarly, in the plurals בְּרָדִים, נְקָדִים, עֲנָלִים, אֲבָפִים *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל (comp. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), *i* e. g. לֵבָב *heart*, עֵנַב *a bunch of grapes*, שֵׁבֵר *temētum*; from a verb ל"ה, probably of this class is רֵעָה, generally contracted to רַע, *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעָהּ *his friend*, for רַעִיהוּ.

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. גְּדוּל *great*, קְרוֹשׁ *holy*, חֲמוּץ *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. גְּדוּלָה (with the change of the short vowel to vocal *šwā*, while in גְּדוּל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; בְּנוּדָה *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*, מְשִׁיחַ *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 אֲנָשׁ *incurable*, עָצוּם *strong*, עָרֹם *subtil*; as substantives, e. g. יָקוּשׁ *a fowler*. Fem., e. g. בְּתוּלָה *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 *šwā*, *ll* and develops to קָטַל (comp. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קָטוּל, with *ā* obscured to *ō* (as above, letter *k*). Comp. שְׂאֵר *remnant*, יָקָר *honour*, כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kittāb*), קָרַב *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the

¹ In Nah. 1, 3 only the *Qerē* requires גְּדוּל (in the constr. state) for the *Kethibh* גְּדוּל.

other form, חֶלֶם a dream, חֲמֹר an ass (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים God (Arab. 'ilāh); with **א** prosthetic (§ 19. m), אֶרְוַע arm (twice: usually אֶרְוַע); fem. בְּשׂוֹרָה good news (Arab. *bīšārāt*); עֲבוּדָה service, כְּתָבֶת (Arab. *kitābāt*) tattooing.

o 11. The ground-form *qīṭl* seems to occur, e.g. in Hebrew אֵייל foolish, אֵילִל vanity, פְּרִיל lead, בְּסִיל a fool, חֲוִיר a swine (the prop. name חֲוִיר points to the ground-form *qīṭl*, comp. Arab. *ḥīznār*).

p 12. The ground-form *qīṭl* or *qūṭl*, Hebr. קָטוּל, e.g. גְּבוּל a boundary, לְבִישׁ a garment; fem. גְּבוּרָה strength, אֱמוּנָה faithfulness.

q Rem. When the forms *q'ṭl* and *q'ṭl* begin with **א**, they almost invariably take in the singular, instead of the ordinary *Ḥateph-S'ghōl*, a *Ṣere* under the **א**; comp. אֲבוּם a crib, אֲמוֹן thread, אֲמוּן faithful, אֲזוּב hyssop, אֲזוּר a waist-band, אֲסוּר a bond, אֲפֹד an 'ephod'; comp. § 23. h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥateph-S'ghōl* 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; חוֹתֵם (Arab. *ḥātām*) a seal (according to Barth rather of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתֵמָה (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 ל'יה (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 *qaulal*) are such forms as אוֹפֵן (or אוֹפֵן Ezek. 10, 9 in the same verse) a wheel; נוֹזֵל a young bird. דוֹנַן 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 *qōṭalt* (§ 69. c) goes back to an original *qātīl*. 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 *ī*) retained before the tone, e.g. יֹלְדָה a woman in travail (comp. also בְּגֵרָה the treacherous woman, Jer. 3, 8; הַצֹּלְעָה 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 *ī* having become *Ṣ'wā*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is. 29, 6. S. 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 קוֹטַל, e.g. עוֹנֵב a pipe, commonly עֹנֵב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in Ps. 150, 4, not עֹנֵב.

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 *qīṭāl* (*qīṭīṭāl*?), 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 *qättäl*, in Hebrew (except in infinitives *Pi'äl*, like שָׁחַ, &c.), *b* is mostly lengthened to קָטַל; comp. אֵיל *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילָת (from 'äyyält); comp. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לַהֲבָה *a flame* (according to § 27. q for lähhäbhā), הַרְבָּה *dry land* (for harräbhā), רִקְקָה and קָרַחַת *a burning fever*, יָבֵשָׁה and יִבְשֶׁת *dry land*, טַבַּעַת *a seal-ring*, שֶׁחָפַת *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb,' Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are נָגַח *wont 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 *qättäl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ä* in the second syllable; comp. גָּנַב *a thief*, דָּיַן *a judge* (constr. st. דִּיַן Ps. 68, 6), טָבַח *a cook*, חָרַשׁ (for harrāš) *faber* (constr. st. חָרַשׁ, but in the plur. חָרָשִׁי); פָּרַשׁ *horseman* (for parrāš), constr. st. פָּרָשׁ Ezek. 26, 10.

18. The ground-form *qüttäl* appears in צָחָה *dry*, גָּאָה *haughty* (the *ä* being *c* lengthened to *ē* according to § 22. c), if these forms go back to original *sthhdy. gr'äy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see letter *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qüttül*; moreover, *iwwalt*, ground-form of the fem. אֵילָת *foolishness*, goes back to an original *iwwilt*, see § 69. c.

19. The ground-form *qüttäl*; comp. the fem. בִּסְפָּת *spelt*.

20. The ground-form *qüttül*; as אַחַר *alius*; from the intensive stem, the *d* infinitives *Pi'äl* of the form קָטַל.

21. The ground-form *qüttül*, in Hebrew lengthened to קָטַל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Comp. אֵטוּר *disabled*, אֵלֵם *dumb*, גִּבֵּן *hump-backed*, עוֹר *blind*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf* (for hīrräš), פֶּסֶחַ *lame*, קַרַח *bald*, עָקוּשׁ *perverse*; פֶּקַח *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qättäl*, comp. the remarks in letter *b* above, on the *e* *Nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'äl* of the Aramaic form בִּקְרָה *a searching out*; בִּקְשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22. c) נִאָצַה *contumely*, but cf. also נִאָצוּתִיךָ Ezek. 35, 12, with full lengthening of the original *ä* before *ä*; נַחֲמָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ä* of this form to *ä*, 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 *ī* (as in No. 23), and the *ā* obscured to *ō* (as in letters *n* and *r*); comp. גִּבּוֹר hero (Arab. gābbār), יָפוֹר caviller, צִפּוֹר (piper or chirper) a bird, שׁוֹבֵר drunkard. On the other hand יָלוֹד 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 *qāṭṭīl*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e. g. אָבֵר strong, צְדִיק righteous, פְּרִיחַ fugitive (for *barrī^{ah}*), עָרִיץ violent (for 'ārriṣ).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭṭīl*-class (see above, remark on letter *a*), appears from the *constr. st.* פְּרִיץ ravenous, Is. 35, 9 (but פְּרִיצִים, 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, סָרִיס eunuch (*constr. st.* always סָרִיס, plur. סָרִיסִים, *constr. st.* סָרִיסִי Gen. 40, 7, but in the book of Esther always סָרִיסִי, with *suffix* always סָרִיסִיו, &c.), and עִתִּיק weaned, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭṭīl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84 a, letter *l*.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, קָטוֹל, e. g. חַנוּן gracious, רַחוּם full of compassion (with virtual doubling of the *ח*), חָרִיץ diligent (for *harrāṣ*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭṭāl*-class, § 84 a, letter *m*. The same applies to substantives like אֵשֶׁר a step (in אֲשֶׁרִי, as well as אֲשֶׁרוֹ, &c.), עֲמוּד 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 קָנוֹא jealous (as well as קָנָא, consequently an obscure form of *qāṭṭōl*, letter *e*).

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, קָטוֹל, e. g. צָפוּי a coating of metal, שְׂלֹמִים requital, שָׁקִי drink, שִׁקִּי 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 *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רֵעֵן green, plur. רֵעֵנִים.

l 30. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, in Hebrew קָטַל; of this form are e. g. the infinitives *Pi'lāl* (prop. *Pa'lāl*) of verbs עָע, as רוּמֵם, comp. § 72. *m*.

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

32. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, in פְּרָחָה a brood.

33. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, in אֲמָלֵל faint.

34. The ground-form *qātlil*, e.g. עֲבָטִיט *plunder*, סִנְרִיר *heavy rain*, שִׁפְרִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer. 43, 10 *Q^{re}*; 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 Kth*; נְאֻפוֹתִים *adulteries*.

VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

36-39. *Q^ātālāḏ, q^ātālīl, q^ātālūl, q^ātālāl, q^ātālōl* (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)*; פְּתָלְתָל *perversus*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָדָם (Lev. 13, 42. 49 in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָדָמַת, plur. אֲדָמָדָמוֹת; יִרְקָרְקָת *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקָרְקָת; יִפְיִפְיָה *very fair* (to be read in Jer. 46, 20 for יִפְיָפְיָה); שְׁחֲרָחֲרָת (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסֻפְסָפָה *a rabble* (augmented from אָסוּף *collected*). From a verb פ' with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צִאצָּצִים *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, are חֲצֻצְצָה *a trumpet* (for חֲצֻצְצָה, comp. § 55. *c*) and פְּקֻקוֹת *an opening*, Is. 61, 1. Also in Is. 2, 20 לְחַפְרָפוֹת *is to be read instead of לְחַפְרוֹת* (from the *sing.* חֲפְרָפָה *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'ע and ו'ו'ו. ^o
Thus:—

40. גִּלְגֵּל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first *ā* to *ī*, גִּלְגִּל (from גַּל); fem. חֲלִיחָה *anguish* (from חָלַח or חָיַל); בְּבָר (for *kirkar*) *a talent*; comp. also פּוֹכֵב *a star* (from *kāwkāb*, Arabic *kaukāb*, for פְּכַבֵּב).

41. פִּלְפֵּל *infin. Pilpēl* (prop. *Palpēl*) from פוּל; fem. מְלִטְלָה *a hurling p* (from מוּל).

42. בְּרִבֵּר perhaps a *ruby* (for *kādkād*), from בָּרָר.

43. קִרְקָר *the crown of the head* (for *qūdqud*), from קָרָר; fem. גִּלְגֵּלָת *a skull* (for *gūlgūl*), from גַּל.

44. גִּרְדָּר *girded*, from זָרָר; בְּקֻבּוֹק *a bottle*, from בָּקַק.

§ 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiph'il, 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 בִּיפְיוֹת see § 96 under פָּה.

X. Nouns with Preformatives.

- b* 45. Nouns with א prefixed. Comp. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19. *m*), such as ארוע *arm* (Jer. 32, 21. Job 31, 22; elsewhere always ארוע); אצבע *a finger*, ארבה *a locust*, אגרוף *a fist*. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150. *b*); in other cases it is 'essential': cf. especially the adjectives, אכזב *deceitful*, אכזר *cruel*, איתן *perennis* (for 'aitan) [= the Arab. 'elative,' used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אפרה *fragrant part* (of the meal-offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'el*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*).
- c* 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'el* הקטל and הקטיל, of *Niph'al* הקטל, הקטל (for *hing.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הַתְּ, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'el* (cf. § 72. *z*), viz. הַכְּרָה *appearance* (from הִכָּר, Is. 3, 9; הַנְּפָה *a swinging* (from נוּף, Is. 30, 28; הַנְּחָה *a rest-giving*, Est. 2, 18; הַצָּלָה *deliverance* (from נָצַל), Est. 4, 14 (an Aram. form: cf. הִנְדָּה Dan. 5, 20); perhaps also הַיְכָל *palace*, from *haikäl*, unless it be a foreign word from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.
- d* 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יצהר *oil*, ילקוט *wallet*, ינשיה *owl* (?); from verbs י'ע', e. g. יקום *a living thing*, יתור *a range*; from a verb י'ע', יריב *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יעקב, יצחק, &c.
- e* 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mém*, which is no doubt connected with מי *who*, and מה *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'el*, *Hiph'el*, *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 מפתח *a key*, &c. (4) מ *local*, as in מדבר *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 *ī*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *ī*, attenuated from *ä*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in מגן *shield* (with suff. מגני) it even becomes unchangeable *ä*. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the *a* necessarily becomes vocal *S'wä*.
- g* The following forms are especially to be noticed: (*a*) ground-form *mäqäl*, in Hebrew מקטל, e. g. מאכל *food*, fem. ממלכה *kingdom*, מאכלת *a knife*, מלאכה (for מלאכה by § 23. *c*) *business*; from a verb מן, מתן *a gift*; from verbs מן, מוצא *a going forth*, מושב *a seat*; from verbs מן, מיטב *the best* (from *maüt'eb*); with י (or י) assimilated, מצע *a bed*; from verbs מע, מסך *a screen*, and with the shortening of the *ä* under the preformative, מרמר *bitterness* (from ממר developed to a segholate), fem. משמה *desolation*; from a verb מע, מע

¹ In ממתיקים 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. *ee*.

probably of this class is **מָקוֹם** *place*, the *ā* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ō* (Arabic *māqām*); from verbs **מָרָאָה** *appearance*, **מָעַן** (for **מַעֲנֶה**) *prop. intention*, only in **לְמַעַן** *on account of, in order that*.

(b) Ground-form *miqtāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. **מִקְטָל**, e. g. **מִדְּרָבָר**¹ *a cattle-drive*, fem. **מִלְחָמָה** *war*, **מִרְכָּבָה** *a chariot* (with *S^gghōl* instead of *l*, but in *constr. st.* **מִרְכָּבָת** Gen. 41, 43; comp. **מִרְחָק** *distance*), **מִשְׁמֶרֶת** *a watch*; from verbs **עָע**, e. g. **מִסָּב** *a round* (from *ml-sāb*; *l* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but comp. also **מִשְׁקָם** Is. 33, 4 as *constr. state* from **שָׁקַק** with sharpening of the first radical; comp. § 67. g); from verbs **לָל**, **מִקְנָה** *a possession*, fem. **מִקְנָה**.

(c) Ground-form *māqtāl*, Hebr. **מִקְטָל**, e. g. **מִשְׁעָן** *a support* (fem. **מִשְׁעָנָה**), **מִסְפָּר** *a smith*, fem. **מִכְשִׁילָה** *a ruin*; from a verb **פָּפ**, **מִגְפָּה** *an overthrow*; from verbs **עָע**, **מִגֵּן** *a shield* (from *māgin*), fem. **מִגְלָה** *a roll* (from **גָּלַל**), **מִאָּרָה** *a curse* (for *m^eirrā* from **אָרַר**); from a verb **פָּפ**, **מִוָּקֵשׁ** *a snare* (from *māwqīš*).

(d) Ground-form *miqtāl*, Hebr. **מִקְטָל**, e. g. **מִסְפָּר** *mourning*, **מִזְבֵּחַ** *an altar* (*place of sacrifice*); from a verb **עָע**, e. g. **מִסָּב** *consensus*; (e) ground-form *māqtāl*, Hebr. **מִקְטָל**, as fem. **מִאֲכָלָת** *food*; from a verb **עָע**, fem. **מִסְפָּה** *a covering* (from **סָבַה**), and also according to the Masora **מַעוֹן** *a refuge*, with suffixes **מַעוֹי** and **מַעוֹיָי**, plur. **מַעוֹיִם**. Very probably, however, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem **עוּן** *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written **מַעוֹי**, &c. The form **מַעוֹן**, if derived from the stem **עוּן**, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also **מִרְדָּה** *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from **מִרְדָּה**, for *mārōkh* from **רָבַה**, as **מִתָּם** *soundness of body*, from **תָּמַם**.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (f) ground-form *maqṭāl*, in Hebr. always obscured to *ō*, e. g. **מִחְסוֹר** *want*, **מִלְקוֹחַ** *booty*; from verbs **עָע**, e. g. **מִגּוֹר** *fear*, fem. **מִגּוֹרָה** and **מִגּוֹרָה** (with the *ō* depressed to *ū* in a toneless syllable; comp. § 27. n), **מִחוּמָה**, &c., Is. 22, 5.

(g) Ground-form *miqtāl*, in Hebr. again **מִקְטָל**, e. g. **מִסְתוֹר** *a covert*, **מִכְשׁוֹל** *a stumbling-block* (comp. above, letter *i*, *mākhšēlā*); fem. **מִכְמֶרֶת** *a fishing-net*; (h) the ground-forms *maqṭāl* and *miqtāl* (comp. **מִקְיָם**) are found only from participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. **מִבְּלִיגִית**, *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (i) ground-form *māqtāl*, as **מִלְבוּשׁ** *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 **מִזְמֶרֶת** *snuffers*, **מִשְׁחִית** *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with **נ** prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *nāqtāl*, still retained e. g. in **נִוּלָד** for *nāwlād*, but commonly attenuated to *niqtāl*, Hebr. **נִקְטָל**) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form **נִקְטָל**, the prefix **נ** is found in **נִפְתָּלִים** *wrestlings*, Gen. 30, 8, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*.

50. With **ש** prefixed, e. g. **שִׁלְהָבָת** *a flame*. On this *Šaph'el* formation, cf. § 55. i.

¹ In Jer. 2, 31 also, where Baer requires **הַמְדָּבָר**, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. **הַמְדָּבָר**.

- 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 תַּחֲמָס *ostrich* (?); from verbs פ'פ' תוֹשֵׁב *a settler*, fem. תוֹחֵלֶת *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 ל'ל' תוֹצְאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs ע'ע' תְּבֻלָּה *confusion*, and תָּמַס *a melting away* (developed from תָּבַל and תָּמַס, from בָּלַל and מָסַח).
- q (b) *Tāqtāl*, e. g. fem. תְּפָאֲרָה and תְּפָאֲרֹת *glory*; from a verb ל'ל' תִּקְוָה *hope*; (c) *tāqtāl*, e. g. תִּשְׁבִּיץ *chequer work*, fem. תְּרַדְמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* נִרְדַּם); from a verb פ'פ' תוֹכַחַת *correction* (from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the *constr. st. plur.* תוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs ע'ע' תְּהִלָּה *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 *tīhām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tīlmtu*, *constr. st. tīlmat*, 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' תְּכִלִּית *completeness*; תְּרִבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תְּלַמִּיד *a disciple*; (f) תְּקַטּוּל, e. g. תְּפֹחַת *an apple* (for *tānpā'āh*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e. g. תְּנַמּוּל *a benefit* (also נְמּוּל), תְּפֹבְחָה *perverseness*; from verbs ע'ע' תְּבוֹסָה *a treading down*, תְּנוּבָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'il* stem), &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e. g. תְּחִבּוּלוֹת *guidance*, תְּמַרְוִרִים *bitterness*, תְּנַחֲמוֹת and תְּנַחֲמוֹת *consolation*; from a verb ע'ע' תְּאָנִים *toil*.

XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- s 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps תְּשֻׁמַּל *amber* (?), and certainly בְּרוֹן *iron*, בְּרִמָּל *a fruitful field* (*S^ghōl* in both cases is probably an intensification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גְּבֻעַל *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; כְּנָם *a swarm of gnats* (if from כָּנַם, סֵלָם *a ladder* (if from סָלַל); with original affirmative *ām*, עֵרוֹם (also עָרוֹם) *naked* (from עוּר), plur. עֵרְמוֹת Gen. 3, 7, parallel form עֵרוֹם, 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 גְּרִשׁוֹם, also גְּרִשׁוֹם, and גְּרִשׁוֹן, *patronymic* גְּרִשְׁשֵׁי, מְלִכָם, עֵמְרָם, &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 ן affixed. The ן is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעַן *Canaan*, and צַפְרָן *a finger nail*; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S^ghōl* (as גְּרָן *axe*)

or lengthened to \bar{a} (but cf. also אַחֲרַנִּית and קִרְרַנִּית); e. g. קִנְיֹן a possession, שֻׁלְחָן a table, קֶרֶבֶן an offering. From an original δ being changed into an obscure θ there probably arise such forms as דָּאָבוֹן a pining away; דָּרְבוֹן (also דִּרְבָּן) a goad; רָעָבוֹן hunger; from verbs ל'ה' פָּאוֹן pride, הָמוֹן noise, חֲזוֹן a vision; שָׂרְיוֹן a coat of mail; from a verb פ'ן מִשְׁאֹן 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.* וְכָהוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן), &c.; comp. also הָרִיּוֹן pregnancy (for הָרָה) and § 93. *uu.* Proper names occur with the termination ֹן , as יִשְׂרָאֵלֹן , § 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 מְנַדְוֹן , once used (Zech. 12, 11) for מְנַדְוֹ (and conversely in Prov. 27, 20 אַבְרָהָה Q' r' \delta אַבְדוֹ for אַבְדוֹן destruction), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמָה the LXX give the form Σολωμῶν or Σαλωμῶν , and especially that in the patronymics and tribal names (§ 86. *h.*) a Nûn appears before the termination ֹן , as גִּילְנִי Gilonite from גִּלְהָ and שַׁיְלְנִי from שַׁיְלָה (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the Nûn in מְנַדְוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination ֹן (יְרִיחֹן , רְמוֹנוֹן , &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; גִּילְנִי and שַׁיְלְנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as גִּילְלֹ-ֹן , שַׁיְלְלֹ-ֹן , &c.; cf. also שַׁלְנִי from שַׁלָּה .

On the affirmatives ֹן , ֹן , וֹת , יֹת , see below, § 86. *h-l.*

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 ; חַרְגָּל a locust, קֶרֶדֶם an axe, כַּרְעֵפָה a branch, Ezek. 31, 5 (verses 6. 8 כַּעֲפָה), from insertion of a ר . Comp., moreover, חַרְמִישׁ a sickle, סְמָרָר vine-blossom; with an initial ע , עֵטְלָף a bat, עַפְבִּישׁ a spider, עַכְבָּר a mouse, עַקְרָב a scorpion², &c. Quinquilateral, צַפְרִידָע a frog.

¹ The plurals נִצְנָנִים flowers, Cant. 2, 12, and קִמְשָׁנִים thorns appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִצַּח (comp. נִצָּח) and קִמְשׁוֹ with the insertion of $\bar{a}n$ (which becomes obscured to ֹן). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissensch.*, xxxvi), עֲזֹבָנִים wares, Ezek. 27, 14. 16, from עֲזָב = עֲזָב .

² Derenbourg (*Revue des études juives*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *'usfûr*, sparrow (from *şafara*, to chirp), that ע was especially employed to form quadrilateral names of animals.

§ 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*; פָּרָם *a vinedresser*, from פָּרַם *a vineyard*.
- d* 2. Those like the form *qāttāl* (§ 84 *b*, letter *b*), e. g. קֹשֶׁת *an archer*, from קָשַׁת *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 מָעַן; מַרְגְּלוֹת *the place about the feet*, מַרְאֲשׁוֹת *the place about the head*, from מָרַגַל *a head*; 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 חָוָה; probably also לְוִיחָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לָוִיחַ *a winding*; נְחֹשְׁתָן *brazen*, from נָחַשׁ *brass*. Also abstracts, e. g. עֵירוֹן *blindness*, from עָוַר. Comp. § 85. *u*.—With a double termination (*ōn* or *ān* with *i*) אֲדָמִי *reddish*, יְדַעְנִי *a knowing (spirit)*; צַפְעִנִי *basilisk*; רַחֲמַנִיּוֹת *merciful [fem. plur.]*.
- g* וֹן appears to be used as a diminutive ending (comp. the Syriac וֹן) in אִישׁוֹן *little man (in the eye)*, אֵפְלוֹן *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. עֵילִימָא, Syr. حَكْمَا, Arab. غَلِيْمٌ *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 *shumais, 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 יִשְׂרוּן is a *denominative* from יִשָּׁר (= יִשְׂרָ), and not a *diminutive* (*pious little people*, and the like), but properly *upright* (*righteous people*); finally, שְׁהָרוֹן is not *lunula*, but an *artificial moon* (used as an ornament), and צִוְרִינִים not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צוּרֵן *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. רִגְלֵי *footman*, plur. רִגְלָיִם, from רֵגֶל *foot*; אֲבֹרֵי *cruel*, נְבָרֵי *strange*, from נָבַר *strangeness*, תַּחְתָּי *lower*, from תַּחַת *below*, fem. תַּחְתִּית and תַּחְתֵּיהָ, plur. תַּחְתִּיּוֹת, תַּחְתֵּיּוֹת; שֵׁשִׁי *the sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאָבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב, plur. מוֹאָבִיּוֹת, מוֹאָבִית and מוֹאָבִיָּה, plur. מוֹאָבִיּוֹת; עִבְרֵי *Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרֵיּוֹת, עִבְרֵיָּה, plur. עִבְרֵיּוֹת; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the original substantive is a *compound*, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵימִינִי *Benjamite*, from בְּנֵימִין (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; חוֹרֵי *white cloth*, Is. 19, 9 in pause; perhaps also גּוֹבֵי *a swarm of locusts*, Am. 7, 1. Nah. 3, 17; hardly נְנִינּוֹתֵי Is. 38, 20. Hab. 3, 19; but certainly in proper names as פְּרִזְלֵי (*ferreus*) *Barzillai*¹; and (b) הָ, arising from אָ, 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), *k* comp. our terminations *-dom*, *-hood*, *-ness*, e. g. יְלָדוֹת *youth*, מְלָכוֹת *kingdom* (the loosely closed syllable seems to show that the *S^{wa}* is weakened from a full vowel); אֲלֻמְנוֹת *widowhood*, from אֲלֻמָּן *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 *l* (see above, letter *h*) in אֲבֹרֵיּוֹת *cruelty*, and קוֹמְמִיּוֹת *upright position* (Lev. 26, 13, used adverbially).

The ending יָ is found earlier, e. g. in שְׂאֵרִית *remainder*, רְאִישִׁית *principium*, from רִאשׁ = רִאשׁ *princeps*. The termination *lth* 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 יָם־, e. g. סוּס horse, plur. סוּסִים horses; but also very often written defectively דָּ־, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e. g. Gen. 1, 21 תַּיִנִּים. Nouns in יָ־ make their plural in יָם־, e. g. עֵבְרִי a Hebrew, plur. עֵבְרִיִּים (Ex. 3, 18); but usually contraction takes place, e. g. עֵבְרִיִּים; שָׁנִים crimson garments, from שָׁנִי.
- b* Nouns in הָ־ lose this termination when they take the plural ending, e. g. הָוֶה seer, plur. הוֹיִם (comp. § 75. *h*).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the דָּ־ in the two old plurals מַיִם water and שָׁמַיִם heaven, comp. § 88. *d* and § 96.
- c* The termination יָם־ is sometimes assumed also by feminines (comp. נָשִׁים women, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים years, from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים ewes, from רָחֵל), 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 *fm* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צִדְנִים Sidonii; Aramaic has *fm*; Arabic *ana* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); in Ethiopic *an*. Comp. also the verbal ending וִן².
- e* Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—
(*a*) יָ־, 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, אֲדָרְיִין 1 Ki. 11, 33, רִצְיִן the guard, 2 Ki. 11, 13, חֲטָיִין wheat, Ezek. 4, 9; defectively אֲיָן islands, Ezek. 26, 18; יָמִין days, Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מְדָרִין 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, תֵּיִין Job 24, 22, אֲחָרִין 31, 10, and שְׁוִימָיִין Lam. 1, 4, תַּיִן 4, 3.—The following form is doubtful:
- f* (*b*) יָ־ (with the ד rejected, as, according to some, in the dual יָדִי for יָדִים Ezek. 13, 18, comp. § 88. *c*), e. g. מְנִי stringed instruments, Ps. 45, 9 for מְנִים

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 Mēša' stone, e. g. line 2 שלשן thirty; line 4 מלכן kings; line 5 ימן רבן 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 *l* 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^{eth}*, 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 חֲלוֹנָיו כָּפוֹן Jer. 22, 14 (according to others *dual*, see § 88. c) read חֲלוֹנָיו וּסְ. On חֲלוֹנָיו and חוֹרֵי, which were formerly so explained, see above, § 86. i.— חֲשׂוֹפֵי (for which the right reading is certainly חֲשׂוֹפֵי) 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*, אֲדֹנָיִם *lord*), the *ay* was originally a suffix, § 135. q.

(d) ם־ a supposed *plural* ending in בְּנָם = בְּנָיִם *gnats* (or *lice*), which, however, is probably rather a collective sing. (from the stem בָּנָן) with the formative syllable ם־; 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 סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים *the Book of Psalms*); אֶפְרָת *a letter*, plur. אֶפְרוֹת; בְּיָר *a well*, plur. בְּיָרוֹת. Feminines in יֹת־ form their plural in יוֹת־, e. g. מִצְרַיִת *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרַיִתוֹת; and those in ית either make יוֹת־, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכוּתוֹת, Dan. 8, 22 (cf. תְּחִינּוֹת *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 יֹת־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of ם־ or ת־, e. g. תְּחִינָה *spear*, plur. תְּחִינּוֹת and תְּחִינּוֹת; זְנוּת *whoredom*, plur. זְנוּתִים (by the side of זְנוּתִים); אֶלְמָנוּת *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 *l* 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 הַדְּוִיִּים *a love-song*.

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become vocal *Ṣ^wā* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-95.

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.

11 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.

0 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*); פְּעַם *foot*, פְּעָמוֹת *artificial feet* (of the ark), קַרְנָיִם *horns*, קַרְנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינָיִם *eyes*, עֵינּוֹת *fountains*.

פ 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; פְּרַעוֹת *princes*, from פָּרַע; מְאוֹר *a light*, plur. מְאוֹרִים and מְאוֹרֹת, comp. Gen. 1, 16; שֵׁם *name*, plur. שְׁמוֹת; פְּלִגְשִׁים *concubine*, plur. בְּיַלְגֻּשִׁים.

q Feminines ending in הַ which take in the plural the termination יִם are אֶלְהָ *terebinth*, אִימָה *terror*, דְּבִלָּה *a cake of figs*, חֶמְטָה *wheat*, לְבִנְיָה *a brick*, מְלָה (only in poetry) *a word*, סֵאָה *a dry measure*, שְׁעוֹרָה *barley*, and the following names of animals דְּבִבֹרָה *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 טְבַלְתָּ *an ear of corn*, plur. טְבַלְתִּים.

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 וְ a second masculine plural termination (in the form of the *constr. st.* וְ, comp. § 89. c), or a dual ending וְ, e. g. בָּמָה *a high place*, plur. בָּמוֹת, *constr. st.* בָּמוֹתַי (also בָּמֹתַי *bām^othē*, Is. 14, 14, Job 9, 8, &c., sometimes as *Q^{erē}* to the K^{ethibh} בָּמוֹתַי; see § 95. o); מִרְאֵשֵׁי שָׁאֵל *from Saul's head*, 1 Sam. 26, 12; הוֹמָה *wall*, plur. הוֹמוֹת *moenia*, whence dual הוֹמוֹתַי *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending וְ (§ 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 fortiori 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 וְ (no doubt connected with the plural ending וְ) appended to the ground-form¹, e. g. יָדַי *both hands*, יוֹמַי *two days*. Instead of the feminine ending הַ, 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. שִׁפְתַּי *lip*, שִׁפְתַּיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending תַּ, e. g. נְחֻשְׁתַּי (from *n^ehušt*) the dual is formed like נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם *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 *Š^ewā*, 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.* כַּנְפֵי, 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 יְיָ and יְיָ, e. g. דִּתָּן Gen. 37, 17, and דִּתָּן 2 Ki. 6, 13; קִרְתָּן Jos. 21, 32, identical with קִרְיָתַיִם in 1 Chron. 6, 61 (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Méša' inscription, line 10 קִרְיָתַיִם = Hebrew קִרְיָתַיִם; line 30 בֵּית דְּבַלְתָּיִם = בֵּית דְּבַלְתָּיִם Jer. 48, 22; lines 31, 32 חֹרֻנִים = חֹרֻנִים Is. 15, 5, &c.); (b) in יְיָ, so יְיָ Jos. 15, 34 (= יְיָ Gen. 38, 21). The view that יְיָ and יְיָ arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יְיָ (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and יְיָ seemed to be supported by the Méša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מֵאָתַיִם *two hundred* = מֵאָתַיִם, Hebrew מֵאָתַיִם. 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 יְיָ and יְיָ in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יְיָ and יְיָ: 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^{er}ē perpetuum* (§ 17. *c*) יְיָ for יְיָ; (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְיָ = יְיָ for the Hebrew יְיָ *Samaria*.—We may add to this list יְיָ, אֶפְרַיִם, *(the river country)*, יְיָ, *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרַם; also the words denoting time, יְיָ *midday* (Méša' inscription, line 15 צַהֲרָם), and perhaps יְיָ *in the evening*, if the regular expression יְיָ Ex. 12, 6. 16, 12, &c., is only due to mistaking יְיָ for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψέ, and only in Lev. 23, 5 ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν.

Instead of the supposed dual יְיָ Ezek. 13, 18 read יְיָ. On חַלּוּנַיִם (generally taken to be *a double window*) Jer. 22, 14, see above, § 87. *g*.

- d* 2. Only apparently dual-forms are the words יְיָ *water* and יְיָ *heaven*, the termination *in* having abnormally lost the tone, which it otherwise always takes (§ 87. *a*), and become shortened. Only of יְיָ is the sing. יְיָ preserved in the

proper name אֲחֻמֵי; 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*, שִׁנָּי *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*; אַמְתַּי *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 עֵינַי *seven eyes*, Zech. 3, 9, כָּל-כַּרְפֵּי *all knees*, Ezek. 7, 17; כָּל-יָדַי *all hands*, Ezek. 21, 7; מְצַלְתַּי *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*, *sāmāy* also are only shortened from original *māy* and *sāmāy*, while the plurals מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם are, in his opinion, formed on a false analogy, due to the fact that the forms with suffixes (שָׁמַיִנוּ, שָׁמַיִךְ) 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 Šewā (comp. § 9. *a, c, k*; § 27. *e-m*); e. g. דָּבָר word, דְּבַר יְהוָה word of God (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word*, in German *Gotteswort*, *housetop*, *landlord*); יָד hand, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ the hand of the king; דְּבָרִים words, דְּבַרֵּי 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 ־ים , e. g. סוּסִים *horses*, פָּרְעוֹה סוּסֵי הַפָּרְעוֹה *the horses of Pharaoh*; עֵינַיִם *eyes*, הַמֶּלֶךְ עֵינָיו *the eyes of the king*.

Rem. The ־ים of the dual has evidently arisen from ־ים (cf. רִימִים), but the origin of the termination ־ים in the *constr. st.* plur. is disputed. The Syrian *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסֵי, סוּסֵיךָ, &c., § 91. h) would point to a contraction of an original ־ים , 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 אֲשֶׁה (letter *f*) and חוֹרֵי (so Philippi, *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1890, col. 419), must be left undecided.

(b) The original ־ה is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in ־ה , e. g. מַלְכַּת שֶׁבַע *queen*, מַלְכַּת שֶׁבַע *the queen of Sheba*. But the feminine endings ־הָ , ־הַ , and also the plural ending ־הוֹ , remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

(c) Nouns in ־ה (cf. § 75. e) from verbs ל'ה (§ 93, Paradigm III, c) form their *constr. st.* in ־ה , e. g. רֵאָה *seer*, constr. רֵאָה; probably this ־ה is due to contraction of the original ־ה , with ה added as a vowel letter. The same contraction occurs in רֵי, constr. רֵי *sufficiency*; חַי, constr. חַי *life*; גַּי, constr. גַּי *valley*.

On the terminations ־ה and ־ה in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

§ 90. *Probable Remains of Early Case-endings, ־ה local, ־ה and ־ה 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 *-há*), 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. יָפוֹהַ sea-ward, westward, קִרְמָה eastward, צָפוֹנָה northward, אֲשׁוּרָה to Assyria, בָּבֶלְיָה to Babylon, הַרְהַ (from הַר) to the mountain, Gen. 14, 10, אֶרֶץ to the earth, בֵּיתָה to the house, תִּרְשָׁתָה to Tirzah (תִּרְצָה) 1 Ki. 14, 17 and elsewhere, עֲזָתָה to Gaza (עֲזָה) Jud. 16, 1; with the article הַהַרְהַ to the mountain, הַבַּיְתָה into the house, הַחֲמֶרְהַ into the chamber, 1 Ki. 1, 15; הָאֹהֶלְהַ² into the tent, Gen. 18, 6 and elsewhere; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive יוֹסֵף הַבַּיְתָה into Joseph's house, Gen. 43, 17. 24; אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב toward the land of the south, Gen. 20, 1; אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם to the land of Egypt, Ex. 4, 20; מִדְּבָרָה רַמְסֵס toward 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 *Komam 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 הָאֹהֶלְהַ 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* *הַמִּזְבֵּחַתָּה*, 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 *פָּאת צְפוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos. 15, 5 (at the beginning of the verse; *הַגְּבוּל הַקִּדְמוֹה* *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-אַפְסָה* unto *Aphēq*, Jos. 13, 4, *אֶל-הַצְּפוֹנָה* toward the north, Ezek. 8, 14, comp. Jud. 20, 16; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e. g. *בְּצַנְפָּה* 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 *אַרְצָה* Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34, 13, *סוּפְתָה* Hos. 8, 7, and the place-name *יְהוּצָה* 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 *אַרְצָה* (in *pause*) Job 37, 12; *הַמּוֹתָה* death, Ps. 116, 15; *נַחְלָה* stream, Ps. 124, 4; *הַחֲשֵׁמְלָה* amber, Ezek. 8, 2 [in 1, 4 *הַחֲשֵׁמֶל*, cf. § 80. k]. In Jos. 15, 12 *הַיָּמָה* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Jud. 14, 18 instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַתְּרוֹקָה* (towards the sun??) read according to 15, 1 *הַתְּרָרָה* to the *bride-chamber*.

g (b) In the termination הַ־ 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; הַמּוֹפְתָה 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 הַ־ usually has reference to *place* (hence called הַ־ *locale*); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in מִיָּמָה מִיָּמָה *from year to year*; probably also (in spite of the tone on the ultima) in עֵתָה *now, at this moment* (from עֵת). Its use in הָלְלֵיָהּ, properly *ad profanum!* = *absit!* is peculiar.

i As the termination הַ־ is properly toneless (comp., however, עֵתָה above, מוֹרָה *constr. st.* Deut. 4, 41; גֵּתָה and עֵתָה 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.* מוֹרָה Jos. 18, 12. 1 Ki. 19, 15, and in the proper names נָתָה 1 Ki. 2, 40, רִנָּה 2 Sam. 24, 6, צִפְתָּה 2 Chron. 14, 9, צִרְפָּתָה 1 Ki. 17, 9, צִרְתָּה 1 Ki. 4, 12, the *ā* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (comp., however, הֶרֶה Gen. 14, 10, פִּרְנָה Gen. 28, 2 from פִּרְן, with half lengthening of the *a* to *ē*; also בְּרִמְלָה 1 Sam. 25, 5 from בְּרִמְל). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the הַ־ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before הַ־ naturally becomes vocal *šwā*, e. g. בֵּיתָה, הֶאֱהָלָה Gen. 18, 6, and elsewhere; הִצְעֵרָה Jos. 17, 15, הִצְעֵרָה² Jud. 20, 16, &c., but also נָחָלָה Num. 34, 5 (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ezek. 47, 19, 48, 28) and שִׁעֵרָה Is. 28, 6 (with *Silluq*); comp. נָנְבָה Ezek. 47, 19 and פִּרְנָה (Baer, incorrectly, פִּרְנָה) Mic. 4, 12 (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in הַ־ the הַ־ *local* is added to the original feminine ending תַ־ (§ 80. b), the *ā* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e. g. תִּרְצָתָה.—Moreover the termination הַ־ is even weakened to הַ־ in נָבָה *to Nob*, 1 Sam. 21, 2. 22, 9; אָנָה *whither*, 1 Ki. 2, 36. 42 and דִּדְנָה *to Dedan*, Ezek. 25, 13.

[¹ The form clings also to a few place-names, as גִּרְזָה Deut. 10, 7; שְׁלֵשָׁה 1 Sam. 9, 4. 2 Ki. 4, 42; קְהֵלָה Num. 33, 22 sq.; יִמְצָתָה verse 33 sq.; תִּמְנָתָה Jos. 19, 43, &c.; אֶפְרָתָה Mic. 5, 1, &c.]

² So Qimhi, and the Mant. ed. (Text. recept. שִׁעֵרָה), i. e. locative from שִׁעַר (Is. 7, 20).

3. Less frequent, and almost exclusively retained in poetic style, *k* 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 compaginis* 'ֿ, the original genitive ending, and i, 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 חַכְלִילֵי עֵינָיִם *dark red of eyes*; עֲזָבֵי הַצֹּאֵן *that leaveth the flock*, Zech. 11, 17 (comp. the preceding רֹעֵי הָאֵלֶּיִלִּי); (רֹעֵי הָאֵלֶּיִלִּי) 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 רַבְּתֵי עָם *full of people*, Lam. 1, 1; עַל־דְּבָרָתִי מְלֵאֲתֵי מִשְׁפָּט *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. רַבְּתֵי 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 רַבְּתֵי עָם, where the retraction of the tone was required by the following tone-syllable; but comp. also *ibid.* שְׁרָתִי בְּמַדְיָנוֹת and אֶהְבֵּתִי לְרוּשׁ Hos. 10, 11); אֶסְרֵי לְגַפְּנֵי *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 תֿ 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*, אִפְסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי וְאִפְסִי 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־צְדָקָה (*king of righteousness*), גְּבַר־יְהוָה (*man of God*), חַנּוּיָאֵל (*favour of God*), and others (comp. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַנְיָבַעַל *favour of Ba'al*).
- ⁿ (b) The ending *î* (always with the tone) is of much rarer occurrence, and is found in prose only once, and then in elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חִיתוֹ־אֶרֶץ *the beast of the earth* (= חַיַּת הָאֶרֶץ 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 מַעְיֵנו מַיִם *a fountain of waters*, Ps. 114, 8.— On the ending *î* see the Rem.
- ^o Rem. Although the terminations '— and *î* 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.* אָחִי, אָחִי we have really a genitive ending; and in Western Aramaic אָבוּ, Hebr. מָתוּ (in proper names as מְתוּשָׁאֵל and מְתוּשֶׁלַח; comp. also בְּתוּאֵל, שָׁמוּ (שְׁמוּאֵל), פְּנוּ (פְּנוּאֵל) a nominative ending; and this is the more intelligible as we find פְּנִיאֵל (Gen. 32, 31) by the side of פְּנוּאֵל (verse 32), and אָחִי־מֶלֶךְ together with אָחוּמִי.

§ 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	
	הַ־, הַ־ <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־ (poetic. ם־) } <i>eorum.</i>
(poetic. 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 אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיךָ and אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיךָ, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל'ה stems (see § 93. x, y), e. g. פְּרִיָהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am. 9, 14 (also פְּרִיָם Is. 37, 30 and elsewhere), פְּרִיָהֶן Jer. 29, 28 (also פְּרִיָן verse 5); comp., moreover, חֲלִבָהֶן 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.* הָ (for *aha*) and 3rd *plur.* וּ , וֹ , וֵ , also in the 3rd *sing. masc.* וִ (וִ), since the *o* is contracted from *ahū*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd *masc.* וֹ (a half lengthening of an original וֹ).

The forms with *e* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הָ (from stems ל'ה), *constr. st.* הֶ (cf. § 89. f), e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ (from *sadayhū*) *his field*; עֲלֵהָ *its leaf*, Is. 1, 30; מֵרֵאָהּ *the appearance thereof*, Lev. 13, 4 (from *mar'ay-hā = mar'āhā*, with rejection of the *Yōdh* and half-lengthening of the *ā* to *S'ghōl* in the open tone-syllable); but שָׂדֵהָ *her field*, from *sāda[γ]hā*. The orthographic retention of the *y*, e. g. מַעֲשֵׂיָהּ , מַעֲשֵׂיוֹ , gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see instances in § 93. ss.

Apart from these ל'ה forms the connecting vowel *e* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אוֹרֵהוּ *his light*, Job 25, 3; לְמִינֵהּ *after its kind*, Gen. 1, 12. 21. 25 and elsewhere; Jud. 19, 24. Nah. 1, 13. On the other hand הָ in the 2nd *sing. fem.* and נָ in the 1st *plur.* are by far the most common forms, while הָ , נָ are of rare occurrence; see letter *e*.—Instead of הָ (כָּה) in Gen. 10, 19. Ex. 13, 16. Jer. 29, 25 and elsewhere, comp. לְכָה § 103. g), כָּם , כֹּן (with *S'wā mobile* or *medium*), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הָ , כָּם , כֹּן , e. g. רוּחָהּ *thy spirit*, בְּרֵאָהָהּ *thy creator*, Is. 43, 1, רֵיעֵכֶם *your friend*, Job 6, 27 (on such cases as בְּתוֹכְכֶם Hag. 2, 5, see § 10. g).

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

- e *Sing.* 1st pers. נִי in בְּשֵׁנֵינִי Ezek. 47, 7 (certainly only a scribal error, caused by וּשְׁבֵנִי in verse 6).

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָּה , e. g. בְּפַכָּה (*thy hand*), Ps. 139, 5, comp. Prov. 24, 10; once הֲנֵה Ps. 53, 6 (comp. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75. ll); *fem.* הָ Ezek. 5, 12 (in 16, 53 also for שְׁבִיתֵיךָ probably שְׁבִיתֵיךָ is intended), כִּי Jer. 11, 15. Ps. 103, 3. 116, 19. 135, 9 (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal כָּה Nah. 2, 14, comp. letter *l* below). Also הָ Is. 22, 1, Ezek. 23, 28. 25, 4.

3rd pers. הָ (cf. § 7. c), e. g. אֵלֶיהָ Gen. 9, 21. 12, 8. 13, 3. 35, 21 (always with *Q'ré* אֵלֶיהָ); נָחָה Num. 10, 36; לָחָה Dent. 34, 7; בְּלָהָה Jer. 20, 7. Nah. 2, 1 *Q'ré*; קָצָה 2 Ki. 19, 23 *K'eth.*, for which קָצוּ is read in Is. 37, 24; עִירָהָה and סוּתָהָה Gen. 49, 11, cf. Ex. 22, 26 (*Q'ré* עִירוֹ , סוּתוֹ); כָּבָהָה Ps. 10, 9. 27, 5 *K'eth.*; הַמּוֹנָהָה Ezek. 31, 18 and elsewhere, *K'eth.*; הַבּוֹאָתָהָה 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) $\text{בְּלָהָהָהּ קָלְלוּנִי}$; in Hos. 7, 6 probably אִפְהָהָהּ for אִפְהָהָהּ .

i Thus the original '— is (*a*) contracted in the 3rd *sing. masc.* יהוֹ— and throughout the *plural*, as סוֹיִיְנוּ, סוֹיִיְנוּ, &c.; (*b*) retained unchanged in the 1st *sing.* סוֹיִי, the real suffix-ending י (see letter *b*) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending '—; and in the 2nd *fem. sing.* סוֹיִיָּהּ, 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.* סוֹיִי, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*); or (*β*) *ă* is modified to tone-bearing *S̄ghól* in the 2nd *masc. sing.* סוֹיִיָּהּ from *sūsākhā*, and in the 3rd *fem. sing.* סוֹיִיָּהּ from *sūsāhā*.

k Rem. 1. The fact that *ai* elsewhere is always contracted to *ē* is against deriving סוֹיִי, &c., from *susai-ka*, &c.; cf. the analogous cases of the *impf.* of verbs לִיָּהּ, § 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. דְּרָכָיְךָ for דְּרָכֶיךָ *thy ways*, Ex. 33, 13. Jos. 1, 8. Ps. 119, 37; for other examples, see Jos. 21, 11 sqq. (מִנְרָטָהּ); but in 1 Chron. 6, 40 sqq. always יָהּ—) 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*); אֲסִרָּהּ Num. 30, 8; מִכְּתָהּ Jer. 19, 8. 49, 17; מְבִיאָהּ Dan. 11, 6; עוֹנֵינוּ *our iniquities*, Is. 64, 5. 6. Jer. 14, 7; Ex. 10, 9. Neh. 10, 1; נִסְכָּבִים Num. 29, 33; רַעֲתָבִים Jer. 44, 9; יִרְבָּם Ps. 134, 2; לְמִינָהֶם *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 *Q^{erē}* is almost always changed to וִי—, e. g. הִצִּוּ *his arrows*, Ps. 58, 8, *Q^{erē}* הִצִּוּ, 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. יָהּ— (after אֲשִׁרִי *happy!* Eccles. 10, 17, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; comp. Delitzsch on the passage); יָבִי— (comp. Syr. כִּי—) 2 Ki. 4, 3, and 7 in *K^{eth.}*, Ps. 103, 3-5. 116, 7 יָבִי— in *pause*.—In Ezek. 16, 31 יָהּ— (so יָבִים— in 6, 8) occurs with an *infin.* ending in וְ, the וְ being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending וְ (Num. 14, 33. Is. 54, 4. Jer. 3, 8. Ezek. 16, 15. 23, 7, as well as in 16, 20 *Q^{erē}*, and Zeph. 3, 20), with the ending *ith* (Lev. 5, 24, reading תְּמַשְׁתּוּ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is. 47, 13. Ezek. 35, 11. Ps. 9, 15. Ezra 9, 15.—Wholly abnormal is מְלָאכְיָהּ *thy messengers*, Nah. 2, 14, evidently a case of dittography of the following ה: read מְלָאכְיָהּ.

¹ So in the *Mêša'* inscription, l. 22 מְנַדְלָתָהּ *its towers* (along with שַׁעֲרֶיהָ *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.* אִתְּיָ [־] Ezek. 41, 15.

Plur. 2nd pers. *masc.* תִּפְּוֹצוּתֵיכֶם (with *t*, so Qimḥi; comp. Norzi: the word is, however, really corrupt) Jer. 25, 34; *fem.* יִבְנֶה [־] Ezek. 13, 20.

3rd *masc.* יִהְיֶה [־] Ezek. 40, 16; *fem.* יִהְיֶה [־] 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 *Yôdh* 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 יָ [־], even to the feminine plural in וְתִּינֶנּוּ (וְתִינֶנּוּ, &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. עָרֹתַי Ps. 132, 12 (unless it be *sing.* for עָרֹתַי, as, according to Qimḥi in his *Lexicon*, תִּתְּנֶנּוּ 2 Ki. 6, 8 is for תִּתְּנֶנּוּ); מִבְּתֵךְ Deut. 28, 59 (treated on the analogy of an *infin.* ל'וּ); מִצְּוֹתֶךָ 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 שְׁמוֹתָן, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דְּוֹרֹתָם, דְּוֹרֹתָם *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 יָ [־] can only subsequently have taken the place of בְּ [־].

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun *o* with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with an unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending תְּ [־] in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ä* 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 **קָם** and **קָן**; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

p

Singular.

		Masculine.	Feminine.
		סוּס <i>a horse.</i>	סוּסָה <i>a mare.</i>
Sing. 1.	com.	סוּסִי <i>my horse.</i>	סוּסָתִי <i>my mare.</i>
2.	{ m.	סוּסֶיךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסָתֶיךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֶיךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסָתֶיךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
3.	{ m.	סוּסָיו <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסָתָיו <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
	{ f.	סוּסָיהָ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסָתָיהָ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
Plur. 1.	com.	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵינוּ <i>our mare.</i>
2.	{ m.	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵיכֶם <i>your mare.</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵיכֶן <i>your mare.</i>
3.	{ m.	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i>	סוּסָתֵיהֶם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equus earum (suus).</i>	סוּסָתֵיהֶן <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.	סוּסָיהָ <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתָיהָ <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 $\check{S}^e w\acute{a}$, 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 $\check{d}\acute{a}b\check{a}r$), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרֵנוּ, דְּבָרֵיךָ, &c.; כָּנָף wing, dual כְּנַפָּיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פְּקִיד overseer, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the suffix of the sing. פְּקִידֵנוּ, פְּקִידֵיךָ, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. פְּקִידֵיךָ, פְּקִידֵינוּ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם eternity, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמֵי, &c.¹

But in participles of the form קוֹטֵל, with tone-lengthened \bar{e} (originally \check{i}) in the second syllable, the \bar{e} regularly becomes $\check{S}^e w\acute{a}$ mobile before a tone-bearing affix, e.g. אֹיֵב enemy, plur. אֹיְבָיִם, with suff. אֹיְבֵיךָ, &c. Likewise in words of the form קַטֵּל, קַטְלֵנוּ, &c. (with \bar{e} in the second syllable; § 84 b, letters d, l, p ; § 85. i and k), e.g. אֵלֵם dumb, plur. אֵלָמִים.

(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 $\check{S}^e w\acute{a}$, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e.g. דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people, דְּבָרֵיכֶם your words, דְּבָרֵיהֶם their words (in all which instances the \check{i} of the first syllable is attenuated from an original \check{a}).

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 (מְלִכִּי *my king*, מְלִכָּנִי, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings מִ—, הִ (sometimes also before מִ—) a *Qames* regularly occurs¹, before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Šewá* (מְלִכִּים, מְלִכוֹת). This *Qames* (on which comp. § 84*a*, letter *a*) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלִכִּיךָ, מְלִכִּיךֶם &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, regularly, according to letter *d*, has the form מְלִכֵּי, with grave suffix מְלִכֵּיכֶם &c., מְלִכֵּיךָ from דְּלָתַי *folding-doors*.

f (*c*) Before the *Šewá mobile* which precedes the suffix הִ 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, דְּבַרְךֶם, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93. *qq*); but before the grave suffixes מְכַרְךָ and מְכַרְכֶּם in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְכֶם (*d^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. הַצֵּר הַזֶּה; דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים (from הַצֵּר).

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 *ā* and, therefore, need not be considered. On the other hand, אֵלֶם or אֵלֶם 1 Ki. 7, 6. Ezek. 40, 48, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st. plur.* אֵלַי); מְבַטָּח Ps. 65, 6. Prov. 25, 19; מְצַב 1 Sam. 13, 23 (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מְצַב); מְשַׁקֵּל Ezra 8, 30 and מְהַן 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 הִ of הִ' stems before all formative additions (comp. § 91. *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of *ʿ*' stems in such cases as חָקִי, חָקִי, &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 *š^ewa* (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. הָרֶבֶב *f.* sword, like מֶלֶךְ *m.* king, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination וֹת—; thus הַרְבוֹת, *constr.* הַרְבוֹת (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 ם—. 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	סִפְרֶךָ	קֹדְשֶׁךָ	נְעָרֶךָ	נֶצְחֶכָּם	פְּעָלֶךָ
<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)	מְתָנַיִם (loins)	נְעָלַיִם (sandals)		
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלֵי	[proper name.]	מְתָנֵי	נְעָלֵי		

II.						
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כַּתֵּף (shoulder)	חֲצָר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	כַּתֵּף	חֲצָר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי	כַּתְּפִי	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)	חֲלָצַיִם (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 (death)	זַיִת (olive)	שׁוֹט (whip)	פְּרִי (fruit)	יָם (sea)	אִם (mother)	חֵק (statute)
מוֹת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם, יָם	אִם	חֵק
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יָמֵי	אִמֵי	חֻקֵי
מוֹתֶיךָ	זַיִתְךָ	שׁוֹטְךָ	פְּרִיְךָ	יָמְךָ	אִמְךָ	[חֻקְךָ]
מוֹתֵיכֶם [מוֹתֵימִים]	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פְּרִיְכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	אִמְכֶם	[חֻקְכֶם]
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵּי	שׁוֹטֵי	גְּדֵיִים	יָמִים	אֲמוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵּי	שׁוֹטֵי	גְּדֵיֵי (kids)	יָמֵי	אֲמוֹת	חֻקֵי
	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אֲמוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵיכֶם
	עֵינַיִם (eyes)	יוֹמַיִם (two days, biduum)	לְחָיִים (cheeks)	כַּפָּיִם (hands)	שֵׁנַיִם (teeth)	
	עֵינֵי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפֵּי	שֵׁנֵי	

III.

IV.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
עוֹלָם (eternity)	אֵיב (enemy)	חֹזֶה (seer)	פְּקִיד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כְּתָב (writing)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלְמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי		כְּתָבֵי
עוֹלְמֶיךָ	אֵיבְךָ	חֹזְךָ	פְּקִידְךָ		כְּתָבְךָ
עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אֵיבְכֶם	חֹזְכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם		כְּתָבְכֶם
עוֹלְמֵימִים	אֵיבֵימִים	חֹזֵימִים	פְּקִידֵימִים	עָנִיִּים	[כְּתָבֵימִים]
עוֹלְמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עָנִי	[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלְמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי		[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיֵיכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מְלַקְחֵימִים (pair of tongs)	מְאָוְנֵימִים (balance)		שָׁבָעִים (two weeks)		
	מְאָוְנֵי				

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*, *qūḏš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *S^eghól* to מְלֶכֶךְ (with *ā* modified to *è*), מְפָרֵר (i lengthened to *ē*), קְרִיט (i 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 *i*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ō* in the form of a *Haṭeph* (יְנַעֲרֵי, יְנַעֲרֵי); before a following *Š^ewā* this *Haṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā, ò*), according to § 28. *c*; hence יְנַעֲרֵי, &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 (מְלֶכֶךְ, not מְלֶכֶי, &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 *mól*, *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"ע, and hence (see § 67. *a*) originally biliteral, *yam*, 'im, *huq*, with the regular lengthening to

ם, ם, חק. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs ע'ע, takes place in the second radical, e. g. םמי, םים, &c. (see § 84 a, letter c, β).

REMARKS.

I. A. On I. a and d (ground-form *qatl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to \bar{a} \mathcal{G} generally takes place, thus פָּרֶם *vineyard*, נָעַר, זָרַע *seed* (from זָרַע), and so always (except Ps. 48, 11), in אֲרָץ *earth*, with the article, הָאָרֶץ according to § 35. o (comp. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφέθ for הֶבֶל, יָפֶת). However, the form with δ is also sometimes found in *pause*, along with that in \bar{a} , e. g. הָקָר together with הֶקָר; and very frequently only the form with $S^{e}gh\dot{o}l$, e. g. מְלָה *grass*, נְצַח *perpetuity*, פֶּלֶא *a wonder*, צְדָק *righteousness*, קָדָם *the East*, יָשַׁע *help*, &c.—With two $S^{e}gh\dot{o}l$ s, although with a middle guttural, we find לָחֶם *bread* (in *pause* לָחֶם) and רֶחֶם *womb* (in *pause* רֶחֶם), besides רָחַם Jud. 5, 30 (in *pause* רָחַם). A helping $S^{e}gh\dot{o}l$ always stands before a final ם, as מְשָׁאָה, מְטָאָה (with *suffix* מְשָׁאָה, מְטָאָה), except in מְשָׁאָה, 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. זָרַע (only in Num. 11, 7, before Maqqeph), תָּרַר (Cant. 3, 4; elsewhere חָרַר), נָטַע, כָּתַר as well as זָרַע, &c.; comp., moreover, קָתַת 2 Ki. 12, 9 (for קָתַת, *inf. constr.* from לָקַח).

C. The הֶ־ *locale* is, according to § 90. i, regularly added to the already developed form, e. g. נְנִיחָה Ps. 116, 14. 18: הַפֶּתַחְהָ Gen. 19, 6, *to the door*; but also with a firmly closed syllable נְנִיחָה Ex. 40, 24; under the influence of a guttural or ר, חֲדָרָה, אֲרָצָה, in *pause* אֲרָצָה (cf. מְנִיחָה I Chron. 14, 16, from מְנִיחָה).

D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Haṭeph-Pathah* instead of the $S^{e}w\dot{a}$ *quiescens*; נְעָרִי, &c. (but also לְחַמִּי, וְעַמִּי, &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 \dot{a} of the first syllable is attenuated to \dot{y} , thus בְּטִנִּי *my womb*, וְיָתְרוֹ; so in בָּצַע, בָּנָה, נָוַע, וְבַח, טָבַח, פָּשַׁע, פָּתַח, צָדַק, קָרַב, קָרַב, רָשַׁע, שָׁמַשׁ and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with \dot{a} there most probably existed another with original \dot{y} in the first syllable; thus certainly with יָשַׁע beside יָשַׁע, נְצַח beside נְצַח, &c. (According to the *Diqduqe ha-ʿamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes δ , the *constr. st.* \bar{e} ; comp. נָרַר Num. 30, 4 (*absol.*) and נָרַר 30, 10 (*constr.*); שָׁבַר Lev. 24, 20 (*absol.*) and שָׁבַר Amos 6, 6 (*constr.*). According to this theory \dot{y} (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 *יָקָדָה* Deut. 15, 14, 16, 13, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S^eghöl* for *ʾ*: *הַבְּלִי*, *יִשְׁעָד*, *נְנָדִי*, &c.

- l E. In the plural the termination *וֹת* is sometimes found along with the termination *ִים*—, e. g. *נְפִשׁוֹת*, *עֲצָמוֹת*, *נְפִשִׁים* (Ezek. 13, 20), &c., *constr. st.* *נְפִשׁוֹת*. Other nouns have only the ending *וֹת*, e. g. *אֲרָצוֹת*, *constr.* *אֲרָצוֹת* from *אֲרָץ*. Without *Qames* before the ending *ִים*— we find *רַחֲמִים* (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals *עֶשְׂרִים* *twenty*, &c., comp. the note on § 97. *f.* Moreover a *i* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in *אַשְׁרֵיךָ*, &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 *מִתַּחַת* § 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); *רִשְׁפִּי* Cant. 8, 6 (*רִשְׁפִּי* Ps. 76, 4); *טַרְפִּי* Ezek. 17, 9; *צַמְדִּי* Is. 5, 10, and so always in *נִסְכִּי* before suffixes, Ps. 16, 4 and elsewhere (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in *חִסְרִי* Is. 55, 3 and elsewhere, though in Ps. 107, 43 Ginsburg reads *חִסְרִי*); comp. § 46. *d.* Even with a middle guttural *בְּעֵלְיָהוּן* Est. 1, 17, 20.—The attenuation of *ā* to *ʾ* also occurs very frequently in this form (see above), e. g. *זְבַחִי*, &c., even *יִלְדִי* Is. 57, 4 beside *יִלְדֵי* Hos. 1, 2 and elsewhere.
- 11 G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like *רַגְלָיִם* *feet*, with suff. *רַגְלָיָהּ*, *רַגְלָיו*, &c., *אֲלָפִים* *two thousand*, *נַעְלָיִם* *sandals*, *בְּרַפְּיָם* *knees* (*ā* attenuated to *ʾ*, *constr. st.* *בְּרַפְּיָי* with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes *בְּרַפְּיָי*, &c. (comp., however, *פְּרִיָהֶם* Jud. 7, 6); forms with pretonic *Qames* 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.* *דְּלָתַי* *folding-doors*, *דְּרַבְּיָם* *double way*.
- o 2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final *א* rejected (but retained orthographically) we find *חֲטָא* *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S^eghöl* instead of the original *ʾ*, e. g. *חֲלָקִי*, *עֲוָרִי*, &c., so in the *constr. st. plur.* *עֲוָנָי*, &c.; *חֲטָא* forms *חֲטָאִי* 2 Ki. 10, 29 and elsewhere, retaining the *Qames* of *חֲטָאִים* before the weak *א*.—On *עֲשׂוֹבוֹת* (*constr. st. plur.* of *עֲשׂוֹב*) Prov. 27, 25 comp. § 20. *h*; *שְׂקָמִים* without *Qames* before the termination *ִים*— (see above, letter *l*) is probably from the sing. *שְׂקָמָה* found in the Mišna.
- p 3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. *קִשְׁטָא* occurs in Prov. 22, 21 without a helping vowel; with a middle guttural *פָּעַל*, &c., but with *ה* also *אָהַל*; *בְּהֵן*; with a final guttural *רָבַע*, &c., but with *א*, *זָמָא*; with a firmly closed syllable *אֲסַפִּי* Mic. 7, 1.
- q Before suffixes the original *ā* sometimes reappears in the sing., e. g. *גְּדָלוֹ* (Ps. 150, 2), beside *גְּדָלוֹ*, from *גְּדָל* *greatness*; *סִבְלוֹ* (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ā* repeated in the form of a *Hateph-Qames*) Is. 9, 3 and elsewhere; *נִשְׁמָה* Ezek. 22, 24.—Corresponding to the form *פְּעֻלָּתָם* *phōl^e khēm* we find *קִטְבָּדָה* Hos. 13, 14, even without a middle guttural; similarly *קִמְנִי* (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 κ 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 פָּעֵלָי Is. 1, 31 (for פָּעֵלָי) and תְּאֵרוּ Is. 52, 14 (for תְּאֵרוּ 1 Sam. 28, 14), the lengthening of the original \ddot{u} to \bar{o} has been retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63. ϕ and § 74. h (בְּמִצְאָכֶם Gen. 32, 20).—In the same way \bar{o} remains before הֶ—*locale*, e.g. הַרְנָה, הַאֲהֶלָה Gen. 18, 6. 24, 67 and elsewhere.

In the *absol. plur.* the original \ddot{u} generally becomes vocal $\check{S}^{ew\ddot{a}}$ before the *Qames*, e.g. בְּקָרִים from בָּקָר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רְמָחִים *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, הַגְרָנוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 Sam. 23, 1. Joel 2, 24; קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qōdhāšīm*, &c., with δ for ---); also before light suffixes קְדָשֵׁי &c., where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'ק' and 'קְ'; with the article 'הַק', 'בַּק', 'לַק', according to Baer and Ginsburg. Comp. further on these forms, especially § 9. *v*. From אֶהֱלָי *tent*, both בְּאֶהֱלָיִם and אֶהֱלָיִם (in the Syriac form; comp. § 23. h and פָּעֵלָי above) are found; with light suffixes אֶהֱלֵי &c.; so from אֶרֶב *way*, אֶרְבָּתַי (also אֶרְבָּתֵי)—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 אֶרְבָּה *caravan*, and of אֶרֶב *way*; however, אֶרְבָּה is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Job 6, 19) and אֶרְבָּה in the latter (e.g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); comp. also אוֹנִיּוֹת 2 Chron. 8, 18 *Keeth*. (אֹנִי *Qerē*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֵנוֹת Jud. 1, 6 sq., as if from a sing. בְּהֵן: of נִנְהָ *brightness*, Is. 59, 9 נְהָחוֹת (on these $q^{e}l$ -forms, cf. letter t).—If אֶפְפָּו 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. בְּטַנִּים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בְּטַנָּה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 345 sq. אֶפְפָּו is a sing. (אֶפְפָּו, the ground-form of אֶפְפָּה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original \ddot{u} 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; נָבַר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, letter h), Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere always נָבָר), and *infinitives* like שָׁבַב (§ 45. c ; on קָחַת, see above, letter h); שָׁבַב *shoulder*, \ddot{a} being modified to \bar{e} (but in *pause* שָׁבַב); locative שָׁבַבְמָה, also שָׁבַבְמָה Hos. 6, 9. With suffixes in the usual manner שָׁבַבְמִי, שָׁבַבְמָה Gen. 19, 33. 35 (an infin. with $\check{S}^{ew\ddot{a}}$ *medium*, not שָׁבַבְמָה). On the other

hand, the *ā* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָמִים (constr. אֲנָמֵי) *marshes*, מַעֲטִים הַרְסִים *myrtles*, מַעֲטִים.

t (b) Of the form קָטַל בָּאֵר: קָטַל *well*, בָּאֵר *wolf*, &c.; *locative* בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* וְאֵבִים, וְאֵבִי; on the other hand בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *inf.* *constr.* שָׁאֵת, cf. § 76. *b.*—(c) of the form קָטַל בָּאֵשׁ: *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, as כִּכְבוֹ) occurs Jer. 4, 7 along with the *constr. st.* סְבִיבָה 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 *qātl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ā* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מָוֹת *vanity*, עָוֹל *iniquity*, תְּמִדָּה *midst*; with final א, שְׁוֵא *falsehood*; comp., however, also רֵוַח *width*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עָוֹל 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 *qātl* 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 *Kth*. according to Baer נֵאוֹת, i. e. doubtless גֵּאוֹת (cf. גֵּאוֹתֶיךָ Ezek. 35, 8; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נֵאוֹת, i. e. doubtless גֵּאוֹת), but in *Q^{erē}*, 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. יוֹסֵף).—עִירוֹ (from עִיר) Gen. 49, 11 is peculiar, so also נִישִׁיתוֹ Is. 10, 17 (from נִישִׁית).—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 *qātl*: 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 לַיְלָה, see above, § 90. *f*); from the ground-form *qātl*, דִּין, נִשִּׁיר, עִיר (see, however, § 96); from the ground-form *qūll*, גֹּר, רוּחַ, &c. The plurals תְּחִימִים *pots*, שְׁוֹרִים *streets*, שְׁוֹרִים *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for תְּחִימִים 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* (observed from ראשׁ = *ra's*, see § 96) and צֹאן *sheep*.

x 6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from ל"ה stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned in § 84 *a*, letter *c*, *ε*, like פְּתָח &c., also שְׁחוֹ Ezek. 47, 5, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24. *d* (comp. the *constr. plur.* חֲנִי clefth, Obad. 3 and elsewhere, and קֶצְוֵי *ends*, Ps. 48, 11 and elsewhere, where the ו becomes again a strong consonant, from חֲנִי and קֶצְוֹ or חֲנִי and קֶצְוֵי), there occur also (a) commonly, of the ground-form *qātl*, forms like פְּרִי, בְּבִי, גְּדִי, גְּדִי, בְּבִי, &c.; in *pause* פְּרִי, בְּבִי, לְחִי, &c. (comp. § 29. *m*), but אֲרִי Jud. 14, 18; with suffixes פְּרִי (attenuated from *parvō*), but also פְּרִיךָ &c.;

before a grave suffix פְּרִיָּהֶם, but also פְּרִיָּבָם. Plur. נְדָיִים (constr. נְדָיִי, see above, letter *o*, חֲטָאִי, אֲרִיִּים and אֲרִיּוֹת; with softening of the *y* to *n* (as elsewhere in בְּלוּיָא Jer. 38, 12, for which there is בְּלוּיָ in verse 11, according to § 8. *k*; לְלֵאֵוֹת, דְּוִדְרָאִים 2 Chron. 17, 11, comp. 26, 7 *K^{eth}*., probably in דְּוִדְרָאִים from דְּוִדְרִי and לוּלִי; also חֲלֵבָאִים Ps. 10, 10 *K^{eth}*., divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. חֲלֵבִי *hapless*): חֲלֵבִי *jewels*, Cant. 7, 2 (from חֲלִי), חֲלֵבִי *lambs*, 1 Sam. 15, 4. Is. 40, 11 (from חֲלִי); but instead of חֲלֵבִי and חֲלֵבִי (from חֲלֵבִי and חֲלֵבִי) the Masora requires חֲלֵבִי and חֲלֵבִי; dual: חֲלֵבִי, *constr. st.* חֲלֵבִי, with *suff.* חֲלֵבִי &c. On דֶּלַע *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 *qāḥl*, חֲצִי *half*, in *pause* חֲצִי, with *suff.* חֲצִי &c.—*y*
From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as חֲצִי (from *iwy* = חֲצִי), חֲצִי, plur. חֲצִי, חֲצִי &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. חֲצִי Num. 24, 24 read with the Samaritan חֲצִי, and for חֲצִי Ezek. 30, 9 read probably with Cornill חֲצִי.

(*c*) From the ground-form *qāḥl* sometimes forms like חֲצִי, חֲצִי (from *tūhw*, *z būhw*), sometimes like חֲצִי, חֲצִי, and even without an initial guttural חֲצִי, חֲצִי, חֲצִי (also חֲצִי, חֲצִי, חֲצִי &c.; in *pause* חֲצִי &c., with *suff.* חֲצִי, plur. חֲצִי. From חֲצִי *branch*, there occurs in Ps. 104, 12 the plur. חֲצִי (analogous to חֲצִי &c., see above, letter *x*); the *K^{eth}*. obviously intends חֲצִי (so *Opius* and others). Dual, with *suff.* חֲצִי Num. 24, 7 from חֲצִי, for חֲצִי *bucket*.

7. On Paradigms *l-n*: segholate forms from stems ע'ע (see § 84 *a*, letter *c*, *β*). *aa*

(*a*) In the *qāḥl*-form the *ā* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st. sing.*, as in חֲצִי (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination חֲצִי *the Red sea*; and even before *Māqqeph*, חֲצִי *the salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. חֲצִי *morsel*, חֲצִי *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qames* in *pause*, as well as after the article (e.g. חֲצִי). Adjectives of this class (formerly treated under letter *ff*) are, e.g. חֲצִי *poor*, חֲצִי *light*, plur. חֲצִי, חֲצִי; under the influence of a guttural either forms like חֲצִי, חֲצִי arise, or, with *compensatory lengthening*, חֲצִי, חֲצִי. In the *constr. st.* חֲצִי *life*, and חֲצִי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חֲצִי¹ and חֲצִי. As a locative form notice חֲצִי *to the mountain*, Gen. 14, 10 (see § 27. *q*) beside חֲצִי. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in חֲצִי Jer. 17, 3 (on the analogy of the *qāḥl*-forms; but in Ps. 30, 8 for חֲצִי read חֲצִי) and חֲצִי Gen. 14, 6; plur. *constr.* חֲצִי Num. 23, 7, &c. (but only in poetical passages); חֲצִי Jud. 5, 14. Neh. 9, 22; חֲצִי Neh. 9, 24: elsewhere חֲצִי, חֲצִי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ā* is some-

¹ חֲצִי only in Dan. 12, 7 as *constr. st.*; since in the asseverative formulae חֲצִי נִפְשָׁךְ, חֲצִי יְהוּוֹה (otherwise only in 2 Sam. 15, 21, after יהוה, and Amos 8, 14) חֲצִי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.), in use along with the equally regular חֲצִי חֲצִי (Deut. 32, 40) and חֲצִי (= חֲצִי).

times attenuated to *i*, e. g. פְּתִים, פְּתִים, from פֶּת; קָפִים and קָפֹת (also קָפֹת 2 Sam. 17, 28) from קָפ. Before ח *ā* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e. g. פְּחִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qitl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but comp. also אֵשְׁבֹם Is. 50, 11), חַן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חַנְצְוֵיךָ Ps. 77, 18. (c) *Qitl*-forms: חֹל, חֹל *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חֹלֶה, חֹלֶה, with suff. חֹלֵי &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20. *m*) always חֹלֶה, חֹלֶה (חֹלֶה and חֹלֶה are bracketed in the Paradigm as being simply analogous formations on the model of חֹלֶה, חֹלֶה, חֹלֶה, for which חֹלֶה and חֹלֶה are also found). חֹלֶה, expanded to a trilateral form, Jud. 5, 15 and Is. 10, 1, generally explained as a secondary form of חֹלֶה with abnormal weakening of the *ā* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qitl*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nūn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms *l-n*, e. g. אֶף *nose*, אֶף (אֶפֶי, dual אֶפֶי, also *face*) for 'anp; חֶךְ *palate* for *hink*, חֶךְ *fetters*, עֵז *goat*, plur. עֵזִים, for 'inz, probably also אֶבֶן *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 *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st.* sing. only in אֶל־forms, e. g. צְבָא *army*, צְבָא. For the construct forms חֶלֶב *milk*, לָבָן *white*, Gen. 49, 12, instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חֶלֶב, לָבָן, a secondary form חֶלֶב, לָבָן must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עָשָׁן occurs once, Ex. 19, 18, beside עָשָׁן. The plur. פָּרָשִׁים *horses*, Is. 21, 7 (instead of פָּרָשִׁים, ground-form *pārās*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qattāl*-form פָּרָשׁ *horseman*.

cc Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to keep the preceding vowel short, e. g. גַּמְלִים *camels*, קְטַנִּים *small ones*, פְּלִגּוֹת *brooks* (see § 20. *a*).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *i* does not take place in the *constr. st.* plur. before a middle guttural, e. g. נְהָרִי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms זַנְבוֹת *tails*, זַנְבוֹת, and (in the dual) פְּנֵי *wings*, from זָנַב, זָנַב.—The dual נְהָרִים from נְהָר *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination.

ff B. From ע'ע stems, forms like חֶלֶל, עֵז, &c. belong to this class.

gg C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qitāl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵב *heart*, לֵב *temetum*, עֵנַב *grape*, &c. From שֵׁעַר *hair*, besides the *constr. st.* שֵׁעַר the form שֵׁעַר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from צֶלַע *rib*, צֶלַע and even צֶלַע 2 Sam. 16, 13, both, probably, also old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צֶלַע; comp. also צֶלַע and צֶלַע, as well as the *constr. st.* plur. צֶלַע; also from נֶקַר *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* נֶקַר is found, Dent. 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, הָרַל, חָסַר, &c., but not before suffixes, בְּתָפִי, &c., nor in forms from ל"א stems, e.g. מְלֵא *full*, מְלֵא; comp., moreover, עָקַב Gen. 25, 26 from עָקַב *heel*, and אָבֵל Ps. 35, 14, *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary בְּתָהּ, &c., have a segholate form, as אָרְךָ, גָּרָר, יָרֵךְ, גָּוֵל, עָרַל (Ezek. 44, 9), *constr. st.* of אָרַךְ *long*, גָּרַר *wall*, יָרַךְ *thigh*, גָּוֵל *robbery*, עָרַל *uncircumcised*. In Is. 11, 14 בְּכַתְּףָהּ would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בְּכַתְּפָהּ); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended (wrongly) by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] בכ' אָהָר *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. שָׂבַחְתִּי, שָׂמַחְתִּי, אָבַלְתִּי, יִשְׁנִי, חָפְצִי; comp. also יִתְרָתִי (under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָתַר *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרָא *fearing*, always יָרָא; comp. also רָנְנִי Ps. 35, 20 from רָנַע.—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*, עָד *witness*, with unchangeable *Ṣērē*; hence מֵתִי, מֵתִים, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭūl*. This *kk* ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭōl*, e.g. עָוֵל *round*, עָמוֹק *deep*, אָדָם *red*; on the other hand before formative additions the short *ā* 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, נִבְהָה, נִשְׁחָרִים). The form עָנוֹל, 1 Ki. 10, 19, is abnormal; likewise עֲמוֹקָה Prov. 23, 27, Jablonski (Baer and Ginsburg עֲמוֹקָה).

3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāṭāl* 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 *qāṭāl*-form (see § 84a, 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.* יָדוֹ, 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. דָּמִי, דָּמִים. 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 $\mathcal{S}^e w\acute{a}$ (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 $\mathcal{S}^e w\acute{a}$ 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*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from *'álám*), 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 מְקַרָּא¹; 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 נְקַרְאִים but also נְחַבְאִים Jos. 10, 17, נְטַמְאִים Ezek. 20, 30 sq., and so always נְבַאִים (except Ezek. 13, 2 הַנְּבַאִים) and נְמַצְאִים (except Ezra 8, 25 הַנְּמַצְאִים).

pp Moreover, the other participles in \bar{a} also follow the analogy of עֹלָם as regards the final syllable (מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל; comp., however, הַפּוֹדֵשׁ Gen. 43, 12 in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65. *d*); also שֹׁלְחָן *table* (§ 85. *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, *constr. st. plur.* שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, קָרְבָּן, *constr. st. plur.* קָרְבָּנִים, hence in plur. *constr. st.* with *suff.* קָרְבָּנֵיהֶם 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 מְעַרְמִים from עֲרֹם], מְעַרְמוֹת *nakedness*, 2 Chron. 28, 15; מְרַדֵּם; מְרַדְפוֹ, מְרַדְפֵי Is. 51, 10, נְבַבְרֵי Is. 23, 8 sq.; even with attenuation of the \bar{a} to \bar{i} , מְוֹרְזִים *threshing instruments*, 2 Sam. 24, 22. 1 Chron. 21, 23, from מְוֹרֵג, מְתָן (§ 85. *g*), מְגִן (§ 85. *i*), מְעֵזוֹ (§ 85. *k*), inasmuch as they retain the \bar{a} of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e. g. מְוֹשֵׁב (§ 85. *g*); הַוֹּשֵׁב (§ 85. *p*), *constr. st. plur.* הַוֹּשְׁבֵי 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, צְוֹאֵר *neck* (from $\mathcal{S}^e w\acute{a}r$), *constr. st. plur.* צְוֹאֵרֵי Jer. 28, 10 sq., *constr. st. plur.* צְוֹאֵרֵי Gen. 45, 14, &c.

qq 2. (Paradigm *b*; comp. § 84*a*, letter *s*.) Instead of the original \bar{i} in such forms as אֵיבְכָם (cf. 2 Ki. 22, 29), the second syllable more frequently has \bar{e} , e. g. יֹצְרֵךְ *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91. *d*; but cf. also אֲבָר Deut. 32, 28) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחָךְ, sometimes like בְּרֵאךְ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נִטְעַ Ps. 94, 9 (according to § 65. *d*); with a middle guttural נִצְלַךְ Is. 48, 17; comp. 43, 14.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have \bar{e} in the final syllable (מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל, &c.); see further, in § 84*b*, letter *d*, נִבְנֵן, &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. מְזַבְּחִים*, plur. מְזַבְּחִים), and letter *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מִקְהָלִים Ps. 26, 12.

3. (Paradigm *c: part. Qal* of verbs מִלֵּל, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the rr unchangeableness of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ezek. 17, 15 *ē* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S^eghôl* 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^o is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the מִלֵּל-forms mentioned in § 84 *a*, letter *r*, § 85. *g* (with *suffix*, e. g. הִפְעֵלְךָ Dent. 20, 1, which brought thee up), and letter *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *āy* of ss the termination has been contracted to *ē*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*; as מִשְׁתִּיָּהֶם Is. 5, 12. Dan. 1, 10. 16; מְרִאֵיהֶם *their appearance*, Dan. 1, 15. Gen. 41, 21, cf. Nah. 2, 5; נֹטְיָהֶם *who stretched them forth*, Is. 42, 5; defectively אִפְהֶם Hos. 7, 5 (comp. נִהָהֶם 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 מִהַנֶּיךָ *thy camp*, Deut. 23, 15 (מִחַנְךָ occurs just before), מִקְנֵיךָ *thy cattle*, Is. 30, 23, מְרִאֵיךָ Cant. 2, 14, and מְרִאֵיו *the sight of him*, Job 41, 1 (with the *י* here retained orthographically), מְעַלְיו 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 מְזַהֵיִם Is. 25, 6 (*part. Pu.* from מְזַהֵה).

4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel tt (*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*, uu גָּדוּל, &c. (with *ō*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*); in substantives like שְׁלֹם, this *ō* is demonstrably obscured from *ā* (Arab. *sāllām*); letters *l, m*, אָסִיר, אָסוּר, &c.; § 85. *u*, וְכָרוֹן, *constr. וְכָרוֹן*; חָיוֹן, *constr. חָיוֹן*; בְּלִיֹן, *constr. בְּלִיֹן* (comp., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצָבוֹן, קִנְיָמוֹן, and with plural suffix עֲזָבוֹנֶיךָ Ezek. 27, 12 sqq.); § 85. *w*, חֲלָמִישׁ, *constr. חֲלָמִישׁ*; § 85. *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

2. עֲנִי (ground-form *'antī*, stem עֲנָה) represents forms in which a closing *Yôdh* vv has been resolved into *ē*; before formative additions the *Yôdh* 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 ww from a short vowel (Arab. *kittāb*); *constr. st.* בְּתָב־ Est. 4, 8 (readings like בְּתָב 2 Chron. 35, 4 are incorrect, although יְקָר 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 *u*, § 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 קָרִים, פְּרִיזִים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the constr. *st.* sing. according to the rule, changes the *ā* into vocal *S^cwā* (סָרִים, פְּרִיזִין). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיין *tyrant*, which is for עָרִיין, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qames^c*.) 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), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סְתָרָה *covering* (masc. סֵתֵר), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ, derived from ל' stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲדָנָה *grace, pleasure* (עֲדָן); (*c*) חֲלָדָח, proper name (חֲלָד *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהָרָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עוֹלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צִידָה *victuals* (masc. צִיד, comp. Paradigm *h*); from *qīl* and *qull*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲלָהַי *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*) יָפָה *plan*; (*n*) חֲקָה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qāṭālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נִקְמָה); (*b*) אֲרָמָה *earth*; (*c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶף *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶף). From stems ע'ו' arise such forms as עֵרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part. Qal* from עוֹר) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qāṭūl*, עֲמֻקָה *profunda* (masc. עֲמֻק), עֲבָרָה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the second syllable, (*a*) יִלְדָה *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 *i*) into *Šwā*, יִשְׁכָּה *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 *ā* 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, unchangeable in the second, (*a*) גְּדֹלָה *magna*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, properly *pia*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seiuuncta*; (*b*) עֲנִיָּה *misera*.

2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִיַת *weeping* (masc. בְּכִי, § 93. I, *k*), פְּרִיַת *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs ל'א, as מוֹצֵאת, יוֹצֵאת, may be due to contraction from *yōš'et*, &c., whilst forms like מוֹצֵאת, גִּשְׁאת (see § 74. *i*) may be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93. *t*. Apart from the ל'ה formations, the only examples with simple ת are יִלְדָתָּ (construct *st.*) Gen. 16, 11. Jud. 13, 5. 7 for יִלְדָתָּ (Gen. 17, 19. Is. 7, 14), and מוֹשְׁרָתָּ 1 Ki. 1, 15, contracted from מוֹשְׁרָתָּ; 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 נִבְרָתָּ (for original *g^ebirt*; § 69. *c*), the form נִבְרָתָּ *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; the *absolute st.* is נִבְרָה); from מְלֻכָתָּ (מְלֻךְ = מְלֻךְ) *queen*; in Paradigm II, (*a*) יָבִימָה *levir*, fem. יָבִימָה (from יָבִימָה); פַּחַתָּ = פַּחַתָּ *pit* Lev. 13, 55; (*c*) גְּדֵרָה *wall*, גְּדֵרָה (from גְּדֵרָה = *g^edirt*; comp. זָנוּ as *construct st.* of זָנוּ); on the other hand, חֲמִישָׁתָּ is *construct st.* of חֲמִישָׁה, with lengthening of the original *i* of חֲמִישָׁה.

h Formations with a changeable \bar{o} in the second syllable belonging to this class are, נְחֹשֶׁת *bronze* (from נִחְשָׁת); perhaps also כְּתוּבָה *writing* (unless it be obscured from כְּתוּב , § 93, Paradigm IV, *c*).—Paradigm III, (*a*) הַתְּמָחָה (from הַתְּמָחָה), masc. הַתְּמָחָה *seal*; (*b*) יֹנְנֶקֶת (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 $q\bar{o}l\bar{i}t$ to קָטַלְתָּ (in יֹנְנֶקֶת , לְבָרָה , see above), cf. § 69: *c*; $q\bar{o}l\bar{i}t$ 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 וֵה and וֵי —, 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 וֵה becomes again \bar{a} in the *construct st.* וֵה). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the ending וֵה , 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 $\check{s}\bar{a}d\check{h}\bar{a}q\bar{a}th$; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination וֵה or וֵי —, and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a pretonic *Qames* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal $\check{S}^e w\bar{a}$. This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st.*, whether ending in וֵה or וֵי —; 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	חֲרָפָה	חֲקָה	[גְּבִירָה]
	(queen)	(reproach)	(waste)	(statute)	(mistress)
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכַּת	חֲרַפַּת	חֲרַפַּת	חֲקַת	גְּבִירַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכַּתִּי	חֲרַפַּתִּי	חֲרַפַּתִּי	חֲקַתִּי	גְּבִירַתִּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכַּתְכֶּם	חֲרַפַּתְכֶּם	חֲרַפַּתְכֶּם	חֲקַתְכֶּם	גְּבִירַתְכֶּם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֲקוֹת	
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת ¹	חֲרָבוֹת	חֲקוֹת	
„ <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתִי		חֲרָבוֹתִי	חֲקוֹתִי	
<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	יוֹנֵקָה	גְּלִפְלֵת
	(righteousness)	(outcry)	(year)	(sprout)	(skull)
„ <i>construct</i>	צְדַקַּת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנֵקַת	גְּלִפְלֵת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צְדַקַּתִּי	זַעֲקַתִּי	שָׁנַתִּי	יוֹנֵקַתִּי	גְּלִפְלֵתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צְדַקַּתְכֶּם	זַעֲקַתְכֶּם	שָׁנַתְכֶּם	יוֹנֵקַתְכֶּם	גְּלִפְלֵתְכֶּם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת ²	[יוֹנֵקוֹת]	
„ <i>construct</i>	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנֵקוֹת	גְּלִפְלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צְדָקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנֵקוֹתִי	גְּלִפְלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>			שִׁפְתַיִם		[נְחֻשְׁתַיִם]
			(lips)		(fettors of brass)
„ <i>construct</i>			שִׁפְתַי		

REMARKS.

I. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class *d* has the form מַלְכָּה גְּבִיעָה towards Gibeah (masc. גְּבִיעַ). 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 *qāl* or a *qūl* base, e.g. חֲזָקָה strength (comp. חֲרָפָה under b). A dual of this form occurs in שִׁבְעַתַיִם seven times (comp. שִׁבְעַן 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 **דְּבַשׁ** (§ 93. s) is **הַדְּרָפָה** *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form **פָּרִי** (ל"ה, comp. § 93. I, k) arise feminines sometimes like **גַּאֲוָה**, **שִׁלְיָה** (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 **גְּרִיָּה** (comp. **גְּרִיָּה**, a *qūtl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms **גְּרִי** *kid*, **אֲנִי** *a fleet*.—(b) From a stem **ע'ן** **חֶטָּה** *wheat* (for **הַחֶטָּה**), *plur.* **חֶטָּיִם**.—(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*, **זָמָה** of the form *qūtl*), with **δ** for **ǣ**, **חֶנָּא** *terror*, Is. 19, 17 (Aramaic orthography for **חֶנָּה**).

e . (e) To the list of segholate forms with **ת** fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs **פ'ו'** and **פ'ן**, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as **שִׁבֵּת** (from **שִׁבַּת**), **רָעַת** (from **רָעַת**), **נָשַׁת** (from **נָשַׁת**), as well as **קָחַת** (from **לָקַח**); comp. § 69. m and § 66. b and g. The infinitives of verbs **פ'ו'** are, however, also found in the form **רָעָה**, **לָדָה**, **צָאָה**, and of the same origin also are **עָרְהָה** *congregation* (from **יָעַר**), **עָצָה** *counsel* (from **יָעַץ**), **שָׁנָה** *sleep* (from **יָשַׁן**), *constr.* **עָרַת**, **נָשַׁת**, while in the *constr.* forms **נָעַת** *sweat*, Gen. 3, 19 (from **יָעַע** *to flow*), and **צָאָת** *excrement*, Ezek. 4, 12, the *Şere* has remained firm.

f From a stem **ע'ז** (cf. **בָּשָׂה** *to be ashamed*) is **בָּשָׂת** *shame*, with suffix **יָשָׁתִי**. From a stem **ל'ה** (**דָּלָה**, comp., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem **י'רל**) the masculine **דָּל** appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yōdh*, and afterwards the feminine **דָּלָת** *door*; in the *plural* **דָּלְתוֹת**, *constr.* **דָּלְתוֹת**, the **ת** of the termination is, however, retained (see above, jetter *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.* **שָׁקְתוֹת** 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 *qāṭālat*, &c., comp. § 94. c, Paradigm II, a and b. Analogous to the masculine forms like **קָטַן**, *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 **קִבְשָׁת** (*kibh-sāth*). Consequently the *constr. st.* **בְּרַבַּת** Gen. 28, 4 and elsewhere (from **בְּרַכָּה** *blessing*), and **חֲרִידַת** 1 Sam. 14, 15 and elsewhere (from **חֲרָרָה** *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original *ǣ* 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. **עָנְלָה** *wagon*, **עָנְלָתוֹ**. Frequently from an *absol. st.* in **ה**— the *constr.* is formed with the termination **ת**, e. g. **עֲטָרָה** *crown*, *constr.* **עֲטָרַת** (from **עֲטָרַת**); 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 **נְבָרַת** (Paradigm I, c). From a stem **ל'ן** (**אָמַן**) is formed **אָמַת** *truth* (from *'āmant*, and this no doubt for an original *'āmint*, § 69. c) before suffixes **אָמַתִּי** &c.

h From the masc. form **קָטַל** (*qāṭal*) are formed, according to rule, **קָטַלְתָּ** *wall*,

נְבֵלָה *corpse*, constr. נְבֵלָת; בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בְּהֵמַת (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 בְּרֵכַת *pool*, נִזְלַת *prey*, טִמְאַת *unclean*, מְלֵאֲתִי *full*, Is. 1, 21 (with *ē compaginis*, see § 90. *l*), מְרַתִי Job 16, 13; שְׂאֲלָתִי 1 Sam. 1, 27 and elsewhere (with syncope of the *ā*, שְׂלָתֶךָ 1 Sam. 1, 17) also שְׂאֲלָתִי Job 6, 8.

As dual we find יְרֵכַיִם *sides* (comp. יְרֵכָו Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete יְרֵכָה *i* feminine of יָרַךְ); the *constr. st.* יְרֵכַיִתִּי 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 בְּרֵכַת 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 חֶבְרַת, of גֹּדֶר fem. גֹּדְרַת besides גֹּדְרָה.—Of ע' stems the segholate forms נַחַת *rest* and שַׁחַת *pit* (from נַחַח, שַׁחַח) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram. i.* 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שַׁחַת *corruption* (stem שַׁחַח); in the same way also נַחַת *rest* is distinct from נַחַת *a lighting down* (stem נַחַח).

The feminines of the form *qātīl* from stems ע' *v*, as מְתָה *mortua*, עָרָה fem. *l* *witness* (from מוֹת, עוֹר), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Comp., on the other hand, the forms from פ' stems mentioned above, letter *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שָׁנַת; moreover, חָמָה *anger*, constr. st. חָמַת (but חָמַת *a leathern bottle*, in *pause* חָמַת Gen. 21, 15, *constr. st.* חָמַת מַיִם Gen. 21, 14, perhaps from a stem חָמַת).

The feminines of the form *qātīl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עֲמֻק), maintain the original *iii* *ā* by sharpening the following consonant (comp. § 93. *kk*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. *t*, segholate forms arise, like נֹהֶשֶׁת, before suff. נֹהֶשֶׁתָם &c. Dual נֹהֶשֶׁתִים (placed under Paradigm III, *c*); comp., however, נֹהֶשֶׁתִי Lam. 3, 7.

A few feminines from ל' stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, *ii* due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the termination *āth*; thus מְנַת *portion* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāwāth*), קֶצֶת *end*, plur. מְנֵיאוֹת (*constr. st.* Neh. 12, 47. 13, 10) and מְנַאוֹת (Neh. 12, 44); קֶצוֹת Ex. 38, 5; comp. 37, 8 and 39, 4 *K^eth.*; on גְּאֵית *valleys*, see § 93. *v*.—אוֹת *sign* (stem אוֹה) is obscured from אָת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אוֹתוֹת, with double feminine ending; comp. above, letter *f* and § 87. *k*.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֲלָתִי, &c., Gen. 24, 41 and elsewhere, is abnormal.

3. Paradigm III, comp. the various forms in § 94. *d* and *f-h*. The *dual* *o* חוֹמַתַּיִם *two walls*, Is. 22, 11 and elsewhere, taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חוֹמַתַּיִם, is abnormal (comp. § 87. *s*, and the proper name גֹּדְרֵיתִים Jos. 15, 36).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ע' *v*, such as וָרָה (masc. וָרַ from *zār*, hence with unchangeable *ā*), must be reckoned also בְּמָה *high place* (from בָּמַ) ¹, which has for its *constr. st.* plur. the pleonastic form בְּמֹתַיִם, or written

[¹ This etymology is extremely doubtful.—G. W. C.]

defectively בַּמְתִּי (see § 87. *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בַּמְתִּי, which is to be read *bām^othē* (not *bōm^othē*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to *ē*; with suffixes on the contrary בַּמְתִּי, &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. דִּלְקַת *inflammation* (from *dallāqt*), with suff. צִדְקֶיךָ Ezek. 16, 52; טַבַּעַת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84 *b*, letters *c* and *d*), as אֶפְלָת *folly* (for *'iwāll*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85. *g-k*), e. g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. always מַמְלֻכַת; מְצַמְרָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מְצַמְרוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרָת *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. אֶפְלָת *a letter*, plur. אֶפְלוֹת (as if from אֶפְלוֹת); 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, כְּתוּבֹת *capitals* (of columns), and הוֹכַחֲתוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of כְּתוּבָת and הוֹכַחַת.

r In כְּתוּבֹת *coat* the original *ā* of the first syllable is maintained by the sharpening of the following consonant (comp. Arab. *quṭūn*), with suff. כְּתוּבֹתִי, the constr. *st.*, however, is כְּתוּבָת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex. 28, 39); plur. כְּתוּבוֹת, constr. כְּתוּבוֹת.—The form גְּלָגְלָת given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pūlpūl*-form of the stem גָּלַל, comp. קָדְקֵד § 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^ewā*, 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 תְּעֵלָה *conduit* (constr. *st.* תְּעֵלַת Is. 7, 3 and elsewhere) and תְּלָאָה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, as masculines, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93. *wv*).

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 עֲשֻׁתָּרֶת *Astarte* (plur. עֲשֻׁתָּרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the original עֲשֻׁתָּרֶת, like מִלְךָ 1. ev. 18, 21, &c. (for מִלְכָּה), with the vowels of בְּשֵׁת *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 **ות**, mentioned in the same place, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as **עֲשָׂהוּת** Job 12, 5, sometimes to forms with a half-closed syllable, as **מִלְכּוּת**; from ל'ה stems we find forms sometimes like **שְׁבוּת** *captivity*, sometimes like **בְּכוּת** *weeping*, **גְּלוּת** *exile*, **הוּזוּת** *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qāṭīl*-form is formed **בְּקִרְוּת** *difficulty*; from a *qāṭīl*-form **פְּקִרְוּת** &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. ^u In some cases the whole ending **ות** is retained, as if belonging to the stem (comp. above, letter *f*), e. g. **אֲלֻמְנֵינֵיהֶן** from **אֲלֻמְנֵנִית**, in others this ending is resolved, as in **מִלְכֵיּוֹת** Dan. 8, 22 (no doubt for *māl^ekhūw^wōth*), as well as in **עֲדוּת** *'zdh^ewōth*, from **עֲדוּת** *testimony*, but only in connexion with suffixes, **עֲדוּתֵיהֶן** Ps. 119, 14, &c.; **עֲדוּתֵיהֶן** 1 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	אָחֹתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִשְׁתְּךָ	
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אָחוֹתוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אָחוֹתָהּ	אִשְׁתָּהּ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	[אָחוֹתֵכֶם]		
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבֵיכֶן				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	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>				אָנָשֶׁיהֶן	

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. אַבְשָׁלוֹם, beside אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gen. 17, 4 sq. אַבְרָהָמִן for the purpose of explaining the name אַבְרָהָם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87. *p*.

אָח *brother*. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22. *c*); אָחִיו stands for אָחִי according to the phonetic law stated in § 27. *q*, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ה merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathah* short, as in נְמַלְיִים, &c. (§ 93. *cc*).

אָחֹת *one* (for אָחָת, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22. *c*, comp. § 27. *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחוֹת (Gen. 48, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 22. Is. 27, 12.

אָמָה	בַּיִת	בֵּן	בַּת	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
(handmaid)	(house)	(son)	(daughter)	(day)	(vessel)
	בֵּית	בֶּן	בַּת	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
אָמְתִי	בֵּיתִי	בְּנִי	בַּתִּי		
אָמְתֶךָ	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ, pause	בַּתְּךָ, pause		כֵּלֶיךָ
	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ			
אָמְתּוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אָמְתָהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בַּתָּהּ		
		בְּנָנִי			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בַּתְּכֶם		
	בֵּיתָם			יוֹמָם	
אָמְהוֹת	בְּתִימִים	בְּנִים	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֵּלִים
אָמְהוֹת	בְּתִי	בְּנִי	בָּנוֹת	יָמִי	כֵּלִי
אָמְהוֹתִי		בְּנִי	בְּנֹתַי	יָמֵי	כֵּלַי
	בְּתִיךָ	בְּנֶיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	כֵּלֶיךָ
	בְּתִיךָ	בְּנֶיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	
אָמְהוֹתָיו		בְּנָיו	בְּנֹתָיו	יָמָיו	כֵּלָיו
אָמְהוֹתֶיהָ		בְּנֶיהָ	בְּנֹתֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֵּלֶיהָ
	בְּתִינִי	בְּנִינִי	בְּנֹתִינִי	יָמֵינִי	כֵּלֵינִי
אָמְהוֹתֵיכֶם	בְּתִיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בְּנֹתֵיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֵּלֵיכֶם
	בְּתִיָּהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בְּנֹתֵיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֵּלֵיהֶם
אָמְהוֹתֵיהֶן	בְּתִיָּהֶן	בְּנֵיהֶן			

Zech. 11, 7; and especially before מִן [מ] Gen. 3, 22. Ex. 30, 14. Num. 16, 15. Jud. 17, 5. 1 Sam. 9, 3. Ezek. 18, 10); fem. אָחָת *una* (for אַחְדָּתָּהּ, according to § 19. d), in *pause* אַחְתָּהּ. Once הָרָה masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19. h), Ezek. 33, 30, as in Aramaic; plur. אַחְדָּתַיִם *some*, but also *iidem*.

אָחוֹת *sister*, from 'āḥāwāt or 'āḥāyāt, with elision of the ו or י, and the א, which has arisen from ā, obscured to δ. In Num. 6, 7 אָחוֹתָיו stands for אָחוֹתָיו (with *Dageš forte implicitum* in the ה). 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	שָׁמַךְ, pause	
„ <i>2 fem.</i>				רֹאשֶׁךָ	שָׁמֶךָ	
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירוֹ	פִּיהוּ	רֹאשׁוֹ	שָׁמוֹ	
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשֶׁהּ	שָׁמָהּ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>			פִּינוּ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ	שָׁמָנוּ	
„ <i>2 masc.</i>			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁכֶם	שָׁמְכֶם	
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁם	שָׁמָם	
„ <i>3 fem.</i>			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשֵׁן		
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַיִם	עִירִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	שָׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>construct</i>	מֵימַי	עִירֵי		רֹאשֵׁי	שָׁמוֹת	שָׁמַי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	מֵימִי	עִירִי				
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	מֵימֶיךָ	עִירֶיךָ				שָׁמֶיךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		עִירֶיךָ				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵימֵיו	עִירָיו		רֹאשָׁיו		שָׁמָיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	מֵימֶיהָ	עִירָהּ		רֹאשֶׁיהָ		
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	מֵימֵינוּ	עִירֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>		עִירֵיכֶם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם		שָׁמֵיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵימֵיהֶם	עִירֵיהֶם		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. אֲמָהוֹת *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 'anūḥ), 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 'išt, with ת fem. from 'išt, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *ē*, comp. תַּמְשֵׁת as constr. st. of תַּמְשֵׁת 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 אִשָּׁהּ is found for אִשָּׁהּ. Instead of the plur. נְשִׁים (by aphaeresis from אִשָּׁהּ ? 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 בִּוֵּת); 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 *ā*.

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 הָרִשׁ, 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־נֶגֶן, and in the proper names בְּנֵי־מִן [but בְּנֵי־מִן *Benjamite*] and בֶּן־יִקָּה Prov. 30, 1), once בְּנֵי (comp. § 90. l) Gen. 49, 11, and בְּנֵי (§ 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 בְּתִי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בְּנָה, comp. בָּנִים sons.

חָמֵה husband's father, only with suff. חָמֵה; and חָמֵה husband's mother, only with suff. חָמוּתָה, חָמוּתָה. Comp. אָב, אָח, and אחות.

יּוֹם day (Arab. *yaum*), dual יּוֹמִים; 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 אִשָּׁהּ, not to the ordinary plur. נְשִׁים.

² The supposition (put forward also in earlier editions of this Grammar) that the plur. יָמִים arose from יּוֹמִים through elision of the *ו*, is invalidated by the fact

כֶּלִי *vessel*, in *pause* כְּלִי (with suff. כְּלִיךָ Deut. 23, 25) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כְּלִים (as if from כָּל, כָּלָה; according to König, ii. 63, simply shortened from *kilyim*).

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 = פֶּה?). 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 Assy. *pū*, Arab. *fū*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, Bibl. Aram. פִּמ, פִּמָּא, Syr. *pūm*, *pūmā*, 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 פִּיהֶם we find in Ps. 17, 10, 58, 7, 59, 13 פִּימוֹ. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 Sam. 13, 21 is generally explained as a contraction from פִּיַּים, 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 ראשׁ = *rāš*); plur. רִאשִׁים (for רִאשִׁים, § 23. c); ראשִׁיו only in Is. 15, 2.

שֵׁה *a head of small cattle (sheep or goat)*, *constr. st.* שֵׁה, with suff. שֵׁהוֹ 1 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 רשי (*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*, *pentás*, and were, therefore, originally attached in the *construct st.* to the word numbered, e.g. בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשָׁת *trias filiorum*. However, the appositional construction of the numerals was likewise in use, side by side with this, at an early date, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בְּנִים, *trias*, sc. *fili*, 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 *šewá* in the *constr. st.* The view that יוֹם is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָם, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaumi*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְבַיִם (= וְבָיִם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7. f), and יוֹמִים 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.	
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת	
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנַיִ	שְׁתַּיִם ¹	שְׁתַּיִ	
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ	
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבָּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע	
5.	חַמֵּשָׁה	חַמֵּשָׁת	חַמֵּשׁ	חַמֵּשׁ	
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשָׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע	
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמוֹנָה		
9.	תֵּשְׁבַע	תֵּשְׁבַעַת	תֵּשַׁע	תֵּשַׁע	
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵת	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר	

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִתַיִם, which would be the regular feminine form of שְׁנַיִם. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in שְׁתַּיִם, &c. (even after מִן; מִשְׁתַּיִם Jon. 4, 11; comp., however, מִשְׁתַּיִ 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. *šintāni*). It is rather to be read *štayim*, *štē* (with *Dageš lenē*), comp. אֲשַׁתַּיִם, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 206), and Arab. *ʿiṣṣānāni* (with a kind of prosthetic א; comp. § 19. m), as a further feminine form of *ʿiṣṣāni*, *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 *šiny*, which, however, even in the primitive language, was shortened to *šin*. In his opinion, שְׁנַיִם goes back to the dual form *šinaimā*, שְׁתַּיִם to *šinataimā*, *šintaimā*, 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 *Qrē 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>
11.	אַחַד עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר ²	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 *עֶשְׂרֵי*, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *istin* or *istên*; comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 269. Accordingly, *עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר* is a compound, like the

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
12. {	שָׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	שְׁתַּיִם עָשָׂרָה
	שְׁנַיִ עָשָׂר	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, חֲמִישִׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 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 *šwad*; see § 104. *d, e, g*.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

100 מֵאָה fem., *constr.* מֵאֹת.

200 מֵאֹתַיִם dual (contracted from מֵאֹתַיִם; comp. § 23. *c*).

Sansk. *ékādaśan*, *ένδεκα*, *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 עֲשָׂתַי ע' for אַחַד ע' and אֶחָת ע' see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; עֲשָׂתַי ע' 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, תְּשַׁעִים (from the *segholates* עָשָׂר, תְּשַׁע, שִׁבְעָה), we should expect עָשָׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תְּשַׁעִים. 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. Hermer (*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 אֲלָפִים dual.
- 3000 שְׁלֹשָׁת 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 רְבוּת רְבוּ, רְבוּא (properly *multitude*, comp. *μυριάς*).
- 20000 רִבְתַּיִם dual (see below, letter *h*); but שְׁתֵּי רְבוּת Neh. 7, 70 (also שְׁתֵּי רְבוּא Neh. 7, 71).
- 40000 אַרְבַּע רְבוּא Neh. 7, 66.
- 60000 שֵׁשׁ־רִבְאוֹת Ezra 2, 69 (Baer and Ginsburg רִבְאוֹת, 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 שְׁנָאֵן אֲלָפֵי *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 אַחְרָיִם *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. שְׁלֹשָׁתֶיךָ *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 רִבְעֵי, רִבְעֵי, רִבְעֵי, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִישִׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, הַשְּׁעִירִי, הַשְּׁעִירִי. This *i* in the penultima unquestionably results from the tendency to assimilation with the *i* of the *-ultima*, König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 225. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון (cf. § 27. *x*), from 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 עֲשִׂירִיָּה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like שְׁלִישִׁית *a third*, רִבְעִית and רִבְעִיָּה *a quarter*, חֲמִישִׁית *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative וְ, עֲשָׂרֹן (plur. עֲשָׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Comp. finally שָׁבוּעַ *ἑβδομάς, 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 ἡμέρη *by day*, from ἡμέρα (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*; $\epsilon\varsigma$, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *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'wā*. 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 ךְ becomes at a later period ך; in modern Arabic, e. g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *lāʾ* (why?) from *li-ayyi-laiin*, &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 *מרוּע* *e* *wherfore?* for *מה־ירוּע* *quid edoctus?* (τὶ μαθών); or *quid cognitum?* *בְּלַעְרֵי* (from *בַּל* and *עָרֵי*) *besides*; *מִלְמַעְלָה* (from *מִן*, *לְ*, *מַעְלָה*) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e. g. *בִּי־עַל־בֵּן*, *בִּי־אִם*, *אִתְּרֵי־בֵן*.

§ 100. Adverbs.

1. The negative *לֹא* *not*, and a few particles of place and time, *a* as *שָׁם* *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. *בְּמֵאֹד* (with might) *very*; *לְבַד* *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix *לְבַדִּי* *I alone*; *מִבְּתֵינִי* *from within, within*; cf. also *בְּאַחַד* (as one) *together*.

(*b*) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, *c* § 118. *m*), comp. *τὴν ἀρχήν, δωρεάν*, e. g. *מְאֹד* (might) *very*, *אֵין־עוֹד* (cessation) *no more*, *הַיּוֹם* (the day) *to-day* (comp. § 126. *b*), *יַחַד* (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e. g. *סְבִיב*, plur. *סְבִיבִים* and *סְבִיבוֹת*, *circuit*, as adverb *circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e. g. *כְּפָר* (length) *long ago*; *עוֹד* (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*; הִשְׁגֵּם (*mane faciendo*) *early*; הָעֶרֶב (*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. עָרַן and עָרְנָה = עָרְהוּן *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 מֶ—) 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 יוֹם¹). Comp. also דְּיוֹמָם (an adj. in Hab. 2, 19. Lam. 3, 26; an adv. in Is. 47, 5), and, with *o* in the last syllable, בְּתָאֵם, for בְּתָעֵם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from בְּתָתַע *a twinkling*), and שְׁלֹשׁוֹם *the day before yesterday* (from שְׁלֹשׁ *three*), the *o* in both cases being probably obscured from an original *o*.—Moreover, comp. אֶחָרְבָּיִת *backward*, and קָדְרָבָיִת *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 מֶ— 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 מֶ—, מֶ—, would correspond to מֶ—, מֶ— (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), comp. פְּרִיּוֹם, equivalent to פְּרִיּוֹן *redemption*, בְּפִתְאוֹם (with prep.)

¹ Is this מֶ— an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צוהרם) 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. 'īmāmā; cf., on the other hand, König, ii. 255: the Phoen. ימם is probably plural, and in the case of the parallel Syriac 'īmāmā, 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. *אז* *then*, *בן*, *בָּכָה* *thus* (cf. *איכה*, *איכבה* *how?*), *אם* *only*, *אכן* *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative *ה* (*Hē interrogativum*), e. g. *הֲלֵא* (Deut. 3, 11 *הֲלֵא*) *nonne?* *הֲגַם* *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הל*, 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. *c* (*הֲיִיטֵב*) Lev. 10, 19 is an exception).

(2) Before a consonant with *S^ewāb*, 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. *הֲבִרְכָה* *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. *הֲאֵלֶּיךָ* *shall I go?* *הֲאֵתָהּ* *num tu?* *הֲאֵם* *num si*; *הֲאֵרְצָה* Mal. 1, 13; also in Jud. 6, 31 read *הֲאֵתָם* (not *הֵא*), likewise *ה* in Jud. 12, 5. Jer. 8, 19. Neh. 6, 11.—In *הֲאֵישׁ* Num. 16, 22, the Masora intends the article; we should read *הֲאֵישׁ*, 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^eghōl* before gutturals which have *Qames* or (as in Jud. 11, 9, 9 sqq.) *Hateph-Qames*, e. g. *הֲאֵמֹר* Mic. 2, 7; *הֲאֵנֹכִי* Job 21, 4; *הֲהִיתָהּ* Joel 1, 2; *הֲהֵשִׁיב* 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 *יִשְׁקָר* *o thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. *יִשְׁנֹו*, 2nd plur. masc. *יִשְׁכְּמוּ*; *אֵינִי* *I am not*, 2nd sing. *אֵינְךָ*, fem. *אֵינֶיךָ*, 3rd sing. *אֵינָהּ*, fem. *אֵינֶיהָ*, 2nd plur. *אֵינְכֶם*, 3rd plur. masc. *אֵינָם*.—Also *עוֹדֵינִי* *I am yet* (*עוֹדֵי* only in *בְּעוֹדֵי* and *בְּעוֹדֵי*), *עוֹדֵינִי* (Lam. 4, 17 *K^eth.*; *עוֹדֵינָהּ* *Q^ere*), *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 *הל*.

אָפּהּ *where art thou?* אִי *where is he?* אֵימ *where are they?* The same applies to הֵן (הֵן) and הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*; see § 105. b), only in Gen. 19, 2 הִנֵּה־נָא; with suffixes, הִנְנִי and הִנְנִי (Gen. 22, 7 with *Munah*), in *pause* הִנְנִי *behold me (here am I)*, הִנְךָ (*pause* הִנְךָ Ps. 139, 8), הִנֵּךְ, and הִנֵּנוּ, הִנְהוּ, and הִנְנוּ (*behold us*), and הִנְנוּ, in *pause* הִנְנוּ, הִנְכֶם, הִנְנוּ.

p The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nūn epentheticum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e. g. יִשְׁנֶה *there is, he is*), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אִי, אֵימ) 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*; וּבֵלַת, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבֵלַתִּי (removal, want) *except*; עֲוֹן (purpose) *on account of*; מִלְּפָנֶיךָ (only in Deut. 1, 1) *before, over against*; מִן (separation; cf. § 119. v) *from, out of*; מִבְּפָנֶיךָ (coming in front, that which is over against) *before, over against*; עַד (progress, duration*) *during, until*; עַל־ (height, upper part*) *upon, over*; עִם־ (connexion?) *with*; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמָּה, לְעִמָּה *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*; לְפִי, בְּפִי (according to the mouth, i. e. the command of*) *according to*; בְּגִלְגָל (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. בְּלֵי, בְּבֵלִי, מְבֵלִי, בְּלֵתִי, בְּאֵין, בְּאֵפֶס (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹד (in the duration of) *during*; בְּרֵי, בְּרֵי (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 *Nûn* 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־אֵן 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; מִיָּשָׁתָהּ 2 Chron. 20, 11); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22, *c*), e.g. מִמֶּעַם, מִמֶּדֶם; מִ occurs before ה with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִחוּץ *on the outside*, and in מִחוּט Gen. 14, 23; before ה in מִהוּת (comp. § 28. *b* and § 63. *q*). The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the supposed virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מִהוּת is merely due to the analogy of מִלְהוּת; similarly Is. 14, 3 before ר; but in 1 Sam. 23, 28. 2 Sam. 18, 16 מִרְדֵּף 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 *Hateph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Hateph*, e. g. לְפָרִי for *fruit*, בְּאַרִי as *a lion*, בְּעֵנִי *bō'ni*, 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. לְהוֹדֶה for לְהִ. When the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *S^ewā* and *Hateph S^ghōl* regularly coalesce in *S^erē*, e. g. בְּאֱלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאֵל; so with suffixes וְאֱלֹהֵיו, &c. (once also in the sing., לְאֱלֹהֵו Hab. 1, 11); also regularly לְאָמַר *to say*, for לְאָמַר, 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 disyllables 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 לְתַת *to give*, לְרִין *to judge*, לְבו *to plunder*, לְנו *to shear*, לְחַג *to keep a festival*, לְלָרַח *to bring forth*, לְלָכַת *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. לְיָאֵחַ Ex. 19, 1, לְשִׁבַת Gen. 16, 3 (in such cases as לְתַת־הָרֶב Ex. 5, 21 the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs וְע', 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); בְּאֵלָה as *these*; and especially בְּכֵם, לְכֵם, בְּכֵם (בְּכֵם) and בְּהֵם, לְהֵם, בְּהֵם, see § 103. *e*;

h (*cc*) before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as לְפֵה לְפֵה *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*, כָּרֹב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּח *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לְנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity*, Is. 34, 10. Cf. also לְנַפְשׁ *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^ghōl* 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 ן. Before letters which are not gutturals, לְמָה is found in Ps. 42, 10. 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יְהוֹה) but those of אֲדָנִי (see § 17. *c*), takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדָנִי, thus וְיְהוָה, לְיְהוָה, בְּיְהוָה, מִיְהוָה (since they are to be read וְאֲדָנִי, לְאֲדָנִי, בְּאֲדָנִי, מִאֲדָנִי); for the א of אֲדָנִי, as of אֲדָנִים, &c. (see below), *quiesces* after the prefixes ב, כ, ל, ך, but is *audible* after מ (for מן), שׁ (no instance in the O. T.), and ה (in הַאֲדָנִים, the article, not ה interrog., is intended, since the only example with ה interrog., Jer. 8, 19, is to be pointed הַיְהוָה, i. e. הַאֲדָנִי, not הַיְהוָה). Hence the rule, מֹשֶׁה מוֹצִיא מִשָּׁה מוֹצִיא (i. e. מ, שׁ, ה make the א audible), וְכַלֵּב מְבִיא מְבִיא and *Caleb brought in* (i. e. ו, כ, ב, ל allow it to quiesce)¹.—As regards the other plural forms of אֲדָוִן, syncope of the א always takes place after ב, כ, ל, except in the form אֲדָנִי, thus לְאֲדָנִי, לְאֲדָנִים, &c.; but לְאֲדָנֵי, &c., לְאֲדָנֵינוּ, &c., לְאֲדָנֵיהֶם, &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. אֶצְלִי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, בְּתַחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa, for my sake*.

Rem. 1. The preposition אִתְּ (usually אִתְּ) *near, with*, is distinguished from אִתְּ (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 אִתִּי, אִתְּךָ, in *pause* אִתְּךָ, 2nd fem. אִתְּךָ (Is. 54, 10 אִתְּךָ), אִתְּוּ, אִתְּכֶם, אִתְּהֶם (also in the later Books, especially in Kings, and in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אִתִּי *with me*; מֵאִתְּךָ *from thee*, 1 Ki. 20, 25; מֵאִתּוֹ *from him*, 1 Ki. 22, 7; אִתָּם *with them*), while the latter retains its original *o* before the light suffixes. Hence the following forms arise:—

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	אִתִּי <i>me.</i>		אִתְּנֵנוּ <i>us.</i>
2.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתְּךָ, <i>pause</i> אִתְּךָ } <i>thee.</i>		אִתְּכֶם <i>you.</i>
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתְּךָ . . . . . }		. . . . .
3.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתּוֹ <i>him.</i>		אִתְּהֶם, אִתְּכֶם } <i>them.</i>
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתְּהָ <i>her.</i>		אִתְּנָן, אִתְּנָן }

¹ Another *vox memor.* is כֻּלְּבִי נִסְתָּר בְּכָל־בְּיָדָאֵל *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, אֹתָנוּ, אֹתָם. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos. 23, 15; for אֹתָם, five times (Gen. 32, 1. Ex. 18, 20, &c.), אֹתְהֶם, and in Ezek. 23, 45 אֹתְהֶם; for אֹתָן (only found in Ezek. 16, 54; 35, 26 אֹתְנָה; 34, 21 אֹתְנָה) also אֹתְהֶן (Gen. 19, 8, &c. [13 times]) and אֹתְהֶן 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 עִם with (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמִי, עָמְךָ [1 Sam. 1, 26 עִמְכָה, in *pause* עִמְךָ; 2nd fem. עִמְךָ, עָמוֹ, עָמְהָ) is united with the suffixes נוּ, כֶּם and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mém* to be distinctly audible: עִמְנוּ, עִמְכֶם, עִמְהֶם (so in Num. 22, 21, and often in very late passages, otherwise עִמָּם is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עִמְדִי (probably from original עִנְדִי; 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 תַּחֲתָיִךְ, תַּחֲתָיִנִּי Gen. 2, 21 and בְּעֵרְנִי Ps. 139, 11 (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁוֹנֵנִי)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 אֶפְרָיִם is appended the syllable מו (see the Rem.), and אֶפְרָיִם and אֶפְרָיִם take at least a full vowel, אֶפְרָיִם and אֶפְרָיִם (§ 102. d, f).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (a) in the pausal forms אֶפְרָיִם, אֶפְרָיִם, אֶפְרָיִם, אֶפְרָיִם (not *bèkha*, &c.); (b) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bèkh*, &c.), and in אֶפְרָיִם, אֶפְרָיִם, &c. (not *bēnâ*, &c.).

f (a) אֶפְרָיִם with Pronominal Suffixes.

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	אֶפְרָיִם to me.		אֶפְרָיִם to us.
2.	{ m. אֶפְרָיִם (אֶפְרָיִם), in <i>pause</i> אֶפְרָיִם } to thee.		{ אֶפְרָיִם } to you.
	{ f. אֶפְרָיִם }		{ אֶפְרָיִם } to them.
3.	{ m. אֶפְרָיִם to him.		אֶפְרָיִם, poet. אֶפְרָיִם } to them.
	{ f. אֶפְרָיִם to her.		אֶפְרָיִם, אֶפְרָיִם }

¹ *Ffin* and *bfin* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fi* and *bi*, are compared by Socin.

² אֶפְרָיִם does not occur in the Old Testament, by a mere accident, no doubt; Ezek. 13, 18 אֶפְרָיִם.

³ The question whether אֶפְרָיִם can also stand for the sing. אֶפְרָיִם, 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 לְכָךְ), 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; לְהֵמָה only in Jer. 14, 16), the form בָּם is also used; and for the feminine, besides בְּהֵנָה (which occurs three times), בְּהֵן is found fifteen times, and בְּהֵנָה, 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 לָּ instead of לָּהֶּ (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> .	בְּמֹנֵנוּ as <i>we</i> .
2.	{ <i>m.</i> בְּמֹדֶךָ ⁵ as <i>thou</i> . <i>f.</i> . . . }	{ בָּךְ, בָּכֶם, seldom בְּמֹדְכֶם } as <i>ye</i> }
3.	{ <i>m.</i> בְּמֹהוּ as <i>he</i> . <i>f.</i> בְּמֹהָ as <i>she</i> .	{ בָּהֶם, [בְּהֵמָה, בְּהֵמָה], [בְּהֵן], בְּהֵנָה } as <i>they</i> .

Phoenician suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. in ם has been universally recognized as the ground-form of the Hebrew suffixes in מוֹ (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. Dent. 33, 2. Is. 30, 5. Ps. 73, 10 (all *in* or immediately before the principal pause; in Dent. 33, 2 with *Zaqeph qaton* at least) בְּמֹ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is. 53, 8 for בְּנַע לְמֹ we should read with the LXX בְּנַע לְמֹת. 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—בְּנַע לְמֹ Ps. 11, 7 and בְּנַע לְמֹ Job 27, 23, as well as עָלַיְמוּ, the last occurring three times, Job 20, 23. 27, 23 (beside עָלַיְמוּ), and especially Job 22, 2. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= בְּנַע לְמֹ, בְּנַע לְמֹ, עָלַיְמוּ).

⁴ The form בְּהֵן occurs in Ruth 1, 13 in the sense of *therefore*.

⁵ The use of נִי here for יִ (cf. above, letter *d*) might be due to euphonic reasons. Probably, however, it is a case of contraction from בְּמֹהָנִי, see letter *k*.—בְּמֹנִי (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, בְּמֹנִי Ex. 15, 11.

i

(c) *מן* with *Pronominal Suffixes*.

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	<i>מִמֶּנִּי</i> , poet. <i>מִנִּי</i> , in <i>pause</i> also <i>מִנִּי</i> from <i>me</i> .		<i>מִמֵּנֶם</i> from <i>us</i> .
2.	<i>m.</i> <i>מִמֶּךָ</i> , in <i>pause</i> <i>מִמְּךָ</i> <i>f.</i> <i>מִמְּךָ</i>	} from <i>thee</i> .	<i>מִמֵּכֶם</i> <i>מִמֵּכֶן</i> } from <i>you</i> .
3.	<i>m.</i> <i>מִמֵּנָהּ</i> , Job 4, 12 in <i>pause</i> <i>מִמֵּהוּ</i> , [<i>מִמֵּהוּ</i> or <i>מִמֵּהוּ</i>] from <i>him</i> . <i>f.</i> <i>מִמֵּנָהּ</i> from <i>her</i> .		<i>מִמֵּהֶם</i> , <i>מִמֵּהֶן</i> , poet. } from <i>מִמֵּהֶם</i> } them. <i>מִמֵּהֶן</i> , [<i>מִמֵּהֶן</i>]

k The syllable *מו* (in Arabic *mā* *مَا* = Heb. *מָה* *what*) in *מִמּוֹנִי* (probably from *מִמּוֹנִי*, prop. *according to what I, for as I*) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes *בְּ*, *כְּ*, *לְ*, even without suffixes, so that *בְּמוֹ*, *כְּמוֹ*, *לְמוֹ* appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to *בְּ*, *כְּ*, *לְ*. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of *מִן*, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

l The form *מִמֶּנִּי*, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 Ki. 17, 15 (in *pause*), *מִמֵּהֶם* only in Jer. 36, 52 (in *pause*); *מִמֵּהוּ* (Baer following Qimḥi *מִמֵּהוּ*) only in Ezek. 18, 14. Comp. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 sqq.—For *מִמֶּנִּי* as *ye* Qimḥi requires *מִמֶּנִּי* (invariably or only in Job 16, 4?); in Jos. 1, 15. Jud. 8, 2. Ezra 4, 2 Baer gives *מִמֶּנִּי*.

m With regard to *מִן* with suffixes, *מִמֵּנִי* from *me* is usually explained as arising, by a reduplication of *מִן*, from an original *מִנְמִנִּי*, just as *מִמֵּנָהּ* from *him*, from *מִנְמִנָּהּ*, identical in form with *מִמֵּנָנוּ* ¹ from *us*, from *מִנְמִנְנוּ*, while *מִמֵּנָהּ* from *her* goes back to *מִנְמִנָּהּ*. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*Revue des études juives*, xxiii. 302 sqq.), that *מִמֵּנִי*, &c., have arisen from *מִנְנִי*, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of *מִנְנִי*, *מִנְנָהּ*, *מִנְנָנוּ*, *מִנְנָנוּ*, § 100. *o*.—The bracketed form *מִמֵּהוּ*, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes *מִמֵּהוּ*, 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 *מִמֵּנִי*!) Is. 18, 2. 7 is very strange.—*מִמֵּהֶם* occurs only in Jer. 10, 2. Eccles. 12, 12 (Job 11, 20 *מִמֵּהֶם*); *מִמֵּהֶן* (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading *מִמֵּהֶן*) 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 *מִמֵּנִי* (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-*, *על-*, *אל-* with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה) *אלי* (*אלי*), *ערי*, *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*, *בניך*, *בני*, &c. (Gen. 16, 5 *בניך*, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; *בני*, 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. *ערי*. In Job 32, 12 *עריכם*, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 Ki. 9, 18 for *עריהם* read *עריהם*.

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., *תחתניך*, &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 *תחתניך*, *אחריך*, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 sq.

With Suffixes.

1 <i>Sing.</i>	אַחֲרַי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתַּי	אֵלַי	עִדֵּי	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	עִדֵּיךָ	עָלָיָךְ
2 <i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרַיִךְ		סְבִיבוֹתַיִךְ & סְבִיבַיִךְ		אֵלַיִךְ		עָלַיִךְ
3 <i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עִדָּיו	עָלָיו
3 <i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עִדֶּיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
1 <i>Plur.</i>	אַחֲרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵינוּ & בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ ¹	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
2 <i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עִדֵּיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
3 <i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם & בֵּינוֹתָם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם & סְבִיבוֹתָם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם usually תַּחְתָּם	אֵלֵיהֶם & [אֵלֵימוֹ ²]	[עִדֵּיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם [עָלֵימוֹ ²]
3 <i>Pl. f.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן & אֵלֵהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן

§ 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 *אֵלֹא* (nothing), that not; *אֲפֹלֶן* 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 *אֵלֵימוֹ* only in Ps. 2, 5; *עָלֵימוֹ*, 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 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 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 עַל-אֲשֶׁר) 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 או or, אִם if (also or before the second member of a double question), אֲף also, וְ and, and others.

Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally ו, as still before *Haṭeph Pathah*, and— with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect; cf. § 49. *f*) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes בְּ, כִּי, לְ (§ 102. *d-i*), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw copulative* has some further peculiarities:

(a) Usually it takes simple *Šewā* (וְ).

(b) Before words which begin with a guttural having a compound *Šewā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šewā* is compounded (according to § 28. *b*), e. g. וְחִכְּם and be thou wise, וְעַבְדֶּיךָ 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 *Haṭeph* after וְ copulative (e. g. וְנָהָב Gen. 2, 12), comp. § 10. *h*.

(d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וְ according to § 24. *b*, e. g. וְיֵהִי 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. וְהָיִיתָ Jos. 8, 4, וְחָיָה Gen. 20, 7), comp. § 63. *q*.

g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like בְּ, בַּ, 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. וְזָמַח Ex. 21, 12 (on the other hand, in verse 20 $\text{וְזָמַח$ is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 Ki. 7, 4 וְזָמַחְנוּ שָׁם , וְזָמַחְנוּ and וְזָמַחְנוּ ; Ruth 3, 3 וְזָכְתָּה ; Ps. 10, 15 וְזָרַע ; 1 Sam. 9, 4 וְזָאֵן ; 2 Sam. 13, 26 וְזָלָא ; Ezek. 47, 9 וְזָהִי ; comp. also (with *Tiphḥa*) 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. וְזָהוּ וְזָהוּ Gen. 1, 2, וְזָלָה יוֹם Gen. 8, 22 (see also the previous examples); Gen. 13, 14 (thrice); Ex. 25, 3 וְזָהָב וְזָכָהָף ; Ps. 96, 7 וְזָבוֹר וְזָעוּ ; Ps. 76, 7 זָכָה וְזָלָה ; Gen. 7, 13 וְזָכָה וְזָפַח ; 1 Ki. 21, 10 $\text{וְזָמַחְהוּ וְזָמַחְהוּ}$; Est. 1, 8 וְזָאֵשׁ וְזָאֵשׁ at the end of the verse, but in Ps. 87, 5 וְזָאֵשׁ וְזָאֵשׁ , in spite of the *D'hi* with the second וְזָאֵשׁ , because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words $\text{וְזָפַח וְזָפַח וְזָפַח}$ 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. וְזָאֵן וְזָעָב Gen. 32, 6; comp. Gen. 31, 40. Lev. 7, 23. Dent. 2, 21, and among the examples given above, Gen. 7, 13 and Ps. 76, 7. (Exceptions: וְזָקַדְמָה Gen. 13, 14, where evidently the וְ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וְזָוִי Jos. 15, 55, וְזָעָר 19, 7, וְזָבָן 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 $\text{וְזָה וְזָאֵת וְזָלָא וְזָנֵם}$ and others (to be distinguished from וְזָלָא 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. וְזָהוּ (Ezek. 30, 2 וְזָהוּ), וְזָהוּ *ah!* וְזָהוּ *aha!* (comp. this וְזָהוּ also in וְזָהוּ and וְזָהוּ *utinam!*), וְזָהוּ Ex. 32, 31, &c. (Gen. 50, 17 וְזָהוּ) *ah!* (from וְזָהוּ and וְזָהוּ), otherwise written וְזָהוּ 2 Ki. 20, 3. Jon. 1, 14. Ps. 116, 4; also וְזָהוּ (in pause וְזָהוּ , even in the plural וְזָהוּ *hold your peace!* Neh. 8, 11) *hush!* וְזָהוּ (Amos 5, 16 וְזָהוּ) *ha! woe!* וְזָהוּ (Ps. 120, 5), וְזָהוּ (in וְזָהוּ Eccles. 4, 10; וְזָהוּ 10, 16) *woe!*
- b 2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. וְזָהוּ (הִיא) or וְזָהוּ *behold!* (prop. *here*); וְזָהוּ *behold!* (prop. imperative); וְזָהוּ , plur. וְזָהוּ (prop. *give*, imperative of וְזָהוּ ; comp. as to the tone,

§ 69. *o*), the Latin *age, agile, come on!* לָבָה (also לָבֵה), לָבוּ (prop. *go*, imperative of הָלַךְ) with the same meaning¹; הָלֵי לָהּ *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*) בִּי (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָא *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 נָא 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 נָא *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions לְאֵל and אֵל: אֵל־נָא *ne quaeso* and אֵל־נָא *if now*, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, *if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Num. 12, 13 נָא stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read אֵל־נָא.—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 נָא 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 נָא as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָא 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. im 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 הֵגִיד 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.

(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* (הֵבִיִּא), &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* (בְּאִשְׁרָאֵל רָאָה) . . . , *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 פִּרְשֵׁתִי I *have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of 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; גִּיאָנָה she *refuseth* Job 6, 7; עָלִין *it exulteth*; שִׂמְחָתִי I *rejoice* 1 Sam. 2, 1; בִּקֹּשׁ he *requireth* Is. 1, 12; קָוִיתִי I *wait* Gen. 49, 18. Ps. 130, 5 (parallel with הוֹחֵלְתִי); תִּפְצְתִּי I *delight* Ps. 40, 9 (mostly negative, Is. 1, 11 and elsewhere); אָהַבְתִּי I *love* Gen. 27, 4; שִׂנְאָתִי I *hate* Ps. 31, 7; מָאָסְתִי 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; צַדִּיקְתִּי 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; קְטַנּוּתִי 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, εἶκα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

גְּבוּרָה *they are high* Is. 55, 9; רָחִיקִי *they stand aloof* Job 30, 10; טָבוֹרִי *they are goodly* Num. 24, 5; נְאוֹי *they are beautiful* Is. 52, 7; זָקְנִי *I am old* Gen. 18, 13; יָבֵטְתִי *I am weary* Ps. 6, 7; שָׂבֵעְתִי *I am full* Is. 1, 11, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עֲרִמְתִּי *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 עֲרָאֲנָה 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; הִעֲדֵתִי *I testify* Deut. 8, 19; יִעֲצֵתִי *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* (נָתַתִּי) *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, יִסְרָךְ 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 אֲבָדְנוּ בְּלֵנּוּ אֲבָדְנוּ הִן בְּרָאוּ אֲבָדְנוּ *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone.* Gen. 30, 13. Is. 6, 5 (נִדְרַמִּיתִי *I am undone*¹). 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* (נִלְחָה); 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 *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 עָרַב, as in Gen. 28, 15. Num. 32, 17; also 2 Sam. 17, 13 after אֲשֶׁר עָרַב, Gen. 24, 19 after אֵם עָרַב and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mic. 5, 2 (יִלְדָה); Gen. 43, 14 וְאֲנִי בְּאִשֶׁר שָׂכַלְתִּי שָׂכַלְתִּי *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* (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gen. 43, 10. Ex. 9, 15 (שָׁלַחְתִּי *I had almost put forth, &c.*); Num. 22, 33. Jud. 13, 23. 14, 18. 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הִכִּינוֹ); 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 ὄλωλα (*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 כִּי, 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 *precativè* 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 (בְּתַנִּי). 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 מִלֵּל *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 (אִיִּי), 17, 10 sq. 51, 2 *a*. Jer. 13, 7. 36, 18. Ps. 18, 7. 14. 17 sqq. 38 sqq. 24, 2. 32, 4. 5 (אִוִּיִּי), 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 בְּאַרְצָהּ *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 יִשִּׁיר-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 הִיחַל** *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 הֵצֵא** *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 **יָלַד**; 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 **וַיֵּלֶה** 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 **וַיִּבְלַעְמוּ** 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 **וַיִּנְחַנֵּי** Num. 23, 7 the leading on by stages, &c.

¹ According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is. 10, 13 *bis* (where, however, **וְאָסִיר** 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 **וְ** (*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. (קָח! *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 *f*

(*a*) To express actions, events, or conditions, which are *continued* for a shorter or longer time¹, e. g. Gen. 37, 15 מַה תִּבְקֹשׁ *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* (יַעֲוֶר), &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* יִמְרָף יְאֵב *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial

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־תֵשָׂה בְּנֹן** *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* (**תִּשְׂאַל**) *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 תָּבֹא** *whence comest thou (just now)?* but Gen. 16, 8 (comp. 42, 7) **אַיִמְנָה בָּאת** *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*, **יִלְדוּ בְּנִים** *the children which should be born (qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; comp. Is. 4, 4. 6, 11 (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106. o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles **עַד** Ps. 132, 5 and **עַד אֲשֶׁר** *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 it 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 *K^{eth.}*; so probably also יִדִּן *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 אֶנְנֶה *I should have* (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; comp. verse 19 אֶתְהִי and אֶבְלֵ. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e. g. Job 9, 29 אֶרְשָׁע *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 אִלֵּי represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive¹ with אִלֵּי (comp. § 109. c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while אִלֵּי with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus אִלֵּי 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 אִלֵּי with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Prov. 16, 10.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after אִלֵּי, 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 אִלֵּי 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, אִלֵּי-תִבְיִט Gen. 19, 17, אִלֵּי-תִסּוּר Jos. 1, 7, אִלֵּי-נָא יָשִׁים 1 Sam. 25, 25. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) אִלֵּי-נָמוּת *that we die not* 1 Sam. 12, 19. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, אִלֵּי-יָנֹם *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 אִלֵּי 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 אִלֵּי with the imperf., of the conviction which was previously only subjective.

q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165. *b*), as אֲשֶׁר, Gen. 11, 7 (לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ) *that they may not understand*; בְּעֵבֹר Gen. 21, 30. 27, 4. 19. Ex. 9, 14, and elsewhere; אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן Num. 17, 5; לְמַעַן Deut. 4, 1. Ps. 51, 6. 78, 6, and אֲשֶׁר יַעַן¹ Ez. 12, 12 *that*²; לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not* Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14; also after כִּי *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 וַיִּשְׁבוּ 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 בְּדַרְךְוֹ תֵלֶךְ *in the way which thou shouldst go*.

r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the *potential* of the classical languages, as also to our 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 (אֵכֶל הַגַּן) 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־אֶרְחִץ 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 אֵיךְ, 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 אֲשֶׁר יַעַן in a causal sense (*because, since*), e. g. Jud. 2, 20 (as אֲשֶׁר 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 כִּי 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 יִמְצָא.)

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 **הִירֹעַ גִּרְעַ** *could we in any wise know . . . ?* Comp. 2 Sam. 3, 33 (**יָמוּתָּ** *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 אֲנִי**) *that I should (ought, could) go* *u*
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 *u*
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 *u*
should not happen, e.g. Gen. 32, 13 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִסְפָּר מִרְבּוֹ** *which cannot*
be numbered for multitude; 20, 9 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂהוּ** *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 בְּרִאֲלֹנִי . . . לֹא אֶרְאֶה 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 **הִתְחַלֵּץ**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 **לָחַץ**, according to § 75. *l*, even in the cohortative, almost always
have the ending **הִתְחַלֵּץ**; 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 **אֲנִי**:

(*a*) To express self-encouragement, e. g. Ex. 3, 3 **אֲסַרְהָנָא וְנִי** *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 **בָּנֵיהֶקָה** *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'rē*; 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־אֶדְבַּרְהָ** *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, וְאִחְזִיקָהּ* *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 וְאֶשָּׂא 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־יִהְיֶה, 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, וְשָׁכַחְתִּי 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 rejoice*¹; 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־אֶרְנִיטָה 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 אֲוִלִי.

¹ Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׂם is the use of the historic imperf. after אִן, § 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 **לִּי 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 . . . **וְהַנְעָר יַעֲלֶה . . . וְיִשְׁבֶּנָא 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 אֲלֵיכֶּם** *neither let any man be seen!* Prov. 3, 7 *be not (אַל-תְּהִי) wise in thine own eyes!* Job 15, 31 **אַל-יִצְחָמוּ** *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 **לָא** 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 (**לָא** with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood

¹ With regard to verbs **לָא**, 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 **תִּנְגַּל**; 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־תַחֲוֹם עֵינֶיךָ**, &c., Deut. 7, 16. 13, 9, &c. Ezek. 5, 11, &c., cf. § 72. *r*, according to which **תַחֲוֹם** should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after **לֹא** 1 Sam. 14, 36 (**וְלֹא־נִשְׂאָר**) co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 Sam. 17, 12; comp. Is. 41, 23 *Kth*. (**וַיִּנְרָא**, i. e. **וַיִּנְרָא**, after another cohortative); also (see above) **לֹא אֶפְקֶה** 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־תִּשְׂאָר לָהֶם** 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* (**וַתְּהִי** 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 . . .*, **וַתִּשְׂשַׁע** 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 **אִמְלִטָּה נָא שָׁמָּה** oh, let me escape thither . . . (**וַתְּחִי נַפְשִׁי**) that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (comp. below, letter *g*), 1 Ki. 13, 33 *whosoever would, he consecrated him . . .* **וַיְהִי** that he might be a priest (read **פָּהֵן**) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading **וַיְהִי** 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. Dent. 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 (וַיֵּעַל). 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 מִה-יִסְּף, 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 וַיִּכְנֹב 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) 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 \aleph 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 \aleph). 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.

(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 $\text{וְאַתֶּם הַאֲסוּרִים}$ and ye shall be bound; Deut. 32, 50. Is. 49, 9 (Is. 45, 22, see below, letter *f*).

Rem. 1. The particle \aleph *age!* (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, 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 לֵךְ Gen. 23, 13 (at the end of

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 inbeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

verses 5 and 14 also read לָב for לָו and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after לָב 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 וְאֵת עַשְׂוֹ וְחַיֵּיז *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 (וְהִוְשַׁעוּ). Jer. 6, 16. Am. 5, 4. 6. Ps. 37, 27. Prov. 3, 3 sq. 4, 4. 7, 2. 13, 20 *K'eth.*, Job 2, 9. 2 Chron. 20, 20; in Jer. 25, 5. Job 22, 21 אֵץ 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 וְחָתוּ (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 הָחֵל רִשׁ (where רִשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הָחֵל) *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 הָבֵהּ (לָבוֹ), קוּמוּ (קוּמוּ), 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*, וְחַיֵּה *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 **וְהוֹצֵאת** *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*, **וְבִרְכֵנִי** *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 **הִתְּ**. 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. **וַיְהִי** *it came to pass*), e. g. Is. 6, 1 *in the year that king Uzziāh*

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 (וַיֵּרְאֵהָ), &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 וַיְהִי 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. וַיֵּרְאֵהָ . . . 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 (וַיִּמְלֶךְ). 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 וְ or וּ 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, כַּאֲשֶׁר 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 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 וַתִּבְלִגְשׁוּ and (as to) his concubine . . . , וַתִּבְלִגְךָ 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 וְהָרָה.

3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under 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 וַיִּקַּם 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, וְהִסִּיתָהּ וְגו' so that thou thus (as it now appears)

¹ Comp. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (*Omri*) the king of Israel, וַיַּעֲנוּ 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 וְיִהְיֶה לִּי 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).

111 Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e. g. Is. 51, 12 *who art thou* (i. e. art thou so helpless), וְיִהְיֶה לִּי 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 (וְיִשְׁלַחְךָ); 31, 27 וְיִשְׁלַחְךָ so that I might have sent thee away; Job 11, 3 וְיִתְלַעַג so that thou mockest.

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

112 (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 נִאֲמַר אֱלֹהִים. 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, וְהִשְׁמִים 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* (וַיִּגַּל); 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* (וַיִּפֹּל); *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* (וַיִּחַלֵּשׁ), &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 וַיִּעַנֵּי אֱדָמָר אֶתִּי 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* (וְיִהְיֶה 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 וַיִּחַלֵּה 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 וַיִּחַלֵּה, and Ewald reads וַיִּחַלֵּה.—In Ezek. 28, 16 (comp. Jer. 15, 6 sq.) וַיִּחַלֵּה 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 § 111. c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e. g. Gen. 12, 12 *when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say* (וַאֲמָרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וַיְהַרְגוּ אֹתָי) *but they will save thee alive* (וַיַּחַיֵּךְ יְהוָה).

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 יַעֲלֶה אֶרֶץ מִשְׁקָה 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 יָקַח *he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּקַּח and to pitch it again every time without the camp*; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7. 8. 9. 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34, 34 sq. Num. 9, 19. 21 (among several simple imperfects). 10, 17. Jud. 2, 19. 1 Sam. 2, 19 הִעֲשֶׂהָ *she used to make . . . וְהִעֲלֶתָהּ 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 (וַיִּלְדוּ) as a continuation of (וַיִּבְאוּ), Job 31, 29¹.

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Ex. 39, 3 (וּקְצַצוּ). 1 Sam. 5, 7 (? see § 112. rr). 7, 16. 2 Sam. 15, 2. 16, 13 *and he threw stones at him, וַיַּעֲבִר 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-רִדְפוֹ *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 וַיִּשְׁרְתוּ) 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 וְהִמְטִירְתִּי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; מְנַעַתִּי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106. m), and the passage 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 (יָעֹזֵב is accustomed to leave) . . . וְרִבֵּק and cleaves*, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is. 5, 11 (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation of וְיָדְלִיקֶם); 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 מִכָּה אִישׁ וָמֵת (instead of מִכָּה 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), וּבֹאֲתֶם *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. מְשֹׁם אֶחָפֵשׂ וְלִקְחָתִים *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 וְלָכּוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וְיִכְבְּלוּ; on the other hand in verse 18 וְיִירָא and וְיִלְכּוּ 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 מִמָּטִיר and I will cause it to rain . . . וְיִמְחִיתִי and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer. 21, 9; also with a different subject, Gen. 24, 43 sq. the maiden which cometh forth (הַיְצִיאָת) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי אֵלֶיהָ 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 **וַיֵּבֶה** 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, וְסָרָה 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 כֵּן** = *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 בְּהַחֲרֵק), and in Jer. 42, 17 וַיְהִי (before פְּלִהֲאֲנָשִׁים).

2. The jussive form וַיְהִי occurs (in the sense described in letter *y*) 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 נָ). 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 (וַיִּמְלֹאֲתֶם) and *ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

bb Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under letter *y*, 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 (וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם) *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 (וְעָלָה) of annual festival journeys; 13, 21 (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27, 9 (וְהָבָה), i. e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יִחַיָּה; 1 Ki. 5, 7 (וְכִלְכְּלוּ), 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 וְהָיָה (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 וְשָׂם לָאֵלֶּיךָ 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 וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 Sam. 13, 22 by וְלָמַד 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 וְמָתָנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (נִתְּחָה) 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-אִם 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 וְהָיָה, 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 **יָ** with frequentative perfect, Jud. 2, 18. Job 7, 13 sq.

ii (δ) After **אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ . . . וְמָת** . . . *with whomsoever . . . 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 **וְלִקְחֶתֶם גַּם־אֶת־זֶה . . . וְהוֹרִדְתֶּם** *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. **וַיָּצֵאתִי . . . וַבָּא הַלֵּוֹיִם** *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 **וְלֵא** 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 **וְהִפְּיָה**; 33, 4 on account of **וְדָמוֹ**.—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 **וַיִּשְׂפְּרוּ** 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 **וְנִכְרְתָהּ וְג' . . . 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 (b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; thus e.g. after **יָעַן יָ** with the perfect, Is. 3, 16 sq.; after **אֲשֶׁר יָעַן** with perfect, 1 Ki. 20, 28; after **עַקְבֵּי** 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 שְׁמִיךְ . . .) *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*); Is. 37, 29 after יַעַן 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. וְבָא . . . *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 עֶרֶב יִדְעֶתֶם *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 *pp* 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 ו 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 וְהָעֶמִיד; 2 Ki. 11, 1 וְרֵאתָה; 14, 14 וְלִקַּח (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 ו 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 ו, 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 וְהִשְׁלִיךָ, &c.; verse 15 וְשָׂרַף, &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 Klostermann, the 2nd *sing. masc.* instead of וְהִגְרָתִי; 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 וְעָלְהוּ and וְיַעֲבֹרוּ). 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 תִּפְשֵׁשׁ 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 וְהִכּוּ, but not וְנִתְּנוּ, might be frequentative); Ezek. 20, 22 (וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי *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 imperfections 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 הַרְבּוֹת 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 (**פָּרִץ** 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 **יִרְעֲנוּ** 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 **בְּמַטְאֵיָא הַשְׂמִד** *with the besom of destruction*; *e* so perhaps also 4, 4 **בְּרוּחַ בָּעֵר**; 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 **הִצִּיג** according to § 53. *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written **הִצִּיג**.

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 . . . וְשָׂאוֹל לֹא 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 בְּקֶרֶךְ 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 מָאוֹס 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 אֵת (את), e. g. Jer. 9, 23 וְיָדוּעַ אֵתִי *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*, סָחַב וְהִשְׁלַךְ *a drawing and casting forth*, i. e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gen. 21, 16 (הִרְחַק *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 (הִסְתַּיֵּר *in hiding*, sc. my face); Jer. 3, 15 (הָעֵדָה וְהַשְׂבִּיל *with knowledge and understanding*); Hab. 3, 13 (עֲרוֹת, comp. for the form § 75. *aa*); Zech. 7, 3. Ps. 35, 16 (חָרַק, 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 קָרָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann קָרָה 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 epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon. 4, 9 it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הַשִּׁבֵּם *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 . . .* הַשִּׁבֵּם וְהָעֵרַר *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 radice 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 (נִשְׂאֵל) *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* (קָנֹו 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 תֹּאכֵל *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 *הֲתִמְלֶךָ הַתְּמָלֶךָ עָלֵינוּ* 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 מֵבִיא אֵת אֵלֶיךָ* 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 *וְהָיָה אֲנִי וְאַתָּה וְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל־בְּנֵי־לְוִי וְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל־בְּנֵי־לְוִי וְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל־בְּנֵי־לְוִי* thou hast altogether blessed them; Jos. 24, 10. 2 Ki. 5, 11. Dan. 11, 10, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of *מֵ* 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 *וְהָיָה לָהֶם לְעִוָּל וְנָעוּ* lowing as they went (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos. 6, 13 *ב* *Q^{re}*); Gen. 8, 7 *וַיֵּצֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־נֹחַ וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־כָּל־חַיְוֹת הַבְּרִיאָה אֲשֶׁר־עִשְׂרָה אִתּוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־חַיְוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר־עִשְׂרָה אִתּוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־חַיְוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר־עִשְׂרָה אִתּוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־חַיְוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר־עִשְׂרָה אִתּוֹ* it went forth to and fro²; Is. 19, 22 *וְיָצְאֵם וְיָרֵם* 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* and *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 *רָצוּהוּ* read simply *רָצוּהוּ יָצְאוּ*.

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 הָלוֹךְ וְשׁוֹב . . . הַיַּמִּים 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 וַיִּבְכֶּה, 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 וְהַצַּל לֹא-הִצַּלְתָּ אֶת-עַמְּךָ 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 יִקְטְרוּן 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 רִישׁ, and in Jer. 8, 13, according to § 72. aa, we should read אֶסְפֶּם, and in Zeph. 1, 2 אֶסְפֶּה.

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 (בָּנִים לֵב; comp. Ruth 2, 16 בָּנִים שָׁל; Jer. 50, 34 (רִיב יָרִיב); Prov. 23, 1 (בֵּין תְּבִין)). 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 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 (חָבַל), 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 וַיִּקְטֹר 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 וַיִּרְבֵּב); Ex. 8, 11. Jud. 7, 19. Jer. 37, 21. Neh. 8, 8. 1 Chron. 16, 36. 2 Chron. 7, 3; with או 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 אַף, 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 הִקְטֵוּ תִקְוֵוּ הִכְיֵוּ הָכֵוּ.

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 הִשָּׁמְרֵן; 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 הִבַּט 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 בְּאָכֹל אֶשְׁתּוּ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ezek. 21, 31. 23, 30. 46; perhaps also Jer. 31, 2 (הֲלִינָה). 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, הַשְׁפִּיל (beside הִנְבֵּה) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הָסַר, &c. The Kthibh 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 (הִאָּמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle הִאָּמַר 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 *כָּל־יֹכֵר* 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 הָיְיֹתָ לְבָדֹד*, 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 *עֵת כְּפֹר וְעֵת 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 אֵדַע יָצֵאת וְבָא* *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 בְּפָגְעוֹבוֹ in his meeting him, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gen. 27, 45 (עַד-שִׁיב); Is. 30, 12 יַעַן מֵאַסְפְּקֶם because ye despise; Jer. 2, 35 עַל-אִמְרֶךָ because thou sayest; Gen. 27, 1 and his eyes were dim מֵרֵאָת 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 בְּהִיוֹתָם 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, לְרֵאֹת 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 Job 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 לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי *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 לְהַיִּיחַ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי *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 וַיֹּאמֶר לְךָ וְנִי מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ *what is to be done for thee?* (הֵיטָב לְדַבֵּר לְךָ) *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 וַיֹּאמֶר לְךָ וְנִי עָלַי לָתֵת לְךָ *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 לְךָ וְנִי *it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests*; also לְאִין with an infinitive expresses *it is not permitted* (nefas est), *may not*, e.g. Est. 4, 2 לֹא לְבוֹא *for none might enter*; 8, 8. 1 Chron. 15, 2⁴; לְאִין 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 וְלָנוּ *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 לֹא לְלָרֶה *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 להִזְכִּיר 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 יכלו לה; 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: הִתַּל (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.; חָדַל 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); אָבָה to be willing (with an infinitive without ל Is. 28, 12. 30, 9. Job 39, 9); חָפֵץ 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, הִשְׁפִּיל 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); הִשְׁפִּיעַ 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, הִפְלֵא 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 אִם, 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 ל 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 $\text{לְשַׁאֵל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ}$ 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 ל is used in this way simply by itself, e. g. 1 Chron. 12, 8 *as the roes upon the mountains לְמַהֵר* (as regards hasting) in *swiftness*; Gen. 2, 3. 2 Sam. 14, 25 (לְהַלֵּל); Is. 21, 1 (לְהַלְלוֹת); Joel 2, 26. Prov. 2, 2. 26, 2 and so very frequently the infinitive לְאמֹר *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus, as follows*).

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later Books—the infin. constr. with ל 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 ל 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 וְלִשְׁבֹּב depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמֵם . 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 ל 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 $\text{וְ$ follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under letter *h*, where the infinitive with ל 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-רִבְּאֵי וְנֹ' *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-עֲוֹנֵכֶם) *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 עַל-רִדְפוֹ וְנֹ' *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-רִבְּאֵי *until I come*); by a simple imperfect, e.g. Prov. 1, 27 (after בְּ); Is. 30, 26 (after בַּיּוֹם *in the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is. 5, 24 (after בְּ). 10, 2. 13, 9. 14, 25. 45, 1. 49, 5. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Prov. 2, 8. 5, 2. 8, 21 (always after לְ)¹; by an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Gen. 39, 18 *and it came to pass*, וְאָקְרָא בְּהִרְיָמִי קוֹלִי *as I lifted up my voice and cried, that . . .*; 1 Ki. 10, 9. Job 38, 13 (after לְ); 1 Ki. 18, 18. Is. 38, 9. Job 38, 7. 9 sqq. (after בְּ); Is. 30, 12. Jer. 7, 13. Ezek. 34, 8 (after יֵעַן).
- 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 בְּלֹתִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לְ prefixed (comp., however, Num. 14, 16 (מִבְּלֹתִי), e.g. Gen. 3, 11 לְבִלְתִּי אֲכַל מִמֶּנּוּ *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 לְ 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 לְבַלְתִּי 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 הָקִיַם־אֶתְךָ 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 הֵשִׁיבֵנִי 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 ל; 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 אוֹתְךָ 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 רֵאָה for רֵאֵה (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 (שְׁלַח for שְׁלַח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of 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*.

נַג־ is doubtless a *verbal* not a *noun-suffix*, although in form it might be either); להִמְיִתְנִי Num. 16, 13. Jud. 13, 23 (after תִּפְיֵץ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gen. 25, 26 הם בְּלָרֶת 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 לְהַבְתּוֹ (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 לְהַכְתֶּךָ 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 לְשִׁטְנִי *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); לְהִנָּפֵה Is. 30, 28; בְּשִׁנְאֵת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ Deut. 1, 27; after verbal nouns formed by prefixing מ (comp. § 45. c), 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 בְּרִיאַת is wanting (but בְּשִׁמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בְּרִיאֹתוֹ, 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 *בְּשִׂנְאֵת יְהוָה אֲתָנִי* 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 *וְלִישָׁתֵת הָעָם* for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gen. 16, 16 (*בְּלִרְתֵּ 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* *לְהִפָּתֵר שָׁם* 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 הַפֶּלֶן* *לְשׁוֹם הַפֶּלֶן*, since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect *לְשׁוֹם* 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 *הַנִּיחַ* Deut. 25, 19. Is. 14, 3, *הַמִּיר* Ps. 46, 3, &c. the pretonic Qames is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of *הַנִּיחַ* Ezek. 24, 13, *הַמִּיר* Jer. 23, 20, &c., we should expect *הַנִּיחַ*, *הַמִּיר*, &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 nominatival constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e. g. in unchangeable forms like *קָטַל*, *קִים*, &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 הִלַּחְתִּי אֶת-קוֹלִי* 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־מִרְיָיו שִׁבְטִים כִּהְנִיף as if a rod should shake them that lift it up (for the plur. מִרְיָיו comp. § 124. *k*), not כִּהְנִיף, as would be expected (see letter *g* above), if שִׁבְטִים 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 כַּרְגֹנָן 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, פֹּכֵד, &c.) or *qātāl* (מִבְּהַ, &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 שְׁנוּא (comp. the feminine שְׁנוּאָה).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is. 28, 11 לְעֵנֵי שֹׁפָה *men of stammering lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand לֵעֵג לֵי בְלָהָה 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. Kantsch, *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); אָבֹר *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 (הָשֹׁב that was returned; comp. Ezra 6, 21 and elsewhere, הַשָּׁבִים 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 2 Sam. 20, 1; מְשֻׁלָּח 1 Sam. 19, 11. 2 Ki. 11, 2. הַמּוֹמָתִים; Is. 12, 5 *Qere* מוֹרַעַת ¹.

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. עָשִׂינִי *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] הַמְאַזְרֵנִי *that girdeth me*, LXX ὁ κραταίων με); Deut. 20, 1. 2 Sam. 1, 24. Is. 9, 12. 63, 11. Ps. 103, 4. 1 Ki. 9, 23 הָרְרִים בָּעָם *which bare rule over the people*; 2 Ki. 20, 5 הֲבֵנִי רִפָּא 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 הִפִּיץ 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 יִרָא 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 בְּל־מֵצֵא *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; comp. עָשִׂי *my maker*); 12, 3 מְבַרְכֶיךָ *that bless thee*, מְשַׁלְּלֶךָ *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 הַעִשׂוֹ *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, egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gen. 23, 10. 18 **בָּאִי שְׁעַר עִירוֹ** *that went in at the gate of his city*; Lam. 1, 4; after **יֵצֵא** 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, **יִרְדּוּ-בּוֹר** *they that go down into the pit (the grave)*; Ps. 88, 6 **קָבְרָ 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 (**הֶחֱנָה**); 102, 9. Prov. 2, 19 **כָּל-בָּאִיהָ** *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is. 29, 7 **כָּל-צָבִיחָ וּמְצֹדֹתָהָ** *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for **עָלֶיהָ וְעַל-מִן**).—In Is. 1, 30 as a *terebinth* **עָלָה נִבְלַת** *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether **נִבְלַת** is in the absolute state, and consequently **עָלָה** in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and **עָלָה** 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, *k* 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 **לְבוּשׁ בְּדִים** *clothed in linen*, comp. verse 3 **הַלְבִּשׁ הַבְּדִים**; (even with a suffix **קָרוֹעַ בְּתִנְתּוֹ** *rent as regards his coat* 2 Sam. 15, 32; with the participle following in Jud. 1, 7); but Ezek. 9, 11 **לְבוּשׁ 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 **מִשְׁרָתִי אֲתִי** *that minister unto me* (for which there is **מִשְׁרָתִי** in verse 21) and Amos 4, 13 where an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, **עֹשֶׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה** *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer. 2, 17 **בְּעֵת מוֹלֶכְךָ** 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 עַתָּה** (*now thou art broken*), instead of the difficult **עַתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ**. In 1 Ki. 20, 40 read **עֹשֶׂה** before **וְהִנֵּה וְהִנֵּה**.

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 נָלוֹז דְּרַבְּיוֹ *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 הַיְהוָה בְּרוּךְ *blessed of the Lord* (but Ps. 115, 15 לַיהוָה *יהוָה*, 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:

n (a) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e.g. Eccles. 1, 4 בָּא אֶת דֹּר הָאֶלֶף וְדֹר הַבֵּינָה *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth abideth (עַמְּרֶתָהּ) *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 הָרָה *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 הִלְךָ 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*, אֶתְּ הַבֵּקֶת בֵּן *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 וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive; Qimḥi therefore explains וְנִשְׁבַּחַת 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 הֵגִיחַ (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הֵגִיחַ as הֵגִיחַ, הֵגִיחַ, &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. t.

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 הֵגִיחַ the subject may be either a substantive, or (e. g. Gen. 37, 7) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הֵגִיחַ. 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 אִם-יִשָּׁע מוֹשֵׁעַ if thou wilt save; Gen. 43, 5 אִם-אֵינְךָ אִם-אֵינְךָ if thou wilt not send; 1 Sam. 19, 11.—In such cases as Is. 14, 27 יָרֹוּ הַנְּטוּיָה 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 הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יְהִי (or the jussive יְהִי, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e. g. Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרְשׂוֹת 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; יְהִי 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 הֵגִיחַ); 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; הֵגִיחַ 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 וְנִבְחַח 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, בָּרַךְ blessed be . . . Gen. 9, 26 and elsewhere; אָרַר cursed art thou . . . 3, 14 and elsewhere.

- l* Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is. 21, 11 **אֵלַי 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*).
- 11* 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. **עוֹר זֶה מְדַבֵּר 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 וְהִיא (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 שְׁלֵחָה** *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 **שֶׁפָּהַדָּם 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־ every 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 זֹבַח זֹבַח** *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 *Keth.*;

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. **וְהִיא בְּדַבְּרוֹ**). 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. *l*, 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 כַּל־הַבָּא *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 אֶת 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 אֵל, אִוֹת¹ 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 אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם); 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 אֵת (with a tone-long \bar{e} , אֵת only in Job 41, 26), אֵת or אִוֹת before the light suffixes according to § 103. *b*, Phœnician אֵת i. e. probably *iygāth* (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, 'iygā, Aram. אֵת, אֵת, was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אִוֹת, 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, autros*. [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 *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτόν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτόν τὸν οὐρανόν* (comp. *αὐτὴν 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 צָנָה אֹתוֹ Gen. 6, 22 in the *Priestly Code*, beside כָּבַל אֲשֶׁר צָנָה 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 *entirely*, 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-מִי *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 צַדִּיקִים 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 פְּנֵה is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 Sam. 4, 11 אִישׁ צַדִּיק 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 הַנְּחֹשֶׁת 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-שֶׁבַע הַכְּבָשֶׁת as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; and in Ex. 2, 1 the original reading probably was לִי אֵשֶׁה מִבְּנוֹת לִי; in Ex. 28, 9 read הַשָּׂהָם with the Samaritan; in Lev. 20, 14 אֶת-אִשָּׁה is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת-אִמָּה; in 1 Sam. 26, 20 read נִבְשִׁי with the LXX for אֶת; 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 הַחַיִּיתִי *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 ו follows, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 25 וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ and he will show me it; Ex. 17, 3 לְהַמִּית אֹתִי 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 הַפּוֹתֹהְאֹתוֹ lest one should smite him, &c., where לְבַלְתִּי הַפּוֹתֹהְאֹתוֹ 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 אִמְרֵימָם 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 שָׁמַר Jer. 3, 5 (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא קוֹל to lift up the voice, Is. 3, 7; לָּ for נָשָׂא עוֹן לָּ to take away any one's sin (to forgive), Gen. 18, 24. 26. Is. 2, 9; נָשָׂא לָּ 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 בֹּכֵה and Moses heard the people weeping; Gen. 7, 1 וַיִּרְאֵהְאֱתָהּ צְדִיקִים 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. f) 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 וּמְשַׁמְרַת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos. 17, 11 לְ וְיִהְיֶה 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 תִּשְׁמָעוּ (תִּעָשֶׂוּ) 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 *ἰδού*), 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 (יִטַּב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

³ Thus 1 Sam. 26, 10, where וְאִי is to be read for וְאֶת; 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 נָפַל. 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 הַמִּשָּׂא *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 אָכַל Lam. 4, 5, אָפַף Num. 10, 25, וָקַף Ps. 145, 14 (but cf. 146, 8), צָרַר Num. 25, 18, הִשְׁנִיָּא 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; הַבְּדִיל Ezra 8, 24. 2 Chron. 25, 10; הִבִּין Job 9, 11; בָּרַךְ 1 Chron. 29, 20 (immediately before with an accusative); הִנְלָהּ 1 Chron. 5, 26; דָּרַשׁ Ezra 6, 21. 1 Chron. 22, 19. 2 Chron. 17, 13; הִלָּל 1 Chron. 16, 36. 2 Chron. 5, 13; הִרְגַּ 2 Sam. 3, 30. Ps. 135, 11 (verse 10 with accusative), 136, 19; חָבַשׁ (to bind up) Is. 61, 1 (Ezek. 34, 4 before the verb); יָדַע Ps. 69, 6; לָקַח Jer. 40, 2; הִמְלִיךָ and מָשַׁח 1 Chron. 29, 22; נָהַל 2 Chron. 28, 15; סָמַךְ Ps. 145, 14; עֹבַב 1 Chron. 16, 37; הִעֲלָה Ezek. 26, 3; פָּתַח Ps. 116, 16; רָדַף Job 19, 28; הִצְדִּיק Is. 53, 11; שָׁכַר 2 Chron. 24, 12 (previously accusatives); שָׁיַם 1 Sam. 22, 7 (but probably וְכִלְכֵּם is to be read); הִשִּׁיב (in the connexion לְ הַשִּׁיב דָּבָר) 2 Chron. 10, 6 (but verse 9 and 1 Ki. 12, 9 with an accusative); שָׁחַת Num. 32, 15. 1 Sam. 23, 10; שָׁתַּח 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 פָּחַד 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 חָטָא יְרוּשָׁלַם Jerusalem hath sinned a sin; with a double accusative (see below, letter cc), e. g. 1 Ki. 1, 12 אֵינִיעָנָה נָא עֲצָה 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 βουλευέιν*, 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 צָעָקָה נְדִילָה וַיִּמְרָה עַד־מָאוֹד *he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry*; comp. the Greek *voseîn vóson kakên, 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־גָּדוֹל *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 שְׁנַת הַמָּוֹת (comp. Jer. 51, 39), as צָדִיקוֹת Is. 33, 15 for צָדִיקוֹת הַדָּרָה.

object, Deut. 5, 19. 1 Ki. 8, 55); Ps. 109, 2 *they have spoken unto me* שָׁקַר לְשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר a tongue of deceit, i. e. with a lying tongue; Prov. 10, 4 *he becometh poor* עָשָׂה עֵצָה 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 יְהִלֵּל־פִּי שִׁפְתַי רִנְּנוֹת יְהִלֵּל־פִּי *my mouth shall praise (thee) with joyful lips*, Ps. 63, 6; comp. Ps. 12, 3, where a *casus instrumenti* with בְּ 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*; הִיָּצַן *to be inclined* and רָצָה *to have pleasure* (usually with בְּ), 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 לָבַשׁ *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; נָלַחַם *to fight*, Ps. 109, 3 (where, however, the *Qal* וַיִּלְחַמוּנִי should be read; comp. Ps. 35, 1); also הִתְנַחֵל *to shave (something) for oneself*, Num. 6, 19; הִתְנַחֵל

¹ Thus e. g. עָנָה *to reply to* (ἀμείβεσθαι τινα), *to answer any one*; צָוָה *to command* (iubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קָוָה (also with לְ) *to wait for any one* (to expect any one); בָּשִׂרָה *to bring glad tidings to any one* (see the Lexicon); נָאָף and נִאָּף *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַר *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; **הִתְבַּנֵּן** 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** **צִמְתֵּנִי** **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 **נִדְּלַנִּי כָאֵב** *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 **אָרְזִן הַגִּבּוֹר נִתְתַּנִּי** 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 **תִּנְשַׁנִּי**; in Ezek. 29, 3 either **עֲשִׂיתִיו** is to be read with Olshausen or **עֲשִׂיתִים** (and previously **יֵאָרִי**) 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 **לְבַשׁ** to put on, **פָּשַׁט** to put off a garment, **עָרַה** to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also **וְהָב מְשֻׁבָּצִים** enclosed in gold, Ex. 28, 20). Also in poetic expressions such as Ps. 65, 14 **לְבִשׁוּ כְרִים** **הַצֹּאן** *the pastures are clothed with flocks*, comp. Ps. 109, 29; 104, 2 (**עֲטָה**); 65, 14 b (**עֲטָה**), &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 **אֶת**, 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 *your hands* **מָלְאוּ דָמִים** *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 **אֶת**); Is. 2, 7 sq. 6, 4. Prov. 3, 10; **נִזְרַע** to be fructified with, Num. 5, 28; **שָׂרִין** 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 *προπέειν ὕδωρ, δάκρυα στάειν*), e. g. Lam. 3, 48 **פָּלְגוּ מֵיִם תְּרַד 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; **נִזַּל** 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** *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 וְעָלָה וְשָׁמִיר וְחִטָּה *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; הִמְעַטְלָנוּ *to be bereaved of* (as though it were *to lose*), Gen. 27, 45.—In Jos. 22, 17 even הִמְעַטְלָנוּ (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. כִּלְכַּל 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־כְּבוֹדִי נָא הַרְאֵנִי *show me, I pray thee, thy glory*. Thus very frequently הוֹרִיעַ *to cause some one to know something*; לָמַד *docere aliquem aliquid*, &c.; comp. further, Gen. 41, 42 וַיִּלְבַּשׁ אֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי יָשֵׁשׁ *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 הַפְּשִׁיט 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 רִגִים 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*, זָבַר 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, חָנַן Gen. 33, 5; to sustain (i. e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything, e. g. Gen. 27, 37. Ps. 51, 14 (קָמַחַ); Jud. 19, 5 (קָעַר); to do something to one, בָּמַל Gen. 50, 15. 17. 1 Sam. 24, 18; comp. also קָרַם 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 דָּבַר 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; צִוָּה 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 אֶת-הָאָדָם עֹפָר מִן-הָאָדָמָה 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-בְּלוֹי 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 לַיהוָה of unhewn stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord.

(c) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e. g. 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 אָפַךְ, with two accusatives, to bake something into something, Ex. 12, 39. Lev. 25, 4; שִׂים (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 שִׂית 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.]

לַעֲשׂוֹת to make a thing so and so (Is. 5, 6. 26, 1; with a personal object, Ps. 21, 7¹. 91, 9); *לְהַחֲשִׁיךְ* to make dark, Am. 5, 8. Of the same class also are instances like Job 28, 2 *אֶבֶן יָצִיק נְחֹשֶׁת* a stone they smelt into brass; 1 Ki. 11, 30 *וַיִּקְרַעְהָ שָׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר קְרָעִים* 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 בְ), 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 *מִן־הָאֲבָנִים* 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) *נִיֹּחַ* 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* *בְּנַפְשׁוֹ* in the life, i. e. let us not kill him; Deut. 22, 26. 2 Sam. 3, 27; also with *שִׁיף* Gen. 3, 15; with *רֶגֶל* 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 *כִּי תִשְׁתַּמּוּ שְׁבָעִם* 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); *וְאֵיבֵי נְתַתָּה לִּי עֲרָף* 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. *ποῦν 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* (אָת) 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 אֶל³, especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or בְּ, usually to express being *at* a place.

Examples of (a): נִצַּח הַשָּׂדֶה let us go out into the field, 1 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 הַגִּיב instead of the *K^{eth}*. הַגִּיב.

³ So in Jud. 19, 18 for אֶת־בֵּית אֶל־בְּנֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ the better reading is אֶל־בְּנֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ.

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 *בֹּא* (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 *שׁוּב* 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 אֲבִיךָ* *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; *in the tent door*, *בְּתַח הַהֶחָל*, 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 *בְּבֵית* and *בְּבֵית*; comp., moreover, Gen. 2, 14, 4, 16. Ex. 18, 5. Lev. 6, 8 (*הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* instead of the usual *הַמִּזְבֵּחַתָּה* 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 *אֶרְצִי*.

h Examples of (c): Gen. 7, 20 *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gen. 31, 23, 41, 40 *מִמְנוֹה אֲנִי דָל הַכֶּסֶף אֲנִי רַק הַכֶּסֶף אֲנִי דָל* *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 *עָרַב* *at evening*, *לַיְלָה* *noctu*, *בֶּקֶר* *in the morning, early*, Ps. 5, 4 and elsewhere, *צַהֲרַיִם* *at noonday*, Ps. 91, 6; comp. also *יּוֹם אֶחָד* *on one and the same day*, Gen. 27, 45; also *שָׁנָא* *in sleep*, Ps. 127, 2; *הַתְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעִירִים* (*Q^{er}é* 'בְּתִ') *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 *הַדֶּרֶךְ* is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (*on the way*), but as an *accus. of respect* (*with regard to the way*); see below, 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 (אֲבִיבֵל).—*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 מִלְּאֵהָ). 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 מְתוֹהֵלֵךְ Gen. 3, 8 (comp. also בָּאָהָה 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 מִיֵּהָל read מִיֵּהָל.

(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 תִלְכוּ רוּמָה* neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to *שָׁחוּחַ* 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 *הָיָה רַגְלָיו אֲתֵרֶנְלָיו* in his feet (2 Chron. 16, 12 *בְּרַגְלָיו*), analogons 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 (*אֶחָד פֶּה אֶחָד* 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 *הָיָה רַגְלָיו אֲתֵרֶנְלָיו* to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also *בְּטִחָה* unawares, Gen. 34, 25. Ezek. 30, 9; *כִּי־יִשְׁרִים* 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) *יָמוֹתָם אֲנִישִׁים* they shall die as men, i. e. when they be men; comp. 1 Sam. 2, 18 (*נַעַר*). Is. 65, 20, and Gen. 15, 16; as specifying the number more accurately, e.g. Jer. 13, 19 *שָׁלוֹמִים* 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 אַרְיָה* and he cried as a lion; comp. Ps. 22, 14. Is. 22, 18 (*כְּדוֹר* like a ball); Is. 24, 22. Zech. 2, 8. Ps. 11, 1 (unless *צִפּוֹר* be vocative); 58, 9 *b* (unless the force of the preceding *בְּ* 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 *כְּ*², since the *כְּ* is to be regarded as originally a substantive³ in the sense of *amount*, *kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that *כְּ* is equivalent to *as a kind of*, *after the manner of*, *according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the *כְּ*. From this, which is the proper meaning of the *כְּ*, 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 *כְּ*, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see letter *r*), has actually dropped out.

² On the use of *כְּ* as a prefix, cf. § 102. *e*.

³ Schwabe (*כְּ 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 *כְּ* as a preposition on the same footing as *בְּ* and *לְ*, and believes it to be probably connected with the stem *כָּן* as well as with *כִּי* and *כֵּן*. The above view of *כְּ* 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 *כְּ* 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 *בְּחִלּוֹם* 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 מִדֶּבֶר אֵשׁ* as a fire, i.e. as *w* it were by fire (comp. Is. 1, 25 *כִּי בַבַּר* as with lye); Job 29, 23 *כִּי בַמָּטָר* as for the rain (they waited for me); Job 38, 14 (as in a garment); 38, 30 *כִּי אֶבְרָן* 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 פָּנוּת*. 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 *כִּי מְעַט* very few; but e.g. in Is. 1, 9 *כִּי יָדַע* 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 בְּרִבְרָאשׁוֹנָה* and *כִּי בְּתַחֲלָה*), Lev. 26, 37 (*כִּי מִצְנֵי*) 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 בְּעַל* Is. 59, 18. 63, 7. Ps. 119, 14, and 2 Chron. 32, 19; cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 14, 14 (*כִּי בְּתַחֲצִי*), 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 מְהֵרָא *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 מִלְּבַד, מִבְּלִעְדֵי *without*, comp. also such examples as מִבְּלֵי, מִפּוֹל, מִנְּגַד, מִשָּׁם (*there*), &c. Since a מִן- is not usually repeated after מִלְּבַד, it appears as if מִלְּבַד by a transposition of the מִן- stood for the usual לְבַד מִן-. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְּבַד 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 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); מִקִּדְמוֹ from before (see above); sometimes also מִמּוֹלַד 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 שֶׁבָתָדָךְ 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 essentialiae* 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 בְּיָה נִשְׁמוּ *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 בְּמִתֵּי 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 $\text{אֲרֹנִי בְּכַמְכִּי נִפְשִׁי}$ is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the כְּמִכִּים , but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i. e. *the Lord is one who upholds my soul*; so also Ps. 118, 7. Jud. 11, 35 [the plur. as in § 124. g- \bar{t}].—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* ($\text{מָלַךְ, מָשַׁל, נָשַׁט, רָדָה}$, 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 (but 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. **בְּהַאֲמִין** *to trust in* (to cleave trustingly *to*) somebody or something; **בְּבִטָּח** *to have confidence in* . . . ; **בְּשִׂמְחָה** *to rejoice in* or *at* something, &c. ; **בְּדִבָּר** *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** *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** *to eat of*, and **בְּשִׂתָּה**¹ *to drink of* something, Prov. 9, 5; **בְּשִׁמְעַע** *to hear a whisper of something*, Job 26, 14; **בְּנִשָּׂא** *to bear a share of something*, Num. 11, 17. Ezek. 18, 20. Job 7, 13. Comp. also **בְּחֶלֶק** *to give a share of something*, Job 39, 17; **בְּבִנָּה** *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** *with the life thereof*; 15, 14. 32, 11 **בְּמַקְלִי** *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 **בְּיַצְבֵּט** *they smite with the rod*; Is. 10, 24; Ps. 18, 30 **בְּךָ** *by thee* (so also 44, 6, parallel with **בְּשִׁמְךָ**); Is. 10, 34. Hos. 1, 7. 12, 14; comp. also **בְּעִבְרָה** *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 pretii** (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), comp. Gen. 23, 9. 29, 18 **בְּרַחֲלִי**; 30, 16. 33, 19. 34, 15 **בְּזֹאת** *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* **בְּצִלְמוֹתַי** *with the shadow of death*; Job 16, 10 **בְּפִיהֶם עָלֵינוּ** *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** *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 **בְּשִׂתָּה** = *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 niveiv* (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).

- 7' (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 :

- 5 (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*; *לְךָ* *flee!* (to save thyself), Gen. 27, 43; *עֲלִי 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* *הִשְׁמְרוּ* (see above, § 51. n) *cave tibi!* and *הִשְׁמְרוּ לְכֶם* *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.
- 7 (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.
- 11 (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to, with regard to . . .* (§ 143. e); 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. Präfos. 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 אֶפְרַיִם** *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 **מִהְיוֹת מֶלֶךְ** (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; comp. 1 Ki. 15, 13. Is. 17, 1 **מִעִיר** *so that it is no longer a city*; Jer. 17, 16. Job 28, 11 *he bindeth the streams* **מִבְּבֵי** *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־רְאֹת** *away from seeing* i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is. 7, 8 *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* **מִנְעָם** *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* **מִנְעָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** (*divers*) *of the princes of Israel*, 2 Chron. 21, 4; **מִזֶּבֶל** Lev. 4, 2; 1 Ki. 18, 5; **מִדַּם הַבָּקָר** *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex. 29, 12 and elsewhere; Job 27, 6 *my heart doth not reproach me* **מִיָּמִי** *for any*, i. e. for one, *of my days*; 38, 12 **מִיָּמֶיךָ** *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 מִבְּלֵי and מִבְּלֵיִן 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. מִרַב 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* (-עַל פְּקָדָה), &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* -עַל, בְּפָקָה -עַל, גָּנַן -עַל; also the combinations רַחַם -עַל *to have compassion upon . . .*, חוּס -עַל, חָמַל -עַל *to spare* some one, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Comp. also -עַל נִלְחַם -עַל 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 לְ מַמְעַל לְ is used for -עַל); הִתְיַצַּב -עַל *to present oneself by command before* some one, Job 1, 6 and elsewhere. Comp. also עָלִי, עָלֶיךָ (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 מִהִקְיִין *after awaking* (comp. *ἐξ ἀπίστου, ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gen. 38, 24. Hos. 6, 2, and very frequently מִמֵּיָן *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, על to fight against . . . , הנה על to encamp against . . . , נאסף על to be 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 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 וְנָה 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 לְלֶבֶת אַחֲרַי and he made full to walk i.e. walked fully after me; 1 Sam. 13, 7 חָרְדוּ אַחֲרָיו they trembled after him i.e. went after him trembling; with אֶל Gen. 43, 33 דָּרַשׁ אֶל to turn in astonishment to some one (comp. Is. 13, 8); דָּרַשׁ אֶל Is. 11, 10 and elsewhere, to turn inquiringly to some one; חָרַשׁ אֶל Is. 41, 1 to turn in silence to some one; חָרַד אֶל Gen. 42, 28 to turn trembling to some one (comp. לִקְרֹאת חָרַד to come trembling to meet, 1 Sam. 21, 2); comp. further Jer. 41, 7. Ps. 7, 7. 2 Chron. 32, 1; with פָּ 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. פָּ Is. 40, 19. 48, 14 he shall perform his pleasure בְּבָבֶל on Babylon, and his arm shall be בְּשַׁדְיִים (for בְּבַשְׁדִּים) 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-תֶּנֶם *in vain*, Ezek. 6, 10; אַחֲרֵי-כֵן *after this*; כִּבְּן (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 כְּהַתְמַךְ שׁוֹדֵד (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 יְהוָה תִּפְיֵן . . . יַגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify*, &c.; Job 32, 22 לֹא יִדְעֵמִי אֲכַבֵּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 Sam. 20, 19 (where for תָּרַךְ we should read with the LXX תִּפְקֹד); after an imperfect, Ps. 88, 11. 102, 14.

¹ In יִרְעֵ מַנְיֵן 1 Sam. 16, 16, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, לְרַע לְנֵינִי and the simple מַנְיֵן.

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 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 לֹא תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד לֹא תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד לֹא תוֹסִיפִי 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 בָּאֵי 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 (וְ, וְ)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, הוֹסִיף², 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 הִחֵל Gen. 9, 20; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Job 6, 9; in the imperative (comp. § 110. h), Jud. 19, 6 הוֹאִל־נָא וְלִיִּן 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 הִפְרִד 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-יִדְעָתָּ וְיִשְׁכַּם 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 יִקְרָא 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 וְלֹא יִאֲמִיף).

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 (δ) 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 לָבֵה (לָבֵה), לָבֵה, &c.) are exceedingly common in the form of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e.g. קום הַתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gen. 13, 17. 19, 15. 27, 43; in the plural, Gen. 19, 14; Ex. 19, 24 לָךְ־רֵד *go, get thee down*; 1 Sam. 3, 9; with a following cohortative, 1 Sam. 9, 10 לָבֵה נֵלְכָה *come, let us go*; Gen. 31, 44 and frequently.—Also with הוֹסִיף, Hos. 1, 6 *לא אוֹסִיף עוֹד* *I will not add further and have mercy*, i. e. will no longer have mercy; Is. 52, 1. Prov. 23, 35; שׁוּב (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*; הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Deut. 1, 5. Hos. 5, 11; in the imperative, Job 6, 28; הִרְבָּה = *much*, 1 Sam. 2, 3 אַל־תִּרְבוּ תִדְבְּרוּ עֲתָק *do not multiply and talk*, i. e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, Ps. 51, 4; הַחֵל *begin, possess*; יָבֵל, Lam. 4, 14 יִבְלֵי יָנֵעוּ *without men's being able to touch, &c.*; מְהֵרָה = *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 הֵעֵמִיק = *deeply, radically*; Zeph. 3, 7 הַשְׂבִּימִים = *early* (even in the participle, Hos. 6, 4. 13, 3); Is. 29, 4 שְׁפַל = *low*, comp. Jer. 13, 18; Jos. 3, 16 תָּמַם = *wholly*; Ps. 112, 9 פְּזִיר = *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 הִלָּךְ 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 יִשְׁפֹּעַ *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 וַיִּגֹּד 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 וַיִּגְדַּר לְחֲנוּךְ 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 יִלְרָה for יִלְרָ; the Samaritan in Gen. 35, 26 and 46, 27 also reads יִלְרָ, and this (or יִלְרָ) should certainly be read instead of יִלְרָ 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 אֶרְאֶה which I will show thee (Gen. 12, 1) the passive is אָשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרֹאָה (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 מִלְקוֹחַי depends on an assumed transitive הִדְבִיק governing two accusatives (= *my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws*); also in Is. 1, 20, חֶרֶב תִּאָּכְלוּ ye shall be devoured with the sword, חֶרֶב 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 הַכֶּסֶף 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, 16³. Also in Ezek. 40, 17 and 46, 23, the accusative preceding (in 41, 18 following) עָשׂוּי 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 עָשׂוּי.—(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.).
- c 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.* וַיִּפְּלוּ 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 הַבְּדִים who was clothed in linen, Ezek. 9, 3, would be וַיִּנְוֹתֶר אֶת־הַחֶמּוֹן הָהוּא 2 Chron. 31, 10; but we must certainly read there וַיִּנְוֹתֶר 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, שָׁלַח 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 וַיִּרָם Ex. 16, 20. 26 (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which תִּלְעָעִים 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. אָח brother, אֵשֶׁת sister; אֶלְמָן a young man, אֶלְמָנָה a young woman, maid; אִיּוּבֵנְס iuvenus, אִיּוּבֵנְסָה iuvenca; 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*; אֵיל *ram*, רְחֵל *ewe*; תֵּישׁ *he-goat*, עֵז *she-goat*; חֲמוֹר *he-ass*, אֶתוֹן *she-ass*; אַרְיָה *lion*, לְבִיָּה *lioness*. Sometimes with the additional feminine ending, e. g. עֶבֶד *male slave*, מַן-שֶׁעָבַד *man-servant*, אִמָּה or שִׁפְחָה *female slave, maid*; חַתָּן *bridegroom*, בְּרִיָּה *bride*.
- d Of (b): נֶמֶל *camel*. Plur. נֶמְלִים construed as masculine, Gen. 24, 63; as feminine, Gen. 32, 16; בָּקָר collect. *oxen*, Ex. 21, 37, construed as masculine, but Gen. 33, 13. Job 1, 14 as feminine. In Jer. 2, 24 the construction of פָּרָה *wild ass*, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Comp. in Greek ὁ, ἡ παῖς ὁ, ἡ βοῦς.
- e Of (c): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; comp. ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν, 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. אֵילִים *ox* (Ps. 144, 14 even referring to cows in calf), דָּבָר *bear*, Hos. 13, 8 דּוֹב נִשְׁפּוּל (*a bear that is bereaved of her whelps*; comp., however, 2 Ki. 2, 24. Is. 11, 7), זָאֵב *wolf*, בָּלָב *dog*, all masculine; but אֲרֵנְבַת *hare*, יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, דְּבִירָה *bee*, נֶמְלָה *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, חֲמוֹר *ass*, 2 Sam. 19, 27 for אֶתוֹן; אֵיל *hart*, Ps. 42, 2 for אֵילָה. In Gen. 23, 4 sqq. מוֹת *a dead body*, refers more especially to the body of a woman; אֱלֹהִים *god*, is used of a goddess, 1 Ki. 11, 5, elsewhere always masculine; אֲמוֹן *a master workman*, in Prov. 8, 30 refers to wisdom (חֲכָמָה 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 נַעַר *païs*, according to the commonly received opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2. n). The use of the plural נַעֲרִים 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 *zauḡ* (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 *ḡāmil*, *bāḡin* (*gravida*), and the like, which from the meaning of the word can only be used of females. Thus also אִמָּן, at least in Num. 11, 12 (Is. 49, 23?), probably means *nurse* (for אִמָּנָה 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*, אֲדָמָה *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*; אֲדָמָה 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*, כְּפָר *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), גַּיְאָ (גַּי) valley, גַּן garden (fem. Gen. 2, 15, unless לְעֵבְרָה, &c., is to be read), הַיְבֵל palace, temple, הַצֵּר court, פָּרֶם 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.).
- ni (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 הַחֶבֶד sword, יֵתֶד tent-peg, בַּד bucket, כּוּס cup, נֶעֱלַל shoe, עֶרְשׁ 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 אָזֶן ear, אֶצְבָּע finger (and so probably בְּתוֹן thumb, great toe), יָד and כַּף hand, יְמִין right hand, רֶגֶל foot, בְּרֵךְ knee, יָרֵךְ thigh, כַּתֵּף shoulder, לֵחַי cheek, בֶּטֶן belly; כַּנֵּף wing, קֶרֶן horn, עֵצָם bone, שֵׁן tooth; as a rule also אֶרְוֵעַ arm (masc. Is. 17, 5 and elsewhere), לְשׁוֹן tongue (masc. Ps. 22, 16 and elsewhere), עֵין eye (masc. Zech. 3, 9 and elsewhere), שׁוֹק 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 שֶׁשֶׁשׁ sun (but often also masc., Ps. 19, 6. 104, 19); אֵשׁ (Eth. 'ēsāt) fire (rarely masc.); נֹרָה 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, זָנָב tail, מִצַּח forehead, עֶקֶב heel, עֶרֶף 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, נְבוּרָה *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. גְּדוּלוֹת *great things*, Ps. 12, 4; הַנְּהָרְסוֹת *the ruined places*, Ezek. 36, 36, along with הַנִּשְׁמָה *that which was desolate*, טְבוֹת *kindnesses*, 2 Ki. 25, 28, נְכַחוֹת *uprightness, honesty*, Is. 26, 10, נְפִלְאוֹת *amoenae*, Ps. 16, 11 (but in verse 6 in the same sense נְעִימוֹת *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 וְזֶה and הִיא וְזֶה), 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 תָקִים לָא תְהִיָּה וְלֹא 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 פְּתָח *viceroys*²; in the plural כְּנֹתָ 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. אֲרָחָה (fem. of *travelling*), prop. *the travelling* (company), i.e. travelling persons (a caravan); גּוֹלָה (fem. of גָּלָה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יֹשְׁבֹת (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 בְּבָלַי עַמִּי בַת עַמִּי (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי) *my countrymen*, see above, letter *i*.

t (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i.e. to indicate a *single* example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; comp. אֶנְיָ *a fleet* (1 Ki. 9, 26), אֶנְיָ *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 תְּאֵנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine *tin* is collective in Arabic); יָשׁוּשָׁנָה *a lily* (also שׁוֹשַׁן); לְבַנָּה *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*, יָרֵכָה or יָרְכָה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87. o.

v Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e.g. Is. 3, 1 מִשְׁעָנָה וּמִשְׁעָנָה *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. t).

¹ Comp. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hd. 1, 80 and elsewhere, *the camel corps*.

Thus בָּקָר *cattle, oxen*¹ (even joined with numerals, e. g. Ex. 21, 37 בָּקָר חֲמִשָּׁה *five head of cattle*), but שׂוֹר *an ox*; צֹאן *small cattle*, i. e. sheep and goats (μῆλα), comp. Job 1, 3 שִׁבְעַת אֲלֵפֵי-צֹאן *seven thousand sheep*; but שֶׁה *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: זֵי (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, טַף (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; רִשָּׁא *fresh green herb*, i. e. young plants, יֶרֶק *green*, i. e. vegetation in general; עוֹף *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); אַרְבֵּה *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; נַפְשׁ *soul* and *souls* (persons); מַגָּל *staff* and *staves* (Gen. 30, 37); עֹיט *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*); פֵּרוֹי *fruit* and *fruits*; שִׁחַ *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid-servant*, חֲמֹר *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 יְמִימָה), 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 בֹּקֶר 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, לְבֹקְרִים Ps. 73, 14, or לְבֹקְרָם Job 7, 18 along with לְרִגְעִים *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 וְדוֹר *all generations*, Deut. 32, 7;

¹ The plural form בָּקָרִים from בָּקָר 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 יום 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 בָּל־ 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* יוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם 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 בְּנִים בְּנִים *nothing but trenches*; Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֵרֹת הַמָּר בְּאֵרֹת הַמָּר *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) אֶבֶן 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*; יָמִים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side *turned towards* any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרָיִם *the back*, Ex. 26, 12. 33, 23, &c., צְנָאָרִים *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* (*q̄t̄ûlîm, q̄it̄ûlîm, &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*, זְקִנִים *old age*, נְעֻרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, כְּלֹלֹת *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*, כְּנֻרִים *blindness*, עוֹשִׂים *perverseness*.

¹ Comp. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ πρᾶχλα, *praecordia, 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 סִפָּר) 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 סִפָּר).

- 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 אָנוּיִם *might*, Is. 40, 26; אֲמוּנָיִם (as well as אֲמוּנָה) and אֲמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֶׁרֵי (according to § 93. *l*, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; בִּינּוֹת Is. 27, 11 and תְּבוּנוֹת Is. 40, 14, &c. (keen) *understanding*; דַּעִים Job 37, 16 and הַעוֹת 1 Sam. 2, 3 (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּטָחוֹת Job 12, 6 and מְבַטְחִים Is. 32, 18 (full) *confidence*; פְּרֻכּוֹת (abundant) *blessings*, Ps. 21, 7; הַוּוֹת Ps. 5, 10 (very) *destruction*; חַמוּדוֹת Dan. 9, 23 (greatly) *beloved*; חַמוֹת Ps. 76, 11, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חַרְפוֹת Dan. 12, 2 (utter) *contempt*; מְרֵאוֹת Gen. 46, 2 (an important) *vision*; מִישְׁרִים *uprightness*; תְּהַפְּכוֹת *perversity*; חֲשִׁיבִים and חֲשִׁיבִים (thick) *darkness*; מְסֻתָּיִם *a (close) hiding-place*; נְיָרִים *nobility*; שְׁמָנִים Is. 28, 1 *fatness*; צְחָצְחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִתְקָאִים *sweetness*; מְחַמְּדִים *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*, וְנוּנִים *whoredom*, זָאֲפִים *adultery*; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תְּחִנּוּנִים *supplication*, נְדָרִים 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 הַפְּחוֹת *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae, magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *ve* used by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. already 1 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; אֲדָרְנִי 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 אֲדָרְנֵנוּ (except 1 Sam. 16, 16); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָרְנִי². So also בַּעֲלִים (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 excellentiae*; 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.—נֹשְׂתָיו 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 אֲדָרְנֵנוּ). 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 וְהַשִּׁמָּם 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 אֲדָרְנִי) 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.

- 7 Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, comp. אֲפֶק *fine dust*, אֲפָר *ashes*, בֵּד *linen*, בְּדִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, חֶלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עֹפָר *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; נְחֹשֶׁתִים (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֵצִים *ligna (timber for building or sticks for burning)*; also in a wider sense, בְּדִילִים *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*.
- 112 (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 בֶּסְמִים and בֶּסְמֹת *spelt*; עֲדָשִׁים and עֲדָשָׁה (the singular only preserved in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׂעֵרִים and שְׂעֵרָה *barley*; also פְּשִׁתִּים *linen*, פִּשֶׁת (to be inferred from פְּשִׁתִּי) *flax*.
- 112 (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דְּמִים 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, דְּמִים 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 דְּמִים also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דְּמִים 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-שַׁעֲרֵיהָ *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 בְּנִי-אֶתְנֹתָ (comp. Cant. 2, 9); Ex. 21, 22 יִלְדֶּיהָ (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 בְּנִים 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 חַיִל *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. גְּבוּרֵי הַיָּלִים 1 Chron. 7, 5; 9
 וּבְבֵתַי כְּלָאִים and in prison houses, Is. 42, 22; comp. Ex. 34, 1, &c.
 (לָחַת אֲבָנִים שְׁנַיִם לָחַת אֲבָנִים) two tables of stone; but Ex. 31, 18 אֲבָן (לָחַת אֲבָן); 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 הָאָרֶץ 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. 1
 6, 14. Num. 1, 2. 4 sqq. and elsewhere, as plur. of אָב בֵּית אָב father's
 house, family; בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת the houses of the high places, 2 Ki. 17, 29
 (also בֵּית 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 5
 a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality
 is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e. g. פִּימוֹ 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 a
 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 deter-
 mination 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 b
 addition of אֵל 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 אָחַד קָדוֹשׁ 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-חֶרֶב from a sword, i. e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); comp. Is. 28, 2 בֵּיךְ; 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 בְּרָע; 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 מְלִין *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 הַיְוָה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, בְּנֵעַן, 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, אָדָם, 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., הַפְּ), 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*; הַיָּאֵר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*; comp. Amos 8, 8 בְּיֹאזֵר 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 הַדַּנִּי *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos. 13, 7 הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like *Gentilic* names in § 125.) 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 שְׂרֵי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gen. 5, 1 onwards (previously in 2, 7, &c., אֶתְאָדָם *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 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 פְּשָׁדִים *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 מַעֲכָה *Abel by the water*, 2 Sam. 20, 14, &c., to distinguish it from מִים אֲבֶל *Abel*, 2 Chron. 16, 4; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד *Ishbi-benzer*, 1 Sam. 11, 1, &c.; יִרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ *Jordan*, Num. 22, 1. 26, 3. 63, &c.; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is. 60, 14; הַרְמָתַיִם צוֹפִים *Harmathaim*, 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 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־זוֹאת 2 Sam. 13, 17), or as genitive

¹ That various other words, such as אֲנוּשׁ *man*, צְלֻמוֹת *deep darkness*, רוֹן *prince*, שָׂדֵי *field*, הַרְשִׁיפָה *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as תְּרֵדְמָה *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

(מָהִיר זֶה 1 Ki. 21, 2), or finally when joined to a preposition (זֶה אֶת Gen. 2, 23; בְּזֶה 1 Sam. 16, 8, see § 102. g).

- k So also the personal pronouns הֵיא, הֵיא, הֵם, הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה when they are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e. g. הֵיא 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*; בַּיָּמִים 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 *ó, h, τó* 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 הֵיא (הֵיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. Ps. 19, 10 *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 וְגַם הַנְּחָמָדִים וְגַם הַנְּחָמָדִים *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 (הַגִּתָּהּ) rain, &c., and sendeth (וְשִׁלְּחָהּ), &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 הַצֹּרֵר תְּמִים יִפְעֵלוֹ 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 לְעֶשֶׂיר must be read.)

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה δ 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 δ ποιητής, meaning Homer) or things, e. g. שָׂטָן 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 δ θεός, the one true God (comp. also δ Χριστός in the New Testament); also הַנָּהָר the river, i. e. the Euphrates; הַקֶּבֶץ 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 הוֹשֵׁעַ הַגָּדוֹל help, O king; Zech. 3, 8 יהוֹשֻׁעַ 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 שָׂטָן, 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 for הָאָרֶץ Ps. 2, 2; מְלָכִים as vocative, verse 10; מְלָךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ 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 עוֹד *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33, 13. 40, 18. 41, 26. Is. 66, 3.

h 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; הָאֲרֵץ *the liar in wait*, i.e. *the liars in wait*; הַחֲלָיִץ *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.

הַמֵּאַחֵר the rearguard; הַמְשַׁחֵת 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 הַאֲרִיִּה 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 ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακῶσιος, &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 וְנִבְרָחָה בַּמִּקְנֵה בְּכֶסֶף וּבְזָהָב 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 הָאֶפֶה Ex. 16, 36, &c.: הַחֶמֶר and הַבֵּית Ezek. 45, 11; הָעֶמְקָר 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 (בְּצֵדָק); Gen. 19, 11 and they smote the men . . . בְּפִנְיֵיהֶם 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 בְּתוֹלַע like crimson; Is. 34, 4 and the heavens shall be rolled together פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֻטָּה 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 פְּאֲרִיִּה Ps. 17, 12, בְּנִבְוֹר Job 16, 14, בְּאֵב 31, 18, בְּנִבְרָה 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 קֶן מְשֻׁלַּח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but comp. 10, 14 (בְּקֶן); 14, 19. 29, 5 כְּמִין עֵבֶר (but Ps. 1, 4 (בְּמִין); 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* (הַאֲרִי), 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 (הַפָּלִיט), 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 הַנָּעַר Num. 11, 27 is used like הַפָּלִיט 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 (הַעַלְמָה), 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 *I*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הַצִּרְעָה Ex. 23, 28; הַנְּחֹשֶׁת 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 הַמִּקּוֹם הַהוּא *that place*; Gen. 2, 2 הַיּוֹם 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 הַגָּדֹל *the great work*

of the Lord; or by a suffix, e. g. Is. 36, 9 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 הַגִּבּוֹר הַגִּדּוֹל הַיָּלִד *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 הָרִאשׁוֹן *from the first day onward* (not before Dan. 10, 12 and Neh. 8, 18 is מִן־הַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן used instead of it; on the other hand, the article is *always* found after בּ, 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 הַחֶבֶד הַיּוֹנֵה *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 (דְּבִישׁ) by מִטָּע.—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 פְּחָעַר) 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 הָיָה הַגְּדוֹל הָעָם *the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הָיָה הָעָם.*

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. הַגְּדוֹלָה 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 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה). 17, 12 (הַזֶּה 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.

ʸ (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, l. 3, זאת הבמת זאת *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 וְזוּ Ps. 12, 8 (according to the Masora וְזוּ is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 Sam. 2, 23, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading יהוה פלעם יהוה became פלעם אלהים, and אלהים was then corrupted to אלה); 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 חלי, as in Jer. 10, 19, arises by contraction from חללי, or we should simply read חלי (in all these passages with וְ); Gen. 24, 8 (with זאת); Ex. 10, 1. 1 Ki. 22, 23. Jer. 31, 21 (with אלה).

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 לים. 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, א, 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 א, 21, 19 before ח)¹. In Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 sq. (אחר) and 2 Ki. 25, 16 (שנים) after a determinate substantive, the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, letter x); finally, in 2 Chron. 26, 15 פתעים and פתענים are to be read, as in Jer. 2, 21 נפן for הפן, in 22, 26 ארץ for הא; in 2 Sam. 6, 3 omit חרשה, and in Ezek. 39, 27 omit רבים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dan. 8, 13 and 11, 31.

aa 2. When, as in Mic. 7, 12 (יום הוא *in that day?*), the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezra 3, 12, the demonstrative even precedes (זה הבית equivalent to הבית הזה), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos. 9, 12 לחמנו is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative זה (= *this our bread*, &c.), as in verse 13 נארות is to אלה, or they are complete sentences, *this is our bread*, &c. So also in Ex. 32, 1 משה (= *that [iste] Moses*, &c.), in 1 Sam. 17, 55 הנער, in Ps. 48, 15 אלהים are to be taken in apposition to זה. 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 הוא and אלה, 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 עליוה 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. יהוה 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 מִלְחָמָה אִישׁ 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 אַנְשִׁים 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־הַיָּדָעַן מִפְּרֵי הָעֵץ *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־הַבָּנוֹן *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־חַי *each living thing*, i. e. *every* (not *every kind of*) *living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i. e. *all men* or *all living creatures* (with the article only in 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־הַלְחָמִי *the Bethlehemite*, 1 Sam. 16, 1 and elsewhere (comp., however, 1 Chron. 27, 12 *Q'ré* (לְבַן יְמִינִי)); בֵּית־הַשְּׁמִי *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 הַלְקַת הָעֵצָה *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 לַפְּעִלּוֹת* in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121, 1 *שִׁיר לַפְּעִלּוֹת*) 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 הַמְּזוֹבַח בֵּית־אֵל *the valleys*, namely the valleys of Arnon; 2 Ki. 23, 17

¹ In Ezra 10, 17 instead of בְּכָל־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 הפּוֹזֵבַח the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הפּוֹזֵבַח or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ); הַמֶּלֶךְ הַבְּלִי the God of Beth-el¹ (equivalent to הָאֱלֹהִים בְּבֵית־אֵל), Gen. 31, 13; הַמֶּלֶךְ הַבְּלִי 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 אֲמֹן 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 עֵדֶר הַנְּבִיא 2 Chron. 15, 8. In Ex. 9, 18 read with the Samaritan לְמִיּוֹם; in 2 Sam. 19, 25 לָכֶת might possibly be taken in apposition to לָמֶן 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 קָבֶר has dropped out after הַקָּבֶר) and Ps. 123, 4 (comp., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by לְ).—In Jos. 3, 14 הַבְּרִית has been added to the original הָאָרוֹן 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 הַיָּתֵד Jud. 16, 14 the Masora evidently combines two different readings הַיָּתֵד and הַיָּתֵד; and similarly in Jer. 25, 26 (where הָאָרְצִין 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 כָּל, has been mechanically prefixed, and so also in 2 Chron. 8, 16 after עֵדֶר; in 2 Ki. 9, 4 the second הַנְּעֵר (instead of נְעֵר) is occasioned by the first; in Ezek. 7, 7 מְהֵימָה 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 הַאֲבָן הַבְּדִיל the weight, the lead, i. e. the leaden 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 הַמְּזִקָּה (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to הַסֶּפֶר.

(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. הַמְּכַחֵה 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 הַעֲרִפְהָ 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 *בְּנִבְרָתָהּ* Is. 24, 2 (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with *ב*), *לְמַעַנְהוּ* Prov. 16, 4, and *בְּעֵרִינוּ* (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 *חֲצִיּוֹ*), *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 וּבָנֹתָי* *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 יְהוָה* may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also *כִּכְר* 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 הַלְלוּמֵי 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 הַלְלוּמֵי יַיִן 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 (מְשׁוּשׁ), 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) בְּעֶפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקְבֹּר or at the end of the verse; in Is. 63, 11 מִשָּׂה is probably a gloss on יְמֵי־עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 Sam. 4, 2 לְאִישׁ־בִּשְׁתַּת בָּן רְעוּזֹת 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 מוֹקְשֵׁי for מִבְּקֵשֵׁי); in 1 Chron. 9, 13 the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מְלֶאכֶת (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 הַזֶּבֶךְ after עֲרֶבֶךָ 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 בִד *his garment*, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, comp. § 131. d; Lev. 26, 42, where וְגַי יַעֲקֹב וְגַי בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב could at most be explained as an elliptical form of expression for וְגַי יַעֲקֹב בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב, comp. § 125. h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before וְגַי יַעֲקֹב; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); similarly, הַיּוֹם בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer. 33, 20, &c. On the other hand, אִם הַזֶּה יְהוָה נְבִיאָךְ יְהוָה נְבִיאָךְ Num. 12, 6 could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably מִיְהוָה נְבִיאָךְ is to be read, with Marti). In Ps. 55, 7 כְּסֵאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition. In Jer. 52, 20 two readings are probably combined, לְנֶחֱשֶׁת לְנֶחֱשֶׁת without any addition, and בְּלֶהֱבִילִים.

(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 עֹדֵר 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 מַחֲמַם is followed by a subjective genitive); Prov. 20, 2 מִלֶּקֶךָ אֵימַת 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 יְהִיד the mourning for an only son; Deut. 20, 14 שְׁלַל אֵיבֶיךָ praeda hostibus tuis erepta; comp. Is. 3, 14. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים דְּרָךְ הָרְקָה the way of (i. e. to) the tree of life, Gen. 3, 24; comp. Prov. 7, 27. Job 38, 20; הַיָּם דְּרָךְ הָרְקָה the way of (by) the sea, Is. 8, 23; זִבְחֵי 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. חֲכָמוֹת 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 פְּרָת 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) פֶּסֶל 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. אֲנִשֵּׁי הַתְּרָיִם men of (the class of) merchants, 1 Ki. 10, 15; אֲחֻזַּת קֶבֶר a possession of a burying-place, i. e. hereditary sepulchre, Gen. 23, 4, and elsewhere; תְּאֵנֵי הַבְּבֻרוֹת 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 בְּרַפְּיָם.

(h) Of the *material*¹ of which something consists, e. g. כְּלֵי חַרְשׁ *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*, פְּרוֹל שֵׁבֶט *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 אֶהְיֶה עִוְלוֹם *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 קִדְּוֶה *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקִּדְּוֶה *the holy garments*, Ex. 29, 29), since קָדוֹשׁ is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with עַם and גּוֹי *people*, and with שֵׁם the *name* of a person); the only exceptions are מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex. 29, 31, and elsewhere; מַיִם קְדוֹשִׁים *holy water*, Num. 5, 17; קָדוֹשׁ 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. צֶאֱן טְבַחָה *sheep for the slaughter*, Ps. 44, 23; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֹמֵנו *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. וְיֵין וְחֶמֶר לְחֶם וְנֶאֱדָר יֵין *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֵשְׂרָה is to be read for חֶמֶר); 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 מְבַחָר *choice, selection*, as in Gen. 23, 6 קְבָרֵינוּ מְבַחָר *the choice of our sepulchres*, i. e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex. 15, 4. Is. 22, 7. 37, 24; other examples are, Is. 1, 16 *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 כָּל *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 (אֲרוֹן *made of cedar*, a denominative from אָרָן, and נְחוֹשׁ *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, בְּרוֹנִי *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, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex. 4, 10 (but אִישׁ שִׁפְתָיִם 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 הַקֶּחַח *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 אֲנֹשִׁי *a contentious woman*, Prov. 27, 15; in the plural, e. g. Gen. 6, 4 הַשָּׂם אֲנֹשִׁי הַשָּׂם *the men of renown, famous*; comp. Gen. 47, 6. Is. 41, 11. Job 34, 8. 10 (אֲנֹשִׁי לִבָּב *men of understanding*); with מְתֵי, e. g. Is. 5, 13 (הָעֵבֶר מְתֵי הָעֵבֶר *famished men*); Job 11, 11.
- 11 (b) Of בַּעַל, &c.: 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 שְׁבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh. 6, 18.
- 12 (c) Of בֶּן, &c.: בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*; בֶּן־מִשְׁקָן *heir*, Gen. 15, 2; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex. 12, 5, and elsewhere; בֶּן־מֵאָתָּה 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 הַבּוֹת *worthy to be beaten*; feminine, e. g. אִשְׁת־בַּלְעֵל *a wicked woman*, 1 Sam. 1, 16; frequently also אִישׁ בְּלִיעֵל, בְּנֵי ב', אֲנֹשֵׁי ב', and even simply בְּלִיעֵל, 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 מַרִי *children of rebellion*, Num. 17, 25. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e. g. Is. 5, 1 בֶּן־יִשְׁמֹן *a fat*, i. e. *a fruitful (hill)*; Jon. 4, 10 בֶּן־לַיְלָה i. e. *grown in a night*; Job 41, 20 *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.
- 13 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 צִיצִית נִבֵּל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיִּין 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 οἰκονόμος 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 הָנָם *blood shed without cause*, 1 Ki. 2, 31; Prov. 24, 28. 26, 2; Ezek. 30, 16 (אִוִּם).

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. הָלָה 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 לִי-הַרְבַּב *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-תֵּאֵר *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 בְּנֵרֵי אֵינִי *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-נִפְשָׁי *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 (לְ אִשְׁרָא, 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 לְ sometimes occurs even when the construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e.g. 1 Sam. 14, 16 הַצִּבְּיִים 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 לְיִשָּׁי *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 מְזֻמֹּר (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 מְזֻמֹּר (Ps. 24, 1 and elsewhere) is not to be regarded as a transposition, but מְזֻמֹּר 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 לְבִעֹז הַחֶלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֵה לְבִעֹז *the portion of field belonging to Boaz* (בִּעֹז שָׂדֵה לְבִעֹז 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 נִשְׁקָבְתָּךְ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lev. 15, 16 sqq. and elsewhere, שְׁקִבְת־וֹרֵעַ; 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־רֵבֻעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with וְעַל־שִׁשִּׁים, and for the same reason also לְאַלְפִים לְאַחַיִּי.
- 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 בְּשֵׁנִית שְׁתַּיִם לְדַרְוִיּוֹשׁ *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 בְּיוֹם 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 לְ, and the other by מִן. [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 e.g. *la fille à Mr. N.*, laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de . . .* of the literary language.

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* (וְאִפְהָ מֶלֶךְ 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 לְשֹׁלֹמֹה *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 בְּקִצִיר *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 פְלִחוֹסֵי; 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 לְמוֹ); Prov. 24, 9. Lam. 2, 18 (before לְךָ); 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, שֶׁלְשֹׁלֹמֹה) is used like the simple relative ׀, ׀ 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 בְּאֹהֶלִים *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 כִּי, 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.* אַת, 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 חֲקַמְתָּ Is. 33, 6, יֵלֶת 35, 2, and שִׁבְרַת 51, 21 may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (!) הַיְ.

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 הַמְקוֹם 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 יָמֵי א' Lev. 13, 46. Num. 9, 18; also דָּבַר 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־יֶשְׁלוֹ) 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 בֵית־) meaning simply *within*; לְ מִיָּמִין (2 Ki. 23, 13. Ezek. 10, 3) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) *of*; לְ מִצְפוֹן (Jos. 8, 11. 13. Jud. 2, 9) *on the north of*; comp. also Jos. 15, 21 and לְפָנֵי מִן Neh. 13, 4.

² In Deut. 23, 5 the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל־דָּבַר 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 הַכֵּן *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 (בְּיַמֵּי as in the days when . . .; comp. בְּיַמֹּת and שָׁנֹת 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 בֵּת-עֵינָן the virgin, the daughter of Zion, Is. 37, 22; comp. 23, 12. Jer. 14, 17; also 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁת בְּעֵלְתָּ-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^{re}; Jer. 20, 15. 46, 9. Ps. 35, 16 (?). 78, 9. Job 20, 17 *b* (unless נְהַרִי or נְהַלִי 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 suspenso*, 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 (יְקִרְתָּ) 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 בְּלִ-בְּקוֹדֵיךָ.

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, קִשָּׁת 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 סִבְלָל should be read instead of סִבְלָל); 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 בְּלִי-צִבְאָה הַגִּבּוֹר with the LXX.
- c* (b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attributes*, e.g. Job 20, 29 (27, 13) זֶה חֵלְקֵי אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the portion of a man, (who is) a wicked man*; comp. Prov. 6, 12.—Prov. 22, 21 אֲמָרִים אֱמֹת *words (which are) truth*; comp. Ex. 30, 2. 1 Sam. 2, 13. Mic. 1, 11 (where, however, בִּשְׁתָּ is most probably a gloss on עֲרִיָּה); 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 לַחֲיִן *water which is affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 Ki. 5, 3 רְעֵי בָקָר *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 Ki. 6, 7 *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִמִּפְעֵי.

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 פָּרָה *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 הַנְּדָתָהּ is to be read).—In 1 Sam. 4, 1 read אֲבָנֵי 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 בְּמִצְלֵתִים 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 four rows, namely stones (for which 39, 10 has טִוְרֵי אֲבָנִים); comp. 2 Chron. 4, 13. Lev. 6, 3 (see, however, § 128. d); 2 Ki. 7, 1 סָאָה כֹּלֶת 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 כְּסָפִים כְּסָפִים 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 הַרְגֵשׁ 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 שְׁנַתִּים 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. בָּנִים 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 קְרָבַיִם 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 מְעַט אֲנָשִׁים men, a few, i.e. some few men; 1 Ki. 5, 9 תְּבִינָה 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 כְּסָפִים (instead of כְּסָפִים; cf. כְּסָפִים immediately before), cf. § 88, b.

פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ הַצְּפוֹנִית *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* (אֶת, אֵת) 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 בְּהַרְתָּ לְבַנָּה אֲדַמָּה 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 הַחֲמָה 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, הַבָּטֵן appears to be a late gloss); 21, 13. 2 Ki. 16, 15 *K^{eth}*. 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 בָּבָאוּ הָאִישׁ בְּבָאוּ *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־נִשְׁיוּ, as in 2 Ki. 10, 6 after אֶת־יְדֵי, 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 וַיִּשְׁנֶה 1 Sam. 21, 14 either וַיִּשְׁנֶה is to be read or the *K^{eth}* is to be explained according to § 75. *b*, note. Also וַיִּכְרַנּוּ 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 עָלָי (as in Ezra 9, 1, where the genitive is expressed by לִי)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 כֶּסֶף 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 חִנָּם *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 זִמָּה *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 הַיָּל *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 הַמְתִּיחֵשִׁים *i. e. their register, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy* (but perhaps 'הַמְתִּי is in apposition to the suffix in כְּתָבָם), also the curious combinations

¹ But in Is. 17, 6 we should certainly divide the words differently and read הַפְּרִי הַבְּסָעִי הַפְּרִי, and in Prov. 14, 13 אֲתֵרִית הַשְּׂמָחָה; 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. Kantsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81. *e* and § 88.

³ In Ps. 69, 5 חִנָּם (like נֶקַח *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.

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 לְאִשְׁתָּהּ עִפְיָהּ 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 שָׁלוֹם may also be explained according to letter *ע*, 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 יְהוָה 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. אֲבִיר *the strong one*, i. e. *God*; אֲבִיר *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*; פְּרִיָּהּ (*fructifera*) *a fruitful tree*, Is. 17, 6 (so פְּרַת Gen. 49, 22); רֹכֵץ *a croucher*, i. e. *a crouching beast of prey*, Gen. 4, 7. Comp. also רִגְוִן (*gravis, augustus*) and נְשִׂיאָה (*elatus?*), 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 עֲטֶרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה *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־רֵיָּהּ and נְכַרְיָהּ 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 רַב־יָמִים and רַב־בָּוֹת *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 אָדָם *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 וְרֵיחַ גְּדוֹלָה וְרוֹחַ גּוֹרֵן; 1 Sam. 15, 9 (comp., however, on this passage § 75. y); 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 רְמוֹת *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. עָם = *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 נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, Gen. 46, 27¹.

li (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 אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים² 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 מִבְּלֵהָעָם *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־מְּתוֹק 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 הַרְפִּים *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 אֶבְרָר *daring, cruel*, אֶכְזֵב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶיֶּתֵן (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 מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 Sam. 10, 23 וַיִּנְבֵּה מִבְּלִ-הָעָם and he was higher than any of the people; Nah. 3, 8. Job 7, 6. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן 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 מִן בָּחַר to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e. g. Job 7, 15, comp. Deut. 14, 2 (also מִן . . . יִתְרוֹן the excellence of . . . over . . ., Eccles. 2, 13); it is also seen in examples like Gen. 37, 3 וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אָהַב אֶת-יוֹסֵף מִבְּלִ-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 מִן after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is *too little* or *too much* in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e. g. Is. 7, 13 הַמְעַט מִבְּמָם 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 (קַטְנֹתִי) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; comp. also the expressions מִן כָּבֵד to be too heavy for one, Ex. 18, 18. Num. 11, 14. Ps. 38, 5; מִן קָשָׁה to be too hard for one, Deut. 1, 17; מִן מְעַט to be too few for something, Exod. 12, 4; מִן גָּבֵר to be too strong for one, Ps. 65, 4; מִן עֲצָם to be too mighty for one, Gen. 26, 16; מִן רוּם to be too high for one, Ps. 61, 3; מִן צָר to be too narrow for one, Is. 49, 19; מִן קָצֵר to be too short for something, Is. 50, 2, and very frequently מִן נִפְלְאָה 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 מִן 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 מִן, 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 $\xi\kappa$ πάντων μάλιστα, Il. 4, 96; $\xi\kappa$ πασέων, 18, 431.

³ On the other hand, the phrase מִן צָרָק expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gen. 38, 26 וַיִּצְדַּק מִמֶּנִּי 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 וְאַל- before the second member.

long enough, 1 Ki. 12, 28; cf. Ex. 9, 28 and Ezek. 44, 6 (מן followed by a substantive)¹.

d In all these instances מן 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 וְנֹר 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 מן logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the מן (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 מִגְדוֹלָם 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. הַמְעַיֵט = *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, מֵעַתָּה 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 הַקֶּטָן *all the smallest vessels*; Cant. 7, 10 כַּיֵּין הַטוֹב *like the best wine* (where indeed כַּיֵּין הַטוֹב 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 הַקִּדְשִׁים *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 שְׁפָתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex. 31, 15, &c.*) or of the same meaning (e. g. חֵשֶׁךְ אַפְלָה *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 לְדוֹר דָּר (Ex. 3, 15) = *to the remotest generations*; comp. 17, 16. Jer. 6, 14. 8, 11 (*perfect peace*); Ezek. 21, 32 (עוֹרָה 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, 28 sq. 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 אַךְ אֵן 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 אָחֶךָ follows the construct state מְשַׁפֵּט, but here as in Num. 15, 16 מְשַׁפֵּט should be read. In Gen. 42, 19 אָחֶךָ 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 אָחֶךָ 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) מֵאֶת 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־שֵׁמוֹת 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. *g*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יוֹם, כֶּרֶם, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as עָרִים, בְּנוֹת, בָּנִים (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. אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits*, 2 Chron. 3, 3 sq.; with the exception of 2 Sam. 24, 24, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף 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*
 יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar* (Ex. 24, 4), sometimes with אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old* and the German *sechzig Pfund*), e. g. Deut. 1, 2 יוֹם עֶשְׂרִי (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 מֵאָה [מֵאָת] [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always *g*
 אֶלֶף [מֵאָת אֶלֶף], מֵאוֹת, [מֵאָתִים] and אֶלֶף [אֶלְפִים], [אֶלְפִים] the substantives
 אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה (except in Ezek. 40, 27), יוֹם, רִגְלִי, צֶמֶר, שָׁנָה are regularly used in
 the singular, generally also שָׁנָה, כְּפָר, כֶּרֶם, שֶׁקֶל (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 מֵאָה are
 Gen. 26, 12. 1 Sam. 18, 25. 2 Sam. 16, 1. 1 Ki. 18, 4; after מֵאָת Ex. 38, 27;
 after מֵאוֹת Jud. 15, 4. 2 Sam. 8, 4. 1 Ki. 10, 17. Ezek. 42, 17; after מֵאָתִים
 1 Sam. 25, 18. 1 Ki. 7, 20; after אֶלֶף 1 Sam. 25, 2. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 5, 6. 2 Ki. 3, 4.
 Ps. 90, 4; after אֶלְפִים 1 Sam. 17, 5. Job 42, 12; after אֶלְפִי Mic. 6, 7; after אֶלְפִים
 Is. 36, 8.—In Dan. 12, 11 the plural יָמִים 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 שְׁנַיִם וְשֵׁשִׁים שָׁנָה *two and sixty years* (שָׁנָה in the singular,
 according to letter *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately pre-
 ceding; but also שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשִׁמְנָה שָׁנָה 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 *ב*), and in the singular with the tens (see letter *ע*) and hundreds, e. g. Gen. 12, 4 **חֲמִשָּׁן שָׁנִים** *five years*; Gen. 23, 1 **מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה** *seventy and 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 *וְ*, 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 בְּיִשׁוּן** *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 **שְׁלֹשָׁה** 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 **אַחָד** 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 **שִׁבְעַת 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 בְּסָפֶר** *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* (ephahs) 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 אַרְבָּה, 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 יוֹם עֶשְׂרִי בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר *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 וּבְשָׁלֹשׁ); 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; בְּתִשְׁעָה 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.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנַת governing a determinate ordinal, e. g. 2 Ki. 17, 6

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 הָלִיתִי 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 *Keth.* 32, 1 *Keth.* 46, 2. 51, 59. Ezra 7, 8), בַּשְּׁנָה 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}* בַּשְּׁנָה for בשנת.

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 אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָם אִישׁ אֶחָד אִישׁ *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*.

10 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 פְּעַם, 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 שְׁבַעֲתַיִם Gen. 4, 15 (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is. 30, 26. Ps. 12, 7. 79, 12; אַרְבַּעֲתַיִם 2 Sam. 12, 6²; or periphrastically by פְּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפְּעַם *this time*; comp. also הַזֹּאת, with פְּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as אַחַת פְּעַם *once* (Neh. 13, 20 וְשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים *twice*, פְּעָמִים (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 פְּעָמִים *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מַנִּים *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 שְׁנִית 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*; בְּשָׁלִישִׁתּוֹ the third time, 1 Sam. 3, 8; אַחַד עֶשְׂרִים חַמִּישִׁית a fifth time, Neh. 6, 5; בַּשְּׁבַעִית at the seventh (time), 1 Ki. 18, 44, and בַּפְּעַם הַשֵּׁנִי 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; הִפּוֹה Jer. 5, 5.—Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb

¹ Also הוּא הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e. g. Is. 7, 14 הוּא אֲרָנִי *the Lord himself*; Est. 9, 1 הַיְהוּדִים הִפּוֹה *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 הִפּוֹה, 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* (אִיָּהּ) *gave me*, &c.; 14, 24 (אִיָּהּ); 15, 4. 24, 7, &c.; but אִיָּהּ 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 (אִנִּי), Gen. 27, 34 בְּרַבְרָבִי נִמְשָׁחֵנִי bless me, even me also (prop. bless me, I also would be blessed); Zech. 7, 5; comp. also Ezek. 6, 3. 34, 11. 20 הֲנִי אֲנִי; by אֲתָה (אָתָה) 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 אַנִּי גַם.

(b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אַנִּי 2 Sam. 19, 1. Prov. 23, 15, *f* perhaps also Lam. 1, 16 (against the accents); by אַתָּה 1 Ki. 21, 19 אַת־דָּמְךָ אַתָּה גַם-דַּמְךָ *thy blood, even thine*; by הוּא 2 Sam. 17, 5. Jer. 27, 7. Mic. 7, 3; by אֲנִי הוּא 1 Sam. 20, 42, after שְׁנִינִי, but without special stress; Neh. 5, 2 (?); by אַתָּם Num. 14, 32; by הֵם Ps. 38, 11 (without special stress), הִפּוֹה Ps. 9, 7.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in Job 21, 4 (אֲנִי); Gen. 40, 16. Is. 45, 12. 1 Chron. 28, 2 (אֲנִי); Zech. 9, 11 (אֲתָ); Jos. 23, 9 (אֲתָם); Ezek. 33, 17 (הִפּוֹה).—In Ps. 89, 48, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חָלַר (equivalent in sense to חֲלָרִי), we should read אֲדַרְיִי 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 אַתָּה *not against thee*; 1 Sam. 19, 23 הוּא גַם עָלָיו *upon him also*; Dent. 5, 3 אֲנִי אֲנָחְנוּ *but with us, even us*; Hag. 1, 4 אַתָּם לָכֶם *for you yourselves*; Jer. 25, 14 גַם-הִפּוֹה בָּם.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in 1 Sam. 12, 23 לִי . . . אֲנִי; 1 Ki. 1, 20 עָלֶיךָ . . . אַתָּה; Mic. 5, 1 אַתָּה . . . אַתָּה, and 2 Chron. 28, 10 אַתָּם עִמָּכֶם.

The same principle also explains Gen. 4, 26 לְשֵׁת גַּם-הוּא *to Seth, to him also* *h* (not לְלוֹ); 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 הִיאֲתִי; 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 (מְעִשָּׂהוּ 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־ בָּנֹתָיו 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; אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶפוֹ 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 עֲלִיזֵי 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 בֵּית תְּפִלָּתִי 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 אֶת־גְּבִיעִי גְבִיעַ 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 הַחֲמָמִים), 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־יְהוָה *on that account, thereby*)³. But the suffix in נִתְּנוּ Deut. 21, 10 refers to the collective idea contained in אֲיִכְיָר; in Jon. 1, 3 עֲפֹהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנָיָה. In Jos. 2, 4 read וְהַצְּפִנִים; 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* אֲרָנִים (§ 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 מִמֶּנָּה 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'vê perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 and § 102. *m*.

- r* A similar loss of vitality in the suffix occurs most probably in יְהִרְוֹ prop. *in his unitednesses*, i. e. *he &c. together*, e. g. כָּל־הָעַם יְהִרְוֹ Ex. 19, 8, then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי יְהִרְוֹ 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 בְּכֶם 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 לְכֶם with the LXX). On the redundant suffix in הִעָרְבָה Lev. 27, 23 and elsewhere, comp. § 127. *i*.

§ 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

- a* The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. הַזֹּאת, plur. הַאֵלֶּה (§ 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 כּוּרִי *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 וְהָאֵלֹהִים and הָאֵלֹהִים are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הַמָּוֶה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הָאֵלֹהִים, plur. הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֹהִים, but הַיָּמִים הַמָּוֶה (or הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֹהִים), and only in Zech. 8, 9. 15 הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֹהִים, Est. 1, 5. 9, 28 הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֹהִים.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) וְהָאֵלֹהִים 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*, הוּא is more common than וְהָאֵלֹהִים, as Is. 5, 25. 43, 9, &c., but הוּא more common than הָאֵלֹהִים.

2. Both וְהָאֵלֹהִים 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 *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 זֶה עָשָׂה Gen. 3, 13. 12, 18. Ex. 14, 5. Jud. 15, 11; לָמָּה זֶה עָשָׂה *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 עָשָׂה Ps. 24, 10. Jer. 30, 21.

3. וְהָאֵלֹהִים is likewise used as an enclitic (see letter *c* above): (*a*) *of place*, in such passages as Gen. 27, 21 הֲאֵתָה זֶה וְגו' *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 (אֵתָה), and הֵם הָאֵלֹהִים *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 בְּעַמִּים *twice, now*; comp. 31, 38. Job 1, 12. 7, 3. 19, 3; separated from the numeral in Gen. 31, 41 זֶה הָיָה לִי 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 וְהָאֵלֹהִים in Ps. 104, 25 (וְהָאֵלֹהִים), Is. 23, 13 (וְהָאֵלֹהִים), Jud. 5, 5. Ps. 68, 9 (וְהָאֵלֹהִים) 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 וְהָאֵלֹהִים; comp. § 126. *aa*, and Zech. 5, 7, where אֵשֶׁת אֶתָּה is in apposition to זֶה depending on הִנֵּה, and also Ezek. 40, 45, where הַלְשֶׁכָּה 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 וְהָאֵלֹהִים 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-מִי אֶתְּ** *whose daughter art thou?* Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 55. 56. 58; **מִי דִבֶּר** *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28. 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative, **אֶת-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 **שְׂמַרְוּ-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 **וְדִבֶּר 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 . . . יהוה אֱשֶׁר לָקַחְנִי . . . הוא יִשְׁלַח . . . *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Is. 37, 4 *the words of Rabshakeh*, מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר־שָׁלַח אֵלָיו אֱשֶׁר *istius, the king of Assyria hath sent him (= whom the king of Assyria hath sent)*; Gen. 2, 2 *and God finished* עָשָׂה אֱשֶׁר מְלַמְּתוֹ *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 אֱשֶׁל. According to Hommel (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 708 sqq.) אֱשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from אֵשׁ and אִשׁ (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 𐎶𐎵, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew אֱשֶׁר, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic אִשׁ (see above, § 36, note) and the Hebrew אֱשֶׁר 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 הוּא; 1 Ki. 9, 20 הַיָּמָה; Dent. 20, 15 הַיָּמָה; but cf. also הוּא הוּא הוּא Gen. 9, 3. The addition of הוּא 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*, אֲנִי אֶתֵּן לְכֶם אֶת־הַיָּמָה הַזֶּה אֲנִי אֶתֵּן לְכֶם אֶת־הַיָּמָה הַזֶּה אֲנִי אֶתֵּן לְכֶם *that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you*; cf. Num. 14, 40. Gen. 3, 17. Dent. 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 אֲנִי 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 אֶת־הַיָּמָה הַזֶּה אֲנִי אֶתֵּן לְכֶם אֶת־הַיָּמָה הַזֶּה אֲנִי אֶתֵּן לְכֶם *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*, אֲנִי בְּנֵי־יֵשׁוּעַ הוּא *those—the son of Jesse is living (in them)*; cf. Gen. 45, 6. Dent. 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*, אֲנִי אֶת־מִכְרָתָם אֲנִי *he—ye sold me, i. e. whom ye sold*; Num. 22, 30. Is. 49, 23; 41, 8 *thou, Jacob*, אֲנִי בְּחַרְתִּיךָ *he—I have chosen thee*; Jer. 32, 19. Eccles. 10, 16 sq.; Gen. 15, 7 *I am the Lord*, אֲנִי הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *he—I brought thee out, &c.*, Ex. 20, 2 (Dent. 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 אֲנִי is generally rendered in English by *he who, he whom, &c.* (according to the context), or *that which, &c.* In reality, however, the אֲנִי 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 אֲנִי תֵּאֵר יוֹצֵר *is—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i. e. he whom thou cursest, &c.*¹; Ex. 22, 8; אֲנִי as object, Gen. 44, 1. 49, 1. 1 Sam. 16, 3 sqq. Mic. 6, 1 (את אֲנִי), and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is. 52, 15. Ps. 69, 5; אֲנִי as genitive, Ezek. 23, 28 *I will deliver thee* אֲנִי שְׂנֵאתָ בְּיַד אֲנִי שְׂנֵאתָ *into the hand of those—thou hatest (them)*; 1 Sam. 7, 7; depending on a preposition, e.g. לְאֲנִי Gen. 44, 4. 2 Ki. 10, 22; בְּאֲנִי Gen. 21, 17, בְּאֲנִי הוּא שָׁם *in that (place)—he is there, i. e. where*

¹ The absolute use of אֲנִי is very peculiar in the formula אֲנִי הוּא דְבַר יְיָ אֵלֶּיךָ *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 אֲלֵי־אִשֶּׁר *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. וַמָּת . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ. *he—it* (the cup) *is found with him,—shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in וַמָּת 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 וְה, וּז, וְז (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 וְה, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, in letters *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(*a*) וְה in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, Ps. 104, 26 לְוִיָּתָן וְהֶצַּרְתָּ (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; וּז is used without it in Ps. 132, 12); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Prov. 23, 22 שָׁמַע לְאָבִיךָ וְה יִלְדֶּךָ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee*, i. e. *who begat thee*; Ps. 17, 9 (וְז).—In Ps. 104, 8 אֶל־מְקוֹם וְה יָסְדָתָ לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130. *c*), וְה 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 (הָר וְה) and Ex. 15, 13 עַם־וְז (בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים). 15, 16. Is. 43, 21. Ps. 9, 2. 10, 2. 31, 5. 32, 8. 142, 4. 143, 8 (all examples of וְז).

¹ In Zech. 12, 10 also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֶּי אֵת אִשֶּׁר, we should probably read אֵלֶּיֶךָ אֲלֵי־אִשֶּׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

² Such a strong ellipse as in Is. 31, 6, where מִמֶּנּוּ would be expected after הַעֲמִיקוּ, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

³ The etymological equivalent וְהִ, וְהִ in Aramaic is always a relative.

- h* To introduce independent relative clauses הַ 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 שֶׁבְּמִצָּה** *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 2 Chron. 29, 8 (where **בְּמִצָּה** 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* **אֲתֵּי הַחַיִּיבוֹת** *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 **בְּמִצָּה הַכֵּין** equivalent to **הַכֵּין בְּמִצָּה** *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 הַ 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 **הַשִּׁמָּה**; Ezek. 26, 17 **הַהִלָּה**; Ruth 1, 22. 2, 6 and 4, 3 **הַשִּׁבָּה**, or by the punctuation, Gen. 21, 3 **הַנִּזְדָּר**; 1 Ki. 11, 9. Dan. 8, 1 **הַנִּצָּה**; Is. 56, 3 **הַנִּלְוָה**, 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 **הַהִלָּה** for **הַמְהִלָּה** according to § 52. *s*, and in the other examples **הַנִּזְדָּר**, **הַנִּצָּה**, **הַנִּלְוָה**.

§ 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 **מִנְד אִישׁ אֶחָיו** Gen. 9, 5, according to the usual explanation, stands for **מִנְד אֶחָיו 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 בְּשֵׁקוֹ 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. בְּאֶחָד הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Jud. 16, 7. 11), נֶפֶשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lev. 2, 1. 5, 1, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) equivalent to *anything*, Gen. 18, 14, or כֹּל־דָּבָר Lev. 5, 2. Num. 31, 23. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֶל־ Gen. 19, 8; after לֹא Eccles. 8, 5.—Cf. finally, מֵאֶחָד *any one*, Deut. 15, 7; *anything*, Ezek. 18, 10 (but in Lev. 4, 2. 5, 13 מֵאֶחָת) and the expressions noticed in § 144. e. The latter include also instances like Ezek. 18, 32 *I have no pleasure 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 (יריעת fem.) shall be coupled together אֶל־אֶחָתָהּ אִשָּׁה one to another.*

2. נֶפֶשׁ *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, אָחִיו אִישׁ 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 בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of 8, 17, וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תְּחַשְׁבוּ 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 הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 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 נַפְשׁוֹ to persons), e. g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵצָם *in the selfsame day*, Gen. 7, 13, comp. Jos. 10, 27. Ezek. 24, 2; הַשָּׁמַיִם הַזֵּה בְּעֵצָם *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex. 24, 10; הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵצָם *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 (*ātman*), 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 *mīn lip, dīn lip*, for *ich, du*. However, נַפְשׁוֹ in such cases is never (not even in Is. 46, 2 נַפְשָׁם *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 אֲנָשִׁים, and in Neh. 5, 2-4 by אֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

CHAPTER II.

THE SENTENCE.

I. The Sentence in General.

§ 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

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. *יְהוָה מֶלֶכֵּנוּ* *the Lord is our king*, Is. 33, 22; *וְאֲנָשֵׁי סֹדֹם 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 *הָאֵל תָּמִים דְּרָכּוֹ* *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gen. 34, 8 *בְּבָתְּכֶם נִפְשׁוֹ בְּבָתְּכֶם* *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 farther, 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 יָצָא 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 וּלְגִנְיָד מִמֶּנּוּ and of him one became a prince, the subject is contained in מִמֶּנּוּ¹.

b 2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. Deut. 14, 1 וְאַתֶּם בָּנִים אֵלֹהִים 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 הַמְּוֹבָח הָאֵלֶּה וְקִירָתוֹ עֵץ . . . וְקִירָתוֹ 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 וְנֹהֵב הָאָרֶץ טוֹב and the gold of that land is good; וְעֶפְרוֹן יוֹשֵׁב 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 שְׁנָיִם *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; אֵי הַבֶּלְלָה *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; לֹא אֲנִי *we are his*, Ps. 100, 3 *Q^{erē}*.

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 נְדָבָתוֹ 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 אִמְצַת אִמְצַת אֲבָנִים בָּחִי *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 שְׁלוֹם here, as in Job 21, 9, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שְׁלוֹם 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 הָעֵת נְשָׁטְמִים *the season is rain showers*, i. e. *the rainy season*; with a bold enallage of the number, Gen. 34, 30 וַאֲנִי מְתִי מְסָפָר *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 יֹשֵׁב *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 יָסֵד-הוּא חָכָם *yet he also is wise*; Gen. 42, 11; on the other hand, Gen. 19, 1 וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *and (=while) Lot sat*; Ezek. 28, 15; Gen. 7, 4 אֲנִכִּי מְסָטִיר *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 כִּי (which is then to be regarded as *nominative*) stands before the predicate, e. g. Is. 63, 2 *wherefore are thy garments כְּרִירָה בְּנֵת כְּרִירָה* 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 *הִיא זֶה מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים* *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 אֲתָה 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 אֲתָה.

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.

111 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).

112 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-שָׂם; 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*.

(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 לְמַלְאָכֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיִבְרָךְ וְיִבְרָךְ וְיִבְרָךְ* 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 בְּסוּפַה דְּרִבּוֹ* *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 אִתָּם* 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 הָיָה עִם־לִבִּי*) *אֲנִי* might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to *I myself had it in my mind*), as e. g. Ezek. 33, 17 *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 (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix ¹, 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 בְּסוּפָה); 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 הַיְעָבִיר); 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 הַל 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 Mésa' 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 ל here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117. n); Is. 32, 1 (where, however, וְיִשְׂרָאֵל 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., ל 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. וְיָדַעְתֶּם Ezek. 23, 49; וְעִשְׂיָתֶם 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. וְיָרַיַי *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 וַיִּצַּר lit. *and it became strait to him, he was distressed*, Gen. 32, 8¹; even יֵתֵן 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) לָרִירָה וַיִּתְצַר; 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*, מַר *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 בַּלְאֲשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer. 19, 5 אֲשֶׁר 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. אֹרֶךְ *it becomes light*, 1 Sam. 29, 10 (but with an explicit subject, Gen. 44, 3); וַיֵּאֹרֶךְ *and it became light*; so also יָהֵטֵךְ *it grows dark*, Jer. 13, 16; but וְהִשְׁדָּה Mic. 3, 6; תֵּעָפֵף *though there be darkness*, Job 11, 17; תִּמְטִיר *it rains*, Amos 4, 7 (where, however, the context requires the reading אֲמַטִּיר); 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 לֹא וְרָפָא *and one heals them*; 8, 4 (אִישׁ); 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 הַדֹּרֵף *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 וַיִּנְדֹּר the common form וַיִּנְדֹּר is to be read; so in 50, 26 for וַיִּשְׁתֶּם (after a plural) either וַיִּשְׁתֶּם 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* מְנַדְלִי *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-בֹּאֶךָ or simply בֹּאֶךָ (Gen. 10, 19. 30. 13, 10 בֹּאֶיִךָ) 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* מוֹצִיאִים (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. *t*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 sentence², 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 subject³. 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. *Pirge Aboth* 2, 16. 3, 5 and elsewhere.

² Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in Ps. 83, 19.

³ In Ex. 6, 3 שְׂמִי is subordinated to the following passive נִדְעָתִי (§ 121. *b*); in 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 יָדִי, יָרֵךְ are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹרֵשֵׁעַ, according to § 113. *gg*. In Ps. 69, 11 read וְאֶעֱבֹר for וְאֶכְבֶּה.

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 אֶחֱרָגְתִּי; 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 (חֲרֹבֶךָ) and 14 (יִדְרֶךָ); 60, 7. 108, 7 (יִמְנֶךָ); after a perfect, Hab. 3, 15 (סִוֵּיךָ); after a cohortative, Ps. 108, 2 (אֶחֱרָבֹרֵי). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in Ps. 44, 3 יְרַךְ אֶתָּה¹.

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 וַתִּחַם either עֵינַי has dropped out (through confusion with עֵלְיָי) or we should read with the LXX וַתִּחַם. In 2 Sam. 13, 39 (וַתִּבֶּל 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 יִבְזֶר we should undoubtedly read תִּבְזֶר); 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., Dent. 32, 15. Is. 1, 29 (?). 5, 8. Jer. 29, 19. Job 16, 7, comp. also Dent. 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 פֶּי *instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

² In prose, Lev. 2, 8; but וְהִקְרִיבָה 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* *תְּבֵאֵת 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 *לְאֹמֹת* *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 *אֲרָם* (§ 122. *i*), e.g. 1 Ki. 20, 20 *וַיִּנְסוּ אֲרָם* *and the Syrians fled*; 1 Sam. 4, 5.—(*β*) with the predicate following, 1 Ki. 8, 5 *צֹאֵן וְבָקָר* *sheep and oxen*, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Job 1, 14 *הַבָּקָר הָיָה 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 *וְנָכַר*; Jud. 9, 55. 15, 10 *אִישׁ*; Is. 16, 4 *רֶמֶס* *the treader down*.—(*β*) with the predicate following, Job 8, 19 *אַחֵר* = *others*; Ezek. 28, 3 *סֵתֵימ* *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 *שְׂאִרֵית* *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־מַרְבֵּית* *all the increase*; Job 30, 12 *פְּרִיחָה* *rabble*. In Hag. 2, 7 read *חֲמֹרֹת* 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 וַיִּעֲצָמוּ 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, בָּעָלִים *master, owner*, Ex. 21, 29; comp., moreover, פְּנִים with the singular, 2 Sam. 10, 9. Job 16, 16 *K^{eth}*, רְחֵמִים Prov. 12, 10.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Eccles. 12, 9 הִיא קְהֵלַת 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 *K^{eth}*. 103, 5. Job 14, 19. 27, 20; with the predicate following, Gen. 49, 22 (בְּנֹת = *branches*); Deut. 21, 7. 1 Sam. 4, 15 (וַיִּנְיֹ 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 וּמָבְרַכְיָךְ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ *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 אֵלֶיךָ); Is. 3, 12 unless נְשִׂיּוֹ 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 frequent *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, פִּימוֹ 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 מְפַנֵּנוֹ after צְדִיקִים, and 1 Sam. 5, 10 אֵלַי after הַעֲקֹרִינִים. Conversely in Mic. 1, 11 עֲבָרֵי לְבָבָם [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 אָזְנוֹתַי *ears*, 2 Chron. 6, 40; יָדַי *hands*, Is. 1, 15. Job 10, 8. 20, 10 (in Ex. 17, 12 even with the plural masculine פְּבַרִים; cf. letter *p*); שְׁפָתַי *lips*, 1 Sam. 1, 13. Job 27, 4; שְׁדַי *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 **וְשָׁח** **וְנִבְהוּת הָאָדָם** *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 אֵיִים** *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 **עֲוֹנֵימוֹ** should be read).

♯ Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (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. Deut. 21, 3 (according to the accents); 22, 23. Is. 18, 5 **וְבִקֵּר נִמְלֵל יְהִיָּה נֹצֵה** *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 **וְהִבְיָאָה** 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 צֵאן רָעָה *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 . . . יְהִי מְאֹרֹת (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 אֲרִיץ 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 (תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה after תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה); 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 הִיאָחַת instead of הִיאָחַת; 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 יִתְּכֶנּוּ read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ezek. 20, 38 for יִבְאוּ, and in Job 6, 20 for בָּטַח; in Lam. 5, 10 read נִכְמָר, and comp. in general, § 7. *d*, note 2; 1 Chron. 2, 48 read יִלְדָה; 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 רִנְּלִי), Ps. 11, 4 (after עֲנִי), Prov. 5, 2. 10, 21. 32. 18, 6. 26, 23. Job 15, 6 (all after שִׁפְתַיִם), Prov. 3, 2 (after מְצִוֹתִי), Ps. 102, 28. Job 16, 22 (after שְׁנוֹת), Dan. 11, 41 (read וַיִּבְנוּ), 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. יְהִיָּה, 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 יְהִיָּה 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 יְהִיָּה לִי as if the sentence began afresh, *and servants born in my*

¹ יִבְאוּ probably an error for יִבְאוּ. The Masora on Lev. 11, 34 reckons fourteen instances of יִבְאוּ, 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 . . . אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה . . . הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance; in number and gender, Lev. 25, 33 *Q^{re}*; Jer. 10, 3.

house . . . there fell to my lot this possession also).—In Job 20, 26 לֹא־נִפְחָה may (unless נִפְחָה 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 קִשְׁתַּת גִּבְרִים 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 כָּל (כָּל־) *entirety* is used in connexion with a genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כָּל 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־מְלֹאכְתָּהּ 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 יִשְׁכָּחוּ); after subjects of different genders in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132. *d*), e. g. Gen. 18, 11 אֲבָרָהֶם וְשָׂרָה וְקַנְיָם *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Deut. 28, 32. 1 Ki. 1, 21.

Rem. Rare exceptions are Prov. 27, 9 שִׁמּוֹן וְקַטְרֶת יִשְׂמַח־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 וַיָּבֹא 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 הַנְּשִׁיִּים 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 עִמָּךְ אָנֹכִי וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי *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 בְּאֵהָרָה 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 אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי.

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 מַת in 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 הִנֵּה (or הִן Gen. 11, 6. Job 31, 35), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gen. 22, 7 וְהָעֵצִים הָאֵשׁ הִנֵּה הִנֵּה *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 וְהִנֵּה לְקֵשׁ וְג' *and, lo, it was the latter growth, &c.* By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in 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 הִרְבָּ); 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 (הִנֵּה מַתְלַצָּה *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 אֵינָה *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 הִכְרֵהוּ *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 עֲרֻמָּתִי; Ps. 74, 9 עֲרֻמָּה.—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 אַהֲרָה, אֹי, הוּי, הִם¹; 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 *voe 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 Plantus); so in lamentation for the dead, אֲחִי הוּי *alas, my brother!* 1 Ki. 13, 30. Jer. 22, 18; הִנֵּה הָעַמִּי *ah sinful nation!*

¹ We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הִם Jud. 3, 19. Amos 6, 10) stand quite disconnectedly (so always הִנֵּה and הִנֵּה).

Is. 1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 18, 20, 22, &c. (with אֵל Jer. 48, 1; עַל 50, 27. Ezek. 13, 3; לְ Ezek. 13, 18). אֲהָהּ occurs in the expression (יְהוָה) יְהוָה אֲהָהּ Jos. 7, 7, &c. (10 times); and in אֲהָהּ לְיוֹם *alas for the day!* Joel 1, 15. For הָם comp. Hab. 2, 20. Zeph. 1, 7. Zech. 2, 17 absolutely, Jud. 3, 19. Am. 6, 10, 8, 3.

- c* 2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner may perhaps occur in יְהוָה and רַגְלֵיהֶם Ps. 115, 7, for לָהֶם יָדַיִם *they have hands*, &c.; comp. verses 5 and 6 פֶּה-לָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפְלִיגִישׁוֹ Gen. 22, 24, and וְחָלְיוֹ Eccles. 5, 16 (but hardly נִבְיֵאֲנֶכֶם 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 וְהִ or וְזֹאת 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 מַה with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gen. 27, 20 (מַה־זֶּה); 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 מַה־זֹּאת; 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־נַפְשִׁךָ, חַי־אָנִי, בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 2 Sam. 20, 20. Job 27, 5 after לֹא תִלְיָה 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 לְדָוִד with the LXX for לְאַיְבֵי דָוִד.

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 נַפְשִׁךָ חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשִׁךָ אִם-אֲעִשֶׂה 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־יְהוָה is followed by a simple כִּי); Cant. 2, 7. 3, 5 (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *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-אָנִי אִם-אֶתָּה 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 אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף 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 נַפְשִׁךָ 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 חַיִּךְ). On חַי and חַיִּי in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93. aa, note.

- e* (c) אַם and אִם-לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Jud. 5, 8 מִיָּנִן אִם-יִרְאָה אֵל וְרִמָּח וְגו' *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is. 22, 14. Job 6, 28 (in the middle of the sentence); after הִלְיָלָה *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 אֵי); 1 Sam. 11, 12 שָׂאוֹל יִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 Sam. 22, 7. 2 Sam. 16, 17. 18, 29 לְעֵר לְשׁוֹם *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 וַאֲנִי לֹא אֲחַוּם *and I should not have pity?* Ex. 8, 22 *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 בִּי-לֹא יִצְמִיחַ *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 א, 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 ט); 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 אַם (also וְאִם, less frequently אִם) *an?* in the second², e.g. 1 Ki. 22, 15 אִם נִחַרְתָּל אִם . . . הֲגִלְתָּהּ *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 אֵל-מִי (עַל-מִי) with the LXX, or better, אֵן (אֲנָה) *whither*, with the Targum.

² Quite exceptional is the use of the particle אֵין *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 Sam. 21, 9 וְאֵין יִשְׁפָּח *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 הַיּוֹשׁ לָכֶם אָחִי? *is your father yet alive? have ye another brother?* for הַיּוֹשׁ comp. Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 9, 11; for הַכִּי *is it that?* Job 6, 22; for הַכִּי יוֹשֵׁ? *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 לְבַדְּךָ (הַשְׁמַתָּ לְבַדְּךָ) *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, הַיְהִיָּה 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 וּנְו' *thou shalt not, &c.*); Gen. 4, 9 הַשְׁמֵר 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 הַנִּקְלָ (after וַיְהִי) read הַנִּקְלָ.

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 הַיּוֹשֵׁ? *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 הַלֹּא הִיא Jos. 10, 13 or הַלֹּא הֵם פְּתוּבִים 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 כְּתוּבָה 2 Sam. 1, 18, and הֵנָּם פְּתוּבִים 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 הַיּוֹשֵׁ הַיּוֹשֵׁ.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with מַה *what?* such as מַה בְּפִמָּה *how many?* מַה לָּמָדָה *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-תִּפְעִירֵי? *why should ye stir up?* comp. also Job 31, 1; see above, § 148.

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by למה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 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 דן (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 דן—ה (utrum—*an?*) or sometimes by דן¹—ה, e.g. Joel 1, 2. Job 21, 4 (even with ה repeated after דן 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 הן ה prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by ה 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 ו' דן.

h Double questions with (דן) דן—ה 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 (דן) 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 מה; Job 21, 17 sq. after מה; or even without a conjunction, Job 8, 11. 22, 4; after מה Ps. 144, 3.

i (c) With regard to *indirect* questions² after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining³, &c., simple questions of this kind take either ה *whether*, Gen. 8, 8⁴, or דן 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 ה, i. e. probably *if per-*

¹ דן occurs in Prov. 27, 24 after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read ו' דן. Not less irregular is ה' דן instead of ל' דן 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 ה 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, דן is best taken with Ewald in the sense of ה', since דן 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 ה after לה' 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 ה' וה' (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 וְשֵׁי and וְשֵׁר owing to the following לְמִי have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) וְהִנֵּה and הִנֵּה (comp. § 136. c) immediately after the interrogative serve to give vividness to the question; so also אֲנִינָהּ (for which אֲנִינָהּ five times in Job) *then, now*, Gen. 27, 33 הִנֵּה מִי—הִנֵּה *who then is he?* Jud. 9, 38. Is. 19, 12. Job 17, 15; $\text{אֲנִינָהּ אֵינָהּ$ *where then is . . .?* However, אֲנִינָהּ may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex. 33, 16. Is. 22, 1; also Hos. 13, 10, since either אֲנִינָהּ is a dialectical form of אֵינָהּ , or אֵינָהּ 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 $\text{מַדְרִיעַ$ *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth*, equivalent to, *wherefore brought it forth, while I looked*, &c.; Is. 50, 2; after וְהִנֵּה Num. 32, 6. Jer. 8, 4, also Num. 16, 22 (read וְהִנֵּה); after $\text{הֲלֵא$ Jos. 22, 20; after לְמַדָּה Is. 58, 3. 2 Chron. 32, 4². But וְהִנֵּה 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 וְכֵן *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 Ki. 10, 15, see § 159 *dd.*) As a negative answer the simple אֵלֵּי 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 אֲנִינָהּ is not prefixed to the מִי , but appended to the conditional sentence.

² Comp. the analogous sentences after וְעַל— *because*, Is. 65, 12. Jer. 35, 17; after causal וְעַל— 1 Sam. 26, 23; after מִי Is. 12, 1; likewise after אֲנִי § 153 at the end; after וְעַל— Dent. 8, 12–14. 25, 3. Jos. 6, 18.

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses¹, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 **מִי־יַשְׁמִינִי 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־יִבְרַכְכֶם 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 תַחֲתֶיךָ** *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־יִתֵּנֶנִּי** Is. 27, 4 and Jer. 9, 1 with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to **מִי־יִתֵּן לִי**, 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 **לֵאמֹר** (for which in Ps. 119, 5 we have **אֲחַלֵּי**, 2 Ki. 5, 3 **אֲחַלֵּי**, from **אָחַ** *ah!* and **לֵאמֹר** = **לֵאמֹר**; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si!* *utinam*². **לֵאמֹר** 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* (**לֵאמֹר יֵשׁ**) *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 מָתוּנוּ* *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* *כִּי* 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־אֵל*=the Greek *μή* (Job 24, 25 as a substantive), *אִין* (*it is*) *not*; *טָרָם* *not yet*, *אָפֶס* *not*, *אֶפְסִי* (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*, *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־לְשִׁבְעָה* *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־כָבוֹד* *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 (*un-sown*); 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־נִלְוֵה), 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־כֵּן (= *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 $\text{לֹא־כֵן־בְּרָרָה . . . לֹא}$ *nothing at all*; comp. the same statement in a rhetorical question, Jer. 32, 27); Prov. 12, 21. 30, 30 $\text{לֹא־תִפְּנֵי־בָלְבָל}$ and turneth *not away for any*; 2 Chron. 32, 15; but comp. also the inverted order, Ex. 12, 16 $\text{לֹא־יִעָשֶׂה בְּלִמְלָאָה}$ *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 כָּל־לֹא תִרְאֶה *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 $\text{לֹא־תִיָּדְךָ־לֹא־תִיָּדְךָ}$ *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־נִיָּדְךָ , and Job 12, 3. As a rule, nonn-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.—Nonn-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 is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 Sam. 20, 26 (where a preceding noun-clause is negated by בְּלִי־נִיָּדְךָ) 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 com- *g* pound word, as in Prov. 12, 28 אֶל־מָוֶת not-death (immortality); though all the early versions read אֶל־מָוֶת. The instances in which אֶל 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 sentence ¹.

(c) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted form, cf. *i* אֵין שְׂנִיִּים of שְׂנִיִּים) 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 includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence—

(1) The absolute state אֵין, with an evident transition to the meaning of a *k* verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e. g. Is. 37, 3 (2 Ki. 19, 3) אֵין לְבָרָהּ 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 אֶל־ 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 מְחַרֵּר 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 יהוה בקרבכם אֵין the Lord is not among you; Gen. 37, 29 אֵין יוסף בבור Joseph was not in the pit.

11 (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 נָתַן I will not give; 8, 17. Deut. 1, 32.

11 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 אֵין 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. בּוּ Is. 1, 6, לוּ Lev. 11, 10, 12, לָהּ Gen. 11, 30, שָׁם Ps. 14, 3, שָׁם 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 בְּלִי-חֲדָשׁ there is no new thing, &c.; Dan. 1, 4 (comp. also אֵין מְאוֹמָה there is nothing, 1 Ki. 18, 43. Eccles. 5, 13); as also אֵין . . . בְּלִי-חֲדָשׁ Hab. 2, 19; comp. אֵין מְאוֹמָה Jud. 14, 6.

q 2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵי occurring in the two compounds אֵי כְבוֹד (as a proper name, 1 Sam. 4, 21; Baer אֵי-כְבוֹד) and אֵי-נָקִי not innocent, Job 22, 30; but the proper name אֵי-חָמָר is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-זָבֵל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵי is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

¹ According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, אֵין אֵתְכֶם 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 . . . בֹּל *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. Dent. 32, 36. Is. 45, 6. 14. 46, 9; used absolutely, Amos 6, 10; used interrogatively הֲאָפַם עוֹד אֵישׁ *is there none left?* &c., 2 Sam. 9, 3; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with '— paragogic (§ 90. m) אֲפֹסִי Is. 47, 8. 10. Zeph. 2, 15 וְאֲפֹסִי עוֹד *I am, and there is none else*.

(f) בֹּל, 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 לֹא); before an adjective, Prov. 24, 23.

(g) בֹּלִי 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) בִּלְתִי to negative an adjective, 1 Sam. 20, 26; on בִּלְתִי Ezek. 13, 3, see letter *x*; on לְבִלְתִי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114. s; on לְבִלְתִי 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, בֹּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בֹּלִי *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 בֹּלִי 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 לָמוּ *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 עֹצֵר *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-עֹצֵר 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 פְּאֵין-עֵינַיִם is

¹ Evidently from בָּלָה *to waste away*, from which stem also בֹּלִי and בִּלְתִי (whence בִּלְתִי § 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 (i) 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. *δείδω μή, vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמֵר, הִשְׁמָרוּ 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), הִרְעָה לֵּשׁ יְהוָה אֲנִי בְּקִנְיֵי 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 אֶמַר לֵּשׁ = *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 רָאוּ 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 שׁוּב for שָׁבוּ, in 27, 8 יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ezek. 13, 3 רָאוּ 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 οὐδεὶς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. 1 Ki. 10, 21 לְמֵאֲזֵמָה . . . לֹא נִהְיָה *silver was accounted as nothing at all* (in 2 Chron. 9, 20 without לֹא); Zeph. 2, 2 (if the text is correct) בְּתָרִם 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 יִישֵׁב (for which in Jer. 2, 15 (מְבֻלִי יֵשֵׁב), prop. *without no inhabitant*, i. e. *so that no inhabitant is left there*). On the other hand, in Is. 50, 2 מֵאִין מֵיִם מִן *because there is no water*; as also in Ex. 14, 11 מֵאִין מְבֻלֵי אֵיִן *is it because there were no . . . ?* 2 Ki. 1, 3. 6. 16. In Eccles. 3, 11 לֹא אֶשְׁרָ לֵּשׁ *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 וְ, אֲנִי, אֲנִי only, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and אֲנִי, אֲנִי 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 וְ Gen. 7, 23. 34, 15; אֲנִי Gen. 6, 5. Amos 3, 2; even וְ אֲנִי אֲנִי *hath he indeed only?* Num. 12, 2; אֲנִי Gen. 27, 34. Job 7, 11; אֲנִי Deut. 15, 17), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with וְ, e.g. Num. 14, 9. 1 Ki. 17, 13. Prov. 17, 11. Job 13, 15. 14, 22. 16, 7. 23, 6; אֲנִי Gen. 20, 11. 24, 8. Ps. 32, 6. Prov. 13, 10; אֲנִי Gen. 27, 33. 32, 21 (אֲנִי אֲנִי); 1 Sam. 22, 7. 28, 20. Zech. 9, 11. Prov. 17, 26. 20, 11; אֲנִי Job 14, 3. 15, 4.—In Mal. 1, 10 and Job 2, 10 אֲנִי 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 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 אֲנִי) 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 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי *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 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 ו before בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as וְעַד—מִן *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., ו is equivalent to *yea, and*; in Is. 32, 7 *even*; 1 Ki. 1, 21. Job 6, 14 *else*.— וְ is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gen. 3, 16 וְהָרְגְנֶהָ ; 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. וְ—וְ is used in the sense of *both—and* in Ps. 76, 7. Dan. 1, 3. 8, 13. On וְ—וְ as meaning *sive—sive*, comp. § 162. *b*.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as וְ *also, moreover*, summing up a number, e.g. $\text{וְשְׁנַיִם—וְשְׁנַיִם}$ *both together*, Gen. 27, 45. Prov. 17, 15; וְכָל—וְכָל *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!* וְ—וְ or וְ—וְ Gen. 24, 44 = *both—and*; וְ occurs three times in Gen. 24, 25 and 32, 20; also וְ , 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 וְ—וְ (also three times repeated), equivalent to *both—and*; comp. וְ—וְ *and even*, Lev. 26, 44; וְ—וְ 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 שׂוֹאֵל אֵת אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּם ask now rather; Ezek. 18, 32 for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְהִשְׁבִּיבוּ 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. 41. 7, 13. 2 Chron. 25, 9; comp. also Jos. 7, 7 (וְלֵאמֹר). 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 (וְלֵאמֹר). 1 Sam. 10, 12. 15, 14. 22, 14. 28, 16. 2 Sam. 18, 12. 24, 3. 1 Ki. 2, 22 (וְלֵאמֹר). 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 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל Num. 11, 29. Jud. 9, 29; on the disconnected use of וְלֵאמֹר and וְיִשְׂרָאֵל 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 הַזֶּה; see further in § 138. *e*. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by הַזֶּה, 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-ordination¹.

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 הַזֶּה, &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 הַזֶּה 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 Dent. 28, 49 (גוי אשר לא-תשמע לשנו) *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 בל 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 שבע שמו* whose name was Sheba; 1 Ki. 13, 2. Zech. 6, 12. Job 1, 6. 3, 15 *with princes להם זהב* that had gold; Ps. 11, 4. Prov. 22, 11; when referring to a noun-suffix, e. g. Ps. 49, 14 *זה דרכם בטל למו* this is the way of them who have (self-)confidence.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Job 38, 26 *על-ארץ לא-איש* on a land where no man is, see § 152. u, and comp. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gen. 15, 13 *בארץ לא להם* in a land that is not theirs; Deut. 32, 17 (*לעשרים לא אלה*); Hab. 1, 6. Prov. 26, 17 (*לא-לוי*).

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 יהססה-בו* that trusteth in him; Job 3, 3 *הלילה אמר* the night which said; after הוא 1 Sam. 6, 9. Is. 50, 9. Job 13, 19; after בל 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 הניני 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־יִבִין 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 יִשְׁאֲף־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 כִּמוֹ 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 עֵשָׂה), for which Jer. 48, 36 יִתְּרַת עֵשָׂה 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 בְּמִלְקָתָיוֹם רִצְפָה לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ 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 בְּדִרְךָ; but Ps. 32, 8 תִּלְכֶּה בְּדִרְךָ־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 צִוִּי אֶחָסְדָבֹו

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 יום 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* הַצִּבְהָם (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit* נִבְרְתָם (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 (אִיּוֹם 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 לְעַת Deut. 32, 35. Job 6, 17; after עַרְעָת Mic. 5, 2; after מֵעַתָּה 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 בָּנִי) *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 *הַכֹּפֵּה* 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 *שְׁלַחֲנָא* *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 *O the happiness of the man, &c.*; Ps. 81, 6. 141, 9.

Job 29, 16. Lam. 1, 14; after בְּל־ Gen. 39, 4, but in verse 5 $\text{בְּל־אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}$; Ex. 9, 4; verbal-clauses after בְּל־ 1 Chron. 29, 30, 18 sq. 31, 19. Ezra 1, 5.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אֲחֵרֵי Jer. 2, 8; after אֲל־ (= *to the place where*), 1 Chron. 15, 12, but Ex. 23, 20 before the same verb $\text{אֲל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$; after בְּ Jer. 8, 11. 2 Chron. 1, 4 (= *in the place where*); after לְ Is. 65, 1 $\text{לְלוֹא שָׁאַלּוּ לִי}$ by them *that asked not for me* . . . $\text{לֵאלֹהֵי בְקִשְׁנִי}$ 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 וְשֵׁמוֹ Gen. 24, 29. 1 Sam. 1, 1, and elsewhere, or וְשֵׁמָהּ 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 לְבָשׂוֹת* 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 Sheshbazzar*.

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 מִקְרָם* *with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east*; Num. 22, 24. 2 Sam. 18, 14 through the heart of Absalom, *עוֹרְנִי הִי* 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 *אָפְסִים אֶרְצָה* *the face being turned to the earth*, Gen. 19, 1, and elsewhere (for *אָרְצָה* we find *אָרְצָן* 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 יִדְלִקֵם* 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 *לֹו כָּהֵשׁ לוֹ* where-with however he lied unto him. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in Ps. 7, 7 *מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ* 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 *קָנָם*), 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 *אָרְצָה* (*אָרְצָן*) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to *אָפְסִים*, and not *אָפְסִים* as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is. 49, 23, where *אָרְצָן* 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 יגדננו 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 יבדיל 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 יקמו 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 ידע (prop. he knows it not) unawares, Ps. 35, 8. Prov. 5, 6 לֹא יחמל unsparingly, Is. 30, 14 (after an infinitive absolute); Hab. 1, 17. Job 6, 10 (but לֹא יחמל Job 16, 13. 27, 22; see letter *f* at the end); לֹא כהרו (prop. they hide not) openly, Is. 3, 9 (but Job 15, 18 כהרו); בְּלִי חֲשָׁן (prop. he restrains not) unceasingly, Is. 14, 6; בְּלִי־יָמוּט Job 41, 15 (Ps. 93, 1 בְּלִי־חַמוּט) and לֹא ימוט Is. 40, 20 equivalent to without tottering, immovably; comp. also לֹא אָמַעַד 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 אָמַרְתִּינָא אָחֵתִי אַתָּה say, I pray thee, thou art my sister; Zech. 8, 23 (after שָׁמַעַתְּ); Ps. 9, 21 (after יָדַעַתְּ); verbal-clauses, e. g. Ps. 50, 21 thou thoughtest כְּמוֹךָ הָיִוְתָא־הֵיחָה I was altogether like thyself; Gen. 41, 15. Jud. 9, 48 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 and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ŭri 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 וַיְבִיעַן** (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 **בְּנַבְלוֹ עָבַר בְּנֶבֶל עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל** **וְלֹא-נָתַן כִּי-חַן** and *Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20, 21; followed by an infinitive with **ל**, e.g. Gen. 20, 6. 31, 7. Ex. 3, 19. Comp. also the analogous examples in Deut. 28, 56 (after **נָפַח** *to venture*; see § 113. *d*); Jud. 11, 20 (after **הִאֱמִין** *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 *Q'rd*, 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 זָכְרוּ . . . וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . עַל-הַקִּיּוֹם *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 לָהֶם 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 הַשֶּׁתִּיחֶשֶׁךָ וְיִהְיֶה לַיְלָה if thou makest darkness, it is night; imperfect in the apodosis, Ps. 104, 29 *b*. Also in Ex. 7, 9 יְהִי לְתַנְיִן it shall become a serpent, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis if thou cast it down; so in 2 Ki. 5, 10 וְיִשָּׁב 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 אֶקוּמָה וְיִדְבְּרוּבֵי 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 וְעָבִי וּמָת וְעָבִי 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 הַ comp. § 47. *m*. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׁבְּעֵן 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 הַ in Num. 32, 23 appears after אִם-לָא even in the protasis. In Num. 16, 29. 32, 20 הַ before א (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 *K^{eth}. בּוֹ יוֹלֵד חָכֵם וַיִּשְׂמְחָה בּוֹ 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) *h* in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (comp. § 112. mm), e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 14 sqq. וְנִיבְהַעַתוּ וְהִכַּחַתִּי וְנִי *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 לִי (לִי לֹא) *unless*; כִּי *supposing that* (Lat. *ut*), *in case that*, sometimes used almost in the same sense as אִם. With regard to the difference between אִם (לֹא אִם) and לִי (לֹא לִי), 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 *ἐὰν* with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, לִי (לֹא לִי) 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 לֹא לִי 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.

111 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 אִם and וְאִם is not always consistently observed. Although naturally וְאִם and אִם־לֹא cannot take the place of אִם and אִם־לֹא (on the strange use of וְאִם in Gen. 50, 15, see below), yet conversely אִם is sometimes used where וְאִם would certainly be expected; comp. e. g. Ps. 50, 12. 137, 5. 139, 8. Hos. 9, 12 (comp. verse 11). These examples, indeed (אִם with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of וְאִם with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to וְאִם) a still open possibility. But אִם is also used for וְאִם in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by אִם , e. g. Ps. 7, 4 sqq. $\text{וְיִרְדֶּה וְגו' . . . אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת}$ 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 אִם , see § 113. *o* above.

Examples:—

11 A. אִם 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 $\text{אִם־חֲכָמָה תִּבְמָתָהּ תִּבְמָתָהּ לָךְ}$ if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself; Ps. 73, 15 (see below on וְאִם).

(b) *Imperfect*, e. g. Deut. 32, 41 $\text{אִם־שִׁנִּיתִי חֶרְבִּי}$ if I whet my glittering sword . . . אֶשְׁיֵב I will render vengeance, &c.; Job 9, 15 sq. and 30 (in both cases we should expect וְאִם rather than אִם ; 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 $\text{אִם־לֹא־בִיאָתִי וְגו'}$ 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 אִם 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 מְצַאתִי הֵן בְּעֵינֶיכֶם דְּבַר־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 הַטָּאֵתָם בְּנֵי הַנָּחַשׁ *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 נַחֲיָה *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־כִּפֶּה יֹאמֵר *if (ever) he said thus . . . , then they bare . . .*; Ex. 40, 37. In Gen. 42, 37 the consequence (on תְּמִיתָ 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 אִבִּיךָ יִפְקְדֵנִי אִם־יִפְקֹד *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 אֶמְרִי).

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 נָא. With יִין Gen. 43, 5 וְאִם-אֵינְךָ מִשְׁלַחַם 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 יִשׁ and יִין may also be used after אִם without a suffix; thus יִשׁ Gen. 23, 8. 1 Sam. 20, 8. 2 Ki. 9, 15, and elsewhere, אִם-יִין (if it be not the case) Gen. 30, 1. Ex. 32, 32. Jud. 9, 15. 2 Ki. 2, 10; comp. also אִם-יִין 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. לִי if, לִיִּיא (לִיִּיא) if not.

1. With perfect in the protasis and apodosis (comp. § 106. p), e.g. 1 Sam. 14, 30 'וְג' אַף כִּי לֹא אָכַל אָכַל הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְג' how much more, if the people had eaten freely . . . , had there not been a great (= much greater) slaughter? &c.; Jud. 8, 19; לִיִּיא is used in the same sense as לִי in Est. 7, 4, comp. Eccles. 6, 6 (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after לִיִּיא 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 לִי 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 לִיִּיא 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 לִי 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 לִי here is strange; conversely in other cases, e.g. Ps. 73, 15. Job 9, 15 sq. 30, לִי would be more natural than אִם.

z 3. A noun-clause occurs after לִי 2 Sam. 18, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 14. Ps. 81, 14, all with imperfect in the apodosis; Job 16, 4 לִי יִישׁ, with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. כִּי supposing that, if:—

aa 1. כִּי with perfect in the protasis, e.g. Num. 5, 20 וְאֵת כִּי שָׁמַיִת 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 yea, though I walk (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא-אִירָא) 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 אִם; so also the כִּי in verse 7 is followed in verses 8-11 by the special cases with אִם; 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 אֲנִי *or*, e.g. Ex. 21, 36 אֲנִי נֹדַע וְגו' *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 אֲשֶׁר (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lev. 4, 22 (in verses 3 and 27 אֲנִי), Deut. 11, 27 (verse 28 אֲנִי), 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־לָאֵךְ *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 וְיִהְיֶה וְיֵשׁ in the sense of *if it be so*; so in 2 Sam. 13, 26. 2 Ki. 5, 17 וְלֹא־אֵלֶּיךָ 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 אֲנִי).—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 הִנֵּנִי 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 לִי, Job 8, 6 after אֲנִי. 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 אֲנִי 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 **אם** *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 **כי אם** *yea though*, Is. 1, 15 with imperfect; for which we find simply **אם** 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 **אם כי** *even if, though*, Eccles. 4, 14.
- c (c) By the preposition **על** governing a complete noun-clause, as Job 16, 17 **על לא־חַמַּס בְּכַפִּי** *notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands*, or a verbal-clause, Is. 53, 9. On **על** 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 **ו** Job 24, 19 *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **וְשֹׂאֵל חַטָּאֵה** so doth *Sheōl* 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 **בְּכָל־עֵמֶת** *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 נְחָשֵׁב** prop. *to be counted with some one*, Ps. 88, 5, and **עִם נְחָשֵׁל** *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־אֲשֶׁר), 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 וְכִי—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; $\text{כִּי־יִהְיֶה־כִּי־יִהְיֶה}$ 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 וְ—וְ 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 וְ—וְ (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 אֲמָן 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 וְ , Gen. 17, 5, וְהָיָה 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 אֲמָן כִּי in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.

2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by כִּי אֲמָן אֲמָן *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see letter *a* above) אֲמָן כִּי *unless*; especially אֲמָן כִּי with the perfect (equivalent

¹ Very probably this use of אֲמָן 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, בְּלִמְתִּי אִם *unless*. Amos 3, 4 (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply בְּלִמְתִּי 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 וְהִנֵּה), 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 עוֹר *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e. g. Job 1, 16 sq. עוֹר 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 זָבַח וּבָא 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 וְתָבֵל לְהִשְׁקָתוֹ וְתֹאמַר *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 . . . הַשָּׁמַיִם יָצְאוּ

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*,

וְלֹזֶם בָּא וּנְיָ 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 וְהִצַּנְתָּם 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 בָּרָם (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) בָּרָם יֵשְׁבּוּ וְאֲנִשִּׁי 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 אֲמַ³ (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); אֶתְּרָם before that, Eccles. 12, 1. 2. 6 with an imperfect, as in Prov. 8, 26 עַד with a perfect; אֶתְּרָם אֶתְּרָם until the time when; אֶתְּרָם אֶתְּרָם (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 אֶתְּרָם 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 until we 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 בְּרָם § 107. c) *before*; קִרְמַח אֲשֶׁר (for קִרְמַח) *before*, Ps. 129, 6.

c Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158. *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106. *f*, and in the latter to the Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106. *o*), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On בְּטָרָם, 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 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 וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 Sam. 17, 55 (cf. Driver on the passage) וַיְהִי אֲחֵרֶיךָ 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 בְּ appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in בְּמִשִּׁיב *as he drew back*, Gen. 38, 29 (unless we should read בְּהִשִּׁיב), and in בְּפִרְחָתָהּ *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. *g*; 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 וְ , Gen. 29, 21. 1 Sam. 15, 16, or a jussive, Neh. 2, 5 (§ 108. *d*); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by וְ , 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 לְ , Jon. 1, 11 מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Chron. 29, 10 עִם־לְבָבִי , which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by וְ , § 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־נָא 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 וְ) 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; בְּעֵבֹר אֲשֶׁר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gen. 27, 10, and simply בְּעֵבֹר Gen. 27, 4. Ex. 9, 14. 20, 20; also the simple אֲשֶׁר ¹ Deut. 4, 10. 40. 6, 3. 32, 46. Jos. 3, 7. Neh. 8, 14 sq.; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר לֹא Gen. 11, 7. 24, 3. 1 Ki. 22, 16; or שֶׁ Eccles. 3, 14; also negatively, $\text{עַל־דְּבַר־תּוֹכַח־שֶׁלֹא}$ *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־יְקִימוּנֵי , with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִקְוִיִּם].

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 פֶּן *that not, lest*, see § 152. *f* and *w*. On the infinitive with לְ ² (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 וַיִּתְנַחֵם וַיִּבְנֶה אֱלֹהִים לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וַיִּכְזֹב וַיִּבְנֶה אָדָם 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; Hos. 14, 10 מִי חָכֵם וַיִּבֶן אֵלָהּ נְבוֹן וַיִּרְעֵם *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) וְיִ and וְאִשְׁרָ = *so that*; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107. *u*; comp. Num. 16, 11, וְיִ 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 וְאִשְׁרָ 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 וְאִשְׁרָ לֹא = *ut non*, comp. Deut. 28, 35. 1 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Ki. 9, 37.

On וְיִ 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 וַיִּכְזֹב 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 וְ; 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 $\aleph\psi$); 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 (\aleph with the imperative), see § 110. *e*.

3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of *c* 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* ע.
- § 10. *g*, last line, *for* 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 לְבָשׁ)' *add* 'in 2 Chron. 34, 10 Baer and Ginsburg *read* לְבָרוֹק.'
- § 49. *e*, line 8, *omit* 28, 15.
- § 49. *l*, line 5, *after* '2 Sam. 15, 33' *add* 'but Baer and Ginsburg *read* וְהָיְתָה.'
- § 51. *m*, הַתְּנַבְּאִי Amos 2, 10 (for הַתְּנַבְּאִי) 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* ע'ו' *read* ע'ו'.
- § 58. *g*, line 5, *after* 'Deut.' *add* '6, 17 צִוְּיָה.'
- § 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* מִחְנִימָה.
- P. 285, line 1, *read* 'plur. מְזֻבְּחוֹת.'
- P. 289, *under* רְקִמָּתַיִם *read* 'a double piece of richly woven stuff.'
- P. 296, *under* מֵיִם 3rd plur. masc. *read* מֵיִמֵּיהֶם.
- 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 קָטְלָתְּ is the model for קָטְלָתִי, קָטְלָתֵךְ and קָטְלָנִי, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָתְּם and קָטְלָתְּוּ, 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*.

Sing. I. comm. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

2. { m. אַתָּה (אתָּ), in pause } thou.
אַתָּה
f. אַתְּ (אתְּ)

3. { m. הוּא he.
f. הִיא she.

Plur. I. comm. אֲנֵנוּ (נְחַנּוּ) we.

2. { m. אַתֶּם } you.
f. אַתְּנָה, אַתֶּן

3. { m. הֵם, הֵמָּה } they.
f. הֵנָּה

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

אֹנִי; אֹנִי; אֹנִי me.

אֹתְךָ; אֹתְךָ, in pause אֹתְךָ; } thee.
אֹתְךָ
אֹתְךָ; אֹתְךָ; אֹתְךָ, אֹתְךָ

אֹתּוֹ; אֹתּוֹ (הוּ), אֹתּוֹ; אֹתּוֹ him.

אֹתָּהּ; אֹתָּהּ; אֹתָּהּ her (eam).

אֹתָנוּ; אֹתָנוּ; אֹתָנוּ us.

אֹתְכֶם; אֹתְכֶם } you.
(אֹתְכֶם; אֹתְכֶם)

(אֹתָם), אֹתָם; אֹתָם, אֹתָם, אֹתָם*; אֹתָם,
(אֹתָם), אֹתָם* them (eos).

(אֹתָם), אֹתָם; אֹתָם, אֹתָם; (אֹתָם) 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.
אֲנִי־; אֲנִי־	אֲנִי־ <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i>).	אֲנִי־ <i>my</i> .
אֲתָ־, (אֲתָ־) not found.	אֲתָ, אֲתָ־, in } <i>thy</i> pause אֲתָ־ } (prop. אֲתָ, אֲתָ־, (אֲתָ־) } <i>tui</i> .	אֲתָ־ } אֲתָ־ } <i>thy</i> .
אֲהוּ־; אֲהוּ־; (אֲהוּ־)	אֲהוּ; אֲהוּ־; אֲהוּ־ (אֲהוּ־) <i>his</i> (<i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i>).	אֲהוּ־; אֲהוּ־; אֲהוּ־ * <i>his</i> .
אֲהֵ־	אֲהֵ; אֲהֵ־; אֲהֵ־ <i>her</i> .	אֲהֵ־ <i>her</i> .
אֲנֹ־? (see § 58. k)	אֲנֹ; אֲנֹ־; (אֲנֹ־) <i>our</i> .	אֲנֹ־ <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	אֲכֹ־; אֲכֹ־ } <i>your</i> . אֲכֹ־; אֲכֹ־ } אֲהֹ־; אֲהֹ־, } אֲמֹ־ * } <i>their</i> . אֲהֹ־; אֲהֹ־; אֲהֹ־ }	אֲכֹ־ } <i>your</i> . אֲכֹ־ } אֲהֹ־; אֲמֹ־ * } אֲהֹ־ } <i>their</i> .

¹ Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses are rare.

	Qal.			Niph'al.	Pi'il.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	קָטַן*	נִקְטַל*	קָטַל, קָטַל*
3. f.	קָטַלָּה*	כָּבְדָה*	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, קָטֹל*			הִקְטַל*	קָטַל*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קָטֹל*			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>	קָטֹל*				

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*	הִקְטִילְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ*
קָטַלְתָּ	הִקְטִילְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטִילְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטַלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הִקְטַלוּ	הִתְקַטַּלוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטִילְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטִילְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנִי	הִקְטִילְנִי	הִקְטַלְנִי	הִתְקַטַּלְנִי
wanting. קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	wanting. הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטַל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטַל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
wanting.	הִקְטִיל*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִילְיִ		הִתְקַטַּלְיִ
	הִקְטִילוּ		הִתְקַטַּלוּ
	הִקְטִילְנָה*		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 }	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	{ קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּו }
	3. f.		קָטַלְתְּנִי	קָטַלְתְּךָ	קָטַלְתְּךָ	{ קָטַלְתְּהוּ קָטַלְתְּו }
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּנִי	—	—	{ קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּו }	
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּנִי	—	—	קָטַלְתְּהוּ	
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	{ קָטַלְתִּיו קָטַלְתִּיהוּ }	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
		2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּנִּי	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּםהוּ
		1. c.	—	קָטַלְתֶּםךָ	קָטַלְתֶּםךָ	קָטַלְתֶּםהוּ
	<i>Inf. Qal</i>		{ קָטַלְי קָטַלְנִי }	{ קָטַלְךָ קָטַלְתְּךָ }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְו
<i>Imp. Qal</i>	2.	קָטַלְנִי	—	—	קָטַלְהוּ	
(from an <i>Imperf.</i> in a שָׁלַחְנִי)						
<i>Impf. Qal</i>	3. m.	{ יִקָּטַלְנִי יִלְבָּשֶׁנִּי }	יִקָּטַלְךָ	יִקָּטַלְךָ	יִקָּטַלְךָ	יִקָּטַלְהוּ
			יִלְבָּשֶׁךָ	יִלְבָּשֶׁךָ	יִלְבָּשֶׁךָ	יִלְבָּשֶׁהוּ
	3. m. with <i>Nún energ.</i>	{ יִקָּטַלְנִי יִקָּטַלְנִי }	יִקָּטַלְךָ	יִקָּטַלְךָ	—	יִקָּטַלְנוּ
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.		יִקָּטַלְנוּ	יִקָּטַלְתֶּם	יִקָּטַלְתֶּם	יִקָּטַלְתֶּםהוּ
<i>Perf. Pi'el</i>	3. m.	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְו	

with Suffixes.

3 Sing. f. 1 Plur. 2 Plur. m. 2 Plur. f. 3 Plur. m. 3 Plur. f.

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	{ קָטְלֵם } { לְבָשִׁים }	קָטְלוּ
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלֵתֶם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶהּ	קָטְלָתֶנוּ	—	—	קָטְלֵתֶם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵינוּ	—	—	קָטְלֵתִים	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלֵתֵיכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלֵתִים	קָטְלֵתִין
קָטְלוּהָ	קָטְלוּנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלוּם	קָטְלוּן
wanting.	קָטְלוּהֶנּוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קָטְלוּהָ	—	קָטְלוּבְכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלוּנֶם	wanting.

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	{ קָטְלֵבְכֶם } { קָטְלֵבְכֶם }	wanting.	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלוּ
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{ קָטְלָתָהּ } { קָטְלָתָהּ }	קָטְלָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלֵם	—
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{ יִקְטְלָהּ } { יִלְבָּשֶׁהָ } { יִקְטְלָהּ }	{ יִקְטְלָנוּ } { יִלְבָּשֵׁנוּ }	יִקְטְלֵבְכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטְלֵם	wanting.
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יִקְטְלָנָהּ	יִקְטְלָנוּ	—	—	—	—
יִקְטְלוּהָ	יִקְטְלוּנוּ	יִקְטְלוּבְכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטְלוּם	wanting.

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלוּ
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D. Verbs primae gutturalis.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	עָמַד	נִעְמַד *	הֶעֱמִיד *	הִעָמַד *	
3. f.	עָמְדָה	נִעְמְדָה *	הֶעֱמִידָה	הִעָמְדָה *	
2. m.	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הִעָמַדְתָּ	
2. f.	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הִעָמַדְתְּ	
1. c.	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הִעָמַדְתִּי	
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הִעָמְדוּ	
2. m.	עָמַדְתֶּם *	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הִעָמַדְתֶּם	
2. f.	עָמַדְתֶּן *	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הִעָמַדְתֶּן	
1. c.	עָמַדְנוּ	נִעְמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הִעָמַדְנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>	עָמַד *	הֶעֱמַד *	הֶעֱמִיר *		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עָמוּד	נִעְמוּד, הָאֵסֶף *	הֶעֱמַד *	הִעָמַד *	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	עָמַד *	חִזֹּק *	הֶעֱמַד *	הֶעֱמַד	
f.	עָמְדִי	חִזְּקִי	הֶעֱמְדִי	הֶעֱמְדִי	
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עָמְדוּ	חִזְּקוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ	wanting.
f.	עָמְדֵנָה *	חִזְּקֵנָה *	הֶעֱמְדֵנָה	הֶעֱמְדֵנָה	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יֵעָמַד *	יִחַזֵּק *	יֵעָמַד *	יֵעָמַד *	יֵעָמַד *
3. f.	תֵּעָמַד	תִּחַזֵּק	תֵּעָמַד	תֵּעָמַד	תֵּעָמַד
2. m.	תֵּעָמַד	תִּחַזֵּק	תֵּעָמַד	תֵּעָמַד	תֵּעָמַד
2. f.	תֵּעָמְדִי *	תִּחַזְּקִי *	תֵּעָמְדִי	תֵּעָמְדִי	תֵּעָמְדִי *
1. c.	אֵעָמַד *	אִחַזֵּק	אֵעָמַד	אֵעָמַד	אֵעָמַד
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יֵעָמְדוּ *	יִחַזְּקוּ *	יֵעָמְדוּ	יֵעָמְדוּ	יֵעָמְדוּ
3. f.	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה	תִּחַזְּקֵנָה	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה
2. m.	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תִּחַזְּקוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ
2. f.	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה	תִּחַזְּקֵנָה	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה	תֵּעָמְדֵנָה
1. c.	נֵעָמַד	נִחַזֵּק	נֵעָמַד	נֵעָמַד	נֵעָמַד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				יֵעָמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עָמֵד		נִעְמָד *	מֵעָמִיד *	
<i>pass.</i>	עָמוּד			מֵעָמֵד	

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>	<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	בָּרַךְ*	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרַכָה	[בָּרַכָה]	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1. c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרְכוּ	בָּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	בָּרַכְתֶּן	בָּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁחֹט	הִשְׁחֹט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁחוּט	נִשְׁחוּט	בָּרַךְ*	wanting.	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
f.	שָׁחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרְכִי*		[הִתְבָּרְכִי]
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
f.	שָׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרְכֶנָה*		הִתְבָּרְכֶנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַךְ*	יִבְרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תִּבְרַכְתָּ	תִּבְרַכְתָּ	תִּתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתְּ*	תִּשְׁחַטְתְּ*	תִּבְרַכְתְּ	[תִּבְרַכְתְּ]	[תִּתְבָּרַכְתְּ]
1. c.	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבְרַךְ	אֶבְרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּם	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּם	תִּבְרַכְתֶּם	תִּבְרַכְתֶּם	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. c.	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבְרַךְ	נִבְרַךְ	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	נִשְׁלַחַ	שִׁלַּח*	
	3. f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחְהָ	שִׁלְּחָה	
	2. m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ	
	2. f.	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שִׁלַּחְתְּ*	
	I. c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
		2. m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
		2. f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
I. c.		שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>		שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*	
	<i>absol.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ	נִשְׁלוּחַ	שִׁלְּחַ	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*	
	f.	שָׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שִׁלְּחִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	m.	שָׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
		f.	שָׁלְחֵנָה*	הִשְׁלְחֵנָה	שִׁלְּחֵנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	
	3. f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*	
	2. m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	
	2. f.	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	
	I. 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
		I. 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>	שֹׁלְחָה*			

tertiaе gutturalis.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'el.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
שָׁלַח	*הִשְׁלִיחַ	הִשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
שָׁלַחָהּ	הִשְׁלִיחָהּ	הִשְׁלַחָהּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָהּ
שָׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ
*שָׁלַחְתָּ	*הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	*הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	*הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ
שָׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי
שָׁלַחְו	הִשְׁלַחְו	הִשְׁלַחְו	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְו
שָׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּם
שָׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּן
שָׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנוּ
	*הִשְׁלִיחַ		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	*הִשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁלַח	
	הִשְׁלַח		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחִי	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
	הִשְׁלַחְו		הִשְׁתַּלַּחְו
	הִשְׁלַחְנָה		*הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
יִשְׁלַח	*יִשְׁלִיחַ	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַחְו	תִּשְׁלַחְו	תִּשְׁלַחְו	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְו
תִּשְׁלַחְתִּי	תִּשְׁלַחְתִּי	תִּשְׁלַחְתִּי	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלִיחַ	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחְו	יִשְׁלַחְו	יִשְׁלַחְו	יִשְׁתַּלַּחְו
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	*תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
תִּשְׁלַחְו	תִּשְׁלַחְו	תִּשְׁלַחְו	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְו
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלִיחַ	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.	סָבֹות*	נָסְבֹות*
2. f.	סְבֹות	נְסְבֹות
1. c.	סְבֹותי	נְסְבֹותי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	סָבְבוּ, תָּמוּ	נָסְבוּ
2. m.	סְבֹותם	נְסְבֹותם
2. f.	סְבֹותן	נְסְבֹותן
1. c.	סְבֹונו	נְסְבֹונו
<i>Inf.</i>	סַב*	הִסַב*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	סָבֹוב	הִמַס, הִפְסֹוב
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	סַב*	הִסַב
f.	סְבִי*	הִסְבִי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	סְבוּ	הִסְבוּ
f.	[סְבִינָה]	[הִסְבִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִסַב* (67 § יקל, יִסַב* Rem. 3)	יִסַב*
3. f.	תִסַב	תִסַב
2. m.	תִסַב	תִסַב
2. f.	תִסְבִי*	תִסְבִי*
1. c.	אִסַב	אִסַב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ
3. f.	תִסְבִינָה*	[תִסְבִנָה]
2. m.	תִסְבוּ	תִסְבוּ
2. f.	[תִסְבִינָה]	[תִסְבִנָה]
1. c.	נִסַב	נִסַב
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִסַב* (pause וַיִסַב)	
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִסְבִי*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	סָבֵב	נָסֵב
<i>pass.</i>	סָבֹוב*	(<i>fem.</i> נְסָבָה*)

or double v.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Po'el.</i>	<i>Po'al.</i>
הִסַּב, הִסַּב*	הִסַּב*	סִוְבַּב*	סִוְבַּב*
הִסְבָּה*	הִסְבָּה	סִוְבַּבְה	[סִוְבַּבְה]
הִסְבֹּת*	[הִסְבֹּת]	סִוְבַּבְתָּ	סִוְבַּבְתָּ
הִסְבֹּת	הִסְבֹּת	סִוְבַּבְתִּי	סִוְבַּבְתִּי
הִסְבֹּתִי	[הִסְבֹּתִי]	סִוְבַּבְתִּי	סִוְבַּבְתִּי
הִסְבֹּ, הִחֲלֹל	הִסְבֹּ	סִוְבַּבוּ	סִוְבַּבוּ
הִסְבֹּתֶם	[הִסְבֹּתֶם]	קִוְבַּבְתֶּם	קִוְבַּבְתֶּם
הִסְבֹּתֶן	הִסְבֹּתֶן	קִוְבַּבְתֶּן	קִוְבַּבְתֶּן
הִסְבֹּנוּ	[הִסְבֹּנוּ]	סִוְבַּבְנוּ	[סִוְבַּבְנוּ]
הִסַּב*		סִוְבַּב	
הִסַּב		סִוְבַּב	[סִוְבַּב]
הִסַּב*		סִוְבַּב	
הִסְבִּי	wanting.	[קִוְבַּבִּי]	wanting.
הִסְבֹּ		סִוְבַּבוּ	
[הִסְבִּינָה]		[סִוְבַּבְנָה]	
יִסַּב, יִסַּב*	יִיִסַּב, יִסַּב*	יִסְוַּב	[יִסְוַּב]
תִּסַּב	[תִּיִסַּב]	תִּסְוַּב	תִּסְוַּב
תִּסַּב	תִּיִסַּב	תִּסְוַּב	תִּסְוַּב
[תִּסְבִּי]	*תִּיִסְבִּי	[תִּסְוַּבִּי]	תִּסְוַּבִּי
אִסַּב	[אִיִסַּב]	[אִסְוַּב]	אִסְוַּב
יִסְבֹּ, יִסְבֹּ	יִסְבֹּ	יִסְוַּבוּ	יִסְוַּבוּ
*תִּסְבִּינָה	*[תִּיִסְבִּינָה]	[תִּסְוַּבְנָה]	תִּסְוַּבְנָה
תִּסְבֹּ	תִּיִסְבֹּ	תִּסְוַּבוּ	תִּסְוַּבוּ
תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּיִסְבִּינָה	[תִּסְוַּבְנָה]	תִּסְוַּבְנָה
נִסַּב	[נִיִסַּב]	נִסְוַּב	[נִסְוַּב]
וְיִסַּב			
יִסְבִּנִי* (יִסְבִּנִים)		יִסְוַּבִּנִי	
מִסַּב*		מִסְוַּב	
	מִיִסַּב		מִסְוַּב

H. Verbs פ'.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	[נָגַשׁ]	נָפַל	נָגַשׁ*	הִנָּגַשׁ*
3. f.			נָגַשְׁתָּה	הִנָּגַשְׁתָּה
2. m.			נָגַשְׁתָּ	הִנָּגַשְׁתָּ
2. f.			נָגַשְׁתְּ	הִנָּגַשְׁתְּ
1. c.			נָגַשְׁתִּי	הִנָּגַשְׁתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.		regular.	נָגַשׁוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ
2. m.			נָגַשְׁתֶּם	הִנָּגַשְׁתֶּם
2. f.			נָגַשְׁתֶּן	הִנָּגַשְׁתֶּן
1. c.			נָגַשְׁנוּ	הִנָּגַשְׁנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נָגַשְׁתָּ*	נָפַל*	הִנָּגַשׁ	הִנָּגַשׁ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נָגַשׁ		נָגַשׁ, הִנָּגַשׁ	הִנָּגַשׁ*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	נָגַשׁ*	נָפַל*	הִנָּגַשׁ	הִנָּגַשׁ*
f.	נָגַשִׁי	נָפַלִי	הִנָּגַשִׁי	הִנָּגַשִׁי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נָגַשׁוּ	נָפַלוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ
f.	נָגַשְׁנָה	נָפַלְנָה	הִנָּגַשְׁנָה	הִנָּגַשְׁנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִנָּגַשׁ*	יִנָּפַל*	[יִנָּגַשׁ]	יִנָּגַשׁ*
3. f.	תִּנָּגַשׁ	תִּנָּפַל		תִּנָּגַשׁ
2. m.	תִּנָּגַשׁ	תִּנָּפַל		תִּנָּגַשׁ
2. f.	תִּנָּגַשִׁי	תִּנָּפַלִי		תִּנָּגַשִׁי
1. c.	אִנָּגַשׁ	אִנָּפַל		אִנָּגַשׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִנָּגַשׁוּ	יִנָּפַלוּ	regular.	יִנָּגַשׁוּ
3. f.	תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה	תִּנָּפַלְנָה		תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה
2. m.	תִּנָּגַשׁוּ	תִּנָּפַלוּ		תִּנָּגַשׁוּ
2. f.	[תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה]	[תִּנָּפַלְנָה]		[תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה]
1. c.	נִגַּשׁ	נָפַל		נִגַּשׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				יִנָּגַשׁ*
<i>Part. act.</i>	נִגַּשׁ		נִגַּשׁ*	מִנָּגַשׁ*
<i>pass.</i>	נִגַּשׁ			מִנָּגַשׁ

I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
Perf.	אָכַל	נִאֶכַל *	הֵאָכִיל *	הִאָכַל *

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

Inf.		אָכַל, אֶכַל *	הֵאָכִיל	הֵאָכִיל	הִאָכַל
Inf. absol.		אָכֹל	הֵאָכֵל	wanting.	wanting.
Impf. Sing.	m.	אֶכַל *	הֵאָכֵל	הֵאָכֵל	-
	f.	אֶכְלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur.	m.	אֶכְלוּ			
	f.	[אֶכְלֶנָה]			
Impf. Sing.	3. m.	יֶאֱכַל * (in pause	יֶאֱכַל *	יֶאֱכִיל *	יֶאֱכַל *
	3. f.	תֵּאֱכַל (יֶאֱכַל)	&c.	&c.	&c.
	2. m.	תֵּאֱכַל			
	2. f.	תֵּאֱכְלִי			
	1. c.	אֶכַל *			
Plur.	3. m.	יֶאֱכְלוּ			
	3. f.	תֵּאֱכְלֶנָה			
	2. m.	תֵּאֱכְלוּ			
	2. f.	[תֵּאֱכְלֶנָה]			
	1. c.	נֶאֱכַל			
Impf. with Wāw consec.		וַיֵּאֱמָר * וַיֵּאֱכַל *			
Part. act.		אֹכֵל	נֹאֶכֵל	מֵאֹכִיל	
pass.		אֹכֹל			מֵאֹכֵל

K. Weak Verbs,

	Qal.	Niph'al.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יָשַׁב	נִשְׁבַּח*	
3. f.		נִשְׁבְּחָה*	
2. m.		נִשְׁבַּחְתָּ	
2. f.		נִשְׁבַּחְתְּ	
1. c.		נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי	
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	regular.	נִשְׁבְּחוּ	
2. m.		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם	
2. f.		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן	
1. c.		נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>	יֹסֵד, *שָׁבַח	הַיֹּשֵׁב*	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	יָשׁוּב	wanting.	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	*יָשֵׁב, דַּע	הַיֹּשֵׁב*	
f.	שָׁבִי	הַיֹּשֵׁבִי	
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁבוּ	הַיֹּשֵׁבוּ	
f.	שָׁבְנָה	[הַיֹּשֵׁבְנָה]	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	*יֹשֵׁב	*יֹרֵשׁ	*יֹשֵׁב
3. f.	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ	תֵּשֵׁב
2. m.	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ	תֵּשֵׁב
2. f.	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִּירְשִׁי	תֵּשְׁבִי
1. c.	אֵשֵׁב	אִירֵשׁ	*אֵשֵׁב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יֵשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ	יֵשְׁבוּ
3. f.	תֵּשְׁבְנָה	[תִּירְשְׁנָה]	[תֵּשְׁבְנָה]
2. m.	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תִּירְשׁוּ	תֵּשְׁבוּ
2. f.	[תֵּשְׁבְנָה]	[תִּירְשְׁנָה]	[תֵּשְׁבְנָה]
1. c.	נֵשֵׁב	נִירֵשׁ	נֵשֵׁב
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיֵּשֵׁב		
<i>Part. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב		*נֹשֵׁב
<i>pass.</i>	יֹשׁוּב		

פ" (for פ"ו).

L. Verbs properly פ.

Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.	Qal.	Hiph'il.
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשֵׁב*	יָטַב	הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשֵׁבָה		הִיטִיבָה
הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ	הוֹשֵׁבְתָּ		הִיטִיבְתָּ
הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי	הוֹשֵׁבְתִּי		הִיטִיבְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוֹשִׁיבוּ	regular.	הִיטִיבוּ
הוֹשִׁיבְכֶם	הוֹשִׁיבְכֶם		הִיטִיבְכֶם
הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן	הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן		הִיטִיבְתֶּן
הוֹשִׁיבֵנוּ	הוֹשִׁיבֵנוּ		הִיטִיבֵנוּ
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשֵׁב*	יָטַב	הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיב*		יָטוּב	הִיטִיב*
הוֹשֵׁב*			הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיבִי	wanting.		הִיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ			הִיטִיבוּ
[הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]			[הִיטִיבְנָה]
יֹשֵׁב	יֹשֵׁב*	יִיטֵב*	יִיטֵב*
תֹּשֵׁב	תֹּשֵׁב	תִּיטֵב	תִּיטֵב
תֹּשֵׁבִי	תֹּשֵׁבִי	תִּיטֵבִי	תִּיטֵבִי
אֹשֵׁב	אֹשֵׁב	אִיטֵב	אִיטֵב
יֹשִׁיבוּ	יֹשִׁיבוּ	יִיטֵבוּ	יִיטֵבוּ
[תֹּשִׁיבְנָה]	תֹּשִׁיבְנָה	תִּיטֵבְנָה	[תִּיטֵבְנָה]
תֹּשִׁיבוּ	תֹּשִׁיבוּ	תִּיטֵבוּ	תִּיטֵבוּ
[תֹּשִׁיבְנָה]	[תֹּשִׁיבְנָה]	[תִּיטֵבְנָה]	[תִּיטֵבְנָה]
נֹשֵׁב	נֹשֵׁב	נִיטֵב	נִיטֵב
יֹשֵׁב*			יִיטֵב
יֹשִׁיב		יִיטֵב	יִיטֵב
מֹשֵׁב*	מֹשֵׁב*	יָטַב	מִיטֵב
		יָטוּב	

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָם*	מָח*	נָקֹם*
3. f.	קָמָה*	מָחָה*	נָקְמָה*
2. m.	קָמַתָּ*	מָחַתָּ*	[נָקְמַוְתָּ]
2. f.	קָמַתְּ	[מָחַתְּ]	[נָקְמַוְתְּ]
1. c.	קָמַתִּי	מָחִי	נָקְמַוְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָמוּ	מָחוּ	נָקְמוּ
2. m.	קָמַתְּם	מָחַתְּם	נָקְמַוְתְּם
2. f.	[קָמַתְּנָן]	[מָחַתְּנָן]	[נָקְמַוְתְּנָן]
1. c.	קָמַנּוּ	מָחַנּוּ	[נָקְמַוְתְּנּוּ]
<i>Inf.</i>	קֹם*	הִקֹּם*	הִקִּים*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קֹם*	הִקֹּם, נָסֹג	הִקֵּם*
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	קֹם*	הִקֹּם*	הִקֵּם*
f.	קָמִי*	[הִקֹּמִי]	הִקִּמִּי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	קָמוּ	הִקֹּמוּ	הִקִּמוּ
f.	קָמְנָה*	[הִקֹּמְנָה]	[הִקִּמְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִקֹּם, יָבוֹא	יִקֹּם*	יִקִּים*
3. f.	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	תִּקִּים
2. m.	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	תִּקִּים
2. f.	תִּקְוִי*	[תִּקְוִי]	תִּקְוִי*
1. c.	אִקֹּם	אִקֹּם	אִקִּים
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקְמוּ	יִקְמוּ	יִקְמוּ
3. f.	תִּקְוִינָה, תִּשְׁבְּנָה		תִּקְוִינָה, תִּשְׁבְּנָה*
2. m.	תִּקְמוּ	תִּקְמוּ	תִּקְמוּ
2. f.	תִּקְוִינָה		[תִּשְׁבְּנָה]
1. c.	נִקִּים	נִקִּים	נִקִּים
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>	יִקֵּם*		יִקֵּם*
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִּקֵּם (pause וַיִּקֵּם*)		וַיִּקֵּם*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִקְוִינִי*		יִקְוִינִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>	קֹם*	נָקֹם*	מִקִּים*
<i>pass.</i>	קֹם*		

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	מָצָא*	מָלֵא	מָצָא	
	3. f.	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	[מָצְאָה]	
	2. m.	מָצְאָתָ*	מָלְאָתָ	מָצְאָתָ*	
	2. f.	מָצְאָת	מָלְאָת	[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]	
<i>Inf.</i>		מָצֵא	הַמְצֵא	מָצֵא	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		מָצֹא	נִמְצֵא	מָצֹא	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מָצֵא*	הַמְצֵא	מָצֵא	
	f.	מָצֵאִי	[הַמְצֵאִי]	[מָצֵאִי]	
	<i>Plur. m.</i>		מָצְאוּ	הַמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
		f.	מָצְאָנָה*	[הַמְצְאָנָה]	[מָצְאָנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצֵא*	יִפְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא	
	3. f.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	
	2. m.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	
	2. f.	תִּמְצֵאִי	תִּפְצֵאִי	[תִּמְצֵאִי]	
	1. c.	אִמְצֵא	אִפְצֵא	אִמְצֵא	
	<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.	נִמְצֵא	[נִמְצֵא]	נִמְצֵא
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>					
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִמְצְאָנִי, יִמְצְאָךְ		יִמְצְאָנִי	
<i>Part. act.</i>		מָצֵא	נִמְצֵא	מָמְצֵא	
	<i>pass.</i>	מָצֹא			

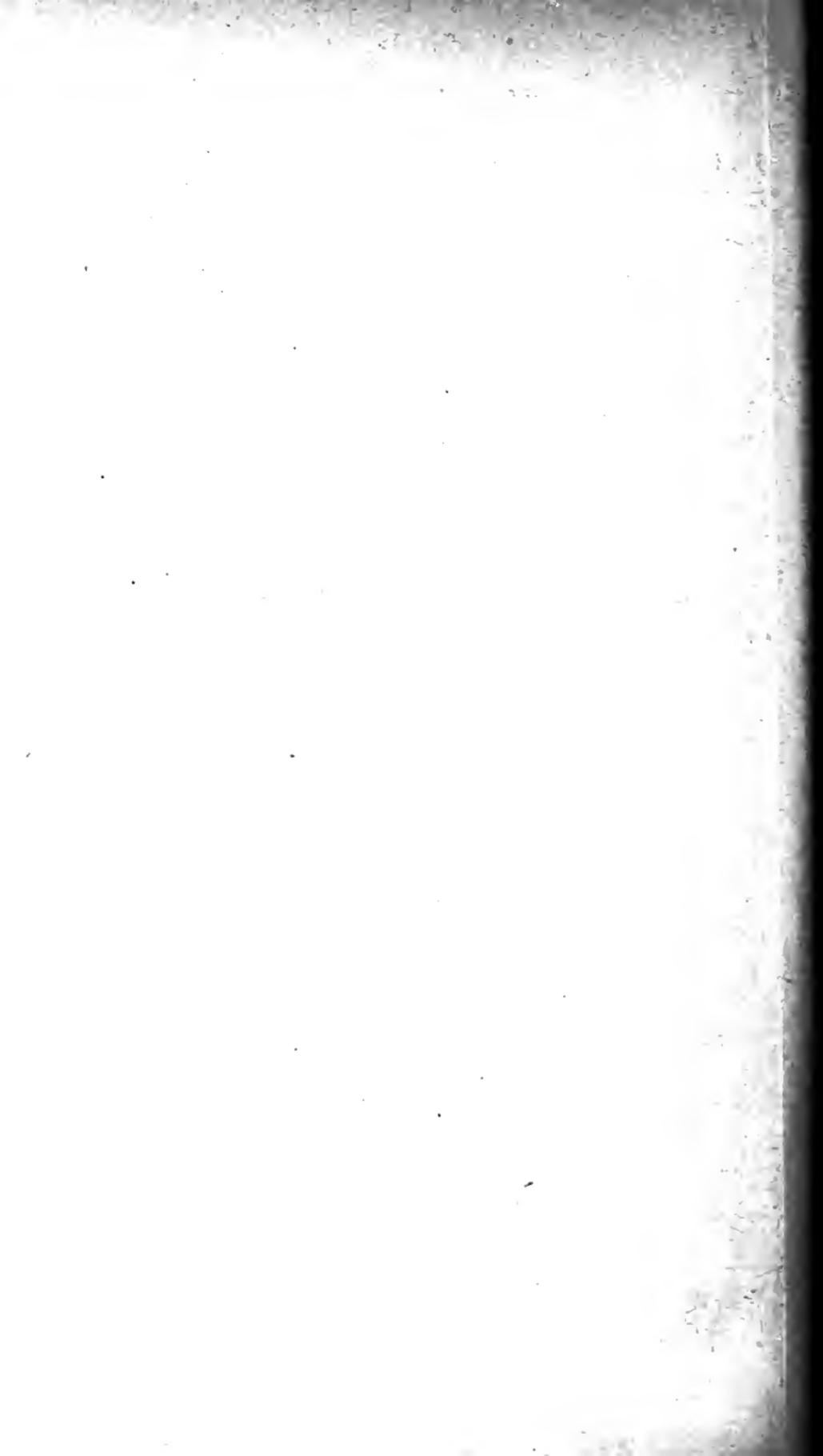
Verbs, א"ל.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קרא [מצא]	הִמְצִיא	[הִמְצָא]	[הִתְמַצָּא]
מִצְאָה	הִמְצִיָּאָה	הִמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצְּאָה
מִצְאָתָּ	*הִמְצִיָּאתָ*	*הִמְצָאתָ*	*הִתְמַצְּאתָ*
מִצְאָתִי	הִמְצִיָּאתִי	הִמְצָאתִי	[הִתְמַצְּאתִי]
מִצְאוֹ	הִמְצִיָּאוֹ	הִמְצָאוֹ	הִתְמַצְּאוֹ
מִצְאתֶם	הִמְצִיָּאתֶם	הִמְצָאתֶם	[הִתְמַצְּאתֶם]
מִצְאתֶנּוּ	[הִמְצִיָּאתֶנּוּ]	הִמְצָאתֶנּוּ	הִתְמַצְּאתֶנּוּ
מִצְאוֹנִי	[הִמְצִיָּאוֹנִי]	[הִמְצָאוֹנִי]	[הִתְמַצְּאוֹנִי]
wanting.	הִמְצִיא הִמְצָא	wanting.	הִתְמַצָּא wanting.
wanting.	הִמְצָא הִמְצִיָּאִי הִמְצִיָּאוֹ [הִמְצִיָּאָנָה]	wanting.	[הִתְמַצָּא] הִתְמַצְּאִי הִתְמַצְּאוֹ הִתְמַצְּאָנָה]
יִמְצָא	יִמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא]	יִתְמַצָּא
[תִּמְצָא]	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצְּא
תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצְּא
תִּמְצִיאִי	תִּמְצִיָּאִי	תִּמְצָאִי	[תִּתְמַצְּאִי]
אִמְצָא	אִמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	[אִתְמַצְּא]
יִמְצָאוּ	יִמְצִיָּאוּ	יִמְצָאוּ	יִתְמַצְּאוּ
תִּמְצָאָנָה	*תִּמְצִיָּאָנָה*	*תִּמְצָאָנָה*	[תִּתְמַצְּאָנָה]
תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּמְצִיָּאוּ	תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּתְמַצְּאוּ
תִּמְצָאָנָה	תִּמְצִיָּאָנָה	תִּמְצָאָנָה	[תִּתְמַצְּאָנָה]
[נִמְצָא]	נִמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	[נִתְמַצָּא]
	יִמְצָא		
	יִמְצִיָּאִי		
	מִמְצִיא		מִתְמַצָּא
מִמְצָא		מִמְצָא	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	גָּלָה*	נִגְלָה*	גָּלָה*	
	3. f.	גָּלְתָה*	נִגְלַתְהַ*	גָּלְתָה*	
	2. m.	גָּלִיתָ*	נִגְלִיתָ, יָתְ	גָּלִיתָ*	
	2. f.	גָּלִית	נִגְלִית	גָּלִית	
	1. c.	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלִיתִי	גָּלִיתִי, גָּלִיתִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	גָּלוּ*	נִגְלוּ	גָּלוּ
		2. m.	גָּלִיתֶם	[נִגְלִיתֶם]	גָּלִיתֶם
		2. f.	גָּלִיתְוּ	[נִגְלִיתְוּ]	[גָּלִיתְוּ]
		1. c.	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גָּלִינוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	גָּלוֹת*	הַגָּלוֹת*	גָּלוֹת*		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה, הַנִּגְלָה	גָּלָה, גָּלָה		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	גָּלֵה*	הַגָּלֵה*	גָּלֵה, גַּל	
	f.	גָּלִי*	הַגָּלִי*	גָּלִי*	
	<i>Plur. m.</i>		גָּלוּ	הַגָּלוּ	גָּלוּ
		f.	גָּלֵינָה*	[הַגָּלֵינָה]	[גָּלֵינָה]
<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.	אִגְלֶה	אִגְלֶה, אִגְ'	אִגְלֶה	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ
		3. f.	תִּגְלֵינָה*	תִּגְלֵינָה*	תִּגְלֵינָה*
		2. m.	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
		2. f.	תִּגְלֵינָה	תִּגְלֵינָה	תִּגְלֵינָה
		1. c.	נִגְלֶה	[נִגְלֶה]	נִגְלֶה
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>	יִגְלֵ*	יִגְלֵ*	יִגְלֵ*		
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִגְלֶה, יִגְלֵי*		יִגְלֶה, יִגְלֵי*		
<i>Part. act.</i>		גָּלָה*	נִגְלָה*	גָּלָה*	
	<i>pass.</i>	גָּלוּי*			

Verbs, ל'ה.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
נָלָה*	הִנָּלָה*	הִנָּלָה*	הִתְנָלָה*
נָלְתָה*	הִנָּלְתָה*	הִנָּלְתָה*	[הִתְנָלְתָה]
נָלִיתָ*	הִנָּלִיתָ, יָת	הִנָּלִיתָ*	הִתְנָלִיתָ*
[נָלִיתָ]	הִנָּלִיתָ, יָת	[הִנָּלִיתָ]	[הִתְנָלִיתָ]
נָלִיתִי	הִנָּלִיתִי, יָתִי	הִנָּלִיתִי	הִתְנָלִיתִי
נָלוּ	הִנָּלוּ	הִנָּלוּ	הִתְנָלוּ
[נָלִיתֶם]	הִנָּלִיתֶם, יָתֶם	[הִנָּלִיתֶם]	הִתְנָלִיתֶם
נָלִיתֶן	[הִנָּלִיתֶן]	הִנָּלִיתֶן	[הִתְנָלִיתֶן]
[נָלִינוּ]	הִנָּלִינוּ	[הִנָּלִינוּ]	הִתְנָלִינוּ
נָלוּת*	הִנָּלוּת*	הִנָּלָה*	הִתְנָלוּת*
wanting.	הִנָּלָה* הִנָּלִי* הִנָּלוּ [הִנָּלְיָנָה]	wanting.	[הִתְנָלָה] הִתְנָל הִתְנָלִי הִתְנָלוּ [הִתְנָלְיָנָה]
יִנָּלָה*	יִנָּלָה*	יִנָּלָה*	יִתְנָלָה*
תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	[תִּתְנָלָה]
תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	תִּתְנָלָה
[תִּנָּלִי]	תִּנָּלִי*	תִּנָּלִי*	תִּתְנָלִי*
[יִנָּלָה]	אִנָּלָה	אִנָּלָה*	אִתְנָלָה
יִנָּלוּ	יִנָּלוּ	יִנָּלוּ	יִתְנָלוּ
*[תִּנָּלְיָנָה]	*תִּנָּלְיָנָה	*תִּנָּלְיָנָה	[תִּתְנָלְיָנָה]
תִּנָּלוּ	תִּנָּלוּ	תִּנָּלוּ	תִּתְנָלוּ
תִּנָּלְיָנָה	תִּנָּלְיָנָה	תִּנָּלְיָנָה	[תִּתְנָלְיָנָה]
[נִנָּלָה]	נִנָּלָה	[נִנָּלָה]	נִתְנָלָה
	יִנָּל*		יִתְנָל*
	יִנָּלְךָ, *יִנָּלְנִי		
	מִנָּלָה*		*מִתְנָלָה
*מִנָּלָה		*מִנָּלָה	



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10	. 67 <i>p</i> , 75 <i>gg</i> ,	106 <i>f</i>
14	131 <i>d</i>
15	150 <i>e</i>
17	145 <i>n</i>
18	119 <i>p</i>
19	133 <i>a</i>
21	69 <i>o</i> , 165 <i>a</i>
25	142 <i>g</i>
26	107 <i>g</i>
27	. . . . .	121 <i>b</i>
30	. . . . .	133 <i>b</i>
32	. . . . .	60 <i>d</i>
30, 3	. . . . .	51 <i>g</i>
6	. . . . .	26 <i>g</i>
8	. 85 <i>n</i> , 117 <i>q</i> ,	154 <i>a</i> ,
	N.	
13	. . . . .	106 <i>n</i>
15	. . . . .	114 <i>a</i>
16	. . . . .	126 <i>y</i>
18	. . . . .	17 <i>c</i> , 135 <i>m</i>
19	. . . . .	96
20	. . . . .	117 <i>ff</i>
23	. . . . .	135 <i>m</i>
27	. . . . .	111 <i>h</i> , 120 <i>f</i>
29	. . . . .	157 <i>c</i>
31	. . . . .	120 <i>g</i> , 120 <i>h</i>
32	. . . . .	112 <i>mm</i>
34	. . . . .	109 <i>b</i> , 151 <i>e</i>
37	. . . . .	117 <i>r</i> , 123 <i>b</i>
38	. 10 <i>g</i> , 47 <i>k</i> ,	76 <i>g</i> ,
	95 <i>f</i> , 138 <i>d</i> ,	145 <i>c</i>
39	. . . . .	69 <i>f</i> , 145 <i>p</i>
40	. 119 <i>aa</i> , N. 3,	142 <i>f</i>
41	. . . . .	91 <i>f</i> , 112 <i>ce</i>
31, 6	. . . . .	32 <i>i</i>
7	. . . . .	67 <i>w</i>
8	. 145 <i>u</i> , 159 <i>r</i> ,	159 <i>s</i>
9	. . . . .	135 <i>o</i>
13	. . . . .	127 <i>f</i>
14	. . . . .	146 <i>g</i>
15	113 <i>r</i>
19	67 <i>cc</i>
23	118 <i>h</i>
27	. 63 <i>c</i> , 111 <i>m</i> ,	114 <i>n</i> ,
	159 <i>dd</i>	
28	77 <i>n</i>
29	152 <i>i</i>
30	51 <i>i</i> , 113 <i>p</i>
32	59 <i>g</i>

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31, 34	. 111 <i>q</i> , 124 <i>h</i> ,	N. 1,
	132 <i>h</i> ,	N. 2.
35	106 <i>l</i>
36	20 <i>d</i> , 37 <i>d</i>
39	. 23 <i>f</i> , 74 <i>k</i> ,	75 <i>oo</i> ,
	75 <i>qq</i> , 90 <i>l</i> ,	107 <i>e</i>
40	. 67 <i>cc</i> , 76 <i>a</i> ,	104 <i>g</i> ,
	143 <i>a</i> , N. 2,	167 <i>b</i> , N.
41	. . . . .	136 <i>d</i>
42	. . . . .	106 <i>p</i>
44	. . . . .	69 <i>x</i>
45	. . . . .	117 <i>ii</i>
47	. . . . .	1 <i>c</i>
52	. . . . .	149 <i>c</i> , 167 <i>b</i>
53	. . . . .	145 <i>i</i>
32, 1	. . . . .	103 <i>b</i> , 122 <i>g</i>
3	. . . . .	136 <i>b</i>
5	. . . . .	64 <i>h</i> , 68 <i>f</i>
6	. 49 <i>e</i> , 104 <i>g</i> ,	123 <i>b</i>
7	. . . . .	116 <i>s</i>
8	. . . . .	67 <i>p</i> , 144 <i>b</i>
9	. . . . .	112 <i>p</i> , 145 <i>u</i>
10	. . . . .	116 <i>o</i>
11	. 106 <i>g</i> , 119 <i>n</i> ,	133 <i>c</i>
12	. 119 <i>aa</i> , N. 3,	152 <i>w</i> ,
	156 <i>c</i>	
13	. . . . .	107 <i>w</i>
15	. . . . .	134 <i>c</i>
16	. 28 <i>b</i> , 122 <i>c</i> ,	132 <i>e</i> ,
	135 <i>o</i>	
17	. . . . .	123 <i>d</i>
18	. 9 <i>v</i> , 10 <i>g</i> ,	60 <i>b</i> ,
	64 <i>f</i> ,	137 <i>b</i>
20	. 20 <i>f</i> , 52 <i>n</i> ,	61 <i>d</i> ,
	74 <i>h</i> ,	124 <i>i</i>
25	. . . . .	51 <i>n</i>
27	. 60 <i>f</i> , 65 <i>h</i> ,	163 <i>c</i>
30	. . . . .	107 <i>h</i>
31	. 90 <i>o</i> , 111 <i>e</i> ,	156 <i>c</i> ,
	157 <i>b</i>	
33, 2	. . . . .	146 <i>e</i> , N. 1
3	. . . . .	66 <i>b</i>
4	. . . . .	5 <i>n</i>
5	. 37 <i>a</i> , 67 <i>a</i> ,	117 <i>ff</i> ,
	137 <i>a</i>	
8	. . . . .	147 <i>a</i> , N. 1
10	. 112 <i>gg</i> ,	158 <i>b</i> , N. 3
11	. . . . .	74 <i>g</i>
13	. 60 <i>h</i> , 104 <i>g</i> ,	122 <i>c</i> ,
	126 <i>i</i> ,	135 <i>o</i>
18	. . . . .	118 <i>n</i>
19	134 <i>g</i>
34, 5	112 <i>ss</i>
7	45 <i>c</i> , 45 <i>g</i>
8	140 <i>d</i>
15	72 <i>h</i> , 119 <i>p</i>
16	44 <i>o</i> , 49 <i>k</i>
19	64 <i>d</i>
22	72 <i>ee</i>
23	143 <i>a</i>

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34, 24	145 <i>d</i>
25	118 <i>q</i> , 131 <i>q</i>
27	144 <i>g</i>
30	128 <i>n</i> , 141 <i>d</i>
31	107 <i>t</i> , 118 <i>v</i>
35, 1	65 <i>a</i>
3	116 <i>a</i>
7	. 124 <i>h</i> ,	N. 1, 145 <i>i</i>
8	. . . . .	126 <i>d</i>
11	. . . . .	145 <i>f</i>
13	. . . . .	142 <i>g</i>
14	. . . . .	138 <i>d</i>
22	. . . . .	15 <i>p</i> , 45 <i>g</i>
26	. . . . .	121 <i>b</i>
36, 7	. . . . .	133 <i>c</i>
37, 2	. . . . .	126 <i>e</i>
3	. . . . .	112 <i>h</i> , 133 <i>b</i>
4	. . . . .	115 <i>c</i>
7	. . . . .	47 <i>l</i> , 116 <i>o</i>
8	. . . . .	113 <i>q</i> , 150 <i>h</i>
15	. . . . .	107 <i>f</i> , 116 <i>s</i>
16	. . . . .	p. 481, N. 1
17	. . . . .	117 <i>f</i>
18	. . . . .	117 <i>w</i>
19	. . . . .	128 <i>n</i>
21	. . . . .	117 <i>ll</i>
23	. . . . .	117 <i>cc</i>
29	. . . . .	152 <i>l</i>
30	. . . . .	116 <i>p</i> , 143 <i>a</i>
33	. . . . .	60 <i>d</i> , 103 <i>w</i>
35	. . . . .	118 <i>n</i>
38, 5	. . . . .	112 <i>uu</i>
9	. 13 <i>c</i> ,	66 <i>i</i> , 159 <i>o</i>
11	. . . . .	118 <i>g</i> , 152 <i>w</i>
17	. . . . .	159 <i>dd</i>
21	. . . . .	126 <i>y</i>
24	. 20 <i>m</i> , 97 <i>c</i> ,	116 <i>s</i> ,
	119 <i>y</i> ,	N. 1
25	. 32 <i>l</i> , 74 <i>i</i> ,	116 <i>v</i> ,
	142 <i>e</i>	
26	. . . . .	133 <i>b</i> , N. 3
28	. . . . .	144 <i>d</i>
29	. . . . .	20 <i>d</i> , 164 <i>g</i>
39, 1	. . . . .	142 <i>b</i>
4	. . . . .	130 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
5	. . . . .	145 <i>q</i>
6	. . . . .	128 <i>x</i>
8	. . . . .	137 <i>c</i>
9	. . . . .	107 <i>t</i> , 112 <i>p</i>
10	. . . . .	123 <i>c</i>
11	. . . . .	35 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>s</i>
14	. 2 <i>b</i> , 29 <i>g</i> ,	64 <i>g</i>
16	72 <i>ee</i>
18	114 <i>r</i>
20	130 <i>c</i>
22	116 <i>s</i>
23	116 <i>o</i> , 152 <i>l</i>
40, 4	139 <i>h</i>
5	129 <i>h</i>
7	84 <i>b</i> , 87 <i>t</i>

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40, 8 152 o
 10, 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 cc, 131 d
 6 116 l
 8 64 b, 122 i
 11 49 e
 12 139 c
 15 152 o, 157 a
 21 91 f, 93 ss
 25 116 d
 26 . . . 126 x, 141 h
 28 53 p
 29 156 c
 30 112 x
 33 . . . 75 p, 75 hh
 39 115 a
 40 118 h
 42 117 cc
 43 . 85 h, 113 z, 129 h
 49 75 ff
 51 52 m
 57 145 e
 42, 1 54 f
 2 109 g
 4 75 rr
 6 126 k
 7 122 q
 9 114 g
 10 163 a
 11 . . . 32 d, 91 f
 13 . 133 g, 141 b, 152 m
 16 110 c
 18 110 f
 19 134 d
 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

Genesis

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

Genesis

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

Exodus

5, 5	. . . . .	112 <i>cc</i>
7	. . . . .	68 <i>h</i>
10	. . . . .	152 <i>m</i>
11	. . . . .	138 <i>e</i>
16	. 74 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>l</i> , 152 <i>o</i>	
18	. . . . .	163 <i>a</i>
19	. . 57, N. 2, 135 <i>k</i>	
21	. . . . .	66 <i>i</i> , 102 <i>f</i>
23	. . . . .	113 <i>v</i>
6, 3	. 119 <i>i</i> , 144 <i>l</i> , N. 3	
6	. . . . .	112 <i>x</i>
10	. . . . .	p. 70, N. 1
14	. . . . .	124 <i>r</i>
28	. . . . .	52 <i>o</i> , 130 <i>d</i>
7, 9	. . . . .	109 <i>h</i> , 159 <i>d</i>
11	. . . . .	131 <i>l</i>
20	. . . . .	119 <i>q</i>
27	. . . . .	52 <i>s</i>
8, 1	. . . . .	20 <i>m</i> , 75 <i>gg</i>
4	. . . . .	63 <i>o</i>
10	. . . . .	123 <i>e</i>
17	. . . . .	117 <i>z</i>
22	. . . . .	150 <i>a</i> , 159 <i>w</i>
9, 4	. . . . .	130 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
9	. . . . .	117 <i>z</i>
15	. . . . .	106 <i>p</i>
16	. . . . .	115 <i>e</i>
18	. . . . .	91 <i>e</i> , 127 <i>f</i>
23	. . . . .	63 <i>n</i> , 69 <i>x</i>
27	. . . . .	126 <i>k</i>
31	. . . . .	141 <i>d</i>
10, 1	. . . . .	126 <i>y</i>
3	. . . . .	51 <i>l</i> , 106 <i>h</i>
4	. . . . .	65 <i>e</i>
6	. . . . .	161 <i>b</i>
7	. . . . .	152 <i>r</i>
8	. . . . .	137 <i>a</i>
9	. . . . .	91 <i>k</i>
10	. . . . .	154 <i>a</i> , N.
11	. . . . .	135 <i>p</i>
22	. . . . .	133 <i>i</i>
11, 6	. . . . .	135 <i>o</i>
8	. . . . .	9 <i>v</i>
12, 4	. . . . .	133 <i>c</i> , 139 <i>c</i>
5	. . . . .	128 <i>v</i>
6	. . . . .	88 <i>c</i>
8	. . . . .	154 <i>a</i> , N.
12	. . . . .	124 <i>g</i>
13	. . . . .	159 <i>g</i>
14	. . . . .	67 <i>n</i>
15	. 20 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>w</i> , 126 <i>w</i>	
16	146 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>b</i>
18	134 <i>o</i>
21	46 <i>d</i>
23	126 <i>l</i> , N. 1
27	61 <i>a</i>
31	20 <i>g</i>
34	107 <i>c</i>
39	117 <i>ii</i>
43	119 <i>m</i>

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12, 48	113 <i>gg</i>
49	145 <i>u</i>
13, 2	52 <i>n</i>
3	113 <i>bb</i>
7	118 <i>k</i> , 121 <i>b</i>
8	138 <i>h</i>
18	67 <i>y</i>
21	53 <i>q</i>
14, 11	61 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>y</i>
20	. . . . .	139 <i>e</i> , N. 3
15, 1	. 2 <i>s</i> , 20 <i>e</i> , 91 <i>l</i> , 107 <i>c</i> , 146 <i>f</i>	
2	. . . . .	58 <i>k</i> , 80 <i>g</i> , 117 <i>b</i>
4	. . . . .	47 <i>w</i> , 128 <i>r</i>
5	. . . . .	58 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>dd</i>
7	. . . . .	116 <i>i</i>
8	. . . . .	15 <i>c</i>
9	. 117 <i>z</i> , 120 <i>g</i> , N. 2, 154 <i>a</i> , N.	
10	. . . . .	35 <i>g</i>
11	. . . . .	20 <i>e</i> , 20 <i>g</i>
12	. . . . .	107 <i>d</i>
13	. 20 <i>e</i> , 64 <i>d</i> , 138 <i>g</i>	
15	. 14, 47 <i>m</i> , 107 <i>c</i>	
16	. 20 <i>e</i> , 67 <i>g</i> , 90 <i>g</i> , 132 <i>c</i> , 138 <i>g</i> , 164 <i>f</i>	
17	. . . . .	20 <i>h</i> , 155 <i>h</i>
20	. . . . .	47 <i>e</i> , 146 <i>c</i>
21	. . . . .	20 <i>e</i>
24	. . . . .	20 <i>c</i>
26	. . . . .	113 <i>o</i>
18, 2	. . . . .	51 <i>g</i> , 72 <i>ee</i>
6	. . . . .	112 <i>oo</i>
7	. 32 <i>d</i> , 72 <i>ee</i> , 141 <i>l</i> , N. 2	
8	. . . . .	72 <i>ee</i>
12	. . . . .	88 <i>c</i>
14	. . . . .	55 <i>k</i>
16	. . . . .	118 <i>h</i>
20	. 27 <i>o</i> , 67 <i>n</i> , 121 <i>d</i> , N. 3, 139 <i>h</i> , N. 2	
21	. . . . .	123 <i>c</i> , 159 <i>g</i>
22	. . . . .	134 <i>e</i>
23	. . . . .	63 <i>i</i> , 76 <i>d</i>
29	. . 9 <i>l</i> , 69 <i>p</i> , 139 <i>d</i>	
32	. . . . .	117 <i>cc</i>
33	. . . . .	20 <i>l</i> , 125 <i>b</i>
17, 1	. . . . .	115 <i>f</i>
3	. . . . .	72 <i>ee</i> , 117 <i>e</i>
4	. . . . .	96
6	. . . . .	49 <i>k</i>
7	152 <i>k</i>
12	141 <i>d</i> , 145 <i>n</i>
14	126 <i>s</i>
18, 4	119 <i>i</i>
5	118 <i>g</i>
9	75 <i>r</i>
14	102 <i>b</i>
18	75 <i>n</i> , 133 <i>c</i>
20	155 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>i</i>

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18, 21	97 <i>h</i>
22	127 <i>b</i>
23	49 <i>i</i>
26	47 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>g</i>
19, 1	102 <i>f</i>
3	53 <i>n</i>
5	. 113 <i>o</i> , 134 <i>o</i> , N. 1	
8	135 <i>r</i>
13	69 <i>t</i>
18	93 <i>dd</i>
19	. . . . .	113 <i>u</i>
23	. . . . .	72 <i>w</i> , 72 <i>x</i>
20, 2	. . . . .	15 <i>p</i> , 138 <i>d</i>
3	. . . . .	107 <i>o</i> , 132 <i>h</i>
5	. . . . .	60 <i>b</i> , 129 <i>e</i>
8	. . . . .	113 <i>bb</i>
9	. . . . .	118 <i>k</i>
15	. . . . .	107 <i>o</i>
18	. . . . .	116 <i>o</i>
20	. . . . .	135 <i>m</i> , 152 <i>x</i>
25	. . . . .	72 <i>k</i> , 117 <i>kk</i>
21, 2	. . . . .	159 <i>bb</i>
4	. . . . .	145 <i>h</i> , 146 <i>e</i>
5	. . . . .	113 <i>o</i>
8	. . . . .	61 <i>b</i> , 75 <i>ee</i> , 103 <i>g</i>
10	. . . . .	126 <i>r</i>
12	. 104 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>n</i> , 116 <i>w</i>	
13	. . . . .	112 <i>ii</i>
18	. . . . .	47 <i>m</i>
28	. . . . .	117 <i>d</i> , 121 <i>b</i>
29	. . . . .	124 <i>i</i>
31	. . . . .	29 <i>i</i> , N.
35	. . . . .	135 <i>m</i>
36	. . . . .	159 <i>cc</i>
37	. . . . .	47 <i>f</i> , 123 <i>a</i>
22, 1	. . . . .	124 <i>n</i>
3	. . . . .	51 <i>k</i> , 113 <i>o</i>
4	. . . . .	53 <i>n</i>
5	. . . . .	117 <i>g</i>
8	. . . . .	138 <i>e</i>
11	. . . . .	113 <i>o</i>
17	. . . . .	94 <i>d</i>
22	. 113 <i>m</i> , 163 <i>c</i> , N.	
25	. . . . .	135 <i>o</i>
29	. . . . .	60 <i>d</i>
30	. . . . .	131 <i>b</i>
23, 4	. . . . .	21 <i>h</i>
5	. . . . .	63 <i>m</i>
8	. . . . .	107 <i>g</i>
9	. . . . .	158 <i>a</i>
16	. . . . .	61 <i>a</i>
21	51 <i>n</i> , 67 <i>y</i>
22	113 <i>o</i>
24	60 <i>b</i>
26	94 <i>g</i>
27	. . p. 390, N. 1	
28	126 <i>t</i>
30	123 <i>e</i> , 133 <i>k</i>
31	58 <i>g</i>
24, 3	118 <i>q</i>

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24, 4	134 <i>f</i>
10	139 <i>g</i>
12	154 <i>a</i> , N.
25, 5	52 <i>q</i>
15	135 <i>o</i> , N. 2
29	20 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>hh</i>
31	63 <i>h</i>
33	123 <i>d</i>
35	123 <i>d</i>
40	121 <i>c</i>
26, 3	123 <i>d</i> , 139 <i>e</i>
17	52 <i>s</i>
19	123 <i>d</i>
33	49 <i>h</i> , 53 <i>r</i> , 133 <i>i</i>
27, 11	134 <i>n</i>
28, 9	117 <i>d</i>
10	134 <i>c</i> , N. I
17	131 <i>d</i>
20	117 <i>y</i>
21	139 <i>c</i>
32	165 <i>a</i>
29, 1	66 <i>g</i>
12	119 <i>w</i>
31	128 <i>p</i>
35	103 <i>b</i>
30, 20	117 <i>y</i> , N.
32	73 <i>f</i>
31, 4	63 <i>i</i>
13	60 <i>f</i>
17	51 <i>m</i>
32, 1	126 <i>aa</i> , 137 <i>c</i>
3	54 <i>f</i>
4	145 <i>i</i>
6	52 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>e</i>
12	150 <i>e</i>
20	108 <i>h</i>
25	5 <i>n</i> , 58 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>i</i>
29	114 <i>p</i>
32	159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i>
34	112 <i>oo</i>
33, 3	27 <i>q</i>
6	117 <i>w</i>
7	107 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>e</i> , 113 <i>h</i>
10	112 <i>kk</i>
11	156 <i>c</i>
12	75 <i>gg</i>
13	69 <i>b</i> , 91 <i>k</i>
14	150 <i>a</i>
19	67 <i>ee</i>
20	60 <i>d</i> , 159 <i>gg</i>
23	124 <i>b</i>
34, 1	124 <i>q</i>
10	122 <i>q</i>
19	51 <i>g</i>
24	51 <i>l</i>
34	159 <i>k</i>
36, 1	103 <i>g</i>
32	152 <i>d</i>
38, 3	117 <i>hh</i>
5	95 <i>n</i>

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39, 18	60 <i>h</i>
23	165 <i>a</i>

Leviticus

1, 1	49 <i>b</i> , N. 2
17	156 <i>f</i>
2, 1	139 <i>d</i> , 145 <i>t</i>
8	144 <i>p</i> , N. 2
4, 2	119 <i>w</i> , N. 2, 139 <i>d</i>
23	69 <i>w</i>
5, 9	75 <i>hh</i>
13	119 <i>w</i> , N. 2
6, 2	91 <i>e</i>
3	128 <i>d</i>
7	113 <i>gg</i>
8	118 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>o</i> , N. 2
9	118 <i>k</i>
7, 8	117 <i>d</i>
35	53 <i>l</i> , 155 <i>l</i>
8, 11	76 <i>c</i>
16	91 <i>c</i>
9, 6	107 <i>q</i> , 120 <i>c</i>
10, 10	114 <i>p</i>
19	75 <i>rr</i> , 100 <i>k</i>
11, 7	67 <i>g</i>
23	88 <i>f</i>
35	53 <i>u</i>
42	5 <i>n</i>
43	74 <i>k</i>
44	54 <i>k</i>
13, 4	91 <i>d</i>
19	131 <i>i</i>
34	127 <i>e</i>
14, 36	101 <i>a</i>
43	53 <i>l</i>
46	53 <i>l</i>
55	54 <i>h</i>
15, 29	53 <i>r</i>
18, 8	30 <i>n</i>
17, 14	145 <i>l</i>
18, 7	75 <i>hh</i>
21	95 <i>q</i> , N.
25	76 <i>h</i>
28	116 <i>s</i>
19, 9	61 <i>d</i> , 142 <i>f</i> , N. 2
16	118 <i>g</i>
28	102 <i>c</i>
20, 7	54 <i>k</i>
10	117 <i>d</i>
14	117 <i>d</i>
19	75 <i>hh</i>
21, 4	67 <i>t</i>
7	126 <i>t</i>
9	67 <i>t</i>
21	142 <i>f</i> , N. 2
23, 17	14 <i>d</i>
22	61 <i>d</i>
39	61 <i>a</i>
24, 22	134 <i>d</i>
25, 5	20 <i>h</i>

Leviticus

25, 10	134 <i>o</i> , N. 2
21	49 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>m</i>
33	145 <i>u</i> , N. 2
36	76 <i>i</i>
26, 15	67 <i>dd</i>
18	52 <i>p</i>
33	52 <i>n</i>
34	67 <i>y</i> , 75 <i>m</i>
37	118 <i>s</i> , N. I
42	128 <i>d</i>
43	67 <i>y</i>
27, 3	128 <i>d</i>
23	127 <i>i</i>

Numbers

1, 1	49 <i>b</i> , N. 2
2	124 <i>r</i>
16	138 <i>e</i>
47	54 <i>l</i>
2, 33	54 <i>l</i>
3, 1	52 <i>o</i>
9	123 <i>e</i>
26	117 <i>l</i>
46	117 <i>m</i> , 134 <i>k</i>
49	85 <i>t</i>
4, 17	152 <i>n</i>
23	45 <i>g</i>
5, 2	102 <i>i</i>
3	119 <i>e</i>
10	117 <i>m</i> , 139 <i>c</i>
17	128 <i>p</i>
19	110 <i>i</i>
20	167 <i>a</i>
22	53 <i>q</i> , 66 <i>f</i>
27	112 <i>y</i>
6, 7	74 <i>b</i> , 96
9	133 <i>k</i> , N. 2, 144 <i>e</i>
26	109 <i>b</i>
7, 2	5 <i>n</i>
12	123 <i>d</i>
8, 7	27 <i>q</i> , 64 <i>d</i>
24	45 <i>g</i>
9, 20	131 <i>e</i>
10, 3	145 <i>c</i>
4	134 <i>r</i> , N. I
29	138 <i>b</i>
35	5 <i>n</i>
36	118 <i>e</i>
11, 4	35 <i>d</i> , 151 <i>a</i> , N. I
5	106 <i>g</i>
7	93 <i>h</i>
10	117 <i>h</i>
11	74 <i>k</i>
12	69 <i>s</i> , 122 <i>f</i> , N.
15	32 <i>g</i>
16	48 <i>i</i>
17	119 <i>m</i>
20	80 <i>h</i>
25	23 <i>d</i> , 68 <i>f</i> , 72 <i>q</i> , 120 <i>d</i> , N. 2, 126 <i>x</i>

Numbers

11, 27 . . . . .	.126 r
29 . . . . .	.154 b
12, 1 . . . . .	.146 g
2 . . . . .	.133 k, N. 2
4 . . . . .	.97 i
6 . . . . .	.128 d
13 . . . . .	.105 b, N. 2
14 . . . . .	.154 b
13, 27 . . . . .	.118 e
32 . . . . .	.72 l
14, 2 . . . . .	.106 p, 151 e
16 . . . . .	.69 n, 114 s
17 . . . . .	.5 n
21 . . . . .	.167 b
24 . . . . .	.119 gg
27 . . . . .	.72 ee
31 . . . . .	.76 h
33 . . . . .	.91 l
34 . . . . .	.123 d
35 . . . . .	.67 g
40 . . . . .	.58 k
41 . . . . .	.135 p
15, 15 . . . . .	.161 c
24 . . . . .	.119 w
29 . . . . .	.143 c
31 . . . . .	.51 k
16, 13 . . . . .	.54 e
15 . . . . .	.117 d
22 . . . . .	.100 m, 150 m
29 . . . . .	.159 c, N., 159 q
17, 6 . . . . .	.72 w
10 . . . . .	.67 t, 72 dd
17 . . . . .	.139 c
20 . . . . .	.72 ee
25 . . . . .	.128 v
27 . . . . .	.106 n
28 . . . . .	.67 e, 67 dd, 150 g, N. 1
18, 18 . . . . .	.143 e
19, 12 . . . . .	.74 b
20, 3 . . . . .	.65 a, 154 b
5 . . . . .	.59 a, 152 a, N.
18 . . . . .	.152 w
21, 1 . . . . .	.75 q
5 . . . . .	.59 a
14 . . . . .	.127 f
17 . . . . .	.63 l
20 . . . . .	.112 ss
23 . . . . .	.157 b, N. 1
27 . . . . .	.54 c, 75 hh
30 . . . . .	.76 f
35 . . . . .	.164 d
22, 1 . . . . .	.125 h
6 . . . . .	.20 d, 53 u, 67 o, 120 c, 138 e
13 . . . . .	.69 x, 115 c
17 . . . . .	.67 o
21 . . . . .	.103 c
23 . . . . .	.117 e
29 . . . . .	.151 e, N. 2

Numbers

22, 33 . . . . .	.103 b
23, 3 . . . . .	.130 c, 137 c
7 . . . . .	.64 c, 67 o, 93 aa
8 . . . . .	.58 g
13 . . . . .	.20 o, 48 i, 67 o, 69 x, 152 b
15 . . . . .	.51 p
18 . . . . .	.90 n, 96
19 . . . . .	.27 q, 64 d, 109 i, 166 a
20 . . . . .	.159 g
24 . . . . .	.124 n
25 . . . . .	.10 h, 67 g
24, 1 . . . . .	.123 c
3 . . . . .	.90 n, 96
4 . . . . .	.116 k
5 . . . . .	.148 b
6 . . . . .	.75 x
7 . . . . .	.54 c, 93 z
10 . . . . .	.113 r
17 . . . . .	.55 f
22 . . . . .	.29 f
24 . . . . .	.93 y
25, 12 . . . . .	.5 n, 131 r, N. 1
26, 62 . . . . .	.54 l
27, 7 . . . . .	.135 o
31, 28 . . . . .	.134 d
32, 6 . . . . .	.150 m
14 . . . . .	.69 h
17 . . . . .	.72 p
20 . . . . .	.159 c, N., 159 q
30 . . . . .	.68 i
32 . . . . .	.32 d
42 . . . . .	.103 g
34, 2 . . . . .	.131 f
7 . . . . .	.75 bb, N.
14 . . . . .	.23 c

Deuteronomy

1, 1 . . . . .	.101 a
2 . . . . .	.118 g, 134 f
3 . . . . .	.53 q, 134 o
5 . . . . .	.120 g, 120 h
7 . . . . .	.119 s
13 . . . . .	.119 s
16 . . . . .	.75 t, 112 u
17 . . . . .	.47 m, 53 r, 133 c
18 . . . . .	.117 gg
19 . . . . .	.118 h, 126 v
21 . . . . .	.69 f
23 . . . . .	.134 f
27 . . . . .	.115 c, 115 f
28 . . . . .	.124 q
34 . . . . .	.65 e, 149 b
41 . . . . .	.135 n
44 . . . . .	.67 g, 67 y, 107 g
46 . . . . .	.138 d
2, 9 . . . . .	.75 bb, 118 q
13 . . . . .	.119 s
14 . . . . .	.134 k

Deuteronomy

2, 23 . . . . .	.126 w
24 . . . . .	.20 g, 75 cc, 110 h, 120 g
27 . . . . .	.108 c, 123 e, 133 k, 156 d.
28 . . . . .	.49 m
31 . . . . .	.67 w
34 . . . . .	.69 f
3, 3 . . . . .	.72 o, 164 d
5 . . . . .	.128 c
11 . . . . .	.100 i
13 . . . . .	.125 d, N.
21 . . . . .	.126 k
4, 1 . . . . .	.44 d, 69 s
8 . . . . .	.128 p
10 . . . . .	.115 d, 165 b
15 . . . . .	.52 o
20 . . . . .	.74 l
21 . . . . .	.54 k
26 . . . . .	.51 k
39 . . . . .	.72 w
41 . . . . .	.90 c
5, 3 . . . . .	.135 g
6 . . . . .	.15 p, 138 d
9 . . . . .	.60 b
12 . . . . .	.113 bb
19 . . . . .	.120 d, N. 2
23 . . . . .	.126 s, 132 h
24 . . . . .	.32 g
26 . . . . .	.151 c
6, 3 . . . . .	.118 g, 165 b
7 . . . . .	.119 l
11 . . . . .	.96
7, 5 . . . . .	.52 n
15 . . . . .	.60 d
16 . . . . .	.72 r, 109 d
24 . . . . .	.53 l
8, 3 . . . . .	.44 e
15 . . . . .	.127 i
16 . . . . .	.44 e
19 . . . . .	.106 i
9, 8 . . . . .	.54 k
10, 5 . . . . .	.29 g
17 . . . . .	.126 v, 133 i
19 . . . . .	.112 aa
11, 2 . . . . .	.117 l
16 . . . . .	.49 m
12, 3 . . . . .	.52 n
13, 1 . . . . .	.109 d
3 . . . . .	.60 b
9 . . . . .	.109 d
14, 17 . . . . .	.80 k
15, 2 . . . . .	.113 gg
7 . . . . .	.119 w, N. 2, 139 d
14 . . . . .	.93 k
16, 6 . . . . .	.119 g
13 . . . . .	.93 m
20 . . . . .	.133 h
17, 2 . . . . .	.167 b
5 . . . . .	.124 o

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
16	48 d, 90 l
19	130 e, 133 h
21	68 h, 76 d
23	48 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
10	117 c, 157 c
13	. . . . .	.63 q, 96
15	. . . . .	.126 r
16	. . . . .	63 c, 72 q, 74 k

Joshua

2, 17	. . . . .	34 a, N. 2, 59 h
18	. . . . .	.59 h
3, 5	. . . . .	.54 k
7	. . . . .	.115 c
9	. . . . .	.66 c
11	. . . . .	.128 c
12	. . . . .	.134 q
14	. . . . .	.127 g
16	. . . . .	.120 g
4, 3	. . . . .	.72 z
4	. . . . .	.134 k
6	. . . . .	.47 m
7	. . . . .	.9 v
14	. . . . .	.52 l
24	. . . . .	.74 g
5, 2	. . . . .	120 g, 124 q
8	. . . . .	.63 q
6, 13	. . . . .	112 i, 113 t
17	. . . . .	.75 oo
7, 7	. . . . .	63 p, 120 e, 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
38	. . . . .	21 e, N. 2
16, 2	. . . . .	.112 ss
17, 11	. . . . .	97 c, 117 l
18, 12	. . . . .	90 i, 112 ss
20	. . . . .	.47 f
19, 11	. . . . .	.112 ss
13	. . . . .	.90 i
21, 11	. . . . .	.91 k

Joshua

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>ce</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	10 <i>g</i> , 72 <i>s</i>
13	69 <i>g</i>
14	93 <i>aa</i>
15	10 <i>g</i> , 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>c</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	10 <i>g</i> , 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, 3 112 *dd*
 4 112 *g*, 126 *s*
 6 . 20 *h*, 22 *s*, 59 *g*,
 113 *w*, 117 *p*
 7 107 *e*, 123 *c*
 8 37 *c*, 102 *l*
 9 . 91 *e*, 113 *e*, N. 1
 10 128 *y*
 11 113 *o*
 12 112 *ss*, 114 *n*
 13 20 *g*
 14 47 *o*
 16 128 *v*
 17 23 *f*, 95 *h*
 20 44 *d*, 64 *f*
 22 112 *oo*
 24 135 *i*
 25 148 *b*
 27 95 *h*
 28 64 *f*
 2, 1 . . 2*s*, 106 *g*, 117 *b*
 3 . 103 *g*, 120 *g*, 124 *e*,
 133 *k*, 152 *z*
 4 146 *a*
 6 111 *u*, 116 *x*
 8 . 107 *g*, 116 *x*, 135 *p*
 9 67 *g*, 142 *f*
 13 . 112 *oo*, 110 *w*, 131 *c*,
 159 *i*, 164 *a*
 14 131 *h*, 132 *g*
 15 112 *oo*
 16 . 23 *e*, 103 *g*, 106 *m*,
 112 *ll*, 113 *w*,
 159 *f*, 159 *dd*
 18 . 116 *k*, 118 *p*, *q*,
 121 *d*
 19 112 *e*
 20 145 *u*
 22 112 *k*
 23 126 *y*
 24 116 *s*
 26 113 *u*
 27 . 113 *q*, 114 *e*, 150 *e*
 28 . 49 *e*, 113 *z*, 119 *w*
 29 133 *b*
 30 113 *p*, 116 *g*
 31 112 *x*, 116 *d*
 33 . 53 *q*, 118 *g*, 145 *e*
 3, 2 107 *b*, 120 *b*
 3 107 *c*, 152 *r*
 5 . 46 *c*, 120 *g*, 126 *h*
 7 107 *c*
 10 . 54 *k*, 118 *u*, 123 *c*
 11 . 67 *g*, 67 *p*, 116 *w*,
 155 *d*
 12 113 *h*
 13 . 112 *qq*, 130 *c*, N. 2,
 119 *p*
 14 149 *c*
 17 149 *d*

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3, 21 75 *c*
 4, 1 131 *c*, 145 *c*
 3 127 *g*
 5 72 *h*, 145 *c*
 6 34 *f*
 7 125 *e*
 8 . 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*
 10 124 *b*, 145 *o*
 12 127 *e*
 15 . 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*
 16 126 *k*
 19 69 *m*, 112 *tt*
 21 152 *q*
 5, 3 116 *d*
 7 112 *rr*
 9 . 67 *v*, 130 *d*, 164 *d*
 10 115 *c*, 145 *m*
 11 117 *e*
 6, 4 118 *h*, 135 *r*
 7 135 *o*
 9 . 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*
 10 60 *h*, 75 *qq*
 11 154 *a*, N.
 12 . 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*,
 113 *s*
 14 127 *d*
 18 126 *x*
 19 119 *k*
 7, 7 138 *e*
 9 131 *b*
 10 116 *u*, 119 *c*
 14 72 *k*
 16 112 *f*
 17 29 *i*, N.
 20 111 *d*
 8, 11 72 *l*
 12 114 *p*
 19 20 *g*, 163 *a*
 9, 2 133 *a*
 3 . . 96, 117 *d*, 142 *s*
 4 104 *g*, 152 *k*
 9 107 *e*
 10 120 *g*
 11 116 *u*
 13 35 *n*, 47 *m*
 17 138 *b*
 20 . 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*
 21 133 *g*
 24 138 *i*, 138 *k*
 10, 3 97 *c*
 5 . 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,
 112 *z*
 6 75 *qq*
 8 112 *v*
 9 112 *uu*
 11 . 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,
 116 *w*, 136 *c*
 12 154 *b*
 13 75 *qq*
 14 152 *k*

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10, 16 113 *o*
 18 135 *a*
 23 133 *b*
 24 22 *s*, 100 *l*
 25 126 *s*
 27 136 *b*
 11, 1 125 *h*
 2 135 *p*
 5 107 *v*
 11 111 *g*
 12 150 *a*
 12, 3 137 *b*
 7 51 *p*
 13 44 *d*, 64 *f*
 14 167 *a*
 17 114 *o*
 19 107 *p*
 20 135 *a*
 23 . . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*
 24 75 *oo*
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3	44 k, 69 u
4	113 z
7	112 h, N. 3,	144 c
8	134 s
9	126 n
11	51 o, 115 d
13	116 g, N. 2
5, 2	128 k
3	117 z, 129 g
4	110 f
7	126 b
8	111 u, 117 ii
11	61 e
14	109 k, 152 g
15	67 cc
18	152 d
19	112 m, 126 r
21	20 h, 106 g,	154 a, N.
26	112 x, 112 rr
6, 1	112 n

Amos

6, 2	. . . . .	125 h, 126 z
6	63 c, 93 k,	119 m, N.
10	. . . . .	145 m, 152 s
12	. . . . .	123 a, N., 144 d
13	. . . . .	152 a, N.
14	. . . . .	125 c
7, 1	. . . . .	86 i, 147 b
2	. . . . .	112 uu
4	. . . . .	112 ll
7	. . . . .	156 b
15	. . . . .	119 b
8, 4	. . . . .	53 q
8	. . . . .	125 e
10	. . . . .	128 k, 135 p
13	. . . . .	54 k, 146 g
9, 1	. . . . .	61 g, 144 e
3	. . . . .	112 p
7	. . . . .	150 e
8	53 k, 113 n,	113 v
11	. . . . .	116 d, 118 u
13	. . . . .	54 k

Obadiah

1, 3	. . . . .	90 l, 93 x
10	. . . . .	128 a
11	. . . . .	9 v, 61 f, 69 u
13	. . . . .	47 k

Jonah

1, 3	. . . . .	116 d, 122 t, 135 f
5	. . . . .	51 m
6	. . . . .	120 b
7	. . . . .	150 k
9	. . . . .	2 b
10	. . . . .	117 q
11	. . . . .	113 u, 165 a
14	. . . . .	16 f
15	. . . . .	61 c
2, 2	. . . . .	122 s
4	. . . . .	117 r
3, 5	. . . . .	133 g
4, 1	. . . . .	117 q
2	16 f, 114 n,	N. 3
6	. . . . .	117 q
9	. . . . .	113 k
10	. . . . .	96, 128 v
11	. . . . .	20 m, 97 b, 150 a

Micah

1, 1	. . . . .	145 m
2	. . . . .	135 r
5	. . . . .	23 c, 137 a
7	52 l, 67 y,	117 ii
8	. . . . .	69 b, N., 118 n
10	. . . . .	113 v
11	. . . . .	122 s, 131 c
13	. . . . .	110 k
15	. . . . .	74 k
2, 3	. . . . .	118 q

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
1491 l
3, 553 p
7	. . . 52 q, 67 cc
8	. . . 70 e, 133 b
991 e
1069 u
11145 p
15	. . . 110 a, 110 k

Nahum

3, 1720 h
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Habakkuk

1, 5116 s
6	. . . 13 c, 155 e
867 ee
14152 u
1563 p
16103 g
17	. . . 114 k, 156 g
2, 137 b
372 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 c, 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. 1, 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. 1
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. 1
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. 1
2	44 <i>i</i>
3	130 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>e</i>
4	93 <i>m</i> , 145 <i>p</i> , 155 <i>f</i>
5	50 <i>e</i>
6	80 <i>g</i> , 122 <i>q</i>
8	116 <i>s</i>
9	111 <i>r</i>
11	114 <i>m</i> , 122 <i>q</i>
17, 3	59 <i>h</i> , 67 <i>ee</i>
4	143 <i>e</i>
9	138 <i>g</i>
10	91 <i>f</i>
12	126 <i>p</i>
13	144 <i>m</i>
18, 1	2 <i>s</i> , 53 <i>l</i> , 130 <i>d</i> , 154 <i>a</i> , N. 1
3	155 <i>i</i>
4	116 <i>e</i> , 132 <i>b</i>
7	10 <i>g</i> , N. 3, 107 <i>b</i>
10	69 <i>p</i>
12	109 <i>k</i>
17	117 <i>g</i>
18	126 <i>z</i>
22	119 <i>ff</i>
26	93 <i>s</i>

Psalm

18, 28	132 <i>f</i>
30	67 <i>q</i> , 119 <i>o</i>
31	126 <i>c</i> , 140 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>a</i>
33	116 <i>f</i> , 116 <i>x</i> , 117 <i>cc</i>
35	145 <i>k</i>
38	107 <i>c</i>
40	116 <i>i</i>
41	p. 390, N. 1
49	116 <i>i</i>
19, 3	20 <i>f</i>
4	49 <i>k</i>
5	135 <i>p</i>
6	122 <i>o</i>
8	114 <i>i</i>
10	126 <i>b</i> , 141 <i>c</i>
11	116 <i>e</i>
14	67 <i>p</i>
20, 3	135 <i>m</i>
4	48 <i>d</i>
21, 2	126 <i>h</i>
4	117 <i>ff</i>
7	117 <i>ii</i> , 124 <i>e</i>
13	p. 390, N. 1
22, 2	59 <i>h</i>
3	152 <i>d</i>
7	116 <i>l</i>
8	119 <i>q</i>
9	144 <i>p</i>
14	118 <i>r</i>
16	121 <i>c</i> , 122 <i>n</i>
18	107 <i>s</i>
22	23 <i>f</i> , 119 <i>ff</i>
29	116 <i>s</i>
32	116 <i>e</i>
23, 2	124 <i>e</i> , 128 <i>p</i>
4	107 <i>x</i> , 159 <i>bb</i>
5	141 <i>c</i> , 141 <i>d</i>
6	69 <i>m</i> , N. 1
24, 1	129 <i>c</i> , 130 <i>a</i>
2	107 <i>b</i>
4	128 <i>y</i>
10	136 <i>c</i>
25, 1	5 <i>h</i>
10	141 <i>c</i>
11	112 <i>nn</i>
14	114 <i>i</i>
26, 2	48 <i>i</i>
3	112 <i>qq</i>
7	53 <i>q</i>
10	20 <i>f</i>
12	93 <i>qq</i>
27, 7	144 <i>m</i>
13	5 <i>n</i> , 159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i>
28, 1	119 <i>ff</i>
7	53 <i>q</i>
9	10 <i>g</i>
29, 1	124 <i>q</i>
4	141 <i>c</i> , N. 3
10	111 <i>r</i>
30, 2	60 <i>f</i>

Psalm		Psalm		Psalm	
30, 4	. . . . .69m	44, 6	. . . . .119o	59, 6	. . . . .128x, 131s
8	. . . . .93aa	18	. . . . .156f	16	. . . . .159s
31, 21	. . . . .93r	20	. . . . .119q	60, 4	. . . . .75tp
32, 1	. . . . .75qq, 116k	23	. . . . .128q	5	. . . . .131c
2	. . . . .155i	26	. . . . .67k	13	. . . . .80g, 158a
6	. . . . .143e, 153	27	. . . . .72s, 90g	61, 1	. . . . .80f
8	. . . . .107q, 138g, 156c	45, 3	. . . . .55e	8	. . . . .75cc
9	. . . . .114a, 114k, 114s	5	. . . . .131c	62, 4	. . . . .52q
10	. . . . .132b	6	. . . . .15o, 29o, N. 2	8	. . . . .13c
33, 5	. . . . .116s	8	. . . . .117ee	63, 2	. . . . .132d
7	. . . . .118w	9	. . . . .87f, 141d	4	. . . . .60e
8	. . . . .145e	10	. . . . .24e	6	. . . . .117t
10	. . . . .67v	12	. . . . .75bb, 109h	64, 7	. . . . .67e
12	. . . . .155h	16	. . . . .76g	8	. . . . .117ff
15	. . . . .126b	18	. . . . .53q, 123c	9	. . . . .130a
34, 1	. . . . .5h	48, 3	. . . . .115g	65, 6	. . . . .92g
2	. . . . .21d	4	. . . . .132h, N. 2	10	. . . . .53n, 60g
6	. . . . .109e	5	. . . . .124b, 132c	11	. . . . .117y
9	. . . . .155f	7	. . . . .119q	66, 6	. . . . .108g
12	. . . . .60f	48, 6	. . . . .164b, N. 1	17	. . . . .144m
35, 1	. . . . .73d	11	. . . . .93g, 93x	68, 3	. . . . .19c, 51k, 67t
8	. . . . .156g	15	. . . . .126aa	5	. . . . .119i
10	. . . . .9u	49, 6	. . . . .102l	9	. . . . .136d, N.
14	. . . . .93hh	7	. . . . .126b	18	. . . . .21c, 97h
16	. . . . .113h	8	. . . . .113v	19	. . . . .20f
19	. . . . .131q, N. 3	14	. . . . .155e	22	. . . . .128c
36, 6	. . . . .35n	15	. . . . .10g, 67ee, 114k,	23	. . . . .75u
8	. . . . .75u	N. 1		24	. . . . .10g, 103m
9	. . . . .75u	50, 3	. . . . .109e, 144c	69, 4	. . . . .118p
13	. . . . .64d	4	. . . . .115b	5	. . . . .131q, N. 3
37, 1	. . . . .5h, 75bb	10	. . . . .90n	9	. . . . .48i
5	. . . . .67n	12	. . . . .159m, 159r	10	. . . . .95b, N. 1
9	. . . . .20f	17	. . . . .142d	11	. . . . .144l, N. 3
14	. . . . .45g	21	. . . . .112cc, 157a	24	. . . . .64h
15	. . . . .20h	22	. . . . .116b	33	. . . . .69s
16	. . . . .129b	23	. . . . .58i	71, 23	. . . . .44o
20	. . . . .29o, 75m	51, 4	. . . . .75gg, 120g	72, 2	. . . . .107n
23	. . . . .121f	5	. . . . .142f	14	. . . . .69b
24	. . . . .159bb	7	. . . . .64h	17	. . . . .10g
31	. . . . .145k	9	. . . . .165a	20	. . . . .52q
38, 11	. . . . .55e	10	. . . . .155h	73, 2	. . . . .75u
21	. . . . .61c	14	. . . . .117ff	7	. . . . .145o
39, 13	. . . . .10h	18	. . . . .108f	9	. . . . .63n, 69x
14	. . . . .75gg	19	. . . . .128h	14	. . . . .123c
40, 2	. . . . .75aa	52, 15	. . . . .58i	16	. . . . .49e, 108e
5	. . . . .93cc	53, 6	. . . . .91e, 116i	17	. . . . .108h
6	. . . . .108f	54, 6	. . . . .119i	20	. . . . .53q, 119y, N. 1
15	. . . . .29o, N. 2	55, 3	. . . . .108g	27	. . . . .119ff
18	. . . . .29q	7	. . . . .128d	28	. . . . .73d
41, 3	. . . . .109e	10	. . . . .52n	74, 7	. . . . .119gg
5	. . . . .74h	16	. . . . .74k	8	. . . . .76f
6	. . . . .111t	18	. . . . .108g	10	. . . . .64e
8	. . . . .54f	19	. . . . .119gg	19	. . . . .80f
42, 2	. . . . .122f, 155g	22	. . . . .10g	75, 4	. . . . .146g
4	. . . . .115e, N.	56, 4	. . . . .155l	76, 6	. . . . .54a, N.
5	. . . . .117x	57, 2	. . . . .75u	11	. . . . .124e
1068g, 102l	5144m	77, 263o
43, 172s	58, 252n	475l, 75u
2102l	563n	1067r
44, 3144m	969x, 96, 118r	1167r

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77, 16 20g, 125c	104, 1 106g	121, 5 124k
18 55b, 93bb	3 20m, N. 2, 35b,	122, 6 75u
20 20h	126b	123, 1 90m
78, 6 107k	8 138g	4 127g
15 132h, N. 2	11 90n	124, 4 90f
16 74l	12 93z	128, 6 113p, 113u
44 75u	18 20m, 126x	127, 1 118i
54 138g	20 109h, 159d	2 23l, 80h, 114n
80, 8 131s	21 114p	128, 3 75v, 96
11 52g, 121d	25 136d, N.	5 110i
14 5n, 56	26 138g	132, 4 80g
19 72t	28 47m, 159c	12 34b, 91n, 138g
81, 9 109b	105, 12 118x	135, 7 53o
83, 12 131o	28 53n	136, 1 2s
19 144l, N. 2	43 78l	6 65d
86, 2 9v, 48i, N.,	107, 23 5n	137, 3 117gg
61f, N.	43 93m	5 159m
87, 3 121d, N. 2	109, 2 117t	6 58g
5 123c	3 57, N. 3	7 75cc, 116d
88, 5 152u	10 64e	138, 2 16f
6 116h	13 75y	6 69b, N., 69p
17 55d	110, 1 164f	139, 1 59h
89, 7 124q	2 110c	2 73a, N. 1
10 76b	3 141c	5 91e
40 64e	4 90l	8 66e, 159m
48 135f	111, 1 5h	11 103d, 111x,
52 20h	112, 1 5h	159f
90, 2 107c	8 164f	14 75qq, 118p
3 109k, 111t	9 120g	18 159c, N.
4 118r	113, 5 90l	20 23i, 68h, 75oo
5 155g	114, 1 128a, N. 2	21 72cc
6 112m	8 90m, 90n	22 117q, 128r
8 73d	115, 7 143d, 147e	140, 1 91l
10 49e	116, 4 16f	10 75mm
13 147c	6 53q	13 44i
15 87n, 130d	7 72s, 91l	141, 3 20h, 48i
91, 4 67p, 109k	12 91l	4 96
6 67q, 118i	15 90f	5 74k
9 117ii	118, 5 20g, 59f, 119gg	8 75bb
11 20c	7 119i	142, 5 113bb
12 60e	10 60d	143, 6 106g
92, 12 132b	13 113p	144, 2 87f
93, 5 75kk	14 80g	14 122e
94, 1 53m, 69v	18 20g	145, 1 5h
9 93qq	23 74g	7 132b
12 20g	25 53m	13 123c
20 60b, 63m	26 59e	147, 1 52p
99, 6 74i, 75oo	119, 1 5n, 75oo	2 20m
100, 3 103g	18 75cc	149, 2 124k
101, 5 55b, 64i, 90m	28 91n	
102, 4 67u	117 75l	Proverbs
9 116i	128 130f, N.	1, 10 68h, 75h
14 67cc	136 155n	16 145u
19 106e	137 145r	19 29f
28 67g, p. 459, N.	120, 1 90g, 127e	20 47k, 48d, 86l,
103, 1 10g	5 117bb	124e
3 91e, 91l	6 119s	21 75v
4 58g	7 141c, N. 4	22 63m
5 145k, 156d	121, 1 127e	28 60e
9 117g	3 107p, 109e	2, 10 145u

Proverbs

2, 11 58*i*
 14 128*w*
 19 116*i*
 22 144*g*
 3, 3 110*f*
 8 22*s*
 12 16*b*
 25 109*e*
 26 119*i*
 4, 4 75*n*
 8 60*f*
 13 20*h*
 21 72*ee*
 25 70*b*
 5, 2 145*u*
 4 96
 13 75*ee*
 17 152*o*
 22 . 60*e*, 131*m*, N. 3
 6, 24 128*w*
 7, 2 75*n*
 7 108*h*
 8 91*e*
 11 94*d*
 13 . . . 67*dd*, 68*e*
 8, 3 47*k*, 48*d*
 4 96
 17 68*f*
 20 122*f*
 22 59*f*
 26 124*l*
 27 67*r*
 28 93*v*
 32 155*n*
 9, 1 86*l*
 5 119*m*
 10 124*h*
 12 159*ff*
 13 . . . 152*u*, N. 2
 18 116*l*
 10, 4 . 23*g*, 72*p*, 117*t*
 26 124*k*
 11, 3 67*n*
 21 22*s*
 25 69*w*
 12, 1 16*f*
 10 145*h*
 18 75*qq*
 19 108*h*
 28 152*g*
 13, 4 131*n*
 10 144*b*
 20 117*c*
 23 23*g*
 24 131*m*
 14, 1 . 86*l*, p. 4⁸⁹, N. 1
 2 116*k*
 3 47*g*
 7 . . . 152*u*, N. 2
 10 22*s*

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14, 13 . . . 131*n*, N. 1
 14 72*p*
 20 121*f*
 30 124*d*
 34 72*bb*
 15, 1 20*c*, 22*s*
 5 63*n*
 13 20*h*
 20 107*f*
 16, 4 127*i*
 11 128*a*, N. 1
 17, 2 73*ee*
 4 68*i*
 10 66*f*
 12 . 113*cc*, 133*b*, N. 3,
 152*g*
 18, 16 92*g*
 22 159*h*
 24 47*b*
 19, 2 75*oo*
 7 9*u*
 25 63*n*, 69*v*
 20, 2 128*h*
 9 107*t*
 10 123*f*
 13 110*h*
 22 22*s*
 21, 6 128*c*
 12 125*c*
 22, 21 . 10*k*, 124*k*, 131*c*
 23, 1 73*a*, 73*d*
 21 93*p*
 22 138*g*
 24 159*i*
 29 131*q*
 24, 4 29*o*
 14 48*l*
 17 51*l*
 31 117*z*
 25, 2 53*k*
 5 126*n*
 11 93*r*
 12 161*a*, N.
 13 124*k*
 16 76*h*
 17 69*v*
 19 . 52*s*, 67*s*, 92*g*
 27 113*b*
 26, 7 75*u*
 17 155*e*
 23 145*u*
 27, 6 63*c*
 9 146*e*
 15 75*x*
 24 . . . 150*g*, N. 1
 25 20*h*
 28, 6 88*e*, N. 2
 22 10*h*
 29, 6 67*q*
 30, 1 96

Proverbs

30, 3 124*h*
 6 10*k*, 69*v*
 17 10*g*, 24*e*
 18 134*s*
 24 133*g*
 28 144*h*
 30 152*b*
 31 35*m*
 31, 2 37*f*
 3 53*q*, 87*e*
 4 75*n*
 10 2*s*, 5*h*

Job

1, 1 112*h*, 156*b*
 3 123*a*
 4 97*c*, 112*dd*
 5 . 107*e*, 112*f*, 118*h*
 6 . 119*cc*, 126*s*, 155*e*
 7 107*h*
 12 136*d*
 14 . 116*r*, 119*cc*, 122*c*,
 135*o*, 141*i*, 145*c*
 15 . 49*e*, 122*e*, 135*o*
 16 116*u*, 164*a*
 18 116*u*
 19 122*g*
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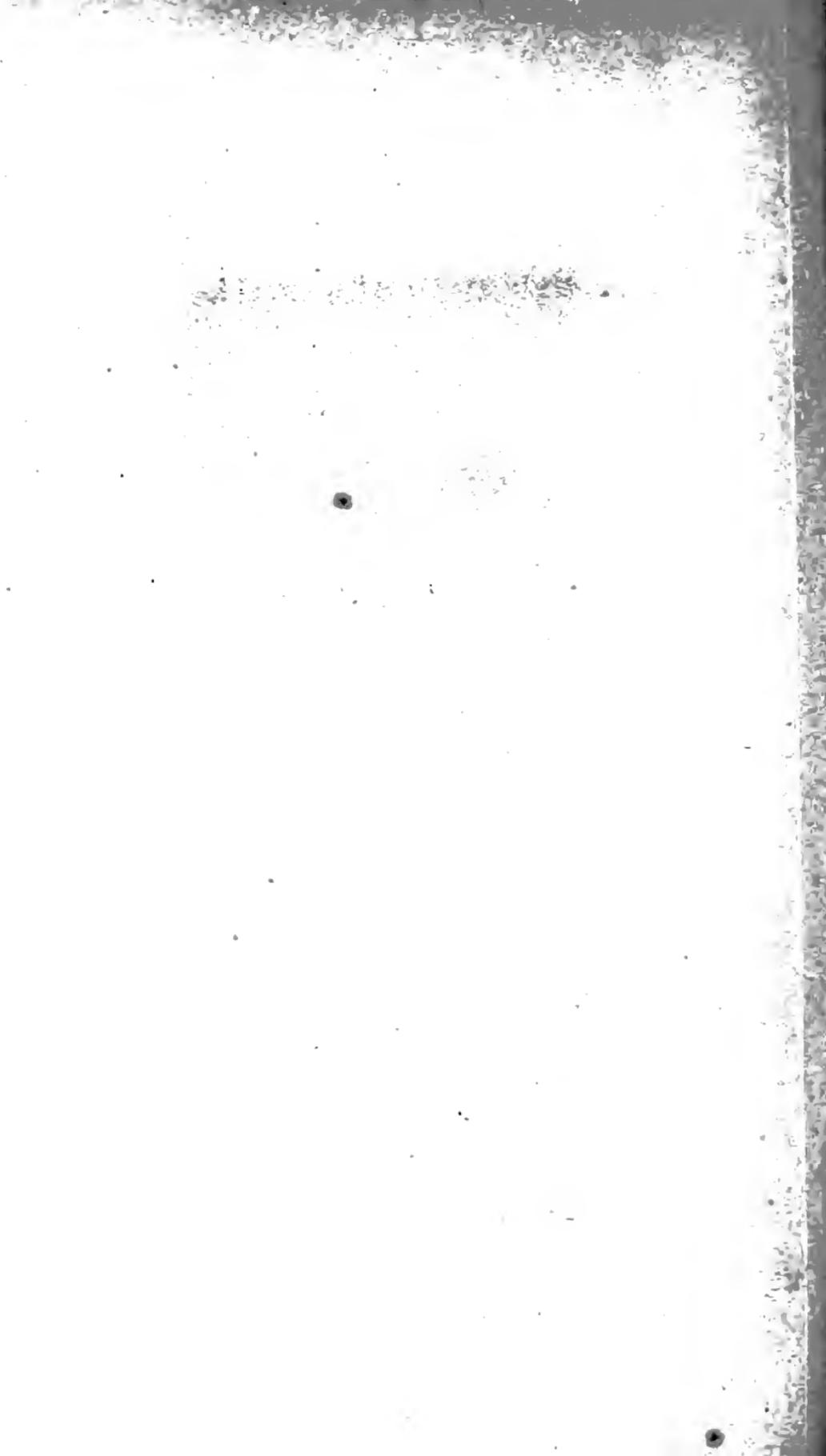
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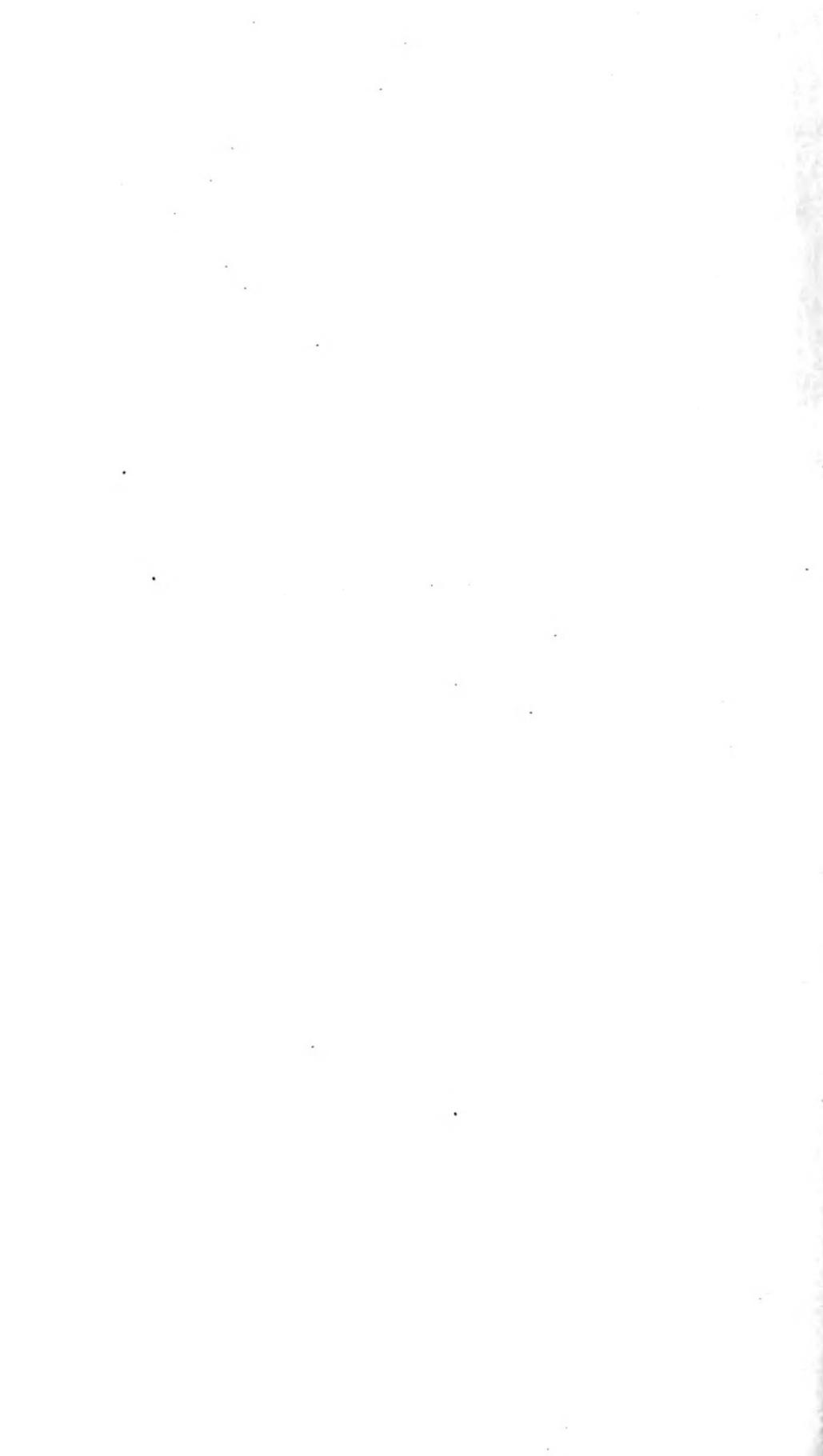
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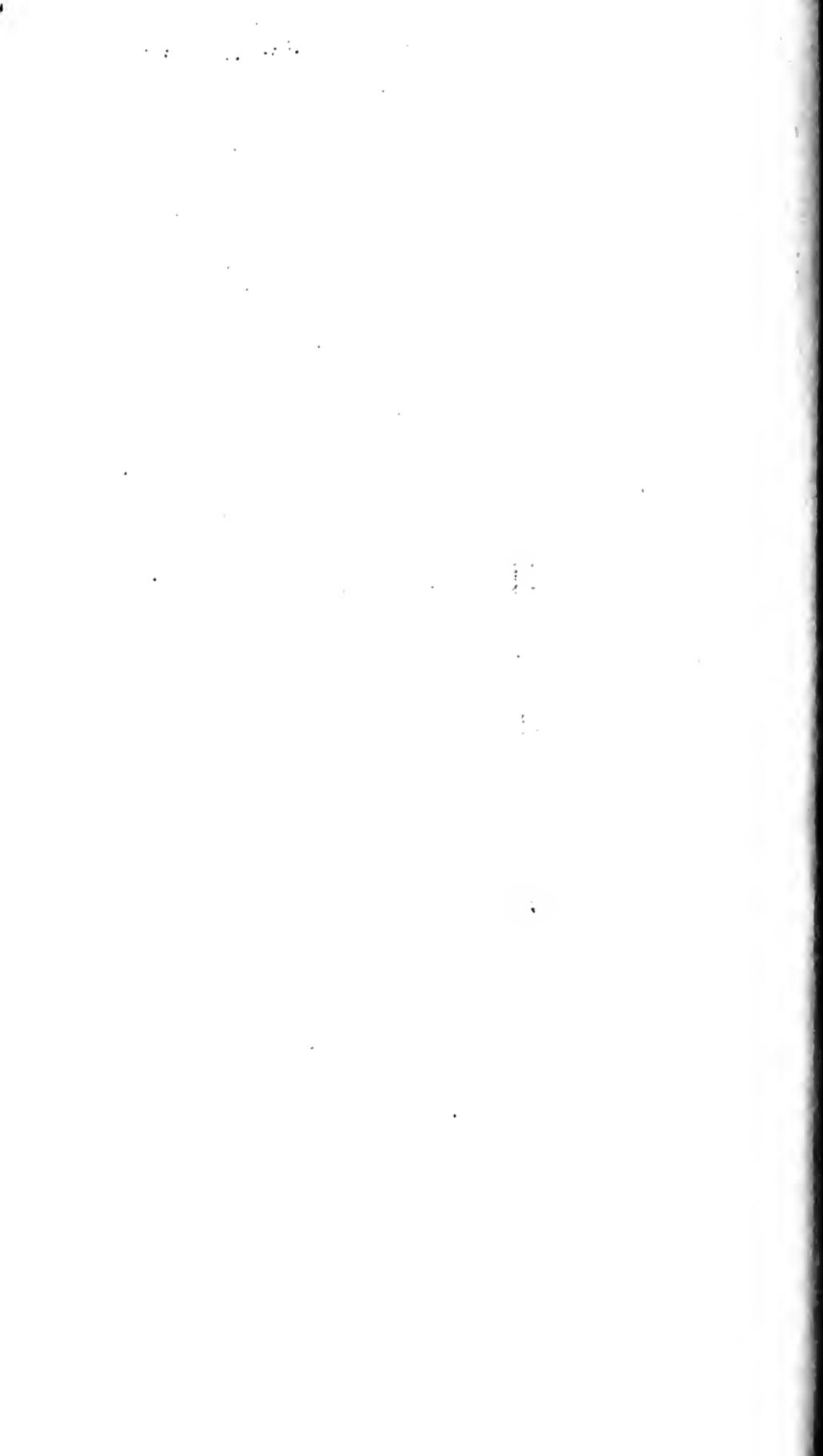
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