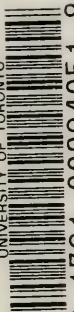


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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Wilhelm
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GESENIUS'
HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE

E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GERMAN
EDITION (1909) BY

A. E. COWLEY

WITH A FACSIMILE OF THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION BY J. EUTING, AND
A TABLE OF ALPHABETS BY M. LIDZBARSKI

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C. 4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON

BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI CAPE TOWN IBADAN

Geoffrey Cumberlege, Publisher to the University

PJ
4564
G5
1910
cop. 3

665107

18.9.57

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION 1910

REPRINTED LITHOGRAPHICALLY IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD, 1946, 1949, 1952, 1956
FROM CORRECTED SHEETS OF THE SECOND EDITION

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

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

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

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

A. C.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

Sept. 1910.

FROM THE GERMAN PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

.

E. KAUTZSCH.

HALLE,

July, 1909.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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

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

Page 65, note 1, *for* נָנָן read נָנָן (as § 105 a).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of נָנָן, and the 6 of נָנָן, Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as נָנָן) in Gn 50¹⁷, Ex 32³¹, ψ 116¹⁶, and Metheg on the first syllable and an accent on the second syllable (as נָנָן) in 2 K 20³=Is 38³, Jon 1¹⁴, 4², ψ 116⁴, 118^{25.25}, Dn 9⁴, Ne 1^{5.11}, except that in ψ 116⁴ Ginsburg has נָנָן.—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s.* *before* הַיְהוּדִים יִפְרוּ *insert* exceptions to *b* are. *After* Jer 39¹² *add* ψ 52⁵; *and for* Ez 9⁶ *read* Ezr 9⁶.

[So Baer (cf. his note on Jud 20⁴³; also on Jer 39¹², and several of the other passages in question): but Ginsburg only in 10 of the exceptions to *b*, and Jacob ben Ḥayyim and Kittel only in 5, viz. Jer 39¹², Pr 11²¹, 15¹, ψ 52⁵, Ezr 9⁶.—S. R. D.]

Page 111, line 12, *for* הַרְהוּה read הַרְהוּה.

Page 123, § 45 *e.* *add*: cf. also לְהַפְכָה followed by אַחַת, Is 13¹⁹, Am 4¹¹ (§ 115 *d*).

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

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

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

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

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

Page 200, § 72 *z*, line 2, after Est 2¹⁸ add 4¹⁴.

Page 232, § 84^a *s*, add שִׁמְמָה 2 S 13²⁰.

Page 236, § 85 *c*, add הַיְנוּקָה Ezr 4²².

Page 273, § 93 *qq* end, add מוֹסְרוֹת Jer 5⁵, שְׁלֵשִׁים, רַבָּעִים Ez 20⁵, שִׁמְמוֹת Is 49⁸, שִׁמְמִים La 1¹⁶ (cf. König, ii. 109).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS | viii |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | x |
| TABLE OF EARLY SEMITIC ALPHABETS | |
| SILOAM INSCRIPTION | |

INTRODUCTION

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| § 1. | The Semitic Languages in General | 1 |
| § 2. | Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language | 8 |
| § 3. | Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language | 17 |
| § 4. | Division and Arrangement of the Grammar | 22 |

FIRST PART

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES, OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

CHAPTER I. THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

| | | |
|-------|--|----|
| § 5. | The Consonants: their Forms and Names | 24 |
| § 6. | Pronunciation and Division of Consonants | 31 |
| § 7. | The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs | 35 |
| § 8. | The Vowel Signs in particular | 39 |
| § 9. | Character of the several Vowels | 45 |
| § 10. | The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (Š°wâ) | 51 |
| § 11. | Other Signs which affect the Reading | 54 |
| § 12. | Dageš in general, and Dageš forte in particular | 55 |
| § 13. | Dageš lene | 56 |
| § 14. | Mappiq and Rāphè | 56 |
| § 15. | The Accents | 57 |
| § 16. | Of Maqqēph and Mēthēg | 63 |
| § 17. | Of the Qērē and Kēthībh. Masora marginalis and finalis | 65 |

CHAPTER II. PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

| | | |
|-------|--|----|
| § 18. | In general | 68 |
| § 19. | Changes of Consonants | 68 |
| § 20. | The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants | 70 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 21. The Aspiration of the Tenuis | 75 |
| § 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals | 76 |
| § 23. The Feebleness of the Gutturals \aleph and η | 79 |
| § 24. Changes of the Weak Letters \beth and \daleth | 82 |
| § 25. Unchangeable Vowels | 84 |
| § 26. Syllable-formation and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels | 85 |
| § 27. The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity | 88 |
| § 28. The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables | 92 |
| § 29. The Tone, its Changes, and the Pause | 94 |

SECOND PART

ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

| | |
|---|-----|
| § 30. Stems and Roots; Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral | 99 |
| § 31. Grammatical Structure | 103 |

CHAPTER I. THE PRONOUN

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 32. The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun | 105 |
| § 33. Pronominal Suffices. | 108 |
| § 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun | 109 |
| § 35. The Article | 110 |
| § 36. The Relative Pronoun | 112 |
| § 37. The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns | 113 |

CHAPTER II. THE VERB

| | |
|---|-----|
| § 38. General View | 114 |
| § 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems | 114 |
| § 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion | 117 |
| § 41. Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb. | 118 |

I. The Strong Verb.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| § 42. In general. | 118 |
|---------------------------|-----|

A. The Pure Stem, or Qal.

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 43. Its Form and Meaning | 118 |
| § 44. Flexion of the Perfect of Qal | 119 |
| § 45. The Infinitive | 122 |
| § 46. The Imperative | 124 |
| § 47. The Imperfect and its Inflexion | 125 |
| § 48. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative | 129 |
| § 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive | 132 |
| § 50. The Participle | 136 |

B. *Verba Derivativa, or Derived Conjugations.*

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 51. Niph'al | 137 |
| § 52. Pi'el and Pu'al | 139 |
| § 53. Hiph'il and Hoph'al | 144 |
| § 54. Hithpa'el | 149 |
| § 55. Less Common Conjugations | 151 |
| § 56. Quadrilaterals | 153 |

C. *Strong Verb with Pronominal Suffixes.*

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 57. In general | 154 |
| § 58. The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb | 155 |
| § 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes | 158 |
| § 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes | 160 |
| § 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes | 162 |

Verbs with Gutturals.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| § 62. In general | 164 |
| § 63. Verbs First Guttural | 165 |
| § 64. Verbs Middle Guttural | 169 |
| § 65. Verbs Third Guttural | 171 |

II. **The Weak Verb.**

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 66. Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn (י"ד) | 173 |
| § 67. Verbs י"ע | 175 |

The Weakest Verbs (Verba Quiescentia).

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 68. Verbs נ"ד | 184 |
| § 69. Verbs ו"ד. First Class, or Verbs originally י"ד | 186 |
| § 70. Verbs ו"ד. Second Class, or Verbs properly ו"ד | 192 |
| § 71. Verbs ו"ד. Third Class, or Verbs with Yôdh assimilated | 193 |
| § 72. Verbs י"ע | 194 |
| § 73. Verbs middle <i>i</i> (vulgo י"ע) | 202 |
| § 74. Verbs נ"ב | 205 |
| § 75. Verbs ה"ב | 207 |
| § 76. Verbs Doubly Weak | 217 |
| § 77. Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another | 219 |
| § 78. Verba Defectiva | 219 |

CHAPTER III. THE NOUN

| | |
|---|-----|
| § 79. General View | 221 |
| § 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns | 222 |
| § 81. Derivation of Nouns | 225 |
| § 82. Primitive Nouns | 225 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 83. Verbal Nouns in General | 226 |
| § 84 ^a . Nouns derived from the Simple Stem | 227 |
| § 84 ^b . Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem | 233 |
| § 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Afformatives | 235 |
| § 86. Denominative Nouns | 239 |
| § 87. Of the Plural | 241 |
| § 88. Of the Dual | 244 |
| § 89. The Genitive and the Construct State | 247 |
| § 90. Real and supposed Remains of Early Case-endings | 248 |
| § 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes | 254 |
| § 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun | 260 |
| § 93. Paradigms of Masculine Nouns | 262 |
| § 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns | 275 |
| § 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns | 276 |
| § 96. Nouns of Peculiar Formation | 281 |
| § 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers | 286 |
| § 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers | 292 |

CHAPTER IV. THE PARTICLES

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 99. General View | 293 |
| § 100. Adverbs | 294 |
| § 101. Prepositions | 297 |
| § 102. Prefixed Prepositions | 298 |
| § 103. Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form | 300 |
| § 104. Conjunctions | 305 |
| § 105. Interjections | 307 |

THIRD PART

SYNTAX

CHAPTER I. THE PARTS OF SPEECH

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. Use of the Tenses and Moods.

| | |
|---|-----|
| § 106. Use of the Perfect | 309 |
| § 107. Use of the Imperfect | 313 |
| § 108. Use of the Cohortative | 319 |
| § 109. Use of the Jussive | 321 |
| § 110. The Imperative | 324 |
| § 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive | 326 |
| § 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive | 330 |

B. *The Infinitive and Participle.*

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 113. The Infinitive Absolute | 339 |
| § 114. The Infinitive Construct | 347 |
| § 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object | 352 |
| § 116. The Participles | 355 |

C. *The Government of the Verb.*

| | |
|---|-----|
| § 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative . . | 362 |
| § 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb . | 372 |
| § 119. The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions | 377 |
| § 120. Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb. Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas | 385 |
| § 121. Construction of Passive Verbs | 387 |

II. **Syntax of the Noun.**

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun | 389 |
| § 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words | 394 |
| § 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-Form | 396 |
| § 125. Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names | 401 |
| § 126. Determination by means of the Article | 404 |
| § 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive . | 410 |
| § 128. The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State | 414 |
| § 129. Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution | 419 |
| § 130. Wider Use of the Construct State | 421 |
| § 131. Apposition | 423 |
| § 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective | 427 |
| § 133. The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic expression of the Comparative and Superlative) | 429 |
| § 134. Syntax of the Numerals | 432 |

III. **Syntax of the Pronoun.**

| | |
|--|-----|
| § 135. The Personal Pronoun | 437 |
| § 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun | 442 |
| § 137. The Interrogative Pronoun | 443 |
| § 138. The Relative Pronoun | 444 |
| § 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives . | 447 |

CHAPTER II. THE SENTENCE

I. The Sentence in General.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| § 140. Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence | 450 |
| § 141. The Noun-clause | 451 |
| § 142. The Verbal-clause | 455 |
| § 143. The Compound Sentence | 457 |
| § 144. Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject (especially in the Verbal-clause) | 459 |
| § 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number | 462 |
| § 146. Construction of Compound Subjects | 467 |
| § 147. Incomplete Sentences | 469 |

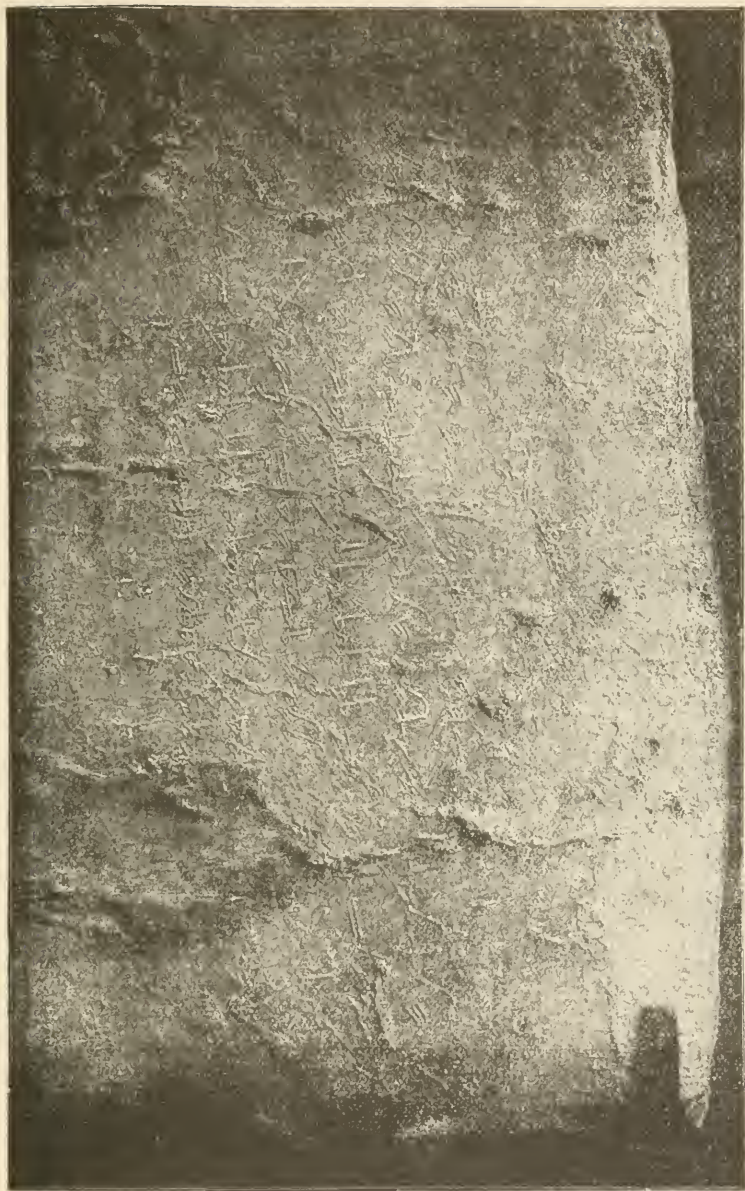
II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

| | |
|---|-----|
| § 148. Exclamations | 471 |
| § 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration | 471 |
| § 150. Interrogative Sentences | 473 |
| § 151. Desiderative Sentences | 476 |
| § 152. Negative Sentences | 478 |
| § 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses | 483 |
| § 154. Sentences connected by Wāw | 484 |
| § 155. Relative Clauses | 485 |
| § 156. Circumstantial Clauses | 489 |
| § 157. Object-clauses (Oratio Obliqua) | 491 |
| § 158. Causal Clauses | 492 |
| § 159. Conditional Sentences | 493 |
| § 160. Concessive Clauses | 498 |
| § 161. Comparative Clauses | 499 |
| § 162. Disjunctive Sentences | 500 |
| § 163. Adversative and Exceptive Clauses | 500 |
| § 164. Temporal Clauses | 501 |
| § 165. Final Clauses | 503 |
| § 166. Consecutive Clauses | 504 |
| § 167. Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences | 505 |
| PARADIGMS | 507 |
| INDEX OF SUBJECTS | 533 |
| INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS | 544 |
| INDEX OF PASSAGES | 565 |

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[תם . הנקבה . זזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד
 הנרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . להנקב] . קל . אש . ק .
 רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . זדה . בצר . מימן ובים . ה .
 נקבה . הכו . ההצבס . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . על . גרזן . וילכו
 המים . מן . המוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומ(א)
 ת . אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . ההצב[ם]

Rem.—Line 1 probably began with תם, cf. § 145 o, since there is hardly room for תָּמָה.
 Line 2. The reading לקבת is supported by the fact that a trace of the top of the p is visible; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53. The next word was probably, as P. Haupt suggests, the imperf. consec. Qal or Niphal.
 Line 3. זדה, not found in the Old Testament, most probably means a *cleft, crack*, but the etymology and consequently the pronunciation of it [זדה?] are still doubtful.



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

HEBREW GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

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

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of languages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic*¹ *languages* (based upon the fact that according to Gn 10²¹ ff. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.²

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

² From Shem are derived (Gn 10²¹ ff.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6-15 ff.), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10²²) is included among the sons of Shem.

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided¹ as follows:—

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

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

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraean, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee'.² This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gn 31⁴⁷, by the verse Jer 10¹¹, and the sections Dn 2⁴ to 7²⁸; Ezr 4⁸ to 6¹⁸, and 7¹²⁻²⁶, as well as by a number of non-Jewish inscriptions and Jewish papyri (see below, under *m*), but especially by a considerable section of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

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

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

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

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

² In a wider sense *all* Jewish Aramaic is sometimes called 'Chaldee'.

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

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

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

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic² since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, as well as Gothic and the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see Erman, 'Das Verhältnis des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,' in the *ZDMG.* xlvī, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a 1. The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית) γλώσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19¹⁸ the term *language of Canaan*,¹ and יְהוּדִית in *the Jews' language* 2 K 18^{26,28} (cf. Is 36^{11,13}) Neh 13²⁴. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews, Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names *Hebrew* (עִבְרִים 'Εβραῖοι) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40¹⁵, Ex 28^{f.} 3¹⁸ &c., Jon 1⁹) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn 39^{14,17} 41¹² &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14¹³ 43³², Ex 2^{11,13} 21²). In 1 S 13^{3,7} and 14²¹ the text is clearly corrupt. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name Ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei,² &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentile עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֵבֶר a country on the other side with the derivative suffix י־ (§ 86 h) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the 'eber, i. e. the district on the other side of the Jordan (or according to others the Euphrates), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Jordan or Euphrates. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of the river in question it had been retained by the Abrahamidae as an old-established name, and within certain limits

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

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

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10²¹ (Nu 24²⁴ does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn 11¹⁴ ff. and 10²⁵ ff. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentile 'ibri exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a considerably larger group of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.¹

The term ἑβραϊστί is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue C to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B. C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9¹¹. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5², 10¹³⁻¹⁷ perhaps also in 19²⁰ and Rv 16¹⁶ to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression ἑβραῖς διὰλεκτος in Acts 21⁴⁰, 22², and 26¹⁴ is doubtful (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 f.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

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

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the *d* Phoenician inscriptions; see below, *f-h*), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibón (now Dibân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Méša' (about 850 B. C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K 3⁴ ff.), his buildings, and other matters.² Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

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

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

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.¹) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) about forty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names²; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince Simon (from 'the 2nd year of deliverance', 140 and 139 B.C.) and his successors,³ and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

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

f To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician⁴ stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and meaning which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. מְלִי־יָרָק, קְרִית־מִסְרָ, &c.;

¹ Of this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—referring to the boring of the tunnel, a facsimile is given at the beginning of this grammar. See also Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. 105, 163, 439 (bibliography, p. 56 ff.; facsimile, vol. ii, plate xxi, 1); on the new drawing of it by Socin (*ZDPV*, xxii. p. 61 ff. and separately published at Freiburg i. B. 1899), see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53 ff. and 310 f. (text in *Altsemit. Texte*, p. 9 f.). Against the view of A. Fischer (*ZDMG*, 1902, p. 800 f.) that the six lines are the continuation of an inscription which was never executed, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 71. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process. It has since been well restored, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name יְשַׁלְּחֵם (i. e. *emissio*) Is⁶ refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B. C. [Cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Variations from Hebrew in Phoenician orthography and inflection are, *h* e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 b), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צדן for צידון *צידונים* for כהנים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *atonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 b) as well as א (*ô*), the relative אש (Hebr. אִשָּׁר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *i* was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שִׁפֵּט *sûfêt* (judge), שָׁלוֹשׁ *sâlûs* (three), רִישׁ *rûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. הַיְנִי *ynnymnu* (ecce eum), אַת (אית) *yth*; the *ç* as *o*, e.g. מֹעָר *Mocar* (cf. מַעְבָּה LXX, Gn 22²⁴ Μαχα). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoenicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniz. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

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

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

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

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

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms¹ so far as they can be ascertained and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language.¹

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.

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

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

Hebrew poetry, as distinguished from the quantitative Classical and Arabic

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 K 18²⁶ (Is 36¹¹).

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

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

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

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15¹⁻¹⁹; Dt 32¹⁻⁴³; Ju 5; 1 S 2¹⁻¹⁰; 2 S 22, 23¹⁻⁷; ψ 18, 136; Pr. 31¹⁰⁻³¹; 1 Ch 16⁸⁻³⁶; cf. also Jo 12⁹⁻²⁴; Ec 3²⁻⁸; Est 9⁷⁻¹⁰) has nothing to do with the question of metre in the above sense.

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

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

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

t 7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least understood by the people.¹ 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 8⁸, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

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

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

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

טָעָה *stray*, רֹקֵץ *rock*, מִלֵּךְ *advise*, סוֹף = קֵץ *end*, לָקַח = תָּקַח *take*, רָצַץ = רָצַץ *break*, שָׂנְאִים *be many*, מִלְּךָ = שָׁלַט *rule*, תָּקַח = חָזַק *be strong*.—Later meanings are, e. g. אָמַר (to say) *to command*; עָנָה (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of ו and י, e. g. דְּוִיָּד¹ (elsewhere דְּוִד), even קִרְוֶשׁ for קִרְוֶשׁ, רֹב for רֵב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ו, וּ, וַח, &c. Cf. Dav. Strauss, *Sprachl. Studien zu d. hebr. Sirachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900, p. 19 ff.; for the Psalms Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., and especially Giesebrecht in *ZAW*, 1881, p. 276 ff.; in general, Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (i, Lexikal. Teil), Halle, 1902.

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

Rem. 1. Of dialectical varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one ^w express mention occurs in the O. T. (Ju 12⁶), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ש as ס. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW*, 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13²⁴ by the *speech of Ashdod* a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect is intended, cannot be determined. On the other hand, many peculiarities in the North Palestinian books (Judges and Hosea) are probably to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some anomalies in the Moabite inscription of Mēša' (see above, d). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwicklung seit Abschluss des Kanons u. ihr Bau in d. Gegenwart*, Jerusalem, 1906.

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

§ 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.

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

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

¹ דְּוִיָּד in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3⁵, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masorettes.

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

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

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

¹ On the name *Masora* (or *Massora*, as e. g. E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 ff.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 ff.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, cf. De Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, i. 91 ff. W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *JQR.* 1891, p. 785 ff.; so also C. Levias in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 147 ff.) from Ez 20³⁷ (מַסְרַת הַבְּרִית; מַסְרָה, i. e. מוֹסְרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מַסְרָה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מַסְרַת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מַסְרֶת (*JQR.* xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l. c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מַסְרָה is equivalent to orthography, i. e. *plene-* and *defective* writing, and only later came to mean *traditio*.—G. Wildboer, in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 74, contends that as מַסְרָה to hand on is not found in the O. T., it must be a late denominative in this sense.

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

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

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

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

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

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

e 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522),² 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 century³ the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der Hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly aimed at referring linguistic forms to general laws and rationally explaining the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861) who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (*Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* ed. by F. Mühlau, 2 vols., Lpz. 1866–8) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew

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

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

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

alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted a strictly scientific method in endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity. E. König¹ in his very thorough researches into the phonology and accentuation starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions. The syntax König has 'endeavoured to treat in several respects in such a way as to show its affinity to the common Semitic syntax'.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention may be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853-69).

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

Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. has suffered to a much greater extent than former scholars were inclined to admit, in spite of the number of variants in parallel passages: Is 2^{2^{ff.}} = Mi 4^{1^{ff.}}, Is 36-39 = 2 K 18¹³⁻²⁰¹⁹, Jer 52 = 2 K 24¹⁸⁻²⁵³⁰, 2 S 22 = ψ 18, ψ 14 = ψ 53, ψ 40^{14^{ff.}} = ψ 70, ψ 108 = ψ 57^{8^{ff.}} and 60^{7^{ff.}}. Cf. also the parallels between the Chronicles and the older historical books, and F. Vodel, *Die konsonant. Varianten in den doppelt überlief. poet. Stücken d. masoret. Textes*, Lpz. 1905. As to the extent and causes of the corruption of the Masoretic text, the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus are very instructive; cf. Smend, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 763.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FIRST PART

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

CHAPTER I

THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

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

(Cf. the Table of Alphabets.)

Among the abundant literature on the subject, special attention is directed to: A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern*, PRE³, Lpz. 1906, p. 766 ff.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*², Tübingen, 1907, p. 172 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. 279 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, i. 173 ff.; also his art. 'Hebrew Alphabet,' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 1901, p. 439 ff. (cf. his *Ephemeris*, i. 316 ff.); and 'Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben', in *Ephemeris*, ii. 125 ff.; Kenyon, art. 'Writing,' in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. Edinb. 1902, p. 944 ff.; Nöldeke, 'Die semit. Buchstabennamen,' in *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 124 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den Ursprung des kanaän. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906; H. Grimme, 'Zur Genesis des semit. Alphabets,' in *ZA.* xx. 1907, p. 49 ff.; R. Stübe, *Grundlinien zu einer Entwickelungsgesch. d. Schrift*, Munich, 1907; Jermain, *In the path of the Alphabet*, Fort Wayne, 1907.—L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, dc., Strassb. 1902; and his 'Ueber d. Einfluss d. althebr. Buchwesens auf d. Originale', &c., in *Festschr. zu Ehren A. Berliners*, Frkf. 1903.

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

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

Old Hebrew (or *Old Canaanitish*)² writing, as it was used on

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

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

public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and in the second half of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of Mēša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Macca-baeen coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 d). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 k, § 2 f, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually¹ (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaic, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, that of 'Arâq al-Emir (15½ miles north-east of the mouth of the Jordan) probably belongs to 183 B.C.²

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

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

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

² Not 176, as formerly held. Driver and Lidzbarski now read ערביה, correctly, not כוביה.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The usual explanation of the present names of the letters ⁵ is: $\text{א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת}$ *ox, f*

¹ In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order, מִן-צִפְרֵי of *thy watcher*, i. e. *prophet*. See the discussions of this mnemonic word by Nestle, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 119 ff., König, Bacher (who would read מִן-צִפְרֵי = *proceeding from thy prophets*, Is 52⁸), Krauss, Marmorstein, *ibid.* p. 278 ff. All the twenty-two letters, together with the five final forms, occur in *Zp* 3⁸.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess early evidence in the alphabetic¹ h poems: ψ 9 (\aleph - \beth , cf. ψ 10¹ \beth , and $\nu\nu$ ¹²⁻¹⁷ p - p ; cf. Gray in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 233 ff., and Rosenthal, *ZAW*. 1896, p. 40, who shows that ψ 9^{3.15-17} \beth , \beth , \beth exactly fit in between p , \beth , \beth , and that ψ 10^{1-3.5} therefore has the reverse order \beth , \beth , \beth); also $\psi\psi$ 25 and 34 (both without a separate p -verse and with D repeated at the end²); 37, 111, 112, 119 (in which every eight verses begin with the same letter, each strophe, as discovered by D. H. Müller of Vienna, containing the eight leading words of ψ 19⁸ \aleph , tôrâ , edûth , &c.); La 1-4 (in 2-4 D before y ³, in chap. 3 every three verses with the same initial, see Löhr, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 1 ff., in chap. 5 at any rate as many verses as letters in the alphabet); Pr 24^{1-3.5}, 31¹⁰⁻³¹ (in the LXX with D before y ³); also in Na 12-10 Pastor Frohnmeyer of Württemberg (ob. 1880) detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement, but the attempt of Gunkel, Bickell, Arnold (*ZAW*. 1901,

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

² On this superfluous D cf. Grimme, *Euphemistic liturgical appendices*, Lpz. 1901, p. 8 ff., and Nestle, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 340 f., who considers it an appendage to the Greek alphabet.

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

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces, has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the Century Bible, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Ecclus 51¹³⁻³⁰, with the omission of the γ -verse and with \mathfrak{D}^1 at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from \mathfrak{L} to \mathfrak{L} is partly disturbed or obscured. If γ before \mathfrak{L} is deleted, ten letters are in their right positions, and seven can be restored to their places with certainty. Cf. N. Schlögl, *ZDMG.* 53, 669 ff.; C. Taylor in the appendix to Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. 1899, p. lxxvi ff., and in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xxx (1906), p. 95 ff.; *JQR.* 1905, p. 238 ff.; Löhr, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 183 ff.; I. Lévy, *REJ.* 1907, p. 62 ff.

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

i The order, names, and numerical values of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters A to 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.

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

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

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

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

¹ See note 3 on p. 29.

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

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

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

5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the O. T. text, which are already mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The 15 *puncta extraordinaria*, about which the tradition (from Siphri on Nu 9¹⁰ onwards) differs considerably, even as to their number; on particular consonants, Gn 16⁵, 18⁹, 19³³⁻³⁵, Nu 9¹⁰; or on whole words, Gn 33⁴, 37¹², Nu 3³⁹, 21³⁰, 29¹⁵, Dt 29²⁸, 2 S 19²⁰, Is 44⁹, Ez 41²⁰, 46²², ψ 27¹³,—all no doubt critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 ff.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 ff., and *Einleitung in die hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; Königsberger, *Jüd. Lit.-Blatt*, 1891, nos. 29-31, and *Aus Masorah u. Talmudkritik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 6 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* 30 (1895), no. 59; and especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 318 ff.; also on the ten points found in the Pentateuch, see Butin (Baltimore, 1906), who considers that they are as old as the Christian era and probably mark a letter, &c., to be deleted. (2) The *literae majusculae* (e. g. ב Gn 1¹, ו Lv 11⁴² as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Nu 14¹⁷), and *minusculae* (e. g. ה Gn 2⁴). (3) The *literae suspensae* (Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 334 ff.) נ Ju 18³⁰ (which points to the reading מִשָּׁה for מִנְשָׁה), ע ψ 8c¹⁴ (the middle of the Psalms¹) and Jb 38¹³⁻¹⁵. (4) The 'mutilated' *Wāw* in שְׁלוֹם Nu 25¹², and ק Ex 32²⁵ (בַּקְמִיּהָם), and Nu 7² (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבָּה Is 9⁶, and *Mēm apertum* in פְּרוּצִים Neh 2¹³. (6) *Nūn inversum* before Nu 1c³⁵, and after ver. 36, as also before ψ 107²³⁻²³ and 40; according to Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 341 ff., a sort of bracket to indicate that the verses are out of place; cf. Krauss, *ZAW.* 1902, p. 57 ff., who regards the inverted *Nūns* as an imitation of the Greek obelus.

§ 6. *Pronunciation and Division of Consonants.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The original difference between the sounds שׁ and ם sometimes marks *h* a distinction in meaning, e. g. סָבַר to close, שָׂכַר to hire, סָבַל to be foolish, שָׂבַל to be prudent, to be wise. Syriac always represents both sounds by ם, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָבַר for שָׂכַר to hire, Ezr 4⁵; שָׂבִלּוֹת for סָבִלּוֹת *folly*, Ec 1¹⁷.

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

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

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

בּ נ ד כ פ ת (בְּנִדְכַפְתּוֹ)

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

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

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

k, p, t, or initial *b, g* (hard), *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*.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. כ *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, ק *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphè* (§ 14 e), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of כ, ב, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: כ κ, כ χ; פ π, פ φ; ת τ, ת θ. In the same way ג should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage, Wagen*, and ד like *th* in *the*, as distinguished from ג and ד.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *au* where the Hebrew form has *e* or *o*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *au* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT.*, on 1 Ch 1²⁻²⁰.

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

b 2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (ה, ו, י; א), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (cf. § 1 k), must in the main have passed through the following stages² :—

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

c According to § 91 b and d, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הוּ. But in the places where this הוּ with a preceding *a* is contracted into \acute{o} (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g. סוּתָהּ, עֵירָהּ Gn 49¹¹, cf. § 91 e; so throughout the Mēša' inscription אֲרִצָּהּ, בֵּיתָהּ (also בֵּיתָהּ), בְּנָהּ, בָּהּ, לָהּ, הַלְתַּחַמָּהּ; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רֵעוּ.⁴ מֵשָׁא' l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also רֵשָׁהּ l. 20 if it is for ראשֵׁיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read אֲרִצָּהּ (l. 6), וְאֲסַחְבָּהּ (l. 12 f.) and וַיִּגְרִשָּׁהּ (l. 19).

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

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 Cf. especially Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 ff.

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

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

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

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

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as in the Mēša' inscr.) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus אש, חצבם, חצבן, מימן (or מימן); אמת, קל, שלש, צר. On the other hand מוצא (from *mauša'*), עור (from *'aud*); מימן also, if it is to be read מימן, is an instance of the retention of a י which has coalesced with *i* into *i*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal א as a vowel letter are מאתים, מוצא, and קרא, as also ראש. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by ה: אמה, היה, זרה, נקבה, וזה. To this ם alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on יום, § 96), instead of יום (Arab. *yaum*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, ריבן (= *Daibōn*, as the *Δαιβών* of the LXX proves), הורבן (*ô* from *au*), and ביתה (*ê* from *ai*), but also even השעני instead of הושעני (from *haus-*), וואשיב=ואשב, four times, ביתה once, בית and ביתה (from *bait*); לילה=לילה, אן=אן or אין.

¹ Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. I, l. 3 שנבני = שני בני the two sons; elsewhere כ for פי (but כי in the Mēša' and Siloam inscr.), ו for וה (the latter in the Siloam inscr.), בנת = בנתי (so Mēša') or בניתי, &c. Cf. on the other hand in Mēša', אנכי = אנכי (unless it was actually pronounced *'anōkh* by the Moabites!). As final *ā* is represented by ה and א and final *i* by י, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by ו in Mēša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially ו and י) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia הוּי in der althebr. Orthogr.', in *Travaux du Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

² השעני is the more strange since the name of king הושע is represented as *A-u si'* in cuneiform as late as 728 B.C.

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

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

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

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

the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation.¹

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

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

§ 8. *The Vowel Signs in particular.*

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

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

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

Preliminary Remark.

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

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

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

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

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

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

First Class. A-sound.

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

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 f.), *Pathah* with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameš* as $\bar{ä}$. Cf. also Ginsburg, *Intro.*, p. 609.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ These *S^egôls*, modified from *ǎ*, are very frequent in the language. The

d The names of the vowels are mostly taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פִּתַח opening; צִיָּרִי a wide parting (of the mouth), also שִׁבְרָה (= *v*) breaking, parting (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); הֵיָרֵק (also הֵרֵק) narrow opening; הוֹלָם closing, according to others fullness, i. e. of the mouth (also מְלֵא פִּים¹ fullness of the mouth). קָמִין² also denotes a slighter, as שׁוֹרֵק and קְבוּץ (also קְבוּץ פִּים) a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth. *S^egöl* (סְגוּלָה bunch of grapes) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדוֹת (three points) is another name for Qibbûs.

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

f 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly under the consonant, after which it is to be pronounced, רַ *rā*, רֶ *rā*, רֵ *rē*, רִ *rē*, רֹ *rū*, &c. The *Pathah* called *furtivum* (§ 22 f) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced before the consonant, רִיחַ *rū^aḥ* (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 בֹּאֵן, רֹאשׁ; but e. g. בֹּאֵם, since א here begins a syllable.

g No dot is used for the Holem when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *sin* or before *šin*. Hence שִׁנָּה *šōnē* (hating), נִשָּׂא *n^ešō* (to bear), מוֹשֶׁה *mōšē* (not מוֹשֶׁה); but שׂוֹמֵר *šōmēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *sin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e. g. יִרְפֹּשׂ *yirpōš* (he treads with the feet), הַנְּשִׂאִים *hannōš^eim* (those who carry).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

י may be combined with *Hirēq*, *Ṣērē*, *S^egôl* (יְ, יִ, יֶ).

י with *Šārēq* and *Hōlēṃ* (יִ and יֶ).¹

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

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

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

k So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *u*, *o*, *o*, *i*, *e*, *e*, as well as for *e* in חָזֶה &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *a*, *ā* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. מְלִכִי, יְדִי, קְטָלְתִּי, קְטָלְתִּי. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26⁶, 44⁹; Ezr 6²¹; 2 Ch 32¹³ גּוֹיִי instead of גּוֹיִי; Zp 2⁹ גּוֹיִי [perhaps an error due to the following י] for גּוֹיִי; Is 40²¹ יְקוּיִי [followed by י] for יְקוּיִי; Jer 38¹¹ בְּלוֹיִי (בְּלוֹיִי). On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e.g. גּוֹיִם (*nations*) for גּוֹיִים, מְצֻוֹת (*commandments*) for מְצֻוֹת.

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 g), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הִקְיִמוּתִי Ez 16⁶⁰: הִקְמַתִּי and also הִקְמוּתִי Jer 23⁴; cf. § 25 b. Only it may be observed,

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

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

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

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*).

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

agrees with the vocalic character of ו and י (§ 5 b, note 2). Thus such words as וי, ין, יג, יישׁוּ, יג, ין, יג are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom¹ as *vāv*, *hay*, *gōy*, *'āsūy*, *gēv*, *bayith* (or even as *vaf*, &c.; cf. modern Greek *av af*, *ev ef* for *av*, *ev*), but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu*, *hai*, &c. The sound of וֹ is the same as וֹ, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וֹ is often written defectively for וֹ.

§ 9. Character of the several Vowels.

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

I. First Class. A-sound.

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

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

The writing of חֹלָהּ Ho 10¹⁴ for חֹלָהּ would only be justifiable, if the *ā* *b* of this form were to be explained as a contraction of *āā*; cf. however § 72 a; חֹלָהּ Neh 13¹⁶ for חֹלָהּ (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect.—The rarity of the *ā* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ō*; see below, q.

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

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

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

³ In Arabic this *ā* is always retained in an open syllable.

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

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

On וֹ for \check{o} see below, *f*.

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

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

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

ִּיָּ from יָּן (*give*), יָּצִירִי (*thy creator*) from יָּצַר, or in the case discussed in § 93 o, חִלְקִי, עֲרִי from the ground-forms *hilq*, *'izr*; cf. also § 64 f. *Seḡôl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סִפְרָה for *siphra*, יָּגִל for *yigl* (§ 28 e).

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

n 9. For the U-sound there is—

(1) the long *û*, either (a) written fully, וֹ *Šureq*, e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (b) defectively written — *Qibbûs* גְּבוּלוֹ, יִמְתָּן;

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

O Sometimes also *û* in a sharpened syllable is written וֹ, e.g. הַיְבֵקָה ψ 102⁵, יִבְלָה Jb 5⁷, בּוֹלָם Jer. 31³⁴, מְשׁוּבְתוֹ Is 5⁵, עֲרוּמִים Gn 22⁵ for הַבְּקָה, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write o, e.g. עֲרִלָּם 'Οδολλάμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *û* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by ε, e.g. אֶמְרָה = 'Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbûs* like the German *û*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *û* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine¹; cf. the Turkish *bûlbûl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyâ* in Syria as *dûnyâ*.

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

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

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

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

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 f.

² Cf. above, b, end. On Jerome's transliteration of *o* for *â*, see ZAW. 1884, p. 75.

laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. שִׁבְרָה (ground-form *qūḏš*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְרָה for *burrakh*, בִּרְרָה־יִשְׂרָאֵל ψ 104²³, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; יִשְׂרָאֵל־יְהוּדִים, יִשְׂרָאֵל־יְהוּדִים. But the original *ö* (*ü*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *šewâ*. Cf. אֵל *all*, but אֵל־כֹּל (*köl*), אֵל־לָמַד (*küllām*); אֵל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֵל־יִשְׂרָאֵל and אֵל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, where original *ü* is weakened to *šewâ*: *yiqi^{el}ü*, Arab. *yaqtülü*. This tone-long *ö* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) — *Qameš-ḥaṭuph* represents *ö* (properly *ä*, cf. § 8 a, note 2) modified from *ü* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *Segól* of the second class to *Sere*, אֵל־כֹּל, אֵל־יִשְׂרָאֵל *wayyāqōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameš*, see below, *u*.

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

| First Class : A. | Second Class : I and E. | Third Class : U and O. |
|--|---|---|
| — original <i>ā</i> (Arabic אֵ־ —). | אֵ־ <i>ē</i> , from original <i>ay</i> (<i>ai</i>). אֵ־ or — long <i>i</i> . | אִ־ <i>ō</i> , from original <i>aw</i> (<i>au</i>). אִ־ or — <i>ō</i> obscured from <i>ā</i> . אִ־ or — <i>ū</i> . |
| — tone-long <i>ā</i> (from original <i>ä</i>) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it. | — tone-long <i>ē</i> (from <i>i</i>) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it. | — tone-long <i>ō</i> (from original <i>ü</i>) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable. |
| — (as a modification of <i>ä</i>) sometimes a tone-long <i>ē</i> , sometimes <i>ē</i> . — short <i>ä</i> . [— <i>i</i> attenuated from <i>ä</i> ; see <i>h</i> .] Utmost weakening to אֵ־ ^a , אֵ־ ^ē , אֵ־ ^e . | — <i>ē</i> . — short <i>i</i> . Utmost weakening to אֵ־ ^a , אֵ־ ^ē , or אֵ־ ^e . | — <i>ō</i> , modified from <i>ü</i> . — short <i>ü</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable. Utmost weakening to אִ־ ^a , אִ־ ^ē , אִ־ ^o , or אִ־ ^e . |

Rem. On the distinction between *Qameš* and *Qameš-ḥaṭuph*.¹

21

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

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

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

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

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

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e.g. חַנּוּנְנִי *hōnnēni* (have mercy upon me); but חַנּוּנִי (with *Metheg*, § 16 f ζ) *bāttim*.

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

In ψ 35¹⁰ and Pr 19⁷ *Maqqēph* with כֹּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Mer'kha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19⁵ with עָרַב , and Ez 37⁸ with וַיִּקְרָם (so Baer after Qimḥi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel וַיִּקְרָם).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיָּקֶם *wayyáqōm* (and he stood up).—In the cases where \acute{a} or \bar{a} in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a) and yet remains, e.g. בְּרַב־הַדָּת Est 4⁸, שֵׁת־לִי Gn 4²⁵, it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

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

U 2. The cases in which ֿ appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as \ddot{o} require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Hateph-Qameš* follows, e.g. פְּעָלוֹ *his work*, or simple vocal *Šewá*, e.g. רָבֵן *ox goad*; בְּעֶבְרוֹ Jo 4⁷; שְׁמֵרָה (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) *preserve* ψ 86², cf. 16¹ and the cases mentioned in § 48 i, n., and § 61 f, n.; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14¹⁶); *Hateph-Pathah* follows in לְמַשְׁחֵךְ (so Ginsburg; Baer לְמַשְׁחֵךְ) 1 S 15¹, לְהַרְגֵהוּ 24¹¹, and יַפְנֹשֶׁךְ (so Baer, Gn 32¹⁸, others יַפְנֹשֶׁךְ); (b) before another *Qameš-haṭuph*, e.g. פְּעָלֶיךָ *thy work*; on אֲרָה־לִי and קְבַה־לִי Nu 23⁷, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קָדַשׁ and שָׂרַשׁ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the ֿ as indicating a *Qameš raḥabh* (broad *Qameš*) and therefore read the ֿ as \bar{a} ; thus *pā-^olō*, *dā-^rēbān*, *pā-^ēl^lkhā*, *qā-dāšim*. But neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor the transcription of proper names in the

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

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qames̄ is here used loosely for \ddot{a} , as the equivalent of \bar{o} , on the analogy of לְעֵלָּי &c., § 93 g. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read $p\ddot{o}'\text{-l}\ddot{o}$ (for $p\ddot{o}'\text{-l}\ddot{o}$), $p\ddot{o}'\ddot{o}\text{-l}'k\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$, $q\ddot{o}\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\text{-}\ddot{s}\ddot{i}n$.—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into \bar{a} in $\text{בְּרִי־רִיבְרִיבְרִי}$ (Ex 11⁸), although it is so in בְּרִיבְרִיבְרִי $\ddot{a}\text{-}^{\circ}ni$ (in the navy), since here the \bar{a} of the article appears under the ב .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c The sound *ē* has been adopted as the normal transcription of simple *Š^ewā* mobile, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by *ε*, or even by *η*, ἀλληλοῦία, more frequently by *α*, ἀλλοῦία, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e. g. סָרַם סόδομα, שָׁלַח שολομών (as well as Σαλωμών), צָבָה צαβαθ, נָתַן נαθανάη.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Š^ewā* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages.²

How the *Š^ewā* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e. g. in בָּרָהַב from *bārākhā*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. In that language the full short vowel regularly corresponds to the Hebrew *Š^ewā* mobile.

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

(—) *Hâṭēph-Páthāh*, e. g. מוֹר ה^אmôr, ass.

(—) *Hâṭēph-S^gôl*, e. g. מוֹר 'emôr, to say.

(—) *Hâṭēph-Qāmēs*, e. g. מוֹר ה^וli, sickness.

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

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

g Rem. A. Only — and — occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Hâṭef-Pathāh* is found instead of simple *Š^ewā* (especially *Š^ewā* mobile), chiefly (a) under strengthened consonants, since this strengthening (commonly called doubling) causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Š^ewā* mobile, מוֹר בָּרָהַב branches, Zc 4¹². According to the rule given by Ben-Asher (which, however, appears to be unknown to good early MSS. and is therefore rejected by Ginsburg, *Intro.*, p. 466; cf. Foote, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, June 1903,

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

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

p. 71 f.), the *Ḥateph* is necessary¹ when, in a strengthened medial consonant with *Šwā* (consequently not in cases like וַיְהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the strengthening (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e. g. הַלְלוּ (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הַלְלוּ) *praise ye!* וְתִאֲלָצוּהוּ Ju 16¹⁶; no less universally, where after a consonant with *Šwā* the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *Metheg* always preceding), e. g. סוּרְרִים ψ 68¹; קָלְלֵתָּךְ (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלֵי) Gn 27¹³ (but not without exceptions, e. g. חֲקִיקֵי Ju 5¹⁵, Is 10¹; צִלְלֵי Jer 6⁴, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנוּ *behold us*; on ק before the suffix ה, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Rēš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e. g. תִּאֲבָלְנָה Gn 3¹⁷; בְּרַכֵּי ψ 103¹; וְתִשְׂרְחֶהוּ 1 K 1⁴ (but וְתִבְרַכֵּנוּ ψ 72¹⁷, cf. Jer 4², 1 Ch 29²⁰, because the tone is thrown back on to the *ā*. After *ē* *Šwā* remains even before the tone, as בְּרַכֵּנוּ, &c.; but before *Maqqef* אֲבִלְכֶה-נָא Baer Ex 4¹⁸, 2 S 15⁷, Jer 40¹⁵, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. אֲבִלְ) ²; (b) under initial sibilants after ו copulative, e. g. וְנָהַב Gn 2¹²; cf. Jer 48²⁰; וְסַחַר Is 45¹⁴; וְיִשְׂרָה Lv 25³⁴; וְיִשְׂקָה Gn 27²⁶; וְיִשְׁמַע Nu 23¹⁸, Is 37¹⁷, Dn 9¹⁸, cf. Ju 5¹², 1 K 14²¹, 2 K 9¹⁷, Jb 14¹, Ec 9⁷—to emphasize the vocal character of the *Šwā*. For the same reason under the emphatic ט in הוֹטְלוּ Jer 22²⁸; cf. Jb 33²⁵; after *Qōph* in יִקְרָרְתִּי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. יִקְרָ) Ez 23⁴¹; וְיִרְבֶּ- ψ 55²²; cf. Jer. 32⁹; under *Rēš* in אֲרָה (ed. Mant. אֲרָ) Gn 18²¹; וְרָעַם ψ 28⁹; even under ת Ezr 26¹; under ב Est 2⁸; וְיִבְרַכֶּ so Jabl., Ginsb., but ed. Mant. וְיִבְרַךְ Dt 24¹³; (c) under sonants, sibilants or *Qōph* after י, e. g. יִצְחָק Gn 21⁶, cf. 30³⁸ and Ez 21²⁸ (under ק) וְאִמְרוּת ψ 12⁷; הַהֲמַלְוֶה Jer 22¹⁵; כְּנִרוֹת Jos 11²; בְּסִבְבָּה ψ 74⁵,—for the same reason as the cases under *b*³; according to Baer also in שְׂפִמוֹת 1 S 30²⁸; יִפְנֶשֶׁךְ Gn 32¹⁸ after *ō* (cf. § 9 v), as well as after *a* in הַקְּשִׁיבָה Dn 9¹⁹; הַבְּרָכָה Gn 27³⁸; הַמְצַרְעִים 2 K 7⁸.

B. The *Ḥateph-Qameš* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, ^h and stands more frequently for a simple *Šwā mobile* when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e. g. at the beginning, in רְאִי (ground-form *rū'y*) *vision* (cf. § 93 z); בְּנִיָּהוּ 2 Ch 31¹², &c., *Q'ré* (*K'eth.* 'בונג') *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11¹ (sing. עֲמוֹנִית); יִרְדְּבָךְ for the usual יִרְדְּבָךְ Ez 35⁶, from יִרְדֶּה; תְּקַבְּנֵנוּ Nu 23²⁵, Jer 31³³, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a; קַרְקָרוּ *his pate* (from קַרְקָר) ψ 7¹⁷, &c.; אֲשַׁקְטָה Is 18⁴ *Q'erē*. Further, like —, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in לִקְחָה (for לִקְחָה) Gn 2²³. In this example, as in וְסַעְדָה 1 K 13⁷; וְסַעָה 2 K 7¹⁸; and וְצִעֲקֵי Jer 22²⁰, the *Ḥateph-Qameš* is no doubt due to the influence of the

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

² On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under *a*, see *Minḥat shay* (the Masoretic comm. in ed. Mant.) on Gn 12³ and Ju 7⁶.

³ Ben-Asher requires — for — (even for *Šwā quiescens*) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15⁵ בְּקִרְבֶּ- ψ 18⁷ אֲקָרָא; 49¹⁵ לְשִׂאוֹל; 65⁵ תִּבְחָר; 68²⁴ תִּמְחַח; Pr 3c¹⁷ תִּלְעַן; Jb 29²⁶ אֲבַחֵר; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 12⁷, note.

following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after ך in similar cases *Ha'ep̄h-Pathah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with לִקְהָה cf. also סָבְלוּ Is 9³, 10²⁷, 14²⁶, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šewā* immediately following.) In וַיִּטְהַר (*ú-!hór*) Jb 17⁹ it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In קָסְמוּ 1 S 28⁸ *Qéré*, the original form is קָסֹם , where again the \bar{o} represents an $\bar{ö}$. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נִקְרָאָה Est 2¹⁴; נִבְהָל Pr 28²²; נִסְרָהָה Jer 49⁷; אִפְשָׁעָה Is 27⁴; וַאֲשָׁעָה Dn 8¹³; וַשָּׁעָה ψ 39¹³; בַּסְעָרָה 2 K 2¹ (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); הַקְהָתִים 2 Ch 34¹² (ed. Mant., Opitius, &c. הִקְהָ). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (ך , ט , cf. also אֲלִקְטָה Ru 2²⁷), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

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

k However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šewā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šewā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. אָתָךְ 'att^o from 'attⁱ 'atti ('anti), קָטַלְתָּךְ from קָטַלְתִּיךְ (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאָתָךְ , after a vowel, Gn 16⁸, Mi 4¹⁰, &c., according to the readings of Baer), וַיִּשְׁבְּךְ *yišb* from וַיִּשְׁבֵּךְ , &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נָרְךְ borrowed from the Indian, as also in קֶשֶׁבְךְ (*qōšf*) Pr 22²¹; and in אַל־תוֹסֶרְךְ *ne addas* (for which we should expect תוֹסֶרְךְ) Pr 30⁶ the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

l Rem. The proper distinction between simple *Šewā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šewā* is always *mobile* (*a*) at the beginning of a word (except in שְׁתִּי , שְׁתִּי § 97 *b*, note); (*b*) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e.g. גִּיד־אֶפְהוּךְ ; (*c*) after another *Šewā*, e.g. יִקְטֹלְךְ *yiqt^olā* (except at the end of the word, see above, *i*). (2) *Šewā* is *quiescens* (*a*) at the end of a word, also in the ך ; (*b*) before another *Šewā*.

§ 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading.

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

¹ On יָתְךְ as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs יָתְךְ , see § 75 *m*.

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

§ 12. *Dageš in general*,¹ and *Dageš forte in particular*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- a 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the בְּגִבֻּרְכֶם letters (§ 6 n) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e. g. מֵלֶכְךָ *mèlèk̄h*, but מַלְכוֹ *ma'-kô*; תַּפְּרָר *tāphár*, but יִתְפַּר *yith-pôr*; שָׁתָה *šāthā*, but יִשְׁתֶּה *yis'-tè*.
- b 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted are stated in § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in אַפֵּי 'appê, רַבִּים *rabbîm* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַל *yigdal* it is *lene*.
- c A variety of the *Dageš lene* is used in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, though others (including Ginsburg in the first two cases, *Introd.*, pp. 121, 130, 603, 662) reject it together with the *Ḥatefs* discussed in § 10 g. It is inserted in consonants other than the *B'gadhaphath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (a) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g. בְּכַלְלֵי ψ 9², where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (b) in cases like מַחְסֵי ψ 62⁸ = *maḥ-sî* (not *māḥ^a-sî*); (c) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לֵל in the combination לֵל לֹ Dt 32⁵, or לֵל לֹ Hb 1⁶, 2⁶ &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38⁹); see also § 20 e and g.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonikum* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on ψ 94¹²); cf. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.
- d 3. When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *B'gadhaphath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e. g. אַפֵּי , from אַפֵּי .

§ 14. *Mappiq and Rāphè*.

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

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

2. In MSS. *Mappiq* is also found with \aleph , γ , ι , to mark them expressly as *d* consonants, e. g. \aleph (gōy), \aleph (qāw, qāu), for which ι is also used, as \aleph , &c. For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, letter \aleph , § 5 (also *Introd.*, pp. 557, 609, 637, 770), and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in the *Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, i. 1881, p. 136 ff. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to different schools, one of which appears to have intended that every audible \aleph should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with \aleph (\aleph or \aleph), Gn 43²⁶, Lv 23¹⁷, Ezr 8¹⁸ and Jb 33²¹ (\aleph); where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*). Cf. Delitzsch, *Hiob*, 2nd ed., p. 439 ff.

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

§ 15. The Accents.

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

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

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

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably (but see below, e) with the syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This is usually the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מְלִרָע i.e. accented below³), e.g. קָטָל *qātāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מְלֵעֵל, accented above), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Mèthëg* (cf. § .16). Examples such as יְהוָה נְעֻמָּה Is 50⁸ (cf. 40¹⁸, Ex 15⁸, Jb 12¹⁵, La 2¹⁶) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*.⁴

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

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 it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e.g. 'Athnāh as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1⁴); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1¹).

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

⁴ Cf. Delitzsch on Is 40¹⁸.

I. The Common Accents.

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

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).¹

1. (—) סִלּוּקִי Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (:), the verse-divider, e.g. : אֶרְצֵךְ.
2. (—) אֲתַנְחַת 'Athnâḥ or אֲתַנְחַתָּא 'Athnaḥtā (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגוֹלְתָא Segôltā, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâḥ (e.g. Gn I^{7.28}).
- 3 b. (|—) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalšêleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšêleth, distinguished by the following stroke² from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

¹ All the disjunctives occur in Is 39².—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מַלְכֵי־מִלְכֵי *Reges* and מְשִׁרְתֵי־מְשִׁרְתֵי *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rostock, 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order of the accents in respect to their disjunctive power is shown in general by the above classification, following Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3^a, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3^b, 11, 12, 10); cf. Wickes, א"כ' ט' p. 12 ff.—The name טְעֻמֵי (later = accents in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

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

Segôltâ (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19¹⁶, &c.

- 4 a. (—) זָדוּל זָדוּל זָדוּל Zâqêph gādôl, and
 4 b. (—) זָדוּל זָדוּל זָדוּל Zâqêph qâţôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqêph is by nature stronger than Great Zâqêph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (—) טִפְחָא Tiphhâ or טַרְחָא Tarhâ, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillûq and 'Athnâh, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnâh; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is 2¹³), but also in longer verses (Gn 3²¹).
6. (—) רִבְיַע Rebhîa'.
7. (—) זַרְקָא Zarqâ, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (—) פַּשְׁטָא Paştâ, *postpositive*,¹ and
 8 b. (—) יְתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehup-pâkh. Yethibh is used in place of Paştâ when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (—) תֵּבְחִיר Tebhîr.
- 10 a. (—) גֵּרֶשׁ Gêreš or טְרֶס Tères, and
 10 b. (—) גֵּרֶשִׁים Gêrâšayim² or Double Gêreš, used for Gêreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlâ does not precede.
- 11 a. (—) פָּזֶר Pâzêr, and
 11 b. (—) פָּזֶר גָּדוּל Pâzêr gādôl (Great Pâzêr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarnê phârâ (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.
12. (—) תֵּלִישָׁא גדולה Telišâ gedôlâ or Great Telišâ, *prepositive*.
13. (—) לְגַרְמָה Legarmêh, i.e. Mûnaḥ (see below) with a following stroke.

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

¹ If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Paştâ is placed over it also, e.g. תֵּרֶה Gn 1²; cf. below, l.

² Wickes requires Geršayim (גֵּרֶשִׁים).

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

g

14. (—) מִוְנַח Múnah.
 15. (—) מְהֻפָּךְ Mehuppākḥ or מַהְפָּךְ Mahpākḥ.
 16 a. (—) מֵיֶרְכָא or מְאֵרְכָא Mèrēkhā, and
 16 b. (—) מְעֵרְכָא מְכֵפְחָלָה Mèrēkhā khēphúlā or Double Mèrēkhā.
 17. (—) דַּרְגָּא Dargā.
 18. (—) אֲזֵלָא 'Azlā, when associated with Gèrēš (see above) also called Qadmā.
 19. (—) תְּלִישָׁא קֶטַנָּה Telišā qeṭannā or Little Telišā, *postpositive*.
 20. (—) גַּלְגַּל Galgal or יְרָחָה Yèrah.
 [21. (—) מַעְיָלָא Me'ayyēlā or מְאֵלָא Māyēlā, a variety of Tiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnāḥ, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accented, e.g. גַּלְגַּל־מַעְיָלָא Gn 8¹⁸.]

II. *The Accents of the Books* מְאֵלָא.

A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

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

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

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

i

B. CONJUNCTIVI.

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

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

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

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

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

l 2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone (see above, e) the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paštā (see above, I. 8 a, note); e.g. יִשְׁבְּבוּ $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$ טֹרֶם Gn 19⁴; so the prepositive sign in cases like $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$ Gn 8¹³.

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

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

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

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

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

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gn 35²², from וישכב onward (where *l*) the later accentuation, intended for public reading, aims at uniting vv. 22 and 23 into one, so as to pass rapidly over the unpleasant statement in v. 22); and in the Decalogue, Ex 20² ff.; Dt 5⁶ ff. Here also the later (mainly superlinear) accentuation which closes the first verse with עברים (instead of פני) is adopted simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses (with sublinear accentuation) to ten, the number of the Commandments. Thus עברים at the end of v. 2 has *Silluq* (to close the verse) in the lower accentuation, but in the upper, which unites vv. 2-6 (the actual words of God) into a single period, only *R'bhī'ā*. Again פני, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed פני (pausal *Qameš* with *Silluq*), but in the upper accentuation it is פני with *Pathah* because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring עברים and פני, and thus representing vv. 2 and 3 as the first commandment.) Further the upper accentuation unites vv. 8-11 into one period, while in vv. 12-15 the lower accentuation combines commandments 5-8 into one verse. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373; Japhet, *op. cit.*, p. 158, and esp. K. J. Grimm, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.* xix (May, 1900), no. 145.

§ 16. Of *Maqqēph* and *Mèthēg*.

These are both closely connected with the accents. *a*

1. *Maqqēph* (מקף i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. כל־אדם *every man*, את־כל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gn 1²⁹, כל־אשר־לוֹ *all that he had*, Gn 25⁵.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אל־ *to*, עַד־ *until*, עַל־ *upon*, עִם־ *with*, אֶל־ *ne*, אִם־ *if, whether*, מִן־ *from*, כִּי־ *lest*, are almost always found with a following *Maqqēph*, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל־, מֵעַם־, in which case *Maqqēph* as a rule does not follow. Occasionally *Maqqēph* is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9 u, 1 c), as, according to the *Masora*, in Dt 27⁹, 2 S 20²³, Jer 25³⁰, 29²⁵, Ec 9⁴ in the case of אֶל־כָּל־; ψ 47⁶, 60², Pr 3¹² in the case of אֶת־, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

nected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הַתְּהַלְּךְ־נָהְךָ Gn 6⁹, וַיְהִי־כֵן Gn 17; or two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *sevenleen*, Gn 7¹¹. Cf. the Greek proclitics *êv, êκ, êis, êi, ôs, ou*, which are *tonic*, and lean on the following word.

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

d It is divided into: 1. The *light Mêthëg*. This is subdivided again into (a) the ordinary *Mêthëg* of the counter-tone, as a rule in the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. מֶלֶךְ־צָר (cf. also such cases as מֶלֶךְ־צָר); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאֲרָבַיִם (also in such cases as עֲבָר־הַמִּלֵּךְ), and when the third is not suitable for it, even in the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Mêthëg* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone, when it already stands in the second, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר. 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 *Mêthëg* (e.g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁמֵי־קִשְׁתֹּךְ, or to a word beginning with *Šewā* before the tone-syllable, e.g. מִי־לֶךְ, &c.; the object being to prevent the *Šewā* from becoming *quiescent*).

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

f (b) The *firm or indispensable Mêthëg*. (a) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, *v copulative*, see above), which are followed by a *Šewā mobile* preceding the tone-syllable; e.g. יִשְׁנֵי, &c. (β) To emphasize a long vowel in a closed syllable immediately before Maqqēph, e.g. שֶׁת־לִי Gn 4²⁵ (not *šeth-li*); hence also with פֶּלֶשׁ 138², and אֶת־ Jb 41²⁶ (for פֶּלֶשׁ and אֶת־; cf. also מֵאֶת־ Jo 15¹⁸, &c.). (γ) With *Šere*, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Šeghōl*, e.g. אֶהְבֶּה־דַעַת Pr 12¹ (not *'ôhëbh*). (δ) With all vowels before composite *Šewā*, e.g. יַעֲמֵד, &c. (except when the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יַקְבֵּנוּ Is 62², because the strengthening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mêthëg*); so in the cases discussed in § 28 c, where a short vowel has taken the place of a *Ḥateph*, as יַעֲמֵדוּ, &c. (ε) In the preformative syllable of all forms of הִיָּה *to be*, and הִיָּה *to live*, when *Šewā quiescens* stands under the ה or ה, e.g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה (*yih-yè, tih-yè*), &c., cf.

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

§ 63 q. (S) With the Qames of the plural forms of בַּיִת *house* (thus בַּיִתִּים *báttim*, cf. § 96 under בַּיִת), and with הִנָּחֵם¹ *prithē!* to guard against the pronunciation *böttim*, *önnā*.—Every kind of light Mèthëg may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. חֲתִים² Ch 34¹¹, &c.

2. The *grave Mèthëg* (*Ga'yā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed ^g in the following cases in order more distinctly to emphasize a short vowel or an initial Š^{wā}: (a) with the Pathah of the article or of the prefixes ב, כ, ל, when followed by Š^{wā} under a consonant without Dageš, e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ, הַמֶּלֶךְ, &c., but not before י (before which י also remains without Mèthëg, with the exception of יְהִי and יִהְיֶה, when they are followed by *Maqqēph*, or accented with *Paštā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common Mèthëg; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (b) with the interrogative ה with Pathah (except when it precedes י, Dageš forte or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g. הֲאֵלֶּהּ. When a Š^{wā} follows the ה and after the Š^{wā} there is an untuned syllable, Baer places the Mèthëg to the right of the Pathah, e. g. הַבְּרָכָה Gn 27³³ (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. 'הַבְּרָכָה); (c) with the Pathah or Š^{gol} of the article before a guttural (which cannot take Dageš), e. g. הַהַיִּים, הַחַיִּים.—The Š^{wā}-*Ga'yā* (,) is especially important in the accentuation of the מ"ת, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. הַיְהִי ψ 1³.

3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of those con- ^hsonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone, or because they close a syllable, might easily be neglected, e. g. לֹוּ וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gn 24⁹; פָּדָה נָה אָרָם (here to avoid a hiatus) 28², or in such cases as אֵל רִוַח־אֵל Jb 33⁴, &c.; אֵן אֵן Gn 1¹¹.

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

§ 17. Of the Q^{eré} and K^{ethibh}. *Masora marginalis* and *finalis*.

On Q^{eré} and K^{ethibh} see Ginsburg, *Intr.*, p. 183 ff.]

1. The margin of Biblical MSS. and editions exhibits variants ^a of an early date (§ 3 c), called קְרִי² *to be read*, since, according to

¹ The common form is הִנָּחֵם, with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimhi, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone cf. Is 38³, Jon 1⁴, 4², ψ 116⁴.

² On the necessity of the punctuation קְרִי as passive participle (= *legendum*)

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

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Q^{erê}*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be applied to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *K^{ethibh}*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42⁶ אָנֹכִי occurs in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי קָרִי. Read אָנֹכִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנֹכִי) in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי קָרִי. A small circle or asterisk in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

b 2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called **כְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי** (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. אֵת Jer 38¹⁶, אִם 39¹², יִרְדַּךְ 51³. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called **כְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי**, e.g. 2 S 8³, Jer 31³³. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 ff.

c 3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *K^{ethibh}*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Q^{erê}* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Q^{erê} perpetuum* occurs in the Pentateuch in הוּא (Q^{erê} הוּא) wherever הוּא stands for the feminine (§ 32 l), and in נַעַר (K^{ethibh} נַעַר, Q^{erê} נַעֲרָה) always, except in Dt 22¹⁹ (but the Sam. text always has היא). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; נַעַר for נַעֲרָה is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in קַטְלָתָה; cf. § 2 n.—Other instances are: יִשְׁכָּר (Q. יִשְׁכָּר) Gn 30¹⁸ &c., see the *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 b; יְרוּשָׁלַם (Q. יְרוּשָׁלַיִם), properly יְרוּשָׁלַם יְהוָה (Q. יְרוּשָׁלַיִם the Lord), or (after אֲרֻנִי יְהוָה (Q. אֲלֵהִים) properly יְהוָה *Yahwè* (cf. § 102 m, and § 135 q, note); on שְׁתִּים, שְׁנִים for שְׁתֵּי, שְׁנֵי, see § 97 d, end.

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

instead of קָרִי *Q^{er}i*, which was formerly common but is properly a past tense (= *lectum est*), see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

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

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

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

ג with, before names of vowels or accents, as בְּזָקֶף קָמֵין Qameš with Zaqeph used instead of Pathah (§ 29 i).—'ב' as a numeral = two, as in ב' טַעֲמִים two accents. בְּמִקְצֵת, see מְקַצֵּת. בְּנִיחָא אַחֲרֵינָא = בני"א (Aramaic) in another copy; pl. בְּנִיחָאן אַחֲרֵינָן.—בְּנִיחָאן אַחֲרֵינָן. —בְּס"א = בספרים אחרים in other books. בְּתַר (Aram.) after.

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

זָעִיר fem. זְעִירָה (Aram.) small.

הוֹל profane, not sacred, e. g. אֲדַרְנִי Gn 19² because not referring to God. חוּץ except. חֶסֶר written defectively, also wanting as 'א 'aleph is omitted.

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

תֵּיר superfluous.

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

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

מְדוּקָא accurately corrected. מְלֵא full i. e. written plene. מְלַמְטָה below = מְלַרַע (§ 15 c). מְלַמְטָה = מְלַמְעִיל (§ 15 c). מְנוּזָרוֹת separated, the name of the strangely formed Nûns before ψ 107²³ ff. (§ 5 n). מְקַרָּא that which is read, the name for all the O. T. scriptures. מְקַצֵּת part.

נח fem. נְחָה quiescent, i. e. not sounded. נְעֻלָּם concealed, i. e. only retained orthographically. נְקוּדָה a point. נְקוּדָה pointed.

ס"א see ג. סִמְנִיּוֹן σημείον, sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

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

עַמּוּד column of a page.

פְּסוּקָא a masoretic verse. פְּסוּקָא a space, esp. in the phrase פְּסוּקָא אֶמְצֵעַ פְּסוּקָא a space within a verse, e. g. Gn 35²²; cf. H. Grätz, *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1878, p. 481 ff., and H. Strack, *ibid.* 1879, p. 26 ff.

קָרִי = קָרִי, see above, c. קוּרָא properly קָרָא before. קְמוּצָה fem. קְמוּצָה poin'ed with Qameš. קוּרָא reader of the sacred text.

רְבַתָּא רְבַתָּהּ, רְבַתָּי (Aram., all fem. sing.) large.

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

CHAPTER II

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

§ 18.

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

§ 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

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

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

The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems² than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ת and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *b*); (*b*) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), יָלַר for יָלַר, &c.

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

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

² See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

(a) most frequently with נ, e.g. מִן־שָׁם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִן־זֶה (for *min-zè*) from this, יָתַן (for *yintēn*) he gives. נ is not assimilated after the prefix לְ, e.g. לְנִגְזָר, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ח), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. שָׁבַע־נָתַן (cf. however נָתַן for *nāthāntā*) except when another Nun follows, cf. § 44 o; nor in some isolated cases, as Dt 33⁹, Is 29¹, 58³, all in the principal pause; on הִנְדִּירָה and הִנְדִּירָה ψ 68³, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ת, ד, e.g. יָקַח d (for *yilqah*) he takes; מִדְּבָר for *mīhdabbēr*; יָטַמְּמָא for *yithtammā*; תִּיחֲכֹנֵן for *tīhkōnēn*; תִּתְנַשֵּׂא for *tītnēššā*; אָחַד for *'ahadt*; but in 1 S 4¹⁹ for לָלַת read probably לָלַח.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אֲנִי־פְרִי־תֵּיךְ if from אֲנִי־פְרִי; e and ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71.

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

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

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

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, י, ל, נ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only *Šewâ*, e.g. נָחַמְנוּ we, also אֲנַחְמוּ; וְדַע for וְדַע; קַח for לְקַח; נָשׂוּ for נָשׂוּ; הִי for הִי Ez 2¹⁰.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in יָרַד i Ju 19¹¹ for יָרַד; in נָתַתָּה 2 S 22⁴¹ for נָתַתָּה; in יָשׁוּב Je 42¹⁰; on קַח Ez 17⁶ for לְקַח, and on קָחַם Ho 11³ for לְקָחַם, see § 66 g, end. In reality, however, all these forms are to be regarded merely as old textual errors.

(b) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when *Šewâ* precedes the weak consonant²; thus in the case of א (see further § 23 b-f, and

¹ Such a suppression of a letter is sometimes inaccurately called 'backward assimilation'.

² Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in אֲנִי־פְרִי if this stands for אֲנִי־פְרִי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְנִשְׁקָה Am 8⁸, כְּתִיב for וְנִשְׁקָה (cf. וְנִשְׁקָה 9⁵), and

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

Syncope of א with Šewâ occurs in such cases as בְּאֲרָנִי for בְּאֲרָנִי (cf. § 102 m); וְאֶעֱשֶׂךָ Zc 11⁵.¹ On the cases in which א is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35 d.

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

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

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

- m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic² with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶזְרוּעַ and זְרוּעַ arm (cf. χθές, ἐχθές; spiritus, French esprit).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶקְרָב scorpion; cf. Arab. 'usfûr bird (stem şafara).
- n 5. *Transposition*³ occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הִשְׁתַּמֵּךְ for הִשְׁתַּמֵּךְ (§ 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּשֶׁב lamb, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁמְלָה garment), but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.
- o 6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כּוֹכַב star, from kaukabh=kawkabh for kabhkabh (cf. Syriac raurab=rabrab); תּוֹפְפוֹת phylacteries for ṭaph-ṭāphūt; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ man from 'inš, cf. however § 96.

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

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

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

in בָּלָה Jos 19³ for בָּעָלָה (as in 15²⁹). Probably, however, וּנְשָׂקָה and בָּלָה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֵר Am 8³ for כִּיאֵר (9⁶).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place ^b when the first has a vowel or *Šewā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a compound *Šewā* should be used, preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הַזֵּלֶלֶת, קַלְלָת, &c. (cf. §§ 10g, 16f). This pointing is not used before the suffix הָ, e.g. תִּכְרְבֶּךָ Gn 27⁴, but the first כ has a vocal *Šewā*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lenē*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a vocal *Šewā*, and any further contraction is therefore impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below, m), e.g. הַלְלוּ properly הַלְלוּ = *hal-le-lū*. The form הַנְּנִי ψ 9¹⁴ (not הַנְּנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'el = הַנְּנִי; if it were imperat. Qal the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׂרַד Jer 49²⁸, and in the imperf. יִשְׂרָד.

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

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

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

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

² לָאמַר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when מִשָּׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6^{10,29}, 15²⁴, &c.

Some limit the use of the *D^ehiq* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *B^egadh^ephath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵן־זֹאֵת Nu 22⁶; לְקַחְהָ־זֹאֵת Gn 22³; יְצַיֶּה־לָּךְ ψ 91¹¹; and even with *Rēš*, מַעֲנֶה־רֵךְ Pr 15¹; שָׁנֶה־רֵךְ־בְּסֶף Gn 43¹⁵. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the *Maqqēph*, would be on the ultima of the first word.

d Rem. 1. When הַ this has *Maqqēph* after it, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in שָׁמוֹ וְהָ־שָׁמוֹ Jer 23⁶, but also in וְהָ־פָרִיהָ Nu 13²⁷, 1 Ch 22¹. In הָ־הֵנָּה Gn 19² (where *Maqqēph* is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 u, 1 c, and § 16 b), the *S^eghōl* coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מָה (for מָהָ) what?, see § 37 b, c.

e 2. Such cases as נָאָה־נָאָה Ex 15^{1,21}, the 2nd כְּמִכָּהּ in ver. 11, וְנָאָה־לָּהּ ver. 13, בְּאֶבְיָן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lenē*, see § 21 d.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *mil'el* ending in הַ־ or הַ־. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians מִתְּחִילָה (Aram. = Heb. מִתְּחִילָה) *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is here also due to the exigencies of rhythm, e.g. שְׂבִיתָ־שָׁבִי ψ 68¹⁹; הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָּא ψ 118²⁵ (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel נָּא הוֹשִׁיעָה); הִרְתִּיבָה־שְׂאוּל Is 5¹⁴; אֲרִצָּה־כְּנָעַן Gn 11³¹. The *Mil'el* may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsōg'ahôr*, § 29 e), as in עֲשֵׂה־פָרִי Gn 1¹¹.—The prefixes כִּי, כִּי, לְ, and י alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לָךְ, always, and לְלִילָהּ ψ 19³. Such forms as הוֹשִׁיעָה־לִּי Gn 21²³, שָׁחַר־מִלֵּאָה־שָׁחַר ψ 26¹⁰, רָחַקָה־מִנִּי Jb 21¹⁶, and even נִעְמְדָה־יָחַד Is 50⁸ (i.e. the cases where the tone is thrown back from the ultima on to the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*), are likewise regarded as *mil'el*. On the other hand, e.g. תָּרָה־לָּךְ Gn 4⁶, not לָךְ since the first *ā* of תָּרָה could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עֲשֵׂה־פָרִי Gn 1¹²; הִנְיָדָה־נָּא Gn 32³⁰, &c. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal tone, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, יִרְשֵׁוּ הַפֹּה־יִרְשֵׁוּ ψ 37⁹; אֲלֶה־יַעֲקֹב Is 44²¹; עֲשִׂיתָ־קְעָרְתִּיו Ex 25²⁹, provided that the second word does not begin with a *B^egadh^ephath* letter (hence e.g. אֲלֶה־תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2⁴).

g Rem. Such cases as קָנָךְ Dt 32⁸, and בְּשִׂיתָ־ 32¹⁵, and נָעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1¹³ are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B^gadk^ephath, בְּאֵלִים Ex 15¹¹ (cf. however above, e); בְּרוּעַ Jos 8²⁸; בְּרוּעַ ψ 77¹⁶; בְּרוּעַ Jb 5²⁷.—It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *û*, such as בְּרוּעַ Gn 19¹⁴, Ex 12³¹; Ex 12¹⁵ (בְּרוּעַ), Dt 2²⁴; also לֵא Gn 19², 1 S 8¹⁰; לוֹ Ju 18¹⁹, Est 6¹³ (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לוֹ); מָעַט Ho 8¹⁰; מָדוּ Jer 49³⁰; מָדוּ 1 S 15⁶. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13 c, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed. on ψ 94^{12 a}), we especially had in view those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *S^ewā*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the אֲתִי מְרַחֵק, which was required by some Masorettes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in ׳ after a preceding *i* (ψ 118^{6,18}), and even after *û* (ψ 94¹²), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 b.

(b) When a consonant with *S^ewā* is strengthened by *Dageš forte h* *dirimens* to make the *S^ewā* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qôph*; cf. עֲבָבִי Lv 25⁵, Dt 32³² (for עֲבָבִי); פִּנְיָתְךָ Is 33¹ (where, however, פִּנְיָתְךָ is to be read); cf. נֶאֱמַר Na 3¹⁷, Jb 9¹⁸, 17², Jo 1¹⁷ (with מ); Is 57⁶ (with ל); Ju 20^{43,1} 1 S 1⁶ (with ר); Gn 49^{10,17} (and so always in עֲקָבִי Ju 5²², Ct 1⁸ and עֲקָבוֹת ψ 77²⁰, 89⁵²); Ex 15¹⁷, Dt 23¹¹, Ju 20³², 1 S 28¹⁰ (ק)²; Ex 2³, Is 58³, Am 5²¹, ψ 141³, Pr 4¹³ (צ); Pr 27²⁵ (ש); Is 5²⁸, ψ 37¹⁵, Jer 51⁵⁶, Neh 4⁷ (ש). Also, with כ Ho 3²; with ב Is 9³, Jer 4⁷; with ת 1 S 10¹¹. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

(c) When a vowel is to be made specially emphatic, generally in *î* the principal *pause*, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5⁷ (חַרְלִי), Jb 29²¹ (וַיַּחַלְלֵי), 22¹² (רַמְנוּ); Ez 27¹⁹ (in נ); in ת Is 33¹², 41¹⁷, Jer 51⁵⁸, perhaps also Jb 21¹³ (וַיַּחַתְנוּ).

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

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

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

¹ The ordinary reading הַרְרִיפֶהוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, is only intelligible if the ר has *Dageš*.

² Also in ψ 45¹⁰ read בְּיַקְרוּתֶיךָ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30¹⁷ לִיקָהֶת (Ben Naphthali בִּיקֶן and לִיקֶן).

consonant cannot easily be sounded.¹ In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 *d*), e. g. רַבב *multitude*, from רַבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עַם, from עַמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions תָּתָּ thou (fem.) and תָּתָּתָּ thou (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16³³, see § 10 *k*.

- m* (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šewâ mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the strengthening to be less noticeable. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on ו and י after the article, see § 35 *b*; on ו after מוה, § 37 *b*); and in the sonants מ,² נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62⁹, מְאַסְפִּיו, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מְאַסִּי with compensatory lengthening, and others even מְאַסִּי Gn 27^{28,39}; מְשַׁלֵּשׁ 38²⁴ for מְשֵׁשׁ, I K 7²⁸; מְשַׁקֵּה I K 19²⁰ from מְשַׁק, Ez 40⁴³ and מְשַׁפְּנִים ψ 104¹⁸; מְשַׁטֵּיִם Jon 4¹¹, מְצַפְּרֵדָּעִים Ex 8¹ &c.);—and finally in the emphatic ק.³

Of the *Beqadkephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מְבַצֵּר Ju 8²; נ in מְבַנְּוֹתָם Ez 32⁵⁰; ר in נְרַחֵי Is 11¹² 56⁸, ψ 147² (*not* in Jer 49⁵⁶), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָרַח; lastly, ח in הַתְּצִי Is 22¹⁰. Examples, וְיָהִי, עֲוֹרִים (so always the preformative ו in the *imperf.* of verbs), מְלַמְעֵלָה, מְלַמְנַחַח, הַנְּנִי, הַלְּלוּ, מְלֹא, בְּסֵאֵי, מְלֹא, יִקְחוּ, וְיִשְׂאוּ, בְּסֵאֵי, מְלֹא, יִקְחוּ, וְיִשְׂאוּ, בְּסֵאֵי, מְלֹא, יִקְחוּ, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. However, in these cases, we must assume at least a *virtual* strengthening of the consonant (*Dageš forte implicitum*, see § 22 *c*, end).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22 *b*.

- n* Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the strengthening is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, generally *hireq* (cf. *mîle* for *mille*), e. g. יִהְיֶהֶן *he makes them afraid*, for יִהְיֶהֶן Hb 2¹⁷ (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs וְעָוִי, and moreover to read יִהְיֶהֶן with the LXX), יִקְוֹת, Is 50¹¹ for יִקְוֹת.

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

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

² *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in מ when it is the prefix of the participle Pi'el or Pu'al, hence ψ 104⁹ הַמְקַרְרָה *who layeth the beams*, but הַמְקַרְרָה *the roof* Ec 10¹⁸ (cf. הַמְקַלְאֲכָה *the work*, &c.).

³ According to some also in ט in וְתִטְעֵי Is 17¹⁰; but see Baer on the passage.

פ, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and ϕ ; χ ερούβ, Καλδαίσι, Φαρφάρ, &c.—The forms פִּרְכֹּר (after וְשִׁמְתִּי) Is 54¹, and בְּבַל (after וְנִלְאִיתִי) Jer 20⁹ are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Šewā quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,¹ e.g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (he heals), יִקְטֹלְתֶם *ye have killed*; but after *Šewā mobile*, e.g. רִפָּא *rēphā* (heal thou), שֶׁבֶרָה *she was heavy*.

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

Whether *Šewā* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the particular form. It is almost always vocal

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

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

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתָּ *thou (fem.) hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ה after the vowel, cf. יִחַדְךָ Ex 18⁹, have arisen from שְׁלַחְתָּהּ, יַחַדְךָ, &c.; Pathah being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the *tenuis*; cf. § 28 e.

§ 22. *Peculiarities of the Gutturals.*

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

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

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

¹ The exceptions יִקְתַּל Jos 15³⁸ (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), 2 K 14⁷, and יִקְרַע Jos 15⁵⁶ may perhaps be due to the character of the פ.

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

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

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

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

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

(b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i. e. after all except *Qameṣ*, *f* the hard gutturals¹ (consequently not א), when standing at the end of the word, require the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ä* (*Pathah furtivum*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded *before* it. It is thus merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רִיחַ *rūāh*, נוֹעַ, רָע, הַשְּׁלִיחַ, גְּבוּהַ (when consonantal ה is

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

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

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

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

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

k On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e. g. הַלֵּל, הַפְּטָה, הַהֲנָה, הַהֲלָל; but when this sharpening is removed, *S^{egh}hōl* is again apt to appear, e. g. הַיְוִון constr. הַיְוִון, הַיְוִון constr. הַיְוִון.

l 3. Instead of simple *Š^{ewā} mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a compound *Š^{ewā}*, e. g. אֶמְטֵל, אֶמְטֵל, אֶמְטֵל, &c.

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

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially by a *Hateph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent Š^{ewā}*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יְחַשֵּׁב (also יְחַשֵּׁב); יְחַוֵּק (also יְחַוֵּק); פְּעֵלוֹ *pō'lo* (for *pō'lo*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *Š^{ewā} mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e. g. יְעַמְדֵי (from יְעַמְדוּ, יְנַעַמְדוּ), פְּעֵלָה (from פְּעֵל). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were *ya'm^edhū*, *ne'r^emū*, *pō'lekhā*. Hence יְעַמְדֵי, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יְעַמְדוּ, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'^am^edhū*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *Š^{ewā}* in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62-65.

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

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

(b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Haṭeph-Pathah* takes the place of a simple \check{e} *wā mobile*, e.g. לִּיֹן (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭeph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.* לִּיֹן (see above, i), *Infm.* לִּיֹן (regular form לִּיֹן); *Perf. Hoph.* לִּיֹן (regular form לִּיֹן); but cf. לִּיֹן Jb 6²² (§ 64 a).

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

(a) The exclusion of the strengthening, instead of which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e.g. לִּיֹן he has blessed for *birrahh*, לִּיֹן to bless for *barrēkh*.

(b) The preference for \check{a} as a preceding vowel, e.g. לִּיֹן and he saw *ṛ* (from לִּיֹן); לִּיֹן both for לִּיֹן and he turned back, and for לִּיֹן and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to *a* are לִּיֹן *mōrrāth*, Pr 14¹⁰; לִּיֹן *khōrrāth* and לִּיֹן *šōrrēkh*, S Ez 16⁴ (cf. Pr 3⁸); לִּיֹן Ct 5²; לִּיֹן 1 S 1⁶; לִּיֹן 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³²; לִּיֹן Ju 20⁴³ (cf. § 20 h); לִּיֹן 1 S 23²⁸, 2 S 18¹⁶; also on account of לִּיֹן (§ 20 c), Pr 15¹, 20²², 2 Ch 26¹⁰; and on account of לִּיֹן (§ 20 f) 1 S 15⁶, Jer 39¹², Hb 3¹³, Pr 11²¹, Jb 39⁹, Ez 9⁶. A kind of virtual strengthening (after לִּיֹן for לִּיֹן) is found in לִּיֹן Is 14³. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g. לִּיֹן for לִּיֹן .

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

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

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

1 K 5²⁵ (for "מַצֵּב") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; in מַסְרֶת Ez 20³⁷, if for "מַצֵּם" (but read מוֹסֵר, with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אִמֵּר for אַמֵּר, see § 68 g.

Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than א in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long *a*, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qameš; as in קָאם Ho 10¹⁴ for קָם *he rose up*; רָאשׁ Pr 10⁴, 13²³ for רָשׁ *poor*; but in 2 S 11¹ the *Kethibh* הַמְלָאֲכִים *the messengers*, is the true reading; cf. § 7 b.

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

3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final *ū*, *i*, or *ō*, e.g. *i* הַלְכָה for הִלְכָה Jos 10²⁴ (before א!), אָבוֹה Is 28¹². These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in יִנְשֵׂאוּ Je 10⁶ for יִנְשָׂאוּ; and in נִשְׂאוּ ψ 130²⁰ for נִשָּׂאוּ. Cf. also הִיא Ec 11³ (§ 75 s); נְקִיָּה for נְקִי *pure*; לוֹה for לוֹ *if*; אֲפֹה for אָפֹה *then (enclitic)*; רְבוּהָ for רְבוּ *myriad*, Neh 7⁶⁶⁻⁷¹. On הוּא and הִיא see § 32 k.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its *h* consonantal sound (i.e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word¹ except in the cases noted below, in which it is completely elided by syncope. On the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless expressly marked by *Mappiq* as a strong consonant (§ 14 a). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost, and its place is taken by a simple ה or more correctly *h̄*, with *Rāphè* as an indication of its non-consonantal character, e.g. לָהָה *to her* for לָהֶה, Zc 5¹¹, &c. (cf. § 103 g, and §§ 58 g, 91 e); cf. also יָהֶ for יָהֵ (from יָהֵ) in proper names like יִרְמִיָּה, &c.—Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope*: (a) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *šwā mobile* (see above, c, with א), e.g. לְבָקֵר for לְהַבְקֵר (the ה of the article being syncopated as it almost always is); בְּיָוִם for בְּהַיָּוִם [but see § 35 n], בְּשָׂמַיִם for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם; יְהוֹנָתָן for יְהוֹנָתָן; perhaps also בְּנֵיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֶם Ez 27³². (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סוּסוֹ (also written סוּסוֹה) from *sūsahu* (*a + u = ō*).—A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in בָּם (from בָּהֶם), &c.

¹ Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֶשְׂהָאֵל, פְּרֵהָעוֹר, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like הוֹהָאֵל for הוֹהָאֵל. Another exception is יִפְהַפְיָה, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form יִפְהַפְיָה in the printed texts, Je 46²⁰.

l Rem. In connexion with \bar{o} and \bar{e} , a η which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into \imath or ι (\imath אָ = הָאָה, ι יָ = הָיָה Ho 6⁹), and with any vowel into \aleph in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with \bar{a} , e. g. אָשָׁן sleep, ψ 127² for אָשָׁן; אָשָׁן Jer 23³⁹ for אָשָׁן, &c. Thus it is evident that final η as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

§ 24. Changes of the Weak Letters \imath and ι .

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

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

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

The instances may be classified under two heads:

b (a) When either \imath or ι with *quiescent* $\check{S}ew\check{a}$ stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel (u or i). It then merges in the homogeneous vowel, or more accurately it assumes its vowel-character (\imath as u , ι as i), and is then contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel, necessarily long, but is mostly retained orthographically as a (quiescent) vowel letter. Thus הַיִּשָׁב for *huwšab*; יִיָּקָשׁ for *yiyqas*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי *a Hebrew*, properly 'ibrîy, fem. עֲבָרִיָּה, pl. עֲבָרִיִּים (and עֲבָרִים); עֵשׂוּ Jb 41²⁵ for עֵשׂוּ (cf. עֵשׂוּת 1 S 25¹⁸ *Kethibh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, \imath and ι are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 m), e. g. שָׁלוֹן *quiet*, וַי the month of May, גּוֹי *nation*, גָּלִי *revealed*. But with a preceding \bar{a} the \imath and ι are mostly contracted into \bar{o} and \bar{e} (see below, f), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, g).

Complete syncope of \imath before \bar{e} occurs in אִיָּל *island* for אִיָּל; עֵרָ *ruins* for עֵרָ; רִי *watering* Jb 37¹¹ for רִי; [בִּי *burning* Is 3²⁴ for בִּי, cf. §§ 84^a c, e, 93 y].

¹ Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as u , i , following the practice of Indogermanic philologists. \imath for \imath and, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. 1 and § 104 e. On $\iota = i$ at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 b, note. According to § 19 a, end, initial \imath in Hebrew almost always becomes ι ; always in verbs originally פִּי, § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial \imath occurs only in וַי *hook*, וַי *child* Gn 11³⁰, 2 S 6²³ *Kethibh* [elsewhere וַיָּ], and the doubtful וַי Pr 21⁸.

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

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

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *c* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of ו or י. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write Ἰουδά for יְהוּדָה, Ἰσαάκ for יִצְחָק. Hence may be explained the *Syriac usage* in Hebrew of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, which properly had a simple vocal *Šewā*, e. g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali ¹) וַיִּלְלָה Jer 25⁸⁶ for וַיִּלְלָת (so Baer), (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali ¹) בִּיתְרוֹן Ec 2¹³ for בֵּיתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 h, note 2; even וַיַּחֲלֵי Jb 29²¹ (in some editions) for וַיַּחֲלֵי. According to Qimḥi (see § 47 b) יַחֲלֵי was pronounced as *iqṭāl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed יַחֲמֵל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *i* for *ā* in the 1st pers.

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

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

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

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

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

² Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ā* are, מִמֵּינִים I Ch 12²; אִיסִירִם Ho 7¹² (but cf. § 70 b); הַיִּשָּׁר ψ 5⁹ *Qrē*; the locatives בֵּיתָהּ, מִצְרָיִמָּה, &c.—On the suffix יְכִי for יָיָ see § 91 l.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָהּ and עוֹלָהּ; cf. חַי *living*, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form *mawt*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עֵינַי (ground-form *'ayn* [*'ain*]) *eye*, constr. עֵין.

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

§ 25. *Unchangeable Vowels.*

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

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

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

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

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

² By *vocales impurae* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus הַתְּחַבֵּה *k^ethâbh* was regarded as merely by a licence for הַתְּחַבֵּה, &c.

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

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

§ 26. Syllable-formation¹ and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have *e* the tone as in תֵּיךְ *in thee*, הֵיךְ *he goes*, or are toneless as in עֲנַב *a bunch of grapes*.³ A long vowel (Qameš, less frequently Šere) is

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

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

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

especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. מִלֵּךְ , יָקִים , קָטַל , לָבַב .¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur :

f (a) In apparently dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel from monosyllables, as נָחַל *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יָרַב *let him increase*, from *nahl*, *bayt*, *yirb* ; cf. also מִי־עַ the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 e.

g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. מִי־עַ *me*, e. g. קָטַלְנִי (Arab. *qātālāni*). The uncommon form מִי־עַ , however (Gn 30^e, cf. § 59f), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following sonant, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like וְנִאֲדָרְנִי (§ 102 m) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.

h (c) Sometimes before the toneless מִן־ *local* (§ 90 c), e. g. מִן־בְּרָךְ *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19¹³), since the toneless suffix מִן־ does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is מִן־בְּרָךְ .

In all these cases the short vowel is also supported by the tone, either the principal tone of the word, or (as in *h*) by the secondary tone in the constr. st., or by the counter-tone with *Metheg*, as in וְנִאֲדָרְנִי above, *g*; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ In exceptions such as שָׁתַלְתִּי Gn 4²⁵ (where *šat* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following *Maqqeph*), *Metheg* is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before *Maqqeph*, e.g. שָׁמֵ Gn 2¹³; עֵיִר Gn 2¹⁶.

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

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

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

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

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

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

b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šewá mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגַלְתָּ (ground-form 'äqälät) a waggon, צִדְקָה (ground-form šädäqät) righteousness, קָטַלְתָּ (Arab. qätälü), יִקְטַלְתָּ (Arab. jüqattilü).

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

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

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

d

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus the change into *Šewā* takes place in—

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

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

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

n Rem. 1. An *ō* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *ā* (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes *ū*, when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נְקוּמָה, נְקוּמוֹת (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קוּם); מְנוּחָה, מְנוּחָהּ *flight*, fem. מְנוּחָהּ, with suffix, מְנוּחָי. The not uncommon use of *ī* in a sharpened syllable, as בְּחִיָּקִי Ez 20¹⁸ (for בְּחִיקִי, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *ū* may really have been intended by the *K^ethibh*.

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

closed final syllable, and *ö* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקִם *jussive, let him arise*, יָקָם and *he arose*. The only instance of *ü* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרָם Ex 16²⁰ (see § 67 n). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *é*, *i*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ě* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקֵם *let him raise*, יָקָם and *he raised*. The only instance of *ĩ* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרָם Ju 9⁵³ (see § 67 p).

2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 f) *p* a *S^eghöl* (*ě*, *è*) as a modification of *ä* :

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

(b) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameš* or *IIateph Qameš*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameš* be not necessary, e.g. אֲחָיו *his brothers*, for *'ahāw*; שֶׁבַח *false*, for *kahās*; פֶּהָה *governor*, constr. st. פֶּתָה; פֶּחָם *coal*; הַחַי *the living* (with the article, הֶ for הַ); יָתְנָחֶם Nu 23¹⁹, &c., and so always before הַ and חַ, as יָתְנָחֶם *the months*, see § 35 k. Before הַ and עַ *S^eghöl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הָעוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameš*, e.g. הָהָרָה, הָעָם; but cf. also הַטְּהָרִי Nu 8⁷. Before the weak consonants א and ר (cf. § 22 c, q), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameš* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרֵאשִׁית *the head*, pl. הָרֵאשִׁיִּים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14¹⁰, in the tone-syllable, for *hārrā*; יְבִרְכֶיהוּ (pr. name) for יְבִרְכֶיהוּ. On הַ as a form of the interrogative הַ (הַ), see § 100 n; on מָה for מַה (מַה), § 37 e, f. Finally, אֲבִלְךָ Ex 33³ also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אֲבִלְךָ, and יְחַזְקֶאל *Ezekiel* for יְחַזְקֶאל = יְחַזְקֶאל *God strengthens*.

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

3. The attenuation of *ä* to *ĩ* is very common in a toneless closed syllable. (a) In a firmly closed syllable, מְדוּ *his measure*, for מְדוּ (in a sharpened syllable); יִלְדֶתִי *I have begotten thee*, from יִלְדֶתִי with the suffix תִּי; cf. Lv 11⁴⁴, Ez 38²³, and § 44 d. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

¹ So the LXX write Μελαχισεδέκ for מִלְכִי־עֶדֶק.

syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, sometimes combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לִנְפֹל Nu 14³ for *linēphōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45 g); in isolated cases also with ק, as קִבֵּר Jer 17².

2. If a guttural with *Ḥateph* follows, the original *ā* of the prefixes *b* is retained before *Ḥateph Pathah*, but before *Ḥateph Seghol* or *Ḥateph Qames* it is modified to the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*. Thus arise the vowel groups $\frac{\text{ֶֶֶ}}{\text{ֶֶֶ}}$, $\frac{\text{ֶֶֶ}}{\text{ֶֶֶ}}$, $\frac{\text{ֶֶֶ}}{\text{ֶֶֶ}}$, e. g. וְאָנִי and *I*, כְּאֲשֶׁר *as*, לְעֵבֵר *to serve*, לֶאֱכֹל *to eat*, לְחֵלִי *in sickness*. On the *Metheg* with every such short vowel, see § 16 f, δ. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the prefix takes the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְחַטֹּב for לְחַטֹּב; לְחַמֵּם Is 47¹⁴ for לְחַמֵּם (see § 67 cc); לְאָסֹר but also לְאָסֹר; and even וְעָצַר Jb 4², cf. Gn 32¹⁶. So always in the *Infin.* and *Imperat. Qal* of the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live*, e. g. לְהָיוֹת *to be*, וְהָיוּ *and be ye*; even with מֵן, as מְהִיֹּת, on which cf. § 102 b; but וְהָיָה *and be*, וְחָיָה *and live*, have *ē* instead of *ī* under the prefix. For the *Metheg*, cf. § 16 f, ε.

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

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

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

¹ In Ju 16¹³ read תִּאֲרָגִי not (with Opius, Hahn and others) תִּאֲרָגִי.

² With a final ה, the only example is הִסִּיף Pr 30⁶, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ה without Dageš. Instead of this masoretic caprice we should no doubt read הִסִּיף.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ On the apparent exceptions **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ**, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which **א** has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are **חַטָּא** sin, **נַיָּא** valley (also **נַיָּא**), **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ** vanity (Jb 15³¹ *Kethibh* **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ**).

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

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

(b) For rhythmical reasons (as often in other languages), when *c* a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however (נָסוּג אָחֹר receding, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians), is only admissible according to *a*, above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable (with a long vowel; but see *g*), whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e. g. לֵילָה Gn 1⁵, 4¹⁷, 27²⁵, Ex 16²⁹, ψ 5¹¹, 104¹⁴, Dn 11¹³, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e. g. תֵּאבֵלְתֶם Gn 3¹⁹, Jb 3³, 22²⁸.² The *grave* suffixes בֵּם-בְּו-, בְּו-, הֶם-, הֶן- are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. Moreover a fair number of instances occur in which the above conditions are fulfilled, but the tone is not retracted, e. g. esp. with הָיָה, and before א; cf. Qimlî, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4^b, line 13 ff.

Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it *f* is perhaps not to be regarded in this case (see § 8 b) as a long vowel. At any rate it then always has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg*, no doubt in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Seghöl*, e. g. לְבַעַר קִיּוּ Nu 24²²; cf. Nu 17²³, Ju 20², Is 66³, Jer 23²⁹, Ez 22²⁵, ψ 37⁷, and even with a following *furtive Pathah* Pr 1¹⁹, 11²⁶, &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *Seghöl* does take place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פְּעַם who smiteth the anvil, Is 41⁷, for הוֹלֵם פְּעַם; מִאֶת שְׂפָרָה 1 K 16²⁴.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a *Šewâ* mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e. g. וַיִּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19⁵, and frequently; ψ 28¹; טָמְנוּ לִי

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 *Darcke hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Ludg. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e. g. וּבֹרָא חֵשֶׁךְ Is 45⁷, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4¹³. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nasog 'ahor*.

² The reading עָרְיִים (so even Opatius and Hahn) Ez 16⁷ for עָרְיִים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis'.—That an unchangeable vowel in a closed final syllable cannot lose the tone is shown by Prätorius from the duplication of the accent (see above, § 22 f).

ψ 31⁶; מְטַעֲנֵי הָרֵב; Is 14¹⁹; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. עֲשֵׂה פָרִי Gn 1¹¹ (on the *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 *f*); לָחַת לָךְ Gn 15⁷ (cf. § 20 *c*).

g According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אָחַר בֵּן 1 S 10⁶, § 101 *a*; וּבְחַשׁ בוֹ Jb 8¹⁸, cf. Lv 5²², Ho 9²; לְצַחֵק בְּנֵי Gn 39^{14,17}; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in הִקָּם עָלַי 2 S 23¹; נִבְרַ שְׁוֹעַ Jb 34¹⁹; cf. also יִקָּם-קִיָּן Gn 4²⁴, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הִקָּם, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הִקָּם. Other abnormal forms are וַיִּחְזַק בוֹ Ex 4⁴ (for similar instances see § 15 *c*, end) and וַיְהִי שָׁם Dt 10⁶.

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

The meeting of two tone-syllables (see *e, f*) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqqeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב-שָׁם and *he wrote there*, Jos 8³².

i 4. Very important changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (verse) or clause. It is marked by a great *distinctive accent*, *Sillûq*, *'Athnah*, and in the accentuation of the books תַּאֲמַר, 'Ôlè w'gyôred (§ 15 *h*). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *Se'golta*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *Rebbhîw*, and even with *Pašta*, *Tiphha*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30⁴) *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; בָּיִם, בָּיִם; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ä* which has been modified to *S'ghöl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e.g. קָשָׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשָׁר 2 K 11¹⁴; אָרָץ אֲרָץ Jer 22²⁹;

¹ In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ם (cf. e.g. Ex 21³¹, Jer 3⁹ [but Ginsb. וּתְחַנֵּן, Ru 4⁴, Ec 11⁶ [but Ginsb. וַיִּכְשַׁר]; before ם Jer 17¹¹) [see also § 29 *w*]. אֲתָר 1 S 7¹⁷, וַאֲרָץ Is 65¹⁷, Pr 25³, where *ā* has *munah*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphāt'ūt*. In the same way הַיְצִלְתָּ Ez 17¹⁵ (with Mahpakh before הַ) and וַיִּקְרַם Ez 37⁸ (with Darga before ׃) are to be explained. The four instances of אָנִי for אֲנִי apparently require a different explanation; see § 32 *c*.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i. e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in liturgical reading (Sievers, *Metr. Studien*, i. 236, also explains pausal forms like קָטַלְתָּ, יִקְטַלְתָּ, as 'late formations of the grammarians'), is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

also in 2 K 4³¹ read קָשַׁב with ed. Mant., &c. (Baer קָשַׁב).—בָּרַבְרָ becomes in *pause* בָּרַבְרָ.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ä* is intentionally retained ^l in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e. g. יִבְתִּי Jb 4²⁰, or ought to be strengthened, e. g. בָּבַת 2 S 12³, בִּזְ Is 8¹, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנְתִי Gn 27², because from וְקָנְתִי, cf. below, *q*; עָר Gn 49²⁷; וְהִקְדַּשְׁנוּ 2 Ch 29¹⁹ (so Baer, but Ginsb. 'הִקְדַּשְׁנוּ, ed. Mant. 'הִקְדַּשְׁנוּ); and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lv 11²⁰, &c. In the accentuation of the three poetical books (§ 15 *d*) the use of *Pathah* with '*Athnah*' is due to the inferior pausal force of '*Athnah*', especially after '*Ôlê w'yôred*' (§ 15 *o*); cf. ψ 100³, Pr 30³, and Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, p. 5^b, line 4 from below. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ä* and *è* in the appendices to Baer's editions.

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

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

(*c*) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* *o* appears also in such cases as אֲנִכִּי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִכִּי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books '*Athnah*', especially after '*Ôlê w'yôred*', has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יִפְלְאוּ Pr 24⁴ instead of יִפְלְאוּ)²; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like כָּלִי ψ 37²⁰ for כָּלִי; but in 1 S 12²³

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

² יִפְלְאוּ ψ 45⁶, cf. also יִפְלְאוּ ψ 40¹⁵, is to be explained in the same way, but not חָפְלְטִי Zc 2¹¹, where, on the analogy of הִשְׁמְרֶיךָ Je 6³, we should expect חָפְלְטִי.

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

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

q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an \bar{e} (lengthened from \bar{i}) to the more distinct \bar{a} (see above, *l*), e. g. הָתוּ for הָתוּ Is 18⁵ (cf. § 67 *v*; § 72 *dd*); קָמַל Is 33⁹; אָצַל I Ch 8³⁸ (beside אָצַל [see *v*. 37. Cf. : טָבָאֵל Is 7⁶ טָבָאֵל Ezr 4⁷); שָׁשָׁר Jer 22¹⁴; סָפָר Ob 20; וַיִּנְצָשׁ Ex 31¹⁷; וַיִּאֲנָשׁ 2 S 12¹⁵ (below, § 51 *m*)—S. R. D.]); הָפָר Gn 17¹⁴; הָפָצַר I S 15²³; הָשָׁבָב ψ 40¹⁸; הָרַחַק Jb 13²¹, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשָׁבָב Is 42²², and without the *pause* הָרַר La 3⁴⁶). So also וַיִּלְחָץ (shortened from וַיִּלְחָץ) becomes in *pause* וַיִּלְחָץ; cf. וַיִּלְחָץ La 3²; וַיִּלְחָץ Ju 19²⁰. On *S'ghôl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 *n*, 60 *d*, and especially § 75 *n*, on וַיִּחַיָּה Pr 4⁴ and 7².

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

s (3) The *pausal Qameṣ* (according to § 54 *k*, lengthened from original \bar{a}) in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e. g. וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ Jb 18⁸ וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ. But *pausal* forms like סָתַר, שָׁבַט (in the *absol. st.* סָתַר, שָׁבַט) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* סָתַר, שָׁבַט.

t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e. g. בָּעֵי וַיִּתְּי Is 21¹², for בָּעֵי, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56^{9,12}; cf. Jb 12⁶, and the same occurrence even in the word *before the pause* Dt 32³⁷, Is 21¹².

u (5) The transition from \bar{o} or $\bar{ö}$ to \bar{a} in *pause*: as שָׁאֵלָה Is 7¹¹, if it be a locative of שָׁאֵל, and not rather *imperat.* Qal of שָׁאֵלָה; וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתִּי Gn 43¹⁴ וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתִּי; עוּ Gn 49³; וַיִּטְרֶף Gn 49²⁷; perhaps also וַיִּשְׁרֶן I K 22³⁴, Is 59¹⁷, and מִשְׁבַּחְתִּי Is 28¹⁷, cf. 2 K 21¹³. On the other hand the regular *pausal* form וַיִּהְפֹּץ (ordinary *imperfect* וַיִּהְפֹּץ) corresponds to a perfect הִפִּיץ (see § 47 *h*).

v (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes \bar{a} in *pause*, and the first *S'ghôl*, according to § 22 *c* and § 27 *q*, e. g. אָחֵי *my brothers*, in *pause* אָחֵי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathah* after a guttural has been attenuated to \bar{i} out of *pause*, and then lengthened to \bar{e} with the tone (cf. § 54 *k*), e. g. וַיִּתְנַחֵם, but in *pause* וַיִּתְנַחֵם. Dt 32²⁶; cf. Nu 8⁷, 23¹⁹, Ez 5¹³, ψ 135¹⁴.—On *pausal Sere*, for *S'ghôl*, in *infin.*, *imperat.*, and *imperf.* of verbs *h'*, see § 75 *hh*.

w [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser *pause*, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15¹⁴ וַיַּעֲבְרוּ, Is 8¹⁵, 40²⁴, Ho 4¹², 8⁷, Dn 9¹⁵, and very often in such cases.]

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. עמק (עַמֶּק or עָמַק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עֲמֵק *deep*, עֲמִיק *depth*, עֵמֶק, *a valley, plain*. Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e. g. זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *he was wise*, חָכֵם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קָדַשׁ *he was holy*, קִדְּוֶה *holiness*, קֹדֶשׁ *holy*.

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

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

¹ On the questions discussed here compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

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

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

Verb-stem, מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

Noun-stem, מֶלֶךְ *king*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed stems of three or four consonants, are (a) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (b) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation² require special treatment (§ 32 ff.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 ff.).

§ 31. Grammatical Structure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER I

THE PRONOUN

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

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

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

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

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

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

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אָנִי.¹ The former occurs in C

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

Phoenician, Moabite, and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects;¹ from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ô* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *â* (cf. Aram. אָנָּן, Arab. 'ána). The pausal form אָנָּן occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנָּן אִי as *I live!* also Is 49¹⁸ with *Munah*, ψ 119¹²⁵ with *Merkha* (which, however, has been altered from D^ohî), and twice in Mal 1⁶. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws regulating the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural, in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form אָנָּן (אָנָּן) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42⁶ *Kethibh*. The form אָנָּן (cf. § 19 h) only in Ex 16^{7,8}, Nu 32³², La 3⁴²; אָנָּן in *pause*, Gn 42¹¹; in Arabic *nāhnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אָנָּן (אָנָּן) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

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

II. Second Person.

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

g אָנָּן (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 6⁴, always as *Kethibh*, with אָנָּן as *Qere*. In three places אָנָּן appears as a masculine, Nu 11¹⁶, Dt 5²⁴, Ez 28¹⁴.

h The feminine form was originally אָנָּן as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *Kethibh* (Ju 17², 1 K 14², 2 K 4^{16,28}, 8¹, Jer 43⁰, Ez 36¹³) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 f), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as אָנָּן אָנָּן, § 59 a [c]; cf. also *i* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *i* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, f) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The ' therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 k), and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אָנָּן to indicate the *Qere* אָנָּן (see § 17). The same final ' appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix אָנָּן, אָנָּן (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אָנָּן (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and אָנָּן (אָנָּן), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms 'antumū, fem. 'antinnā, Arab. 'āntūm (Aram. אָנָּן, אָנָּן) and 'antūnna (Aram. אָנָּן, אָנָּן). The form אָנָּן is found only in Ez 34³¹ (so Qimḥi expressly, others אָנָּן); אָנָּן (for which some MSS. have

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

אֲנִי only four times, viz. Gn 31⁶, Ez 13^{11, 20}, 34¹⁷; in 13²⁰ אֲנִי (before a מ) is even used as feminine.

III. Third Person.

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

(b) The form אָנִי also stands in the consonantal text (*Kethibh*) of the Pentateuch² (with the exception of eleven places) for the fem. הִיאַ. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation אָנִי, has indicated the *Qere* הִיאַ (*Qere perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20⁶, 38²⁵, Nu 5^{13, 14} אָנִי and הִיאַ are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the אָנִי cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of אָנִי. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of אָנִי for הִיאַ rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing אָנִי for אָנִי in 1 K 17¹⁵, Is 30³³, Jb 31¹¹, or אָנִי for אָנִי in ψ 73¹⁶, Ec 5⁸, 1 Ch 29¹⁶. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *Kethibh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally אָנִי was written for both forms (see *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into אָנִי. On the whole question see Driver, *Leviticus* (in Haupt's Bible), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads אָנִי.

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

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

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

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

n In some passages הָיָה stands for the feminine (Zc 5¹⁰, Ct 6⁸, Ru 1²²; cf. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135 o and § 145 t). For the quite anomalous עָרַיְהֶם 2 K 9¹⁸ read עָרַיְהֶם (Jb 32¹²).

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

§ 33. Pronominal Suffixes.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 100 f.; *Grundriss*, i. 306 ff. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemit.,' in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1901, p. 193 ff.

a 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative.¹ The accusative and genitive are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (toneless) and הוּ (from *āhû*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּיּוּ I have killed *him* (also קָטַלְתִּיּוּ, קָטַלְתָּהּ or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קָטַלְתָּו *thou hast killed him*; אֹרְוּ (also אֹרְוּ) *lux eius*.

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

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

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

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

d (c) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינֵי, literally *interstitium mei, between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנְיֵה *behold me, ecce me*.

e (d) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (לְ sign of the dative, מִן *in, from*, § 102), e. g. לְ *to him (ei) and to himself (sibi)*, בּוֹ *in him, מֵי (מִמֵּי) from me*.

¹ On apparent exceptions see § 135 d.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (ךָ, &c.) are all formed with *f* a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound.

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*qatalka, thou hast killed* = Hebr. קָטַלְתָּ).

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the *g* genitive) coincide in most forms, but some differ, e. g. יָ— *me*, יָ— *my*.

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes*; a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 ff., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, of *adverbs with suffixes* § 100 o.

§ 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

1. *Sing.* { *m.* הַזֶּה¹ } *Plur. com.* הַאֵלֶּה (rarely הָאֵלֶּה) *these. a*
f. זֹאת (הִיא, הִיא)² } *this.*

Rem. 1. The feminine form זֹאת has undoubtedly arisen from זֹאתָ, by *b* obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for זֹאתָ = הַזֶּה cf. the Arab. *hā-dā, this, masc.*; for זֹאת as the feminine ending, § 80), and the forms הִיא, הִיא, both of which are rare,³ are shortened from זֹאתָ. In ψ 132¹² הִיא is used as a *relative*, cf. הִיא below. In Jer 26⁶, *Kethibh*, הַזֹּאתָ (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַזֶּה) is found for זֹאתָ. The forms הָאֵלֶּה and הַאֵלֶּה are the plurals of הַזֶּה and זֹאתָ by usage, though not etymologically. The form הָאֵלֶּה occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19^{3,25}, 26^{3,4}, &c. (8 times), always with the article, הַזֶּה [as well as הָאֵלֶּה, הַאֵלֶּה frequently], and in 1 Ch 20⁸ without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4⁴²].⁴ Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find הִנֵּה *c*
to *this* (cf. for לְ, § 102 g), לְזֹאת, לְזֹאתָ to *this* (fem.), לְהָאֵלֶּה, לְהָאֵלֶּה to *these*; אֶת־זֶה *hunc*, אֶת־זֹאת *hanc*, אֶת־הָאֵלֶּה *hos*, also without אֶת־, even before the verb ψ 75⁸, &c. Note also הַזֶּה קִבְּרֵי הַזֶּה *pretium huius* (1 K 21²), &c.

¹ In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which, however, sometimes interchanges with a sibilant. Cf. Aram. הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה *masc.*, הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה *fem.* (this); Sansk. *sa, sā, tat*; Gothic *sa, sō, thata*; Germ. *da, der, die, das*; and Eng. *the, this, that, &c.* Cf. J. Barth, 'Zum semit. Demonstr. *z*,' in ZDMG. 59, 159 ff., and 633 ff.; Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen zum Semit., Lpz. 1907, p. 30 ff. [See the Lexicon, s. v. הַזֶּה, and Aram. אֶת, אֶת.]

² That הַזֶּה may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Ju 16²⁸ or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos 2¹⁷.

³ הַזֶּה 2 K 6¹⁹, and in seven other places; הִיא only in Hos 7¹⁶, ψ 132¹².

⁴ According to Kuenen (cf. above, § 2 n) and Driver, on Lev 18²⁷ in Haupt's Bible, this הָאֵלֶּה is due to an error of the punctuators. It goes back to a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter, and later copyists wrongly omitted the addition of the ה. In Phoenician also it was written הָאֵלֶּה, but pronounced *ily* according to Plautus, *Poen*, v, 1, 9.

- d* 2. The secondary form ו occurs only in poetic style, and mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who* [see Lexicon, s. v.]. Like אֲשֶׁר (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.
- e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַהִוא, הַזֹּאת, הַיְאֵלָה, הַיְאֵל) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 *u*; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, but הָאִישׁ *this is the man*.
- f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַלְלוּהַ Gn 24⁶⁵, 37¹⁹; הַלְלוּ *fem.* Ez 36³⁵; and shortened הַלוּ, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6²⁰, 1 S 17⁷⁶, 2 K 23¹⁷, Zc 2⁸, Dn 8¹⁶, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4²⁵: cf. 1 S 14¹ [and 20¹⁹ LXX; see Commentaries and Kittel].
- g* 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

§ 35. The Article.

J. Barth, 'Der heb. u. der aram. Artikel,' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuch. zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 47 ff.

- a* 1. The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form הַ, with *ā* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e. g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיָּאֵר *the river*, הַלְוִיִּים *the Levites* (according to § 20 *m* for הַיָּאֵר, הַלְוִיִּים).
- b* Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in הַ after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ע follows the הַ, e. g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעֵפִים *the weary* (פִּיעֵנִים La 4³ *Q'ré* is an exception), but הַיָּאֵר, 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 (or ר) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus הַפְּהוּכָה Ez 22⁵, הַפְּעֵרָה *the cave*, פְּפֹרְעִים ψ 37¹ (cf. Jb 38⁴⁰, 1 Ch 4⁴¹); but הַמְּהֻלָּה ψ 104³ (Ec 4¹⁵, 2 Ch 23¹²; before ע ψ 103⁴); הַמְּעֻשָּׂקָה Is 23¹²; הַמְּרֻגְלִים Jos 6²². Before letters other than gutturals this הַ remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20 *m*.
- c* 2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22 *b*) cannot properly be strengthened, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (cf. § 27 *q*).
- (1) In the case of the weakest guttural, א, and also with ר (§ 22 *c* and *q*), the strengthening is altogether omitted. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e. g. הָאָב *the father*, הָאַחַר *the other*, הָאִמָּה *the mother*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הָאוֹר *the light*, הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός, הָרִגְלָה *the foot*, הָרֵאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked*.
- d* So also הַשְּׂפּוֹת Neh 3¹³, because syncopated from הַשְּׂפּוֹת (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); הַאֲנָקִים (as in Nu 11⁴, Ju 9⁴¹, 2 S 23³³, with the א

orthographically retained), for 'הָאֵן Jer 40^d (cf. 'בָּאֵן verse 1); for 'הַסְּרִים Ec 4¹⁴ for 'הָאֵם; 'הַרְפִּים 2 Ch 22⁵ for 'הָאֵר (cf. 2 K 8²⁸).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals either the virtual strengthening takes place (§ 22 c)—especially with the stronger sounds ח and ה, less often with ע—or the strengthening is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathah* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathah* is either modified to *Seghôl* or fully lengthened to *Qames*. That is to say:—

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

(1) before the stronger sounds ח and ה the article regularly remains הֶ; e. g. הַהַיּוֹ that, הַחֹדֶשׁ the month, הַחֵיל the force, הַחֲכָמָה the wisdom. Before ה, \bar{a} occurs only in הַחַי Gn 6¹⁹ [not elsewhere], הַחֲרִיטִים Is 3²², הַחֲפִינִים Is 17⁸ [not elsewhere]; before ה, always in הַהֶפְּהָה, הַהֶם.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e. g. הַעַיִן *g* the eye, הַעִיר the city, הַעֲבָד the servant, plur. הַעֲבָדִים; 1 K 12³²; also in Gn 10²⁷ הַעֲרָקִי is the better reading. Exceptions are בַּעֲוֹפֹתָת Ex 15¹⁰, הַעֲוִרִים 2 S 5^{6,8}, Is 42¹⁸, בַּעֲבָר Is 24², הַעֲרָכִים Is 65¹¹, בַּעֲשָׂק Ez 22⁷, הַעֲוֹבִים Pr 2¹³ and הַעֲוֹבֹת Pr 2¹⁷, לַעֲיָנִים 1 S 16⁷, Ec 11⁷; but לַעֲנִי Gn 3⁶, Pr 10²⁶. Cf. Baer on Is 42¹⁸.

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

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing הֶ or עֶ the article is always הֶ, otherwise it is הֶ; e. g. הַעָם the people, הַהָר the mountain, הַעַיִן (in pause) the eye, הַהָרָה towards the mountain; but (according to § 22 c) הַהָרִים the mountains, הַעֲוִן the iniquity.

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

C. When the guttural has \bar{a} the article is הֶ before הֶ; e. g. הַחֲדָשִׁים the months; בְּחֲרָבוֹת in the waste places (without the article 'בְּחָרָב böħ-rābhōth) Ez 33²⁷, הַחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36^{35,38}, cf. 2 Ch 27⁴; but הֶ before עֶ, as הַעֲמָרִים the sheaves Ru 2¹⁵.

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

Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article הֶ is generally considered to have been הֶל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יִקַּח from *yilqah*, § 19 d. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article هَل (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ل of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e. g. 'al-Qur'an but 'as-sānā (Beduin *has-sana*) = Hebr. הַשָּׁנָה the year.

But Barth (*Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1896, p. 7 ff.), following Hupfeld and Stade, has shown that the Hebrew article is to be connected rather with the original Semitic demonstrative *hā*,¹ cf. Arab. *hāda*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after ׀ consecutive (§ 49 f; cf. also cases like בְּמִזְמָה, בְּמִזְמָה, &c., § 102 k), from the close connexion of the *hā* with the following word, and the sharpening necessarily involved the shortening of the vowel.²

m The Arabic article is supposed to occur in the Old Testament in אֱלֹהִים 1 K 10^{11,12} (also אֱלֹהֵי גִבְעִים 2 Ch 27, 9¹⁰⁻¹¹), *sandal-wood* (?), and in אֱלֹהֵי גִבְעִישׁ *hañ, ice* = גִּבְעִישׁ (Arab. *gībs*) Ez 13^{11,13}, 38²², but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name אֱלֹהֵי מוֹרְדֵךְ Gn 10²⁶ the first syllable is probably אֱלֹ God, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see *Lexicon*, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. אֱלֹהִים Pr 30³¹, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-gaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes בְּ, לְ, פֶּ, (§ 102) come before the article, the ה is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Šwā (§ 19 k, and § 23 k), e. g. בְּשָׁמַיִם in the heaven for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so ψ 36⁶); לְעַם לְהָעָם to the people, בְּהָרִים on the mountains, בְּחַרְשֵׁים in the months; also in Is 41², read בְּעַפְרָה instead of the impossible בְּעַפְרָה. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40²⁵, 47²², Ec 8¹, Dn 8¹⁶, Neh 9¹⁹, 12³¹, 2 Ch 10⁷, 25¹⁰, 29²⁷; cf., however, 1 S 13²¹, 2 S 21²⁰. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7¹², the Masora requires the elision in the *Qrē*. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהַיּוֹם about this time (Gn 39¹¹, 1 S 9¹³, &c.) and בְּיוֹם first of all (Gn 25³¹, &c.). After the copula ׀ (*and*) elision of the ה does not take place, e. g. וְהָעָם.

o 3. The words אֲרֶזֶן earth, הַר mountain, חַג feast, עַם people, פָּר bull, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאֲרֶזֶן, הָהָר, הָחַג, הָעָם, הָפָר; cf. also אֲרוֹן ark (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12¹⁰, 2 Ch 24⁸, but to be read אָרוֹן), 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 the late Psalms, also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (1⁷), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7¹², 8²⁶, 2 K 6¹¹), אֲשֶׁר is used instead; more rarely אֲשֶׁר Ju 5⁷, Ct 1⁷ (Jb 19²⁹?); once אֲשֶׁר before א Ju 6¹⁷ (elsewhere אֲשֶׁר before a guttural), before ה even אֲשֶׁר Ec 3¹⁸, and according to some (e. g. Qimhi) also in Ec 2²².³ [See *Lexicon*, s. v.]

¹ An original form *han*, proposed by Ungnad, 'Der hebr. Art.,' in *OLZ.* x (1907), col. 210 f., and *ZDMG.* 1908, p. 80 ff., is open to grave objections.

² In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is ה, and also in a North Arabian dialect, according to E. Littmann, *Safa-inschriften*, p. 2, Rem., and p. 34.

³ The full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אֲשֶׁ (= אֲשֶׁ?), pronounced *asse, esse* (also *as, es, is, ys, us*), or—especially in the later Punic

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is **מִי** *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gn 33⁵, Is 60⁸, 2 K 18³⁵, and sometimes also of things Gn 33⁸, Ju 13¹⁷, Mi 1⁵; cf. also **מִי בֵּת-מִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24²³; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **מִי אֶת-מִי** *whom?*—**מָה**, **מַה** (see *b*) *what?* (of things).—**אֵי-יָדָה** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מַי**, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in **י**, Hb 2¹, &c., *b* against § 20 *m*) may be explained (like the art. **הַ** § 35 *l*, and **וַ** in the *imperf. consec.*) from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible **ה** (**מָה**, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. A ground-form *mant* would most easily explain **מָן** (*what?*), used in Ex 16¹⁵ in explanation of **מָן** *manna*, while **מִן** is the regular Aramaic for *who*. Socin calls attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufaṣṣal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

(a) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, **מָה** takes a following *c* *Dageš* (§ 20 *d*), e.g. **מָה-לְךָ** *what is it to thee?* and even in *one* word, as **מִלְכֶם** *what is it to you?* Is 3¹⁵; cf. Ex 4², Mal 1¹³, and even before a guttural, **מָה** Ez 8⁶ *K^ethibh*.

(b) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or (e.g. Ju 14¹⁸, *d* 1 S 20¹) a conjunctive accent, either **מָה** is used with a virtual strengthening of the guttural (§ 22 *c*), so especially before **ה**, and, in Gn 31³⁶, Jb 21²¹, before **ו**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either (cf. § 35 *e-k*) **ā** is fully lengthened to *Qames* (so always before the **ה** of the article, except in Ec 2¹²; also before **הַמָּה**, **הַיָּה**, and so **ה** (Hb 2¹⁸), **א** (2 S 18²², 2 K 8¹⁴), **ע** (Gn 31²², 2 K 8¹³), or modified to *S^eghól*, especially before **ע**, **פ**, and generally before **ה**. The omission of the strengthening also takes place as a rule with **ה**, **ח**, **ע**, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either **מָה** or **מַה**, the latter especially before **ח** or **ע**, if *Maqqeph* follows.

The longer forms **מָה** and **מַה** are also used (**מָה** even before letters which *e* are not gutturals) when not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule **מָה** is then used, but sometimes **מַה** when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is 1⁵, ψ 4³. (On **מָה** in the combinations **בַּמָּה**, **בַּמָּה**, and even **לְמָה**, 1 S 1⁸, cf. § 102 *k* and *l*.)

(c) In the principal pause **מָה** is used without exception; also as a rule *f* with the smaller *disjunctives*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָה** only in very few cases). On the other hand, **מַה** more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e.g. 1 S 4⁶, 15¹⁴, 2 K 1⁷, Hag 1⁹ (see Köhler on the passage), ψ 10¹³, Jb 7²¹; cf., however, Pr 31², and Delitzsch on the passage.

2. On **מִי** and **מַה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**ש** (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew **שׁ** has become the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 ff. and below, § 155; also Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix **שׁ**,' in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE VERB

§ 38. General View.

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

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

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

c (*c*) *Denominatives*,¹ i. e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari, praedari*, and Eng. *to skin, to stone*), or even from particles (see *d*, end) either in a primitive or derivative form, e. g. אָהַל, *Qal* and *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*).

d This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e. g. לָבַנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגַה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּגַג *to fish*; חֶרֶף *to winter* (from חֹרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קָיַץ *to pass the summer* (from קָיִץ *summer*, stem קָיַץ *to be hot*).

On 'Semitic verbs derived from particles' see P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxii (1906), 257 ff.

§ 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 119 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 504 ff.

a 1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i. e. in *Qal*, see *e*) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form of the verb (§ 30 *a*), e. g. הָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.² From this form the other

¹ Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denom.*, insbes. im theol. Sprachgebr. des A. T., Lpz. 1896.

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*.

persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטַלְ, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

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

2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed *c* according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד to learn, לָמַדְ to teach; שָׁכַב to lie, הִשְׁכִּיב 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 suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacēre* (to throw), *iacēre* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γεννάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e. g.) in Greek, Latin, or English; and, since the time of Reuchlin, they have usually been called *conjugations* of the primitive form (among the Jewish grammarians פְּנִינִים, i. e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.¹

3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal *d* modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קִטַּל; קוּטַל, קוֹטַל; cf. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַלְטַל, קָטַלְטַלְ), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל, הִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִקְטַלְטַל, הִקְטַלְטַלְ). Cf. § 31 b.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected more by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e. g. the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, אִתְ, אָתְ have entirely usurped the place of the passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1 m).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *c* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the

¹ The term *Conjugation* thus has an entirely different meaning in Hebrew and Greek or Latin grammar.

old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (כִּבְרִים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of עָלָה *he has done*,¹ which was used in the earliest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but very few verbs exhibit them all:

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

g There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal*; 2. *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Pō'el* and *Pō'al* (see § 55 *b*); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'el* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpō'el* (see § 55 *b*); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'el* (see § 54 *l*); 9. *Pi'el* (see § 55 *d*). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'el* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*. (2) The causative *Hiph'il* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Šaph'el* and *Tiph'el*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

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. קָטַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (*ψ* 139¹⁹, *Jb* 13¹⁵, 24¹⁴); 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.

§ 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion.

A. Ungnad, 'Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Verbalformen im Grundstamm des semit. Verbs,' in *ZDMG.* 59 (1905), 766 ff., and his 'Zum hebr. Verbalsystem', in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* ed. by Fr. Delitzsch and P. Haupt, 1907, p. 55 ff.

1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or *a* conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods*. The verb has only two *tense*-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect*, see the note on § 47 a), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 ff.) or by syntactical combinations. Of *moods* properly so called (besides the *Imperfect Indicative* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the *Imperfect*-form (§ 48).

2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect*, *Imperfect*, and *Imperative* as to *b* persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun*. It is from the union of the *pronoun* with the *verbal stem* that the *personal inflexions* of these *tenses* arise.

The following table will serve for the beginner as a provisional *c* scheme of the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Cf. § 44 ff. and the *Paradigms*.

PERFECT.

| Singular. | | | | | Plural. | | | | |
|-----------|------|---|---|--|---------|-------|---|---|---|
| 3. m. | . | . | . | | 3. c. | י | . | . | . |
| 3. f. | יְ | . | . | | | | | | |
| 2. m. | תְ | . | . | | 2. m. | יְתְ | . | . | . |
| 2. f. | תִּ | . | . | | 2. f. | יְתִ | . | . | . |
| 1. c. | תִּי | . | . | | 1. c. | יְתֵי | . | . | . |

IMPERFECT.

| Singular. | | | | | Plural. | | | | |
|-----------|----|---|----|--|---------|------|---|---|----|
| 3. m. | . | . | י | | 3. m. | יְ | . | . | י |
| 3. f. | . | . | תְ | | 3. f. | יְתְ | . | . | תְ |
| 2. m. | . | . | תְ | | 2. m. | יְתְ | . | . | תְ |
| 2. f. | יְ | . | תְ | | 2. f. | יְתְ | . | . | תְ |
| 1. c. | . | . | תְ | | 1. c. | . | . | . | תְ |

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

- a* The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs. Deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications due to the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz. :—
- (*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62–65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.
- b* (*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19 *b-f*), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י"ב, י"ג, and י"ד, as שָׁנַן, קָל, קָם, §§ 66, 67, 72).
- c* (*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various important deviations from the regular form occur. Cf. § 68 ff. for these verbs, such as שָׁבַע, אָצַק, נָלַח.
- d* Taking the old paradigm לָעַב as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem ב, the second י, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* א"ב for a verb whose first radical is א (*primae radicalis* [sc. *litterae*] א); י"י for *mediae radicalis* י; י"י for a verb whose second radical is repeated to form a third.

I. The Strong Verb.

§ 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and affirmatives given in § 40 *c*, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43–55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e. g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QAL.

§ 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

- a* The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is לָעַב, with *ä* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs* (but see § 44 *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Sere*, originally *i*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *u*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*¹ meaning,

¹ But cf. such instances as Jer 48^d. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. קָבֵר to be heavy, קָטַן to be small.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle a*, a verb *middle ē*, and a verb *middle ō* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence *b* on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameš* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ā* (cf. Arabic *qātālā*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Metheg*; otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*), it becomes *Š^ewā*, e. g. קָטַלְתָּם and plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Š^ewā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qātūlā, qātūlū*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ī* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ū* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: חָפַר to cover with pitch, from חָמַר *C* pitch; מָלַח to salt, from מָלַח salt; שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) to buy or sell corn, from שָׁבַר corn; see above, § 38 c.

§ 44. Flexion of the Perfect of Qal.¹

1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the *a* addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affirmatives*) to the end of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. Perfect, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל he has killed, קָטַלְתָּ thou hast killed (as it were, *killing thou*, or a *killer thou*), a killer wast thou = קָטַל אָתָּה; יָרָא he was fearing, יָרָאִיתֶם ye were fearing = יָרָא אָתָּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נִי—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי, אַנְיָנוּ we (§ 32 b, d). The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (תִּי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ת (cf. § 33 f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי, I.² In the *third* person הִיא (originally הִיא—, cf. below, f) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 c), and י is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also *ū*)

syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1894, p. ci f.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* (actions which depend on the will of the subject) and *involuntaria* (actions or states independent of the will of the subject).

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gramm.* ii.), in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 407 ff., and more fully in *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 15 ff.

² According to Nöldeke, *l.c.*, p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kū*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*.

in Hebrew, also *ana* (in the construct state *ā*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

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

c Rem. 1. Verbs middle *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 *Hireq*, of which the *Sere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 *p*). On the other hand, *Sere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems לָ (§ 74 *g*), before suffixes (§ 59 *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. דִּבְרָהּ *it cleaveth*, Jb 29¹⁰ (not דִּבְרָהּ, cf. 2 S 1²³, Jb 41¹⁵; even (contrary to § 29 *q*) in a closed pausal syllable, e.g. שָׁבָן, Dt 33¹² (out of pause שָׁבָן, Is 32¹⁶); but קָצַל Is 33⁹, &c., according to § 29 *q*).

d 2. In some weak stems middle *a*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes ֶ , and, in one example, ֶ . Thus from יָרַשְׁתָּהּ and thou shall possess it, Dt 17¹⁴; יָרַשְׁתָּהּ Dt 19¹; יָרַשְׁתָּהּ Dt 4¹, and frequently; from יָלַד to bring forth, to beget; יָלַדְתָּיךָ ψ 27 (cf. Nu 11¹², Jer 2²⁷, 15¹⁰); from פָּוֵשׁ וּפָשַׁתָּם Mal 3²⁰; from שָׁאַל וְשָׁאַלְתִּי I have asked him, 1 S 1²⁰ (Ju 13⁶), and three times שָׁאַלְתָּם 1 S 12¹⁸, 25⁶, Jb 21²⁹. Qimhi already suggests the explanation, that the *ī* (ֶ) of these forms of שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ are also found שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יָרַשׁ, see § 69 *s*); the *ī* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ā* (§ 27 *s*), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the *ī* is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or dental), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (cf. § 54 *k* and § 64 *f*).

e 3. In verbs middle *ō*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e.g. יָרַתְּ thou didst tremble; יָכְלוּ in pause יָכְלוּ they were able; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qames hatuph*; יָכְלוּ I have prevailed against him, ψ 13⁶; יָכְלוּ (see § 49 *h*) then shalt thou be able, Ex 18²³; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *S^ewā*, c.g. יָכְלוּ, יָכְלוּ.

f 4. Rarer forms¹ are: Sing. 3rd fem. in תָּ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

¹ Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

Aramaic), e. g. לְאִתָּךְ *it is gone*, Dt 32³⁶; וְנִשְׁכַּחַת Is 23¹⁵ (in the Aramaic form, for וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ); from a verb עָשָׂה , cf. § 72 o. This original feminine ending *-ath* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59 a; and similarly in stems לְאִתָּךְ , either in the form *āth* (which is frequent also in stems לְאִתָּךְ § 74 g), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *šwā* before the pleonastic ending וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ , e. g. וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ § 75 i. In Ez 31⁵ the Aramaic form וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ occurs instead of וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ .

2nd *masc.* וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ for וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ (differing only orthographically), e. g. וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal 2¹⁴; cf. 1 S 15³, Gn 3¹² (וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ which is twice as common as וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ , cf. § 66 h); Gn 21²³, 2 S 2²⁶, 2 K 9³, Is 2⁶, ψ 56⁹ (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 K 9⁷, Is 37²³, ψ 60⁴).

2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי *thou wentest*, Jer 31²¹; וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי cf. 2³³, 3⁴, 4¹⁹ (but read the ptp. וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי , with the LXX, instead of the 2nd fem.), 46¹¹, and so commonly in Jeremiah, and Ez (16¹⁸, &c.); see also Mi 4¹³, Ru 3³. וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי , &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי (without י) ¹ as in the corresponding pronoun אֲתִי (אֲתִי) § 32 h. The ordinary form has rejected the final i, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 59 a, c).

1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ ψ 140¹³, Jb 42², 1 K 8⁴⁸, ² Ez 16⁵⁹ (all in K^{ethibh}), ψ 16², without a Q^{rê}; in 2 K 18²⁰ also וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ is really intended, as appears from Is 36⁵. The Q^{rê} 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.

וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ Ez 33²⁶, might just possibly ^h be due to the following וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ (cf., for an analogous case, Mi 3¹², § 87 c), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי (according to others וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי) Am 4³, but the reading is very doubtful; since וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however, וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי § 32 i.

3rd *plur. comm.* has three times the very strange termination וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ ; וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ Dt 33¹⁶ (both before וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ , and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ Is 26¹⁶; on וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ in the Imperf. see § 47 m; on the affixed וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ in Jos 10²⁴, Is 28¹², see § 23 i.

It is very doubtful whether, as in most Semitic languages (see § 47 c, note), ^m the 3rd-*fem. plur.* in Hebrew was originally distinguished from the 3rd *masc.*

other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

¹ Where the Masora apparently regards the וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e. g. in Jer 2²⁰ (twice), Mi 4¹³, it has rather taken the form as 1st *pers. sing.* (cf. Stade, *Gramm.*, p. 253); so in Ju 5⁷, where וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי , 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 וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי as וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי instead of 3rd *sing. fem.* וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי (as LXX).

² That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ūn* in the 3rd *plur. Perf.*, has been shown by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 409 ff.; cf. also *ZDMG.* vol. 32, p. 757 f., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nûn* of the 3rd *plur.* in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*³, p. 6 note.]

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 h-s).¹

The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity ^b and inflexibility of the Infin. absol. are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *ō* of the Infin. constr. may be lost. For קטל, according to § 84^a, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qūṭūl*.

Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—

(a) קטל, e. g. שָׁבַב to lie, Gn 34⁷; שָׁפַל to sink, Ec 12⁴; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes also with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁבַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 c). In Ez 21³³ the Masora seems to treat לְטַבַּח (verse 20, in pause לְטַבַּח) as an Infinitive = לְטַבַּח; probably לְטַבַּח should be read.

(b) קטלה and, attenuated from it, קטלה; קטלה and קטלה (which are ^d feminine forms² of קטל and קטל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e. g. לְאַשְׁמָה to be guilty, Lv 5²⁶, אֲהַבָה to love, שִׂנְאָה to hate; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., to fear; וְקִנְיָה to be old; קִרְאָה to meet (in לְקִרְאָתָה § 19 k); לְרַבְעָה to lie down, Lv 20¹⁶; לְמִשְׁחָה to anoint, Ex 29²⁹; לְרַחֲצָה to wash, Ex 30¹⁸, &c.; לְטִמְאָה (also a subst. = uncleanness, like טִמְאָה) to be unclean, Lv 15³²; לְקִרְבָה to approach, Ex 36², &c.; cf. Lv 12⁴⁻⁵, Dt 11²², Is 30¹⁹, Ez 21¹⁶, Hag 1⁶; also לְרַחֲקָה to be far off, Ez 8⁶; קִמְלָה to pity, Ez 16⁵; cf. Ho 7⁴. On the other hand in קִמְלָה Gn 19¹⁶, the original *ā* has been modified to *ā*; cf. חִוְקָה Is 8¹¹, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (מְקַטַּל but cf. also Arab. *maqṭal*) there occur as ^e *Infin. Qal*: מְשַׁלֵּחַ to send, Est 9¹⁹; מְקַרָא to call and מִפַּעַע to depart, Nu 10² (Dt 10¹¹); מְקַח to take, 2 Ch 19⁷, &c.; מְשָא to carry, Nu 4²⁴, &c. (cf. even לְמִשְׁאוֹחַ Ez 17⁹); also with a feminine ending מְעֹלָה to go up, Ezr 7⁹, &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4²⁴.

(d) קטלת in יבִּשְׁתָּה Gn 8⁷; יבִּלְתָּ Nu 14¹⁶; probably also חִרְשֵׁתָה Ex 31⁵, 35³³.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the *Infin. constr.* with the prepo- ^f sition לְ; as לְקַטַּל *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפַּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 a).

¹ The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קטל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קטול ground-form *qāṭāl*). In the Paradigms the *Inf. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

² According to the remark of Elias Levita on Qimhi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition לְ.

g The blending of the ה with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לְשַׁבֵּב Gn 34⁷; לְנַפֵּל ψ 118¹³, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin pōl*; hence, also *liq-ōl*, &c.; but בְּנַפֵּל *bin^ephōl*, Jb 4¹³; בְּנַפֵּל 2 S 3³⁴. Exceptions לְצַבָּא Nu 4²³, 8²⁴; לְנַחֵשׁ וּלְנַחֵשׁ Jer 1¹⁰, 18⁷, 31²⁸; לְשַׁרְדּוּ Jer 4⁷; לְטַבּוּחַ Jer 11¹⁹, &c., ψ 37¹⁴; לְבָרוּךְ 2 Ch 34¹⁰; according to some also לְסַבֵּב Nu 21⁴ and לְכַבֵּשׁ 2 Ch 28¹⁰ (Baer לְכַבֵּשׁ); on the other hand בְּשַׁבֵּן Gn 35²²; בְּנִפְרַר Jer 17². For the meaningless לְרִיּוֹשׁ Ezr 10¹⁶ read לְרִישׁ.

§ 46. The Imperative.

- a 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קַטַּל (properly *qētūl*, which is for an original *qūtūl*), and קְטַל (see below, c), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Infin. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ They represent the *second* person, and have both fem. and plur. forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109 b); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e. g. אַל-תִּקְטַל *ne occidas* (not אַל-קְטַל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Niph'al and Hithpa'el.²
- b 2. The Affirmatives of the 2nd sing. fem. and the 2nd plur. masc. and fem. are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47 c). In the same way, the Imperative of the 2nd sing. masc., in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the הַ— *paragogicum* (§ 48 i), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).
- c Rem. 1. Instead of the form קַטַּל (sometimes also *plene*, e. g. שָׁמֹר Ec 12¹³; before *Maqqeph* קַטַּל- with *Qames hatuph*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the *Imperf.* (i. e. especially verbs middle *ē*) make their Imperative of the form קְטַל, e. g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לְבַשׁ and לְבַשְׁ); לִיֵּב *lie down!* in pause לִיֵּב 1 S 3^{5.6.9}.
- d 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Šewā mobile* (*qit^elī*, *qit^elū*), and so שַׁפְּכֵי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even מְשִׁבֵי with *Metheg*, Ex 12²¹; but cf. אֶסְפֵי Jer 10¹⁷, and with the same phonetic combination חֲשַׁפֵי Is 47²; see analogous cases in § 93 m); less frequently we find an *ō* instead of the *i*, e. g. מְלֵכֵי *rule*, Ju 9¹⁰; מְשִׁבֵי *draw*, Ez 32²⁰; חֲרֵבֵי Jer 2¹² (cf. חֲרֵבֵי Is 44²⁷); on קְסַמֵי 1 S 28⁸ *Qerē*, יִצְעָקֵי Jer. 22²⁰ (cf. 1 K 13⁷), see § 10 h. This *ō* arises (see above, a) from a singular ground-form *qūtūl*, not from a retraction of the original *ū* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *i* in the first syllable (cf. also

¹ The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek *Infin.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113 bb). Cf. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

² In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ez 32¹⁹, Jer. 49⁸), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

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

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is יִזְרִי I K 3²⁶; from שָׁמַעַי, שָׁמְעֵי, *e* &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבָרִי Is 23¹²; even without the *pause* מְלוֹכִי Ju 9^{10,12}, *K^{eth.}*; יִסְמָוִי I S 25⁸, *K^{eth.}* (cf. with this also מְלוֹכָה, &c., § 48 i); from שָׁמַחַי, שָׁמְחֵי Jo 2²¹.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמְעֵי occurs once, in Gn 4²³ (for שָׁמְעֵנָה) with loss of the הַ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמְעֵי. Also instead of the abnormal קְרָאָן Ex 2²⁰ (for קְרָאָה) we should perhaps read as in Ru 1²⁰ קְרָאָי (cf. מְצָאָי 1⁹ and לָבֵן 1¹²).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in אַ, Is 32¹¹, see § 48 i.

§ 47. The Imperfect and its Inflection.

1. The persons of the Imperfect,¹ in contradistinction to those of *a* the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) before the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קָטַל). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the 2nd sing. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd plur. masc.) passes over to the affirmatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the affirmatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (א, ה, מ, נ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative combined with the

¹ On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 ff. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct contrast to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded, completed, and past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning, the unfinished, and the continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin Imperf.). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only *one* side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the chief distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.

stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be further indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 c.

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

In the *first* pers. לִּקְטַל , plur. לִּקְטַלְתִּי , ל is probably connected with לִּי , and ל with לִּי ; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *'āqtūl* and *nāqtūl*: the *i* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *S^eghōl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the ל for this sound (cf. § 22 *o*, but also § 51 *p*); according to Qimḥi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between לִּקְטַל (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and לִּקְטַל , which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭōl*.¹

c The preformative ת of the *second* persons (תִּקְטַל , ground-form *tāqtūl*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the ת of תִּקְטַלְתִּי , &c., and the *affirmative* $\text{לִּ$ of the 2nd fem. sing. לִּתִּקְטַלְתִּי with the *i* of the original feminine form לִּתִּי (see § 32 *h*). The *affirmative* $\text{לִּ$ of the 2nd masc. plur. לִּתִּקְטַלְתֵּי (in its more complete form, לִּי , see *m*) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44 *a*). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine,² while the *affirmative* $\text{לִּ$ (also $\text{לִּ$) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with לִּי *eae* and לִּי *vos* (fem.).

d The preformatives of the *third* persons (י in the masc. יִקְטַל , ground-form *yāqtūl*, plur. יִקְטַלְתֵּי , ground-form *yāqtūlū*; ת in the fem. תִּקְטַל , plur. תִּקְטַלְתֵּי) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With ת might most obviously be compared the original feminine

¹ Cf. § 24 *e*. In favour of the above view of Qimḥi may be urged the phonetic orthography לִּקְטַל (in Pr 18²⁴ לִּקְטַל), 2 S 14¹⁹ (unless, with Perles, לִּקְטַל is to be read), Mi 6¹⁰, for לִּי , and לִּי 1 Ch 2¹³ for לִּי (as verse 12). Also לִּקְטַל Mi 6¹¹ is probably for לִּי = לִּי , לִּקְטַל Is 10¹² for לִּי ; לִּקְטַל Is 51¹⁹ for לִּי ; and conversely לִּי is for לִּי = לִּי . Similarly, לִּי 1 S 14¹⁹ is probably for לִּי or לִּי ; in 2 S 23⁸ לִּי is, according to the LXX, an error for לִּי = לִּי . In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew $\text{לִּ$ as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ū*, *ūn*. In Hebrew, indeed, it is used in the 3rd plur. *Perfect* for both genders, but in the kindred languages even there only for the masculine, e.g. in Syriac *q^etālū*, *q^etālūn*, with the feminine form *q^etālēn*, in Western Aram. *q^etālū*, fem. *q^etālā*; in Arab. *qātālū*, fem. *qātālānā*, Eth. *qātālū*, *qātālā*.

ending הַ— of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives וְ (וּ) and הָ, see c.

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

Rem. 1. The *ō* of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), being lengthened from an original *ū* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 9 r). Hence it follows that: (a) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (b) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel appears as *Qames ḥaiuph*, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב־שָׁם and *he wrote there*, Jos 8³² (but cf. also Ex 21³⁷, Jos 18²⁰); (c) it becomes *S^ewā* before the tone-bearing affirmatives וְ— and וְ (see above, e; but Jerome still heard e.g. *iezbuleni* for וַיִּבְלִי; cf. ZAW. iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *S^ewā*, exhibit a long *ū*: וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ Ex 18²⁶, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb. p. 18^b), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise וַיִּבְרָא לְאֱלֹהֵי עֲבוּרָי מִזֶּה Ru 2⁸; וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ (in principal pause) Pr 14³. In the first two cases perhaps וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ and וַיִּבְרָא (for וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14³ וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ is to be read, with August Müller.

2. The *ō* of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with transitive verbs middle *a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives middle *a* and *ē* almost always take *ā* (*Pathah*)¹ in the impf., e.g. וַיִּרְבֵּץ, וַיִּרְבֵּץ to *couch*, וַיִּשְׁבֵּב, וַיִּשְׁבֵּב to *lie down* (לָמַד, לָמַד to *learn* is also originally intransitive = to *accustom oneself*); וַיִּגְדַּל, וַיִּגְדַּל to *become great* (but cf. וַיִּשְׁבֵּן and וַיִּשְׁבֵּן imperf. וַיִּשְׁבֵּן to *dwell* and to *inhabit*, וַיִּבֵּל imperf. וַיִּבֵּל to *wither*); also from verbs middle *ō*, as וַיִּקְטַן to *be small*, the imperf. has the form וַיִּקְטַן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, *i* and those with *ā* an intransitive meaning, e.g. וַיִּקְצַר he *cuts off*, וַיִּקְצַר he *is cut off*, i.e. *is short*; וַיִּחַלֵּשׁ imperf. *ō*, to *overcome*, Ex 17¹³; imperf. *ā*, to *be overcome*, Jb 14¹⁰. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e.g. וַיִּשֶׁף and וַיִּשֶׁף he *bites*, וַיִּחַפֵּץ and וַיִּחַפֵּץ he *is inclined* (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = *he bends*, in Jb 40¹⁷). On the *a* of the impf. of verbs middle and third guttural, cf. § 64 b; § 65 b. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63 n), ע"ע (§ 67 p), פ"י (§ 69 b), and א"פ (§ 68 c), and in וַיִּתֵּן for *yintēn* from וַתֵּן to *give*, instead of *ā* or *ō* a movable *Sere* (originally *ī*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects² in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וַיִּטְמְנוּ 2 K 7⁸, since טמן otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel impf. *o*, impf. *a*, impf. *e*.

3. For the 3rd sing. fem. וַתִּקְטַל (= *tiq-āl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25²⁰ וַתִּפְגַּשׁ לְ (but read with ed. Mant., &c. וַתִּפְגַּשׁ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (וַתִּקְטְלִי) the form

¹ This *ā* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive *strong* verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 b), it is to be found in פ"י and ע"ע, and in many verbs א"פ and פ"י (§§ 69-71).

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

הַקָּטֹל is found in Is 57⁸, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³², in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26¹⁴. In Is 17¹⁰, where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably הַתְּרַעֵינָּה is to be read with Marti for הַתְּרַעֵנָּה.—For the 3rd plur. fem. הַקָּטֹלֹת we find in Jer 49¹¹, in pause הַתְּבַחְתֶּנָּה (for הַתְּבַחְתֶּנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form הַקָּטֹלֹת with the preformative ה' (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assyr.), in Gn 30³⁸, 1 S 6¹², Dn 8²². On the other hand, הַקָּטֹלֹת appears in some cases to be incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. sing. as הַשְּׁלַחְתֶּנָּה Ju 5²⁶ (where, however, perhaps הַשְּׁלַחְתֶּנָּה is to be read), and Ob 1³, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of הַשְּׁלַחְתֶּנָּה; in Pr 1²⁰, 8³ for הַתְּרַנֶּה read הַתְּרַנֶּה as in Jb 39²³; in Ex 1¹⁰ read הַקָּרְאֹנָה with the Samaritan.—In Is 27¹¹, 28³, as also in Jb 17¹⁶ (if we read הַקָּוֹתִי with LXX for the 2nd תְּקוּוּתִי), it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *ännä*.

l For הָּ we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw* consecutive, simply הָּ, e.g. Gn 19^{33.36}, 37⁷, Ex 1^{18.19}, 15²⁰, Nu 2^{5.2}, Ez 3²⁰, 16⁶⁵; in Arab. always *nä*. According to Elias Levita הַלְּשׁוֹן (2 S 13¹⁸) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form הַתְּנַבְּהֶנָּה (so also Qimḥi and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. הַתְּנַבְּהֶנָּה) for הַתְּנַבְּהֶנָּה they were high, Ez 16⁶⁰, is irregular, with ה' inserted after the manner of verbs עָע and עָי, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in הָּ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms¹ with the fuller ending הָּן (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively יִרְיִבֹּן Ex 21¹⁸, 22⁸, &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 יִלְקָטִין they collect, ψ 104²⁸; יִרְיִזֹּן they tremble, Ex 15¹⁴; יִשְׁמָעוּן ye shall hear, Dt 1¹⁷; cf. Ex 34¹³, with Zaqeph qāṭon, Athnah, and Silluq; Jos 24¹⁵, with Segolta; Is 13⁸ and 17¹³ with Zaqeph qāṭon, 17¹² with Athnah and Silluq, 41⁵ after *wāw* consec. Without the pause, e.g. ψ 11² יִדְרֹכֶנָּה קִשֶׁת, cf. 4³, Gn 18^{28.29.30} אַ, 44¹, Nu 32²³, Jos 4⁶ (יִשְׁאַלֶּה); Is 8¹², 1 S 9¹³, Ru 2⁹ (יִקְרְאוּן and יִשְׁאַבְּנוּ); Ju 11¹⁸ after *wāw* consec.

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17², Nu 16²⁹, 32²⁰, 1 S 9¹³, 1 K 9³, and often, to avoid a hiatus before אַ or אַ. 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 26¹¹: בְּלִי-יִחְזִיזוּן יִחְזִיזוּ וַיִּבְשׂוּ they see not; may they see and become

¹ [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 21⁵.]

ashamed. All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.¹ In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier ך (old Arabic *ünä*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ü*.

With an affixed ך we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) יִשְׁוֹן Jer 10⁵, evidently *n* an error for יִשְׁוֹן, caused by the preceding ך.—In יִשְׁוֹן Is 35¹, since ך follows, the ך is no doubt only due to dittography.

5. Corresponding to the use of ך for ך there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., *o* although much less frequently, the fuller ending ך (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inä*), also always with the tone, for ך, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus תִּבְרָכְךָ Ru 2^{8.21}, cf. 3^{4.18}, 1 S 14 (תִּבְרָכְךָ), Jer 31²², Is 45¹⁰.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ö* which had become *šwä* in the forms תִּבְרָכְךָ, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ä* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ä*, hence, e.g. תִּבְרָכְךָ, יִבְרָכְךָ. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. יִבְרָכְךָ, in pause יִבְרָכְךָ. But the fuller forms in *ün* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ü* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

7. On the numerous instances of passive forms in the imperfect, mostly *q* treated as Hoph'al, see § 53 *u*.

§ 48. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.

1. Certain modifications which take place in the form of the *a* imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

2. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also *b* a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*).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; consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with affirmatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yäqtülü*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yäqtülä*; (*b*) a

¹ It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nün*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; cf. 1 K 8^{38.43} with 2 Ch 6^{29.33}; 1 K 12²⁴, 2 K 11⁵ with 2 Ch 11⁴, 23⁴.

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

jussive, *yāqtūl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yāqtūlānnā* and *yāqtūlān*, in pause *yāqtūlā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

C 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (הַ) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e. g. הַקָּטָן from קָטָן.¹ It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הַ has the tone wherever the affirmatives ו and ' would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הַ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šewā*, e. g. in Qal הַשְׁמֵרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el הַנְּתַחֵם let us break asunder, ψ 2³; on הַשְׁמֵרָה Is 18⁴ *Qerē* (cf. also 27⁴, Ezr 8²⁵, &c.), see § 10 h; with the *Kethibh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases ישׁפוטו, &c., § 47 g.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the הַ, as (e. g.) in Hiph. הַפְּיֵרָה *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ū* and *î*), the vowel which became *Šewā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative הַשְׁמֵרָה the pausal form is הַשְׁמֵרָה ψ 59¹⁰; cf. Gn 18²¹, Is 41²⁶.

d The change of הַ into the obtuse הַ seems to occur in 1 S 28¹⁵, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְהָקְרָה and וְהָקְרָה; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20⁴, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; cf. similar cases of the change of הַ into the obtuse הַ in *l* and in §§ 73 d, 80 i, 90 i. In ψ 20⁴, however, הַשְׁמֵרָה—with suffix—is probably intended. An הַ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5¹⁹ (twice); Ez 23²⁰, and again in verse 16 according to the *Qerē*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11¹⁷, although there תַּעֲרַפֶּה might also, with *Qimḥi*, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form תַּבְּוֹאֲתָהּ Dt 33¹⁶ (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תַּבְּוֹאֲתָהּ in verse 14), read תַּבְּוֹאֲתָהּ. For תַּבְּוֹאֲתָהּ Jb 22²¹ the noun תַּבְּוֹאֲתָהּ *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of הַ, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 a; on ותבואתי 1 S 25³⁴, see § 76 h.

e The cohortative expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an optative, &c., see § 108.

f 4. The general characteristic of the jussive form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract

¹ Probably this *ā* goes back to the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to b) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the footnote to § 53 i) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative *g* only in *Hiph'il* (juss. יִקְטִיל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *i* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשִׁיב; from יָמַת and יָמִית; also in *Qal* of the verbs עָוַי and עָוִי, as יָמַת, ind. יָמִית; יָגַל, ind. יָגִיל; in all conjugations of verbs לָה, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה־ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יִגְלֶה, juss. יִגְלֶה; *Hiph.* ind. יִגְלֶה, juss. יִגְלֶה; and in the *Pī'el* יִצַּי from the indic. יִצְוֶה (called apocopated imperfects). But almost all¹ the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending ה־. Neither do the forms of the 2d sing. fem., as תִּקְטְלִי, תִּמְאֲתִי, תִּגְלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּמְאֲתֵי as ind. Jer 38¹⁵, as jussive Jer 41⁸.

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

5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion *i* with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by ה־, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -ānnā or -ān, in pause -ā) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה (*šm'era*, cf. קָטְלִי *qī'li*, § 46 *d*); עוֹבָה, עוֹבָה Jer 49¹¹; שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב *lie down*; שָׁמַע, שָׁמַע *hear*, in lesser pause שָׁמְעָה

¹ Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as נִשְׂאָר I S 14³⁶, parallel with cohortatives; and נָרָא Is 41²³ *Keth.*

² On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. *šm'era*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in ψ 86², 119¹⁶⁷ (cf. also Is 38¹⁴, and שָׁמְרֵנִי ψ 16¹), see § 9 *v*; on מְלוּכָה, Ju 9⁸ *Keth.*, see § 46 *e*.

Dn 9¹⁹; in Niph'al הִשְׁבַּעַה Gn 21²³. Cf., however, also מְכַרָּה *sell*, Gn 25³¹, notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכֹּר; יַעֲרֹכָה Jb 33⁵ (cf. עָרַכְו Jer 46³), but impf. יַעֲרֹךְ; אִסְפָּה *collect*, Nu 11¹⁶ (for 'אִסַּף cf. § 63 *l* and the plural אִסְפוּ), but 2nd masc. אִסְפוּ ψ 141³. Barth (see above, § 47 *i* note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 *n*. On the other hand, קָרַבָּה ψ 69²⁹ (also Imperat. קָרַב Lv 9⁷, &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לֵךְ *go*, Nu 23¹³, Ju 19¹³, 2 Ch 25¹⁷. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטַלָּה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטַלָּה, e. g. יִרְשָׁה Dt 33²³. But also without the pause we find מְלוּכָה Ju 9⁸ *Keth.* and צְרוּפָה ψ 26² *Keth.*, on which see § 46 *e*. On the other hand, רָגְנָה, פָּשְׁטָה, עָרָה, חָגְגָה Is 32¹¹ are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for הָרְרִי v. 11 read הָרְרִי, and for סְפָרִים v. 12 read סְפָרָה.

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

l Rem. The form הִדְעָה for הִדְעָה, best attested in Pr 24¹⁴ (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., הִדְעָה) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31²); for other examples of this change of *a* to *S*°ghol, see above, under *d*, § 73 *d*, and § 80 *i*. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רַבָּה Ju 9²⁹ (from רָבָה) is intended for רַבָּה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'el* רַבֵּה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative יִצָּא (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה־, with imperatives of verbs ל"ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24¹⁴).

§ 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

a 1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew consecution of tenses¹ is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

¹ The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Méša'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זכר of Hamāth (cf. Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 379) where we find וַאֲשַׁא יָרִי and *I lifted up my hand*, וַיַּעֲנֵנִי and *he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 K 20¹, *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 7¹⁷, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c., 7¹⁸, and it shall come to pass* (perf. וַיָּבֵר) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant and (called *wāw consecutive*¹), which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

2. The *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect is (a) pronounced with *c* *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטַל and *he killed*; before *ס* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 c) with *Qames*, as וַיִּקְטַלְנִי and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַיִּבְרַחְנִי Ez 16¹⁰ according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭ'amim*, § 71; also וַיִּמְלִיכֵנִי 2 S 1¹⁰ according to *Qimḥi*; but in Ju 6⁹ וַיִּשְׁרַחֲנִי should be read according to *Baer*, and וַיִּשְׁרַחֲנִי in both places in Ju 20⁶. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative *ו*, in accordance with § 20 m.

(b) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (cf. § 48 g), *d* it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51 n), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיִּקְטַל (§ 53 n). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the jussive. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29 a), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. וַיִּקְטַל, juss.

¹ This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e.g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect *consecutive*, the perfect instead of the imperfect *consecutive*. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect *consecutive*, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Cf., on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the *wāw consecutive* by the old-fashioned name *wāw converse*, on the ground that it always converts the meaning of the respective tenses into its opposite, i.e. according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

קָם, with *wāw consec.* קָמָה and he arose (§ 67 n and x, § 68 d, § 69 p, § 71, § 72 t and aa, § 73 e).¹

c In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*â* to *ô*, *î* to *ê*, and then to *ö* and *ë*) are not usual,² at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs קָמָה occurs more rarely; e.g. always קָמָה (or קָמָה, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; *Hiph.* קָמָה (but generally written קָמָה, implying the pronunciation *wā'āqem*, as קָמָה implies *wā'āqôm*); קָמָה and I saw, more frequently than קָמָה, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final ה־ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. קָמָה and I sent, Gn 32⁶, 41¹¹, 43²¹, Nu 8¹⁹ (קָמָה, as in Ju 6⁹, 1 S 2²⁸, and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost נ); Ju 6¹⁰, 12³, 2 S 22²⁴, ψ 3⁶, 7⁵, 90¹⁰, 119⁵⁶, Jb 1^{15ff.}, 19²⁰, Ez 7²⁸, 8²⁵, 9³, Neh 2¹³, 5^{7.8.13}, 6¹¹, 13^{7-11.21} f., &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3⁶, with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10¹², קָמָה before א, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8² קָמָה may have been originally intended; in ψ 73¹⁶ קָמָה and in Jb 30²⁶ קָמָה. In Ez 3³ read קָמָה or קָמָה.

f This ו־ is in meaning a strengthened *wāw copulative*, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*).³ The close connexion of this *wā* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ā* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. בְּמָה, בְּמָה, בְּמָה (for בְּמָה), where the prepositions בְּ and לְ, and the particle וְ, are closely connected with מָה in the same way (§ 102 k).

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in מָה (for מָה § 102 l).—The identity of many *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form.

h 3. The counterpart of *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect* is *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect*, by means of which perfects are placed as

¹ The plural forms in ה־ also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive*; cf., however, וְיָרִיבוּ Ju 8¹, 11¹⁸, Am 6³, Ez 44⁸, Dt 4¹¹, 5²⁰. The 2nd fem. sing. in וְיָרִיב never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

² In the 1st plur. וְנִשְׁמַר Neh 4³ is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. וְנִשְׁמַר, i. e. וְנִשְׁמַר, 4⁹ K^{eth.}; Q^{ré} וְנִשְׁמַר). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niph'al*, see § 51 n.

³ In usage the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* (*wāw apodosis*, see § 143 d) as well as *wā*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (ו, ו, ו, as 2 K 7⁴, and ו); e. g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., and so it happens = and it will happen. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e. g. וְהָלַכְתִּי I went, consecutive form וְהָלַכְתִּי and I will go, Ju 1³, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

As innumerable examples show, the *Qames* of the first syllable is retained ⁱ in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *ō* of the second syllable in verbs *middle* *ō* upon losing the tone necessarily becomes *ö*, e. g. וְיִבְלֶה Ex 18²³.

The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, ^k however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st pers. pl., e. g. וַיִּשְׁבְּנוּ Gn 34¹⁶; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives הֲ— and ו, see § 53 r; and (c) in many cases in verbs א"ל and ה"ל, almost always in the 1st sing. of א"ל (Jer 29¹⁴), and in ה"ל if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17⁶, 26^{4.6.7.10} n, Ju 6²⁶, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24⁵, before א) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before א, Nu 20⁸, Dt 20¹³, 1 S 15³, 2 K 13¹⁷; similarly in Pi'el before א, Ex 25⁴, Jer 27⁴. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *e* (in א"ל Gn 27¹⁰ &c., in ה"ל Ex 40⁴, Jer 33⁶, Ez 32⁷); but cf. also וַיִּרְאֶתָּה Lv 19^{14.32} and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4²¹, ψ 19^{14.1}. With *a* in the penultima the form is וַנִּשְׁאֵתָּה Is 14⁴, and probably also וַקְרָאָתָּה Jer 2², 3¹², 1 S 10² with little T^eli'ā, a postpositive accent.

But before a following א the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic ^l grounds, e. g. וַבְּאֵתָּהּ אֵלֶיךָ Gn 6¹, Ex 3¹⁸, Zc 6¹⁰ (by the side of וַבְּאֵתָּהּ, &c. (cf., however, וַקְרָאָתָּה, before א, Gn 17¹⁹, Jer 7²⁷, Ez 36²⁹); — וְהַכִּיֵּתָּהּ Ju 6¹⁶, cf. Ex 25¹¹, Lv 24⁵ (but also וַצִּיֵּרְתִּי אֶת־ Lv 25²¹). Likewise, before ה, Am 8⁹, and ע, e. g. Gn 26¹⁰, 27¹², Lv 26²⁵ (cf., however, וַקְרָאָתִי עָלָיו, Ez 38²¹); on verbs ע"ע, see § 67 k and ee.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, ^m e. g. וַיִּשְׁבַּעְתָּהּ Dt 6¹¹, 11¹⁵; וַאֲמַרְתָּ Is 14⁴, Ju 4⁸; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2²⁸, Ez 3²⁶, 1 S 29⁹ (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29 e), as in וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתָּהּ Dt 17¹⁴, Ez 14¹⁸, 17²², Am 1^{4.7.10.12}—but also וַחֲשַׁבְתָּהּ Dt 21¹¹, 23¹⁴. 24¹⁹, 1 K 8⁴⁶.

¹ The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Asher alone.

§ 50. The Participle.

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

Pā'ul is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52 e), just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* are lost, except in the participles. But instances of the form *quṭṭāl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 s), so that פֹּעֵל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominabildung*, p. 173 ff.

b 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e. g. יָשָׁן *sleeping*, from יָשַׁן; יָנַר (only orthographically different from the perf. יָנַר) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51 a. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָטַל (so even from the transitive שָׂנְאָה *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *ō* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *ā*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 q. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qameṣ* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms יָשָׁן and יָנַר, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84^a f. The formation of the participle in *Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hithpa'el* follows a different method.

c 3. Participles form their feminine (קָטְלוּהָ or קָטְלוּהָ) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80 e, § 84^a r, s, § 94).

d Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ā*, and consequently changeable (e. g. fem. יָשְׁנָה); and that the *ō* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *ā*.¹ In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qātīl* corresponds to the form *qāṭēl*, and the part. *qātīl* to *qōṭēl*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטַל, plur. קָטְלוּ; constr. pl. קָטְלוּ).

e תּוֹמִיךָ ψ 16^b, instead of the form *qōṭēl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that תּוֹמִיךָ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סְבִיב 2 K 8²¹), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of תּוֹמֵךְ. The form יִסְּךָ in Is 29¹⁴, 38⁵ appears to stand for יִסְּךָ, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יִסְּךָ Ec 1¹⁸) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.*, for which the better form would be יִסְּךָ; אֹבְדִיל 1 Ch 27³⁰, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבֵר (constr. state of אָבֵר), with *ā* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32²⁸ (cf. moreover, § 65 d). On הוֹלֵם Is 41⁷ (for הוֹלֵם), see § 29 f.

f 2. A form like the pass. ptep. *Pā'ul*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from intransitive verbs, to denote an inherent quality, e. g. אֱמוּנָה *faithful*, אֲנָשׁ *desperate*, Jer 15¹⁸, &c.; בְּטוּחַ *trustful*, Is 26³, ψ 112⁷; עֲצוּם *strong*; שָׂכָר *drunken*, Is 51²¹; and even from transitive verbs, חֲנֻחַ *handling*, Ct 3⁸; מְדַבֵּר *mindful*, ψ 103¹⁴; יָדוּעַ *knowing*, Is 53³; cf. § 84^a m.

¹ The constr. st. נֹאֵם in the formula יהוה נֹאֵם, *the word* (properly the *whispering*) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

² Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qātīl-partizipium,' in ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff.

R. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. *Niph'al*.¹

1. The essential characteristic of this conjugation consists in a *a* prefix² to the stem. This exists in two forms: (a) the (probably original) prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect and participle, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *i*: לָבַטַל for original *nā-qāṭāl*, participle לְבַטַל, infinitive absolute sometimes לְבַטֵּל; (b) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqātālā*), found in the imperfect לְבַטֵּל for *yinqāṭēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary ה added, לְבַטֵּה (for *hinqāṭēl*), and in the infinitive absolute לְבַטֵּה. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of *Qal*.

The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the *b* prefixed *Nūn*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dageš* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22 *b*, cannot take *Dageš forte*, the omission of the strengthening invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63 *h*).

2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the *c* Greek *middle voice*, in being—(a) primarily *reflexive* of *Qal*, e.g. יָחַלְלָהּ to *thrust oneself (against)*, נִשְׁמַר to *take heed to oneself*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִחַתָּהּ to *hide oneself*, לְנַסְתָּהּ to *redeem oneself*; cf. also אָנַחְתָּהּ to *answer for oneself*. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; חָנַחְתָּהּ to *trouble oneself*, נִחַנְתָּהּ to *sigh (to bemoan oneself, cf. ὀδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari)*; as well as to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. שָׁרַחְתָּהּ to *search, to inquire*, *Niph. to allow oneself to be inquired of*, Is 65¹, Ez 14³, &c.; so the *Niph.* of נִצַּחְתָּהּ to *find*, נִסַּחְתָּהּ to *warn, to correct*, Jer 6⁸, 31¹⁸, &c.

(b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. דַּבַּרְתָּהּ to *speak*, *Niph. d* to *speak to one another*; שִׁפְטָהּ to *judge*, *Niph. to go to law with one another*; יָצַחְתָּהּ to *counsel*, *Niph. to take counsel*, cf. the middle and deponent verbs βουλευέσθαι (יוֹצֵחַ), μάχεσθαι (מִחַלְלָהּ), altercari, luctari (הִצָּחְתָּהּ to *strive with one another*) *proeliari*.

(c) It has also, like *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the *c* meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself (sibi)*, for one-

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpacl*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong *Niph'al* forms (81) and *Hithpa'el* forms (36) in the Old Testament; and especially M. Lambert, 'L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu,' *REJ.* 41, 196 ff.

² See Philippi in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 f.

self, e. g. לְשֵׁאלָא to ask (something) for oneself (1 S 20^{6,23}, Neh 13⁶), cf. αἰτοῦμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, to put on (oneself) a tunic.

f (d) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the passive¹ of *Qal*, e. g. יָלַד to bear, Niph. to be born; קָבַר to bury, Niph. to be buried. In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e. g. כָּבַד to be in honour, Pi'el to honour, Niph. to be honoured (as well as Pu'al כָּבַד; פָּתַר Pi'el to conceal, Hiph. to destroy, Niph. passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (חָלָה *Qal* and Niph. to be ill) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, נִזְכָּר to be born a male, Ex 34¹⁹ (from זָכַר; but probably הִזְכָּר should here be read); נִלְבַּב cordatum fieri, Jb 11¹² (from לָבַב cor); doubtless also נִבְנָה to obtain children, Gn 16², 30³.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niph'al* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*ingātālā*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, the forms mentioned in § 52 e point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*.—The form נִזְאָלוּ Is 59³, La 4¹⁴, is not to be regarded as a passive of *Niph'al*, but with König and Cheyne as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to combine two optional readings, נִזְאָלוּ, perf. Niph., and נִזְאָלוּ, perf. Pu'al [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the passive use of *Niph'al* was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use.

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* נִקְטָלוּ is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as קָטַל in *Qal*, the *o* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *ā*. Examples are, נִבְכָּה Gn 31³⁰; נִלְחָם Ju 11²⁵; נִשְׂאָל 1 S 20^{6,23}, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form הִקְטַל (in connexion with imperfects) are, הִתְנַחַם Jer 32⁴; הִאָּכַל Lv 7¹⁸; once אִדְרַשׁ Ez 14³, where, perhaps, the subsequent אִדְרַשׁ has led to the substitution of א for ה.—Moreover, the form הִקְטַל is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*,² e. g. Ex 22³, Nu 15³¹, Dt 4²⁶, 1 K 20³⁹. On the other hand, הִתְנַחַם should simply be read for the wholly abnormal בְּהִתְנַחַם ψ 68³ (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent הִתְנַחַם, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings הִתְנַחַם and בְּהִתְנַחַם).

¹ Cf. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. Stück, Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the Niph'al (Pu'al, Hoph'al, and qātūl) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of Niph. and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

² But, like הִקְטַל, only in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7⁹. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic נִקְטָלוּ), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּשֵׁלִי Pr 124¹⁷ (for בְּהֵלִי), בְּהֵרֵג Ez 26¹⁵ and בְּעֵטָה La 2¹¹; also in verbs לָהֵא Ex 10³ (לָעֲנֹת); 34²⁴, Dt 31¹¹, Is 1¹² (לָרְאוֹת); in verbs וָעָרָה Jb 33³⁰ (לָאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *Kethibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2¹¹, cf. ψ 61³.

2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathah* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּגְמַל Gn 21⁸; cf. Ex 31¹⁷, 2 S 12²⁵ (with final שׁ); 17²³ (with ק); Jon 1⁶ (with מ); see § 29 q. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּתְּכַרְנֶה Is 65¹⁷; *Sere* occurs only in תִּתְּעַנְנֶה Ru 1¹³, from עָנָן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּתְּעַנְנֶה; cf. even תִּתְּאֲמַנֶה Is 60⁴.—With *Nūn paragodicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, וַיִּלְכְּדוּ, וַיִּלְחַמּוּ, &c., in pause וַיִּבְהִלּוּ, וַיִּשְׁמְדוּ, &c.; but Jb 19²¹ (cf. 24²⁴) וַיִּחַצְבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *ē*), or the imperative is followed in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּאָּבֶק אִישׁ Gn 32²⁵), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S'ghōl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. וַיִּשְׁלַל בָּהּ Ez 33¹²; לוֹ וַיִּעְטֶר Gn 25²¹; in the imperative, 13⁹.—So always הִשְׁמַר לָהּ (since לָהּ counts as one syllable) Gn 24⁵, &c., cf. 1 S 19²; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תִּעֹבֵב אֲרִיִן Jb 18⁴ (but cf. וַיִּעְתָּר אֱלֹהִים 2 S 21¹⁴). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32²⁵, Ezr S²³) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become usual in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after 1 *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁפָּאֵר Gn 7²³; וַיִּלְחַם Nu 21¹ and frequently, וַיִּצְמַד 25³; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמַר Ex 23²¹, Jb 36²¹, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Dt 24⁸, 2 K 6⁹. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2¹² with *Silluq*, Zc 2¹¹ with *Athnah*), and imperfect (Pr 24⁴, &c.), see § 29 o, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, הִפְלִיט, &c.

In the *imperative*, נִקְבְּצוּ, for הִקְבְּצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, O occurs in Is 43⁹, and in Joel 4¹¹ in pause נִקְבְּצוּ (cf. נִלְוֹ Jer 50⁵); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה־ paragodicum) לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21²³, &c. (also לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47³¹, 1 S 30¹⁵).

4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶשְׁבַּל is as frequent as אֶשְׁבַּל, p e.g. אֶדְרֹשׁ I shall be inquired of, Ez 14³; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gn 21²⁴; cf. 16², Nu 23¹⁵, Ez 2c³⁵, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶנְקָמָה I will avenge me, Is 1²⁴; cf. 1 S 12⁷, Ez 26², and in the impf. Niph. of פָּעַל (§ 69 t). The Babylonian punctuation admits only ִ under the preformative of the 1st person.

§ 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation consists in the strengthening *a* of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qatal* (cf. § 43 b) the form קָטַל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qattālā*) would naturally follow as

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ā* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently¹ this *ā* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קָטַל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קָטַל. On the three cases in which *ā* before a final ר or ס has passed into *Seghol*, see below, *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect*, there arise forms like קָטַר, קָטַשׁ, קָטַר, קָטַשׁ, קָטַר, קָטַשׁ, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתָּנִי, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (קָטַל), *imperative* (קָטַל), and *participle* (קָטַל) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Sewa* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqattil*, participle *mūqattil*.

b The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ū*, or very rarely *ō*, in the first syllable, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

c Rem. 1. The preformative ה, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun הַי *quis? quicumque* (fem. i. e. neuter, הַיָּה); cf. § 85 e.

d 2. The Dageš forte, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64 *d*) when the middle radical has *Sewa* under it (cf. § 20 *m*), e. g. שָׁחַח for שָׁחַח Ez 17¹⁷; בָּקַשׁוּ 2 Ch 15¹⁵ (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁוּ 1 S 28⁷, &c.), and so always in הִלְלוּ *praise*. The vocal character of the *Sewa* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 *h*) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Haṭeph*, as in לָקַחַח Gn 2²⁸, with ֶ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעַלֶּוּ for פָּעַלוּ, &c.; Gn 9¹⁴, Ju 16¹⁶. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Sewa* under the preformatives (*Haṭeph-Pathah* under א in the 1st sing. *imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26¹⁴).

e 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher² (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed *perfects* of *Pu'al* are in reality

¹ So in all verbs which end in *Nūn*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsh. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (*ZDMG*. 1894, p. 1 ff.) that the vowels of the strengthened *perfects* have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

² As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ġanāh (see above, § 3 *d*) in the *Kitāb el-luma'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.

passives of Qal. He reckons as such all those *perfects*, of which the *Pi'el* (which ought to express the corresponding active) is either not found at all, or only (as in the case of יָלַד) with a different meaning, and which form their *imperfect* from another conjugation, generally *Niph'al*. Such *perfects* are the *quṭṭal* form of the stems אָבַל (*imperfect* תִּאָבְלוּ Is 1²⁰), חָפַשׁ, טָרַף, יָלַד, יָצַר, שָׁפַף, שָׁטַף, שָׁנַל, עָבַד, לָקַח, בָּרַח, עָשָׂה, עָוַב, נָפַח, כָּרַת, חָצַב, וָנָה, בָּזַז, אָסַר, and of verbs with middle ר (hence with *ū* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הָרַג, הָרַה, הָרַב [זָרַח, see § 67 m], זָרַק, זָרַע, מָרַט, טָרַף, זָרַק, זָרַע; also the infinitives absolute הָרַוּ וְהָגוּ Is 59¹³. In these cases there is no need to assume any error on the part of the punctuators; the sharpening of the second radical may have taken place in order to retain the characteristic *ū* of the first syllable (cf. Arab. *quṭṭilā* as passive of *qātūlā*), and the *a* of the second syllable is in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39 f). Cf. § 52 s and § 53 u.

2. The fundamental idea of *Pi'el*, to which all the various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is *to busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the strengthening of the second radical, appears in individual cases as—(a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (cf. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical strengthened, § 84^b),¹ e. g. צָחַק to *laugh*, *Pi'el* to *jest*, to *make sport* (to laugh repeatedly); שָׁאַל to *ask*, *Pi'el* to *beg*; hence when an action has reference to *many*, e. g. קָבַר to *bury* (a person) Gn 23⁴, *Pi'el* to *bury* (many) 1 K 11¹⁵, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other varieties of the *intensive* and *iterative* meaning are, e. g. פָּתַח to *open*, *Pi'el* to *loose*; כָּפַר to *count*, *Pi'el* to *recount*: [cf. פָּתַח, הִלֵּךְ, הִשָּׁב, כָּתַב, חָפַשׁ, רָפָא, מָרַצַח, מָאֵהֵב, תָּפַשׁ, חָפַשׁ, רָפָא].

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

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

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

יָצַן to gather the clouds together (from יָצַן, שָׁלַשׁ to divide in three parts, or to do a thing for the third time (from שָׁלַשׁ); probably also דִּבֶּר to speak, from דִּבָּר a word. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'el*, cf. our to skin, to behead, to bone), e.g. שָׁרַשׁ, from שָׁרַשׁ to root out, to extirpate, וַיִּבֹּ prop. to injure the tail (וַיִּבֹּ), hence to rout the rear of an army, to attack it; לָבַב to ravish the heart; דָּוָן to remove the ashes (דָּוָן), הִטָּא to free from sin (הִטָּא), עָצַם to break any one's bones (עָצַם; cf., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם); סָעַף to lop the boughs, Is 10³³ (from סָעַף a bough). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. סָקַל to stone, to pelt with stones (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and to remove stones (from a field), to clear away stones; cf. our to stone, used also in the sense of taking out the stones from fruit.

The meaning of the *passive (Pu'al)* follows naturally from the above, e.g. בִּקְשׁ Pi'el to seek, Pu'al to be sought.

i In *Pi'el* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, e.g. גָּלָה, Pi'el to uncover, *Qal* to reveal, also to emigrate, i.e. to make the land bare.

k Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'el* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. חָתַת in Pi'el to be broken in pieces, Jer 51⁶⁶; צָחַר to tremble, Is 51¹³, Pr 28¹⁴; רָוַח to be drunken, Is 34^{5,7}; [מָעָט to be few, Ec 12³]; but in Is 48⁸, 60¹¹ instead of the Pi'el of פָּתַח the Niph'al is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Ec 9¹⁵, 12⁹) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Sere* is more common. Cf. גָּדַל Is 49²¹ with גָּדַל Jos 4¹⁴, Est 3¹; מָלַט Ez 33⁵ with מָלַט Ec 9¹⁶; קָצַץ 2 K 8¹⁶ with קָצַץ ψ 129⁴; but *Qames* never appears in this pausal form. The 3rd sing. fem. in *pause* is always of the form קָטְלָה, except קָבְצָה Mi 1⁷; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st sing. and 1st plur. of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and לָמַדְתִּי), קָטְלוּנִי. In the 3rd sing. perf. דִּבֶּר to speak, בָּפַר to pardon, and כָּבַם to wash clothes (also כָּבַם Gn 49¹¹) take *S'ghol*, but become in *pause* דִּבֶּר, כָּבַם (2 S 19²⁵); the pausal form of בָּפַר does not occur.

m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41⁵¹, נִשְׁנִי he made me forget, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשֶּׁה.

n 2. In the imperfect (and *jussive* Ju 16²⁵), infinitive, and imperative *Pi'el* (as also in *Hithpa'el*) the *Sere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maqqeph*, is usually shortened into *S'ghol*, e.g. יִבְקֶשׁ-לֹו he seeks for himself, Is 40²⁰; קִדְּשֵׁנִי sanctify unto me, Ex 13². Pausal-forms with *S'ghol* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחַף Dt 32¹¹, אָרַחַח Ho 2⁶ (cf. Ex 32⁶ in the infinitive, and Gn 21⁹ in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 n and hh. If the final syllable of the imperfect *Pi'el* has *Pathah* (before a guttural or ר), it remains

even in *pause*; cf. § 29 s and 65 e. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Ha'ep̄h-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אָרַהּ Lv 26³⁸, Ez 5¹², 12¹⁴ and וְאִסְעָרֶם Zc 7¹⁴ (in accordance with § 23 h).—Before the full plural ending ון (see § 47 m) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e.g. הַדְּבָרוֹן ψ 58² (but Gn 32²⁰ הַדְּבָרוֹן, cf. 2 K 6¹⁹, Dt 12³; so before *Silluq* ψ 58³, Jb 21¹¹ and even before *Zaqeph qaton* Dt 7⁵. Instead of הַקְפִּילְנָה, forms like הַקְפִּילְנָה are also found, e.g. Is 3¹⁶, 13¹⁸, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also פִּלְגַּי ψ 55¹⁰ occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בַּלְעַע) and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37¹⁷.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of *Pi'el* has sometimes the special form קָבַל given in 0 the paradigm, e.g. פָּרַע *castigando*, ψ 118¹⁸; cf. Ex 21¹⁹, 1 K 19¹⁰ (from a verb אָרַע); ψ 40² (from a verb אָרַע); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קָטַל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קָטַל (with *ā* attenuated to *ī* as in the *perfect*), e.g. in 1 Ch 8⁸ שָׁלַח; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קָטַר Jer 44²¹; and for the sake of *assonance* even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12¹⁴ (נִיֵּיץ נִאֲצָה). On the other hand, שָׁלַח Dt 32³⁵ and דָּבַר Jer 5¹³ are better regarded as substantives, while דָּבַר Ex 6²⁸, Nu 3¹, Dt 4¹⁵ (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Ho 1² (after הַתְּחִלָּה), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimḥi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really *perfect* of *Pi'el*.

The *infinitive construct* *Pi'el*, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 d), occurs in p אָרַהּ Lv 26¹⁸; אָרַהּ וְאִסְעָרֶם ψ 147¹; with ת of the *fem.* before a suffix אָרַהּ עֲדָרְתָהּ Ez 16⁵². On the verbal nouns after the form of the *Aram. inf.* *Pa'il* (אָרַהּ), see § 84^b e.

Instead of the abnormal מְאִסְפִּי (so Baer, Is 62⁹) as *ptcp.* *Pi'el*, read מְאִסְפִּי with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

4. In *Pu'al* *ō* is sometimes found instead of *ū* in the initial syllable, e.g. q מְאִדָּה *dyed red*, Ex 25⁵, &c., Na 2⁴, cf. 3⁷ שְׂרָדָה; Ez 16⁴, ψ 72²⁰, 80¹¹. According to Baer's reading also in הַרְצָחוּ ψ 62⁴, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali הַרְצָחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ū* is written fully, e.g. יוּלַד Ju 18²⁹.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find גָּלַב Gn 40¹⁵.—No instance of the *inf. constr.* occurs in the strong verb in *Pu'al*; from אָרַהּ with suffix עָנֹתוֹ ψ 132¹.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle* *Pu'al* without the preformative (מְ), S e.g. אָרַב Ex 3²; יוּלַד (מְיֹלַד) Ju 13⁸; לָקַח 2 K 2¹⁰; אָרַב Is 54¹¹. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30²⁴, Ec 9¹² (where יוֹקִישִׁים, according to § 20 n, stands for 'יִקְ = 'מִיִּקְ); but, according to the Masora, not Ez 26¹⁷, since הַהֲלִלָה as *Mi'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מְ, as in Is 18^{2.7} (but also מְאִשְׁשָׁה); Pr 25¹⁹ (where, however, read מוֹעֵרָה); so also in the *participle* *Pi'el* מְאִן Ex 7²⁷, 9² (always after אָם, but cf. also הַמְאִנִּים Jer 13¹⁰, where, however, הַמְאִנִּים = הַמְאִנִּים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מְהַר Zp 1¹⁴ (and Is 81³?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָרַב only occurs in *Qal*, they are *perfect participles* of former *passives* of *Qal* (see e), and in Jer 13¹⁰, 23³², *perfect participles* of *Pi'el*.—On מְרַבַּע Ez 45², see § 65 d.

§ 53. *Hiph'ûl and Hoph'al.*

a 1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'ûl*) is a prefixed ה (on its origin see § 55 *i*) in the perfect ה (with the *ä* attenuated to *î*, as in *Pi'êl*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ä*; cf. the Arabic conj. iv. 'aqtälä, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטַלְתָּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ä* to *î*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ê* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic קִטַּל, beside קִטַּל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *î*,¹ —, but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9 *g*. Similarly in the infinitive construct קִטַּלְתָּ, and in the imperfect and participle מִקְטִיל and מִקְטִילָה, which are syncopated from יִקְטִיל and יִקְטִילָה; § 23 *k*. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtîl* and *muqtîl*) point to an original *î* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *î* to *ê* appears in the strong verb at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (see *m*); on הִקְטַלְנָה, הִקְטַלְנִי cf. § 26 *p*. On the return of the original *ä* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c, under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 *f*.

b In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ä* (in pause *â*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטַל or הִקְטַלְתָּ, *Imperf.* יִקְטַל (syncopated from יִקְטַלְתָּ) or יִקְטַלְתָּ, *Part.* מִקְטַל or מִקְטַלָה (from מִקְטַלְתָּ); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטַל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle Hiph'ûl*, *Pathah* under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ö* or *ü*.

c 2. The *meaning* of *Hiph'ûl* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'êl* (§ 52 *g*), *causative* of *Qal*, e. g. הִצֵּי to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; קִדַּשׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'êl*) the *declarative* sense, e. g. הִצִּדִיק to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. עָקַשׁ, in *Hiph'ûl*, Jb 9²⁰, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'ûl* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 *cc*). In some verbs, *Pi'êl* and *Hiph'ûl* occur side by side in the same sense, e. g. הִפְרִיחַ *peritit*, *Pi'êl* and *Hiph'ûl*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

¹ This *î* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs י"ע, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and *jussive*, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'ûl*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, *ZAW.* 1883, p. 52 *f*.

however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e.g. כָּבַד *gravem esse*, Pi'el to honour, Hiph'il to bring to honour, also to make heavy. Verbs which are intransitive in *Qal* simply become transitive in *Hiph'il*, e.g. נָטָה to bow oneself, Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Among the ideas expressed by the causative and transitive are included, *d* moreover, according to the Hebrew point of view (and that of the Semitic languages in general, especially Arabic), a series of actions and ideas, which we have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the Hiph'il-form. To these inwardly transitive or intensive Hiph'is belong: (a) Hiph'il stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the *Qal* stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the *Hiph'il*.) Thus אהל, זהר, יפע, זרין to be bright, to shine (to give forth brightness); opposed to חשף to become dark; אמן, גבר, חזק to be strong (to develop strength), עטף to be weak; ארך to be long (to acquire length); נבה to be high; הום to be in tumult, זעק to cry out, רוע to make a noise, to exult; חלף to sprout (to put forth shoots), cf. פרח to bloom, שוק to overflow; הרש, חשה, סבת, צמת to be silent (silentium facere, Pliny); מתק to be sweet; צלח to have success; שפל to be low; אדם to become red, לבן to become white.

(b) Stems which express in *Hiph'il* the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: אמן to become firm, to trust in; באש to become stinking; זור to become boiling, to boil over; חלה to become ill; הסר to come to want; חרה to become hot; יבש to become dry, to become ashamed; יתר to attain superiority; סכן to become familiar; קוין, עור to become awake; קשה to become hard; רגע, שקט to become quiet (to keep quiet); שמום to be astonished. The Hiph'il forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: נגש to draw near; קרב to come near; רחק to withdraw far off (all these three are besides used as causatives); קדם to come before.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: *f* חטא to err; חלק to flatter (to act smoothly); יטב to act well, to do good; סכל to act foolishly, שכל to act wisely; ערם to act craftily; צנע to act submissively; רעע, רשע to act wickedly, godlessly; שחת, תעב to act corruptly, abominably; שלם to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive.

Further, there are in *Hiph'il* a considerable number of denominatives which express the bringing out, the producing of a thing, and so are properly regarded as causatives, *g* e.g. אצר to set over the treasury, Neh 13¹⁵ (unless אֲצַרָה is to be read, as in Neh 7²); בכר to bring forth a firstborn; גשם to cause to rain; זרע to produce seed; ימן (*Hiph'il* הַיְמִינִי) to go to the right, cf. הַשְּׂמָאלִי to go to the left; פרס to get or to have hoofs; קרן to get or to have horns; שכל to produce abortion; שלג to become snow-white; שמן to grow fat; שרש to put forth roots, &c.; so also according to the ordinary acceptation האֲזִיחוּ Is 19⁶, they have become stinking, from אֲנַח to stinking or stench, with retention of the א prosthetic, § 19 m (but see below, p).

¹ The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb עָשָׂה (to make), e.g. to make fat, for, to produce fat upon his body, Jb 15²⁷; to make fruit, to make branches, for, to put forth, to yield, Jb 14⁹, Ho 8⁷, cf. the Lat. corpus, robur, soboleum, divitias facere, and the Ital. far corpo, far forze, far frutto.

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אָן (scarcely to prick up the ears, but) to act with the ears, to hear; cf. לָשׁן to move the tongue, to slander, and the German *äugeln* (to make eyes), *füssel*, *näseln*, *schwänzel*; שָׁבַר to sell corn; שָׁבַח to set out early (to load the back [of the camel, &c.]?); opposed to הָעָרִיב.

h 3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive of Hiph'il*, e. g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit*, הִשְׁלַךְ or הִשְׁלָךְ *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes equivalent to a passive of *Qal*, as נָקַם to *avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, *u*).

i Rem. 1. The *i* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *i* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *a*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *šewā* (see *n* and *o*).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e. g. הִקְרֵשׁ Ju 17³; less frequently it takes *yod*, e. g. הִשְׁמִיר Am 9⁸; cf. Dt 15¹⁴, Is 59⁴, Jer 3¹⁵, 23³², 44²⁵, Jb 34³⁵, Ec 10¹⁰. With א instead of ה (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אֲשַׁבֵּים Jer 25³. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e. g. Dt 32⁸ (Sam. בְּהַנְחִיל; read perhaps בְּהַנְחִל, Jer 44^{19,25}, Pr 25², Jb 13³ (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֶׂיךָ Dt 26¹² (which looks like an *infinitive Hiph'il* with elision of the ה, for לְהַעֲשֶׂיךָ) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֶׂיךָ, since elsewhere the *Pi'el* alone occurs with the meaning to *tithe*; for בַּעֲשֶׂיךָ Neh 10³⁹ perhaps the inf. *Qal* (בַּעֲשֶׂיךָ) was intended, as in I S 15¹⁷ (= to take the tithe). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a conflation of two different readings, the *Qal* and the *Pi'el*.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הִקְטִיל the form הִקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e. g. הִשְׁמִיר to destroy, Dt 7²⁴, 28⁴⁸; cf. Lv 14⁴⁶, Jos 11¹⁴, Jer 50³⁴, 51³³ and הִקְצוּ for הִקְצוּת Lv 14⁴³ from קָצַף; scarcely, however, Lv 7³⁵ (see § 155 l), 2 S 22¹ (ψ 18¹), 1 K 11¹⁶ (after עַד), and in the passages so explained by König (i. 276) where הִשְׁמִיר appears after prepositions¹; [cf. Driver on Dt 3³, 4¹⁵, 7²⁴, 28⁵⁵].

With *a* in the second syllable there occurs הִנְבְּרַכְם Ez 21²⁹ (cf. the substantival infn. הִפְצַר I S 15²³).—In the Aram. manner לְהִשְׁמָעוּת is found in Ez 24²⁶ (as a *construct form*) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dn 11²³). On the elision of the ה after prefixes, see *q*.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *i* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 *g*) and הִפְּרָה *paragogic*, e. g. הִקְשִׁיבָה attend to, נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה ψ 118²⁵, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הִצְלִיחָה *ibid.* v. 25^b. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic *'aqlil*) is lengthened to *e*, e. g. הִשְׁמֵן make fat, and becomes *Se'ghöl* before *Maqqeph*, e. g. הִסְכֵּןָא Jb 22²¹.—The form הִקְטִיל for הִקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94¹, Is 43⁸, Jer 17¹⁸ (cf. § 69 *v* and § 72 *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הִקְטִיל, e. g. 2 K 8⁶; cf. ψ 142⁵.—In La 5¹ הִבִּיטָה is required by the *Qere* for הִבִּיטָה.

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 f.

4. In the *imperfect Hiph'il* the shorter form with *Şere* prevails for the jussive *l* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e. g. אֲלֹתֶיךָ לֹא תִגְדֹּל make not great, Ob 12; יִכְרֹת let Him cut off! ψ 12⁴; even incorrectly תִּפְיֹד Ex 19³ and יִגִּיד Ec 10²⁰; cf. also יִכְעֹר Ex 22⁴, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 h, and יֵאָבֵד Jb 39²⁶ before the principal pause. Similarly, after *l* consec., e. g. וַיִּבְדֵּל and He divided, Gn 1⁴. On the other hand, *i* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e. g. וְאַשְׁמִיד Am 2⁹ (but generally without *i*, as וְאַסְתֵּר Ez 39^{23 f.}, &c.); cf. § 49 e and § 74 l, but also § 72 aa; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4³; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105²⁸. With *ä* in the principal pause וְתוֹרַת Ru 2¹⁴, and in the lesser pause, Gn 49⁴; before a sibilant (see § 29 q) וַיִּגִּשׁ Ju 6¹⁹; in the lesser pause וַיִּקַּח La 3⁵. Before *Maqqeph* the *Şere* becomes *S^eghöl*, e. g. וַיְהוֹקֵפוּ Ju 19⁴. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms תִּקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ, even in the jussive and after *l* consecutive, e. g. וַיִּרְבְּקוּ Ju 18²². The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S^ewä*, are וַיִּרְכֹּב Jer 9²; וַיִּרְבְּקוּ 1 S 14²², 31², 1 Ch 10²; וַיַּעֲבְרוּ Jer 11¹⁵; וְאַוְצְרָה Neh 13¹³, if it is *Hiph'il* of אֶצֶר, but probably וְאַצְרָה is to be read, as in 7²; perhaps also תִּהְיֶה Jb 19⁹ (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17²⁵, 1 K 20³³, ψ 65¹⁰, and in Jb 9²⁰, unless the form be *Pi'el* = וַיַּעֲשֵׂנִי, since the *Hiph'il* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yaqtil*, or an Aramaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יִשָּׂא Is 44²⁸), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 1¹¹ תִּרְשָׁא, with euphonic Ga'ya (see § 16 h).

5. In the *participle*, מֹאֲצֵא ψ 135⁷ appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *maqtíl*; yet the *Şere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S^ewä* (see above, n) in מְהַלְכִים Zc 3⁷ (probably, however, מְהַלְכִים should be read), also in מְחַלְמִים Jer 29⁸, מְעוּרִים 2 Ch 25²³ (but as *ם* precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle *Qal* is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'il*, see above, n), and in the *Q^ré* מְחַצְרִים 1 Ch 15²⁴ &c. (where the *K^ethibh* מְחַצְצְרִים is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מוֹפְרָת Nu 5¹⁵, מִשְׁפָּחַת Lv 14²¹; in pause מִשְׁפָּחַת Pr 19¹⁴.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הִכְלַמְנִי 1 S 25⁷; p cf. Gn 41²⁸, 2 K 17¹¹, Jer 29¹, Mi 6³, Jb 16⁷; with the original *ä* in the first syllable וְהִרְאִיתִי Na 3⁵.—In אֲנִי אֶלְהִי¹ I have stained, Is 63³, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, k, on אֲשַׁכֵּם. On the other hand, וְהִאֲוִיחוּ

¹ Most probably, however, אֶלְהִיתִי (*perfect Pi'el*) is to be read, and the א is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by a change of punctuation, וְאֶדְרַכְם and וְיִן (instead of וְאֶדְרַךְ and וְיִן) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i. e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

Is 19⁶ (see above, *g*) is a mere error of the scribe, who had the Aramaic form in mind and corrected it by prefixing ה.

q 7. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the characteristic ה is regularly elided after the preformatives, thus יִקְטִיל, מְקַטֵּל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e.g. לְהַקְטִיל. The exceptions are in the imperfect, יִהְיֶה שָׁעַי וְיִשְׁעֵי יְהוָה יִרְדּוּ He will save for יִשְׁעֵי יְהוָה 1 S 17⁴⁷, ψ 116⁶ (in pause); יִהְיֶה הַיּוֹדָה He will praise for יִרְדּוּ יְהוָה Neh 11¹⁷, ψ 28⁷, 45¹⁸ (cf. the proper name יְהוֹבֵל Jer 37³, for which יִבְלֵי 38¹ [and יְהוֹקֵף ψ 81⁶]; [יְהִילִינִי (§ 70 a) Is 52⁵, יְהִתְלִי Jer 9⁴, תְּהִתְלִי Jb 13⁹] and מְהַקְצְעוֹת Ez 46²²; in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51 l, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לְסַתֵּר Is 29¹⁵ for לְהַסְתִּיר; לְנַפֵּל and לְצַבּוֹת Nu 5²²; לְעַבִּיר 2 S 19¹⁹; לְהִלָּק Jer 37¹²; לְחַטֵּא Ec 5⁵; לְלַבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהַלְבִּין) Dn 11³⁵; לְשַׁמֵּעַ ψ 26⁷; לְאַדִּיב 1 S 2³³; לְשַׁמֵּד Is 23¹¹ and וְלִשְׁבִּית Am 8⁴ (certainly corrupt); לְבַעֵיר for בְּהַעִיר ψ 73²⁰ (but in the city is probably meant); לְבִיא Jer 39⁷ (2 Ch 31¹⁰); לְמַרוֹת Is 3³, ψ 78¹⁷; לְנַחוֹתֵם Ex 13²¹; בְּנִלוֹת (see, however, § 20 h) Is 33¹; לְרִאֲתָכֶם Dt 1³³: cf. further, from verbs ל"ה, Nu 5²², Jer 27²⁰; on Dt 26¹² and Neh 10³⁹, see above, *k*; for לְמַחוֹת Pr 31³ read לְמַחוֹת or לְמַחֲחוֹת.

r 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the affirmatives ו and ה־ in Hiph'il have *not* the tone, even in the *perfect* with *vav* consecutive (except in Ex 26³³ before ה, Lv 15²⁹ before א, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending ון (see § 47 *m*) always has the tone, e.g. תִּקְרְבוּן Dt 17¹⁷.

s 9. The passive (Hoph'al) has *ü* instead of Qames ḥaṭuph in the first syllable (הִקְטַל), in the strong verb less frequently in the perfect and infinitive, but generally in the participle, through the influence of the initial מ (but cf. מִשְׁחַת Pr 25²⁶); e.g. הִשְׁבַּב Ez 32³² (beside הִשְׁבַּבָה 32¹⁹); יִשְׁלַף *impf.* יִשְׁלַף, *part.* מִשְׁלַף 2 S 20²¹ (beside הִשְׁלַכְתָּ Is 14¹⁹); הִמְלִיחַ Ez 16⁴; in the partic. Hoph. without elision of the ה: מְהַקְצְעוֹת Ez 46²²; on the other hand, verbs פ"ן always have *ü* (in a sharpened syllable): הִנְדַּר, יִנְדַּר (cf. § 9 *n*).

t 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in Hoph'al (as in Hiph'il) *Ṣere* in the last syllable, e.g. הִחַתֵּל and הִמְלִיחַ Ez 16⁴; הִנְדַּר Jos 9²⁴. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.

11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46 *a*, note.

u 12. According to Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 906) and Barth (see above, § 52 *e*) a number of supposed imperfects Hoph'al are, in fact, imperfects of the passive of *Qal*. As in the case of the perfects passive of *Qal* (see above, § 52 *e*) the question is again of verbs of which neither the corresponding causative (i. e. here the Hiph'il), nor the other tense of the same conjugation (i. e. here the perfect Hoph'al) is found; so with יָקַם (for יִנְקַם, cf. *yuqtālū* as imperfect *Qal* in Arabic) and יָתַן, from נָקַם and נָתַן; יָקַח from לָקַח (cf. § 66 *g*); יָאָר Nu 22⁶ from אָרַר; יָחַן from חָנַן; יָשַׁד Ho 10¹⁴ (cf. Is 33¹) from שָׁדַד; Barth adds the verbs פִּין: תִּתֵּשׂ Ez 19¹² from נָתַשׂ; Lev 11³⁵ from נָתַן; the verbs ע"ע: יִחַקּוּ Jb 19²³ from חָקַק; יָבַת &c. from בָּתַת; the verb ע"ד: יִדְּשׁ from דָּשַׁע; the verbs ע"י: יִדְּשׁ, יִדְּשׁוּ, יִדְּשׁוּ from יָדַשׁ; and יִשִּׁית. On וְיִשְׁעֵי &c., § 73 *f*. In point of fact it would be very strange, especially in the case of יָתַן and יָקַח, that of these frequently used verbs,

amongst all the forms of Hiph'il and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved. A passive of Qal is also indicated in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, according to Knudtzon, by a number of imperfect forms, which are undoubtedly due to Canaanite influence, cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 410.

§ 54. *Hithpa'el*.

1. The *Hithpa'el*¹ is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *a* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*qattēl*, *qattal*) the syllable הָה (Western Aramaic הָה, but in Biblical Aramaic הָה; Syr. 'et²). Like the preformative נ (הָנ) of *Niph'al*, הָה has also a reflexive force.

2. The ה of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *l* (see *h*), *Hithpō'el*, *Hithpa'el* and *Hithpapel* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(a) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ט, צ, or ש, the ה and the sibilant change places (cf. on this *metathesis*, § 19 n), and at the same time the ה after a צ becomes the corresponding emphatic ט: thus הַשְׁתַּמֵּר to take heed to oneself, for הַתְּשַׁמֵּר; הִסְתַּבֵּל to become burdensome, for הַתְּסַבֵּל; הִצְטַדֵּק to justify oneself, from צָדַק. The only exception is in Jer 49³, וְהִתְשׁוּטְטָנָה, to avoid the cacophony of three successive *t*-sounds.

(b) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ה of *c* the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. דִּבְרַר speaking, conversing; הִדְבָּא to be crushed, הִטְהַר to purify oneself, הִטְבִּיא to defile oneself, הִתְמַיֵּם to act uprightly. (An exception occurs in Ju 19²².) The assimilation of the ה occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנְבֵּא to prophesy, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (cf. Nu 24⁷, Ez 5¹³, Dn 11¹⁴); הִתְנַבֵּן Nu 21²⁷ (cf. Is 54¹⁴, ψ 59⁵); הִתְבַּר Pr 26²⁶; with ש Ec 7¹⁶; with ר Is 33¹⁰.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under *b*, *d* when ה and י come together, as well as a change of ה to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִנְבֵּן Is 1¹⁶) the ה is assimilated to the י, —unless indeed הִנְבֵּן, imperative *Niph'al* of נָבַח, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (*a*) reflexive of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַוֵּר to gird oneself, הִתְקַדְּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם to show oneself revengeful (*Niph.* simply to take revenge), and in the numerous instances where the *Hithpa'el* expresses to make oneself that which is predicated by the stem, to conduct oneself as such, to show oneself, to imagine oneself, to

¹ A. Stein, *Der Stamm des Hithpael in Hebr.* pt. 1, Schwerin, 1893, gives alphabetical statistics of the 1151 forms.

² So also in Hebrew אֶתְחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20³⁶; cf. ψ 76⁶ (אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶלֶל).

affect to be of a certain character. E. g. הִתְנַבֵּל to make oneself great, to act proudly; הִתְחַכֵּם to show oneself wise, crafty; הִתְחַלֵּה to pretend to be ill; הִתְעַשֵּׂר to make, i. e. to feign oneself rich; הִשְׁתַּרֵּר Nu 16¹³, to make oneself a prince; הִתְנַבֵּא I S 18¹⁰, to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave. The meaning of *Hithpa'el* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e. g. לָבַט to mourn, in *Qal* only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'el* in prose. On the accusative after *Hithpa'el* (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 w.

f (b) It expresses reciprocal action, like *Niph'al*, § 51 d, e. g. הִתְרְאָה to look upon one another, Gn 42¹; cf. ψ 41⁸;—but

(c) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed with regard to or for oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 e). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e. g. הִתְפָּרַק Ex 32³ and הִתְנַצַּל Ex 33⁶ to tear off from oneself; הִתְפַּשֵּׁט exuit sibi (vestem), הִתְפַּתַּח solvit sibi (vincula); הִצְטִיֵּר Jos 9¹², to take (something) as one's provision; without an accusative, הִתְהַלֵּךְ to walk about for oneself (ambulare); הִתְפַּלֵּל sibi intercedere (see Delitzsch on Is 1¹⁵); הִתְחַקֶּה to draw a line for oneself, Job 13²⁷; on Is 14², see § 57, note.

g (d) Only seldom is it passive, e. g. הִיא תִּתְהַלֵּל Pr 31³⁰ she shall be praised; הִשְׁתַּבַּח to be forgotten, Ec 8¹⁰, where the reflexive sense (to bring oneself into oblivion) has altogether disappeared. Cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 f.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: הִטְמָא to be defiled, Dt 24⁴; infinitive הִכְבַּם to be washed, Lv 13^{55,56}; הִתְרַשְׁנָה (for הִתְרַשְׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) it is made fat, Is 34⁶. On הִתְפַּקְדוּ, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הִתְיַהַד to embrace Judaism, from יהוד (יהודה) Judah; הִצְטִיֵּר to provision oneself for a journey, from צִדָה provision for a journey (see § 72 m).

k Rem. 1. As in *Pi'el*, so in *Hithpa'el*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in 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 *i* and then lengthened to *e*), e. g. הִתְאַנְּף Dt 4²¹, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13⁷, 15⁸; with *i* consecutive Is 8²¹; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e. g. הִתְחַבֵּם Ec 7¹⁶; cf. Dt 9^{8,18}, 1 S 3¹⁰, 2 S 10¹², 1 K 11⁹, Is 55², 58¹⁴, 64¹¹, ψ 55²; הִתְחַוֶּק 1 K 20²², ψ 37⁴, Est 5¹⁰; וְהִתְאַפְּקוּ 1 S 13¹².—In Lv 11⁴⁴, 20⁷ and Ez 38²³, *i* takes the place of *a* in the final syllable of the stem before שׁ (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before

ל. In the perfect, imperfect (with the exception of Ec 7¹⁶), and imperative of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, § 55) the original *a* always returns in pause as *Qamez*, e. g. הִתְאַוֶּר ψ 93¹; יִתְאַבֵּל Ez 7²⁷; יִתְהַלֶּךְ Jb 18⁸; יִתְלַפְּדוּ 38³¹; יִתְחַקְּדוּ Jos 3⁵; cf. Jb 33⁵ and § 74 b.—The *a* also appears before the fuller ending *i* in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 m) in ψ 12⁹, Jb

9^s, 16¹⁰.—Like the Pi'el הִתְפַּלֵּן (§ 52 n), forms occur in Hithpa'el like הִתְהַלְכָה Zc 6⁷; cf. Am 8¹³, and so in Hithpa'el, Jer 49³, Am 9¹³; with ē only in La 4¹.—In the Aramaic manner an infinitive Hithpa'el הִתְחַבְּרוּת occurs in Dn 11²³ (cf. the Hiph'il inf. הִשְׁמָעוּת in Ez 24²⁶).

2. As instances of the reflexive הִתְקַטַּל (connected with Pi'el) a few reflexive *l* forms of the verb פָּקַד (to examine) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a Pathah in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take Qames in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְפַּקְרוּ Ju 20^{15,17}, imperfect יִתְפַּקֵּר 20¹⁵, 21⁹. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְרוּ also occurs four times, Nu 14⁷, 23³, 26⁶², 1 K 20²⁷. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of Qal, in the sense of to present oneself for review, to be reviewed, like the Aramaic 'Ithpe'el (Western Aramaic אֲתַקְטַל, Syr. אֲתַקְטַל) and the Ethiopic taqat'la, Arab. 'iqatala, the last with the t always placed after the first radical (cf. above, b); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as Hithpa'el forms, the doubling of the p being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of Qal, with the ת transposed, occurs in הִלְתַּחַם (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלְתַּחַם) in the inscription of the Moabite king Mēša', with the meaning of the O. T. Niph'al נִלְחַם to fight, to wage war: see the inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the imperfect with wāw consecutive וַיִּלְחַחַם; in line 19 in the infinitive with suffix, בְּהִלְחַחְמָה בִּי in his fighting against me.

§ 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39 g) some may be classed with *a* Pi'el, others with Hiph'il. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the ה of Hiph'il. Amongst the conjugations analogous to Pi'el are included the passive forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of Hithpa'el.

The following conjugations are related to Pi'el, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. Pi'el קוּטַל, passive P'ol קוּטַל, reflexive Hithp'ol הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. qātālā, pass. qūtīlā, and conj. VI. reflexive tāqātālā; imperfect יְקוּטַל, participle מְקוּטַל, imperfect passive יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ō* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *ā*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: participle מְשַׁפְּטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, Jb 9¹⁵; מְלֹשְׁנִי (denominative from לְשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) ψ 101⁵ Keth. (The Q're requires מְלֹשְׁנִי mēlōšni as Na 1³ וַגְּדוּל־); יָרְמוּ they have poured out, ψ 77¹⁸ (if not rather Pu'al); יוֹרְעָתִי I have appointed, 1 S 21³ (unless הוֹרְעָתִי should be read); יִסְעַר Ho 13³; שָׁרַשׁ to take root, passive

שׁוּרֵשׁ, denominative from שָׁרַשׁ root (but שָׁרַשׁ to root out); in Hithpô'el הִתְנַעֲשׂוּ they shall be moved, Jer 25¹⁶; imperf. 46⁸; from a verb לָהֵאֵחַי, שׁוּשְׁחֵי Is 10¹³. The participle מְנַאֵץ Is 52⁵ is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנַאֵץ and מְתַנַּאֵץ.

- c Po'el proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע"ע § 67 l and ע"ו § 72 m, which take the place of the ordinary causative Pi'el) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing aim (Zielstamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9¹⁵, ψ 10¹⁵, and עוֹיֵן I S 18⁹ Qerê (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 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 p, § 56).

- d 2. Pa'el, generally with the *ä* attenuated to *ï*=Pi'el¹ (Pi'äl), קְטַל and קְטַלְל; the *ë* in the final syllable also arises from *ï*, and this again from *ä*; passive Pu'äl קְטַלְל, reflexive Hithpa'el הִתְקַטַּלְל, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'iqtällä and xi. 'iqtällä, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. the examples שָׁאֵנָן to be at rest, רֵעֵנָן to be green, passive אֲמַלְל to be withered, all of them found only in the perfect and with no corresponding Qal form. (For the barbarous form צִפְתָּתוּיֵי ψ 88¹⁷ read צִפְתָּתְהֵי; for נִפְלַל Ez 28²³, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חלל, read נִפְלַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע"ע, where they take the place of Pi'el and Hithpa'el (§ 72 m). Cf. also § 75 kk.

- e 3. Pe'al'al: קְטַלְטַל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סָחַרְחַר to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38¹¹, from סָחַר to go about; passive הִמְרַמַּר to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red, Jb 16¹⁶, La 1²⁰, 2¹¹. Probably this is also the explanation of הִצְוּצַר (denom. from הִצְוּצָרָה a trumpet, but only in the participle, I Ch 15²⁴ &c. K^{th.}) for הִצְוּצַר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ä* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ä* to *ô*. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֶהְבֵּי הֶבֵּי Ho 4¹⁸ (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֶהְבֵּי הֶבֵּי) read אֶהְבֵּי, and for the equally meaningless יִפְיִתּוּ יִפְיִתּוּ ψ 45³ read יִפְיִתּוּ. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the K^{thibh.} On the employment of Pe'al'al in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84^b n. Closely related to this form is—

- f 4. Pi'päl (pass. Pöpal), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ו, and ע"י, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, from גַּל=גָּל; reflexive הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself down; קָלַל from כּוּל, passive פָּלַל; cf. also טָאָטָא (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimḥi; others טָאָטָא) Is 14²³, and with *ä* in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קָרַקַר from קָרָר Nu 24¹⁷ (cf. however, in the parallel passage, Jer 48⁴⁵ (קָרַקַר) and Is 22⁵, in the participle; שָׁנְשָׁנָה Is 17¹¹ to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעָלְעוּ, the emended reading of Jb 39³⁰ instead of the impossible יִעָלְעוּ; also

¹ Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The Pi'el in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies*, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.

סִפְּאָה Is 27⁸, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* סִפְּאָה; perhaps also שִׁפְּאָה Ez 39² for שִׁפְּאָה. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound,¹ e. g. צִפְּצִף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from גָּרַר, עוּף, and צָלַל.

As *Hithpa'el* we find יִשְׁתַּקְטְשׁוּן Na 2⁶; וַתְּחַלְחַל Est 4⁴; וַיִּתְמַרְמַר Dn 5⁷, g 11¹¹. Of the same form is אָרְרָה Is 38¹⁵, if contracted from אֶתְרִירָה or אַתְרִירָה from the root רי or רי), and also הִתְמַהְמַה tarry ye, Is 29⁹ (but read probably הִתְמַהְמַה), וַיִּתְמַהְמַה (in pause) Gn 19¹⁶, &c., if it is to be derived from מַהְמַה, and not *Hithpa'el* from מַהְמַה.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el* ²): תִּקְטַל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּרְצִלְתִּי to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from רָגַל a foot?) Ho 11³; from a stem ל"ה, the imperfect יִרְחַרְרָה to contend with, Jer 12⁵; participle, 22¹⁵ (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, תִּרְגַּם to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive participle מִתְרַגֵּם Ezr 4⁷.

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

* * *

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

7. קִטְטַל, passive קִטְטַל; as מִחִסְפָּם peeled off, like scales, Ex 16¹⁴, from חִסַּף, חִשַּׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטְטַל, in זְרוּיָה a rain-storm, from זָרַף.

9. נִתְקַטַּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew ³) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וְנִתְוַסְרוּ for וְנִתְוַסְרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23⁴⁸; נִבְפָּר probably an error for הִתְבַּפֵּר to be forgiven, Dt 21⁸. On נִשְׁתַּוָּה Pr 27¹⁵, see § 75 x.

§ 58. Quadriliterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations cf. § 30 p. While quadriliteral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

¹ Cf. Lat. *tinnio, tintinno*, our *tick-tack, ding-dong*, and the German *wirrwarr, Kingklang*. The repetition of the radical in verbs ע"ע also produces this effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּקַק to pound, טָפַף to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e. g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln, -ern*, e. g. *flimmern, trillern, tröpfeln*, to trickle.

² The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

³ [See Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxf. 1909, p. 30 ff.]

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: **פָּרַשׁ**, *imperfect* **יִבְרַסְמוֹנָה** *he doth ravage it*, ψ 80¹⁴ from **פָּרַשׁ**, cf. **גָּוַם**. *Passive* **רָטַפְּשׁוּ** *to grow fresh again*, Jb 33²⁶. *Participle* **מְכַרְבֵּל** *girt, clothed* (cf. Aramaic **כָּבַל** *to bind*), 1 Ch 15²⁷. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals **פָּרַשׁוּ** Jb 26⁹, as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathah* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'el* formation, from **פָּרַשׂ** *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first **שׁ** to **שׁ**, and the second to **וּ**. Moreover, the reading **פָּרַשׁוּ** also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; cf. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'il*: **הִשְׁמְאִיל**, by syncope **הִשְׁמְאִיל** and **הִשְׁמִיל** *to turn to the left* (denom. from **שְׂמָאל**) Gn 13⁹, Is 30²¹, &c. On **הִאֲנִיחוּ** cf. § 53 p.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb,² may be expressed (1) by a separate word, **אֹת** the accusative sign (before a suffix **אֹת**, **אֵת**) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. **קָטַל אֹתוֹ** *he has killed him*; or (2) by a mere suffix, **קָטְלוּהוּ** or **קָטְלוּ** *he has killed him*. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here concerned with it alone.³ Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. *Niph'al* or *Hithpa'el* (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. **הִתְקַדֵּשׁ** *he sanctified himself*, not **קִדְּשׁוּ**, which could only mean *he sanctified him*.⁴

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).

¹ 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.

² An accusative suffix occurs with *Niph'al* in ψ 109³ (since **נִלְחַם** is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is 44²¹; with *Hithpa'el* Is 14² (**הִתְנַחֵל** to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession); cf. above, § 54 f, and § 117 w.

³ On the cases where **אֹת** is necessary, see § 117 e.

⁴ The exceptions in Jer 7¹⁹, Ez 34^{2.8.10} are only apparent. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between **אֹתָם** (*themselves*) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex 5¹⁹ **אֹתָם** after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of *themselves*.

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the *נבואים ראשונים*, Leipzig, 1890. W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsem.,' *AJSL*. xvii (1901), p. 205 f. Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, i. 159 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 638 ff.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the *a* accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

| A. | B. | C. |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| To a form ending in a Vowel. | To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant. | To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant. |
| Sing. 1. com. נִיְ | נִיְ (in pause נִיְ) | נִיְ me. |
| 2. m. תִּיְ | תִּיְ (in pause תִּיְ, also תִּיְ) | תִּיְ thee. |
| f. וִיְ | וִיְ, וִיְ, rarely וִיְ | וִיְ |
| 3. m. הִיְ, וִיְ | הִיְ, וִיְ (וִיְ) | הִיְ him. |
| f. הִיְ | הִיְ | הִיְ her. |
| Plur. 1. com. נֵנוּ | נֵנוּ | נֵנוּ us. |
| 2. m. כִּמְ | כִּמְ | כִּמְ you (vos). |
| f. ¹ | | |
| 3. m. הֵנוּ, דֵּ | הֵנוּ (from הֵנוּ), דֵּ | הֵנוּ (from הֵנוּ) eos. |
| poet. מוֹ | מוֹ | מוֹ |
| f. יְ | יְ, יְ | ¹ eas. |

2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms *b* of the *personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

The suffixes נִיְ, נִיְ, הִיְ, וִיְ (and תִּיְ, when a long vowel in an open *C* syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, כִּמְ and הֵנוּ always take the tone.

In the 3rd pers. masc. הִיְ, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the *d* rejection of the weak ה, frequently gives rise to *ô* (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written וִיְ, much less frequently וִיְ (see § 7 *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix וִיְ should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as וִיְ or וִיְ, on the analogy of *āhū*; instead of וִיְ, however, it was simply pronounced וִיְ, with the rejection of the final vowel,

¹ According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, כִּמְ occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. כִּמְ occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.—הֵנוּ occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Dt 32²⁶, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, הֵנוּ from הֵנוּ is to be read), while the forms וִיְ (2nd *f. pl.*) and וִיְ and וִיְ (3rd *f. pl.*), added by Qimḥi, never occur.

and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to הַ is also found, see below, *g*.

e 3. The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(a) One beginning with a consonant, as הַיְ, הִיְ, וּ (only after *i*), הַיְ, (הַיְ) הַיְ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ; הַיְ הַיְ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get הַיְ הַיְ, pronounced *q'altū*; cf. § 8 *m*.

f (b) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*¹ (הַיְ, הַיְ), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59 *g* and § 60 *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ (on הַיְ הַיְ, the ordinary form of the 3rd masc. perf. with the 2nd fem. suffix, cf. below, *g*); and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form *i* also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from הַיְ הַיְ (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With הַיְ, הַיְ, the connecting sound is only a vocal *šewā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ (*q'āl'khā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, הַיְ הַיְ, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ā*) reappears as *Seghōl* with the tone הַיְ הַיְ (also הַיְ הַיְ, see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final הַיְ of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

g Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* הַיְ הַיְ. Gn 27⁷, 1 K 18⁴⁴, &c., in *pause* also הַיְ הַיְ (see below, *i*); *fem.* הַיְ, הַיְ ψ 103⁴, 137⁶. Instead of the form הַיְ הַיְ, which is usual even in the perfect (e. g. Ju 4²⁰, Ez 27²⁶), הַיְ הַיְ occurs as *fem.* Is 60⁹ (as *masc.* Dt 6¹⁷, 28⁴⁵, Is 30¹⁹, 55⁵ always in *pause*); with *Munah* Is 54⁶, Jer 23³⁷.—In the 3rd *masc.* הַיְ Ex 32²⁵, Nu 23⁸; in the 3rd *fem.* הַיְ הַיְ without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2³, Jer 44¹⁹; Am 1¹¹, with

¹ We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description, and moreover these vowels are of various origin. The connective *a* is most probably the remains of the old verbal termination, like the *i* in the 2nd pers. *fem.* *sing.* הַיְ הַיְ. Observe e. g. the Hebrew form *q'āl-ani* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *q'ālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *ē*, *ā*, as Prätorius (*ZDMG.* 55, 267 ff.) and Barth (*ibid.* p. 205 f.) show by reference to the Syriac connective *ai* in the imperf. of the strong verb, is originally due to the analogy of verbs מַחֲיִי מַחֲיִי (from *m'ḥāimī*), in which the final *ē* was used as a connecting vowel first of the imperat., then of the impf. (besides many forms with *a*, § 60 *d*), and of the infin. and participle.

retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, but read certainly שָׁמַר לְנַצְחָה .—The forms מֹ— , מוֹ— , מוּ— occur 23 times, all in poetry¹ (except Ex 23³¹) [viz. with the perfect Ex 15¹⁰, 23³¹, ψ 73⁶; with the imperfect Ex 15⁵ (מוֹ for מוֹ), 15^{7,9,9,12,15,17,17}, ψ 2⁵, 21^{10,13}, 22⁵, 45¹⁷, 8c⁶, 14c¹⁰; with the imperative ψ 5¹¹, 59^{12,12}, 83¹²]. On the age of these forms, see § 91 l 3; on י— and י— as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48⁹ נָתַן הָאֱלֹהִים (cf. $\text{וַיִּבְרַח הָאֱלֹהִים}$ 1 Ch 14¹¹ according to Baer), נ— has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to נ— .—In Ez 44⁸ $\text{וַיִּשְׂמוּן וַיִּשְׂמוּן}$ is probably only an error for וַיִּשְׂמוּן .

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) *h* we find that (a) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(b) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; cf. e.g. נִי— , נִי— , נִי— (*me*) with י— (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word (אֵת in אֵתִי , &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and some-ⁱ times intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a special connecting-syllable² (*ān*)³ is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) modified to tone-bearing *S^eghôl*. This is called the *Nûn energicum*⁴ (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Dt 32¹⁰ bis) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g. יְבַרְכֶנּוּהוּ *he will bless him* (ψ 72¹⁵, cf. Jer 5²²), יִכְבְּרֶנּוּנִי *he will honour me* (ψ 50²³) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24¹³ יִבְרַכְךָ . On examples like יְנַגֵּי Gn 30⁶, cf. § 26 g, § 59 f. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nûn* is assimilated to the following consonant (נ , כ), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so ה), and the *Nûn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

¹ Thus in ψ 2 מֹ— occurs five times [four times attached to a noun or preposition, §§ 91 f, 103 c], and נ— 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 *l*, at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the footnote on § 48 c).—As M. Lambert has shown in *REL.* 1903, p. 178 ff. ('De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux . . .'), the suffixes of the 3rd pers. with the impf. without *waw* in prose are נָה— and נָה— , but with *waw consec.* וְנָה— and וְנָה— or וְנָה— ; with the jussive in the 2nd and 3rd pers. always וְנָה— , וְנָה— , . . . the 1st pers. more often וְנָה— than וְנָה— , and always וְנָה— .

³ According to Barth 'n-haltige Suffixe' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, Lpz 1907, p. 1 ff., the connecting element, as in Aramaic, was originally *in*, which in Hebrew became *en* in a closed tone-syllable.

⁴ So König, *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 226.

- 1st pers. אָנִי (even in pause, Jb 7¹⁴, &c.), אֲנִי (for אָנִי , אֲנִי).
 2nd pers. אַתָּה (Jer 22²⁴ in pause אַתָּה־) and, only orthographically different,
 אַתָּה־ (Is 10²⁴, Pr 2¹¹ in pause).
 3rd pers. הוּאֵ (for הוּאֵה־),¹ fem. הִיאֵ for הִיאֵה־ .
 [1st pers. plur. אֲנִי־ (for אָנִי־), see the Rem.]

In the other persons Nūn energetic does not occur.

l Rem. The uncontracted forms with Nūn are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15², Dt 32¹⁰ [*bis*], Jer 5²², 22²⁴); 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 הוּאֵה־ as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31¹⁵ [but read הוּאֵה־ and cf. § 72 cc], hardly in Ho 12⁵; cf. הוּאֵה־ behold us, Gn 44¹⁶, 50¹⁸, Nu 14⁴⁰ for הוּאֵה־ (instead of הוּאֵה־ ; see § 20 m).— In Ez 4¹² the Masora requires הוּאֵה־ , without Dageš in the Nūn.

l That the forms with Nūn energetic are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in pause. Apart from the verb, however, Nūn energetic occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 o).

This Nūn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two energetic moods (see § 48 b) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaqtulan-ka* or *yaqtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

§ 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz. :—

(a) In the 3rd sing. fem. the original feminine ending אֵה־ or אֵה־ is used for אֵה־ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides אָתָּה־ we find אַתָּה־ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with אָתָּה־ .²

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem. אֵתָּה־ , the original form of אָתָּה־ , appears; cf. אֵתָּה־ , אֵתָּה־ , § 32 f; § 44 g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc. אֵתָּה־ for אַתָּה־ . The only examples are Nu 20⁵, 21⁵, Zc 7⁵. The fem. אֵתָּה־ never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'ûl*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see c).

¹ On אֵה־ = אָה־ Nu 23¹³, see § 67 o.

² On the *ā* as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 f, note.

| <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 3. m. הקטיל | 3. c. הקטילו |
| 3. f. הקטילת | |
| 2. m. הקטילת, הקטילת | 2. m. הקטילתו |
| 2. f. הקטילתי, הקטילת | |
| 1. c. הקטילתי | 1. c. הקטילנו |

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *Hiph'il* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see *d*).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the *Perfect Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (*a*) the *Qames* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Šewá*; (*b*) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the *3rd sing. fem.* and *3rd plur.* had become *Šewá*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*; similarly original *i* (as in the *3rd sing. masc. without* a suffix) is lengthened to *e*, e. g. אָהֵבִי I S 18²², Pr 19⁷.

The forms of the perfect of *Qal* consequently appear as follows:— *d*

| <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 3. m. קטל | 3. c. קטלו |
| 3. f. קטלת (קטלת, see <i>g</i>) | |
| 2. m. קטלת (קטלת, see <i>h</i>) | 2. m. קטלתו |
| 2. f. קטלתי (קטלת, see <i>h</i>) | |
| 1. c. קטלתי | 1. c. קטלנו |

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Šere* in the *Perfect Pi'el* changes sometimes into *S'eghól*, and sometimes into vocal *Šewá*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. קֹם and הֵם, since they *e* end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms קֹן and הֵן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect קֹם alone occurs, ψ 118²⁶. The form קטל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd sing. masc. before קֹם and קֹן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the *3rd sing. masc.* קטלהו (especially in verbs ל"ה; in the strong verb only in Jer 20¹⁶ in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קטלו, according to § 23 *k*; likewise in the 2nd sing. masc. קטלתו to קטלתו.—As a suffix of the 1st sing. קֹי occurs several times with the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Qal* of verbs ל"ה, not only in *pause* (as עָנְנִי ψ 118⁵; קָנְנִי Pr 8²² with *D'hi*), but even with a con-

קָמַתְּ, however, it is shortened to *Qames hatuph*, e.g. יִשְׁמְרֶךָ (but in *pause* יִשְׁמְרֶךָ or יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; with *Nān energicum*, see § 58 i), &c. Instead of תִּקְטְלוּנָה, the form תִּקְטְלוּ¹ is used for the 2nd and 3rd *fem. plur.* before suffixes in three places: Jer 2¹⁹, Jb 19¹⁵, Ct 1⁶.

Rem. 1. יִחְבְּרֶךָ ψ 94²⁰ is an anomalous form for יַחְבְּרֶךָ (cf. the analogous *b* יַחְבְּרֶךָ § 67 n) and יִבְנֶנְשֶׁךָ (so Baer; others יִבְנֶנְשֶׁךָ) Gn 32¹⁸ for יִבְנֶנְשֶׁךָ. To the same category as יַחְבְּרֶךָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תַּעֲבִדֶם (from תַּעֲבִד, Ex 20⁶, 23²⁴, Dt 5⁹, and נַעֲבִד Dt 13³). As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *ō* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יַעֲבֹדְנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex 23²⁴ (on the analogy of which Dt 13³ was then wrongly pointed) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix, meaning *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?

Verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the imperfect, and imperative, *c* *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiae* and *mediae gutturalis* belong, § 64 and § 65) do not, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the imperfect (nor of the imperative, see § 61 g) into *Ṣewā* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וְיִלְבְּשֵׁנִי Jb 29¹⁴; וַיִּנְאֲלוּהוּ³⁵ Jos 8³; וַיִּקְרְאוּהוּ ψ 145¹⁸; but יִקְרְאוּ Jer 23⁶, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרְאוּ and יִקְרֹאוּ, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּבְרַכְנִי Gn 19¹⁹, cf. 29⁸², Ex 33²⁰, Nu 22³³, 1 K 2²⁴ *Qerē*, Is 56³, Jb 9¹⁸; also בְּנִי, Gn 27^{19,31}, Jb 7¹⁴, 9³⁴, 13²¹ (in principal *pause*); וַיִּכְרְתֶהּ Gn 37³⁵, cf. 16⁷, 2 S 11²⁷, Is 26⁵, Jb 28²⁷, 1 Ch 20²; וַיִּכְרְתֶהּ Is 63¹⁶ (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיִּדְעֶנּוּ; וַיִּלְבְּשֶׁם Ex 29⁰, cf. 2¹⁷, Nu 21³⁰, Dt 7¹⁵, ψ 74⁸; even אֲמַלֵּם 118¹⁰⁻¹²; וַיִּוְשַׁעַן Ex 2¹⁷, and יַחֲתֶנּוּ Hb 2¹⁷ (where, however, the ancient versions read וַיַּחֲתֶהּ; even יִרְדְּפוּ (*ō* from *āhu*) Ho 8³; cf. Ex 22²⁹, Jos 2⁴ (but read וַתַּצְפִּנֶם); 1 S 18¹ *K^{er}th.*, 21¹⁴ (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 S 14⁶ (where read with the old versions וַיִּנְי); Jer 23⁶ (see § 74 e), ψ 35⁸, Ec 4¹².—On pausal *S^{eghōl}* for *Sere* in וַאֲבַרְכֶם Gn 48⁹ and וַתִּאֲלָצֶהּ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וַתִּאֲלָצֶהּ) Ju 16¹⁶, see § 29 q.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in וְנִי, *e* viz. תִּרְכַּבְנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Jb 19²; יִשְׁתַּרְתְּנֶךָ (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is 60^{7,10}; Pr 5²² (i but probably corrupt); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; יִקְרְאֵנִי with two other examples Pr 1²⁸, 8¹⁷, Ho 5¹⁵; cf. וַגֵּךְ ψ 63⁴, 91¹²; וַנְהוּ Jer 5²²; וַגֵּךְ Jer 2²⁴, all in principal *pause*. [See Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, and *Po'tel*, the *Sere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in *Qal*, *f* becomes vocal *Ṣewā*; but before the suffixes תְּךָ and כֶּם it is shortened to *S^{eghōl}*, e.g. וַיִּקְבְּצֶךָ Dt 30⁴, ψ 34¹², Is 51². With a final guttural, however, וַיִּשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 32²⁷; also in Pr 4⁸, where with *Qinḥi* תִּבְבְּרֶךָ is to be read. *ō* is

¹ This form is also found as feminine without a suffix, in Jer 49¹¹, Ez 37⁷. 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.

retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'el* is *יִגְדֹּךָ* Dt 32⁷. Less frequently *Sere* is sharpened to *Hireq*, e.g. *אֶמְצָדְךָ* Jb 16⁵, cf. Ex 31¹³, Is 1¹⁵, 52¹²; so in *Po'tel*, Is 25¹, ψ 30², 37²⁴, 145¹, and probably also in *Qal* *אֶסְפָּךָ* I S 15⁶; cf. § 68 h.

g 5. In *Hiph'el* the *i* remains, e.g. *תִּלְבִּישֵׁנִי* Jb 10¹¹ (after *wāw* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g. *וַיִּלְבֹּשֶׁם* Gn 3²¹ and often); but cf. above, *f*, Dt 32⁷. Forms like *תַּעֲשִׂיָּךְ* thou enrichest it, ψ 65¹⁰, I S 17²⁵, are rare. Cf. § 53 n.

h 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (י), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (ם) is affixed to the affirmative ו, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending וי; cf. *וַיִּמְלֹאֵם* Gn 26¹⁵ (previously also with a perf. *סִתְּמֹם*; Gn 26¹⁸, 33¹³, Ex 2¹⁷ (where *וַיִּוְשַׁעַן* occurs immediately after); 39^{18,20}, I S 6¹⁰ (where also *בְּנִיָּהֶם* is for *בְּנֵיהֶן*, a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For *יִהְרֹגֶנּוּ* Zc 11⁵ read perhaps *יִהְרֹגֶנּוּ* with M. Lambert.

§ 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The infinitive construct of an active verb may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can also take a verbal suffix, i.e. the accusative of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the O. T. are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e.g. *לִרְשִׁי* to inquire of me, Jer 37⁷. As a rule the infinitive (as a noun) takes noun-suffixes (in the genitive, which may be either subjective or objective, cf. § 115 c), e.g. *עָבְרִי* my passing by; *מְלִכִּי* his reigning, see § 115 a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qōl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūtūl*, see § 46 a). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following Be-gadkephath to be spirant, e.g. *בְּכַתְּבִי* in his writing, Jer 45¹; cf., however, *הִפְּבִי* Gn 19²¹; *נִנְפִי* (so ed. Mant.; others *נִנְפִי*) Ex 12²⁷; *עֲצָבִי* I Ch 4¹⁰; before *יְ* and *כֶּ*—also the syllable is completely closed, e.g. *בְּאֶסְפָּךְ* Ex 23¹⁶, Lv 23³⁹ (but in pause *לְהִרְגֶךָ* Gn 27⁴²), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see d. With the form *qāt* generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form *qāt* (before a suffix *qāt* or *qāt*), § 84^a a; § 93 q.

b Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the imperfect of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qīl* before suffixes, e.g. *בְּבִנְדִי* Ex 21⁸; *מְכָרְם* Am 2⁶ (but *מְכָרָה* Ex 21⁸), *נִפְלוּ* 2 S 1¹⁰ (but *נָפְלוּ* I S 29⁸), *לְשִׁטְנִי* Zc 3¹, *שִׁבְרִי* Lv 26²⁶, Ez 30¹⁸ &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

c Infinitives of the form *qāt* (§ 45 c) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also *שִׁכְּבָה* Gn 19^{33,35}—elsewhere *שִׁכְּבָךְ* and *שִׁכְּבוּ*) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qāṭl*, as *עָפְוִי* Jon 1¹⁶ (and, with the syllable loosely closed.

הַקָּטִיל, but הַקָּטִיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 *g*), e. g. הַקָּרִיבָהּ *present it*, Mal 1⁸.

h 3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116 *f*. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *Šewá* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל: קָטַל, &c.; but before *Šewá mobile* קָטַל, &c., or with the original *š*, קָטַל Ex 23⁴, &c., אֶבְסַף 2 K 22²⁰ (coinciding in form with the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal*, 1 S 15⁶; cf. § 68 *h*); with a middle guttural (קָטַל, קָטַל); with a third guttural, בָּרַח Is 43¹, but מִשְׁחַחְךָ Jer 28¹⁶, cf. § 65 *d*. The form מְקַטֵּל, with suffix מְקַטֵּל; before *Šewá* sometimes like מְקַטֵּל Is 48¹⁷, מִנְחָמָם 51¹², sometimes like מְאֻפְּכֶם 52¹². In Is 47¹⁰ רָאִי is irregular for רָאִי; instead of the meaningless מְקַלְלֵי Jer 15¹⁰ read קָלְלֵי.

Also unusual (see above, *d*) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd *sing. masc.* with *energicum*, as עֹנֶךָ Jb 5¹; cf. Dt 8⁵, 12^{14, 23}.

§ 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 584 ff.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the entire omission of the strengthening in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niph'al* of verbs *first guttural*) can be regarded as a real weakness (§§ 63 *h*, 64 *e*). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ā* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יִהְיֶה, which elsewhere is attenuated to *š*, יִשָּׁל.—In guttural verbs *א* and *ה* are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the *א* in some verbs א"פ (§ 68), in a few א"ע (§ 73 *g*), and in most א"ל (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the *א* was at least originally a full consonant, while the *ה* in verbs א"ל was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal *ה* at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a *ך* also, according to § 22 *q, r*, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according to the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

§ 63. Verbs First Guttural, e. g. עָמַד to stand.

In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be *a* referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a *simple Šewâ mobile*, the initial guttural takes a *compound Šewâ (Hateph, § 10 f, § 22 l)*. Thus the *infinitives* עָמַד, אָכַל to eat, and the *perfects, 2nd plur. masc.* עָמַדְתֶּם, אָכַלְתֶּם from עָמַד to be inclined, correspond to the forms קָטַל and קָטַלְתֶּם; also אָכְלוּ to אָכַל, and so always with initial א־ before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22 o.

2. When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, either *b* the two may form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Hateph* under the guttural. If the vowel of the preformative was originally *a*, two methods of formation may again be distinguished, according as this *a* remains or passes into *Seghól*.

Examples: (*a*) of firmly closed syllables after the original vowel *c* of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable, except וְהָעֵבֶב Ez 23⁵, פָּעָרָה &c. from עָרָה to adorn oneself, and יַעֲטָה; but cf. *e*): הָמַד, יַחְמַל, יַחְשַׁב, יַחְשֹׁף, יַעֲקֹב Jer 9³ (probably to distinguish it from the name יַעֲקֹב, just as in Jer 10¹⁹, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of הָלָה is נַחֲלָה to distinguish it from נַחֲלָה), &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with ח, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ā* as a *Hateph*, e. g. יַחֲשֹׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יַחֲסִיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative נ of the *perfect Niph'al*: נַחֲפָאָה Gn 31²⁷; cf. 1 S 19², Jos 2¹⁶; also the *infinitive absolute* נַחְתוּם Est 8⁸, נַעֲתוּר 1 Ch 5²⁰, and the *participle fem.* נַחֲלָה (see above), *plur.* נַעֲתָרוּת Pr 27⁶. In these forms the original *ā* is commonly kept under the preformative and is followed by *Hateph-Pathah*; thus in the *perfect* of some verbs נִלְּשָׁה, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, נַחֲפֹה Est 9¹; in the *participle* נַעֲרִין ψ 89⁸, &c.

(*b*) Of the corresponding *Hateph* after the original vowel: יַחֲבֹשׁ *d* (but יַחֲבֹשׁ Jb 5¹⁸ in pause), יַחֲלֵם, יַעֲמֵד, יַיְהָרֵם, and so almost always with *y* and often with *h* in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, הַעֲמִיד, הַעֲמִיר; but cf. also הַחֲבֹאוּ Is 42²², הַחֲתִיל Ez 16⁴.

The *ā* of the preformative before a guttural almost always (§ 22 i, *c* cf. § 27 *p*) becomes *Seghól* (cf., however, *q*). This *Seghól* again appears sometimes

(*c*) in a closed syllable, e. g. יַחֲבִישׁ, יַחֲסִיר, יַעֲתֵר, יַאֲשֵׁם, always with *ā* in the second syllable, corresponding to the *imperfects* of verbs עָע, עָע,

with original *i* in the first and *a* in the second syllable, § 67 *n*, and also to the imperfects of verbs *י'ע*, § 72 *h*; but cf. also *יֹאמֵר*, *יֹאבֵד*, and *יְהִדֶּף*; in *Niph.*, e. g. *נִהְיָה*; *נִהְיָה* Am 6⁶, &c.; in *Hiph.* *הִחְסִיר*, *הִעֲלִים* 2 K 4⁷, &c.: sometimes

(*d*) followed by *Haṭeph-S^ghōl*, e. g. *יְחַזֵּק*, *יֹאמֵר*, *יְחַשֵּׁף*, *יַעֲרֹב* in *imperfect Qal*; *יְעַמְּד* *Hiph'il*; *יַעֲנֵשׂ* *Niph'al*.

f Rem. With regard to the above examples the following points may also be noted: (1) The forms with a firmly closed syllable (called the hard combination) frequently occur in the same verb with forms containing a loosely closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative *h* invariably takes *S^ghōl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. *אֶחָדְךָ* (with the cohortative *אֶחָדְךָ*), *אֶחָדְךָ* (in *pause*), &c. In Jb 32¹⁷ *אֶעֱנֶה* must unquestionably be *Hiph'il*, since elsewhere the pointing is always *אֶעֱנֶה*. Cohortatives like *אֶהְרִיבֵךְ* Gn 27⁴¹ and *אֶחָדְךָ* Jb 16⁶, are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Pathah* of the preformative to change into *S^ghōl*, and vice versa, e. g. *נַעֲשֶׂה*, but *נַעֲשֶׂה* 3rd *sing. fem.*; *יֹאמֵר*, but *יֹאמֵר*, but with *wāw* consecutive *וְיַחְסְרוּ*, &c.; so *וְיַחְסְרוּ* Gn 8³ the plur. of *יַחְסֵר*, cf. Gn 11⁸; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Haṭeph-S^ghōl* group ($\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$) into the lighter *Haṭeph-Pathah* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 *v*).

g 3. When in forms like *יַעֲמֹד*, *נַעֲמֹד*, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šewā* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (*י*, *י*, *ה*) or suffix, the *compound Šewā* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. *יַעֲמֹד*, plur. *יַעֲמֹדוּ* (*ya'-a-me-dhū* as an equivalent for *ya'-me-dhū*); *נַעֲזָבָה* *she is forsaken*. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. *יַחֲבֹלוּ* *they take as a pledge* (cf. in the *sing.* *יַחֲבֹל*, also *יַחֲבֹל*); *יַחֲזִקוּ* (also *יַחֲזִקוּ*) *they are strong*. Cf. *m* and, in general, § 22 *m*, § 28 *c*.

h 4. In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niph'al*, where the first radical should by rule be strengthened (*יַקְטִיל*, *הַקְטִיל*), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Sere*; *יַעֲמֵד* for *yi'amēd*,¹ &c. Cf. § 22 *c*.—For *יַעֲשֶׂה* Ex 25³¹ (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation *יַעֲשֶׂה*, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read *יַעֲשֶׂה*.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

i 1. In verbs *א"פ* the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Haṭeph-S^ghōl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 *o*), e. g. *אֶזְרֶךָ* *gird thou*, Jb 38³, *אֶהֱבֶךָ* *love thou*,

¹ *יַעֲמֵד* Jb 19⁷ (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read *יַעֲמֵד*, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3¹, אָחֹז *seize thou*, Ex 4⁴ (on אָפִי *bake ye*, Ex 16²⁸, see § 76 d); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix לְאָחֹז, לְאָכַל, כְּאָכַל Is 5²⁴; לְאָהֹב Ec 3⁸. Sometimes, however, *Haʿleph-Pathah* is found as well, e. g. infinitive אָחֹז I K 6⁶; בְּאָכַל הָאִישׁ Nu 26¹⁰ (before a suffix אָכַלְךָ, אָמַרְךָ, אָכַלְכֶם, אָמַרְכֶם § 61 d); cf. Dt 7²⁰, 12²³, Ez 25⁸, ψ 102⁵, Pr 25⁷ (אָמַרְרִלְךָ), Jb 34¹⁸, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לְחַסוֹת Is 30²; לְחַפֵּר Jos 2^{2f}. (on Is 2²⁰, cf. § 84^b n); לְחַתוֹת Is 30¹⁴, Hag 2¹⁶; גָּחַשׁב Ex 31⁴, &c.; לְעוֹר 2 S 18³ *Qéré*, but also בְּעוֹר I Ch 15²⁶.

הַחֲרִילִי Ju 9^{9,11,13} is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *h* הַחֲרִילִי (Hiph'il), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimḥi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הַחֲרִילִי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of חָרַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הַחֲרִילִי. But the *Qameṣ* under the ח, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָרַלִי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *S^{wá}*, but to *—*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qameṣ* (likewise pronounced as *á*) at least in a shortened form. The *S^{ghól}* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 n (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e. g. in הַחֲרָשִׁים, § 35 k). For the accusative after חָרַל, instead of the usual מִן, Jb 31⁷ affords sufficient evidence.

Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *i* (on this *i* cf. § 48 i) into *S^{ghól}*, e. g. אֶסְפָּה *gather thou*, Nu 11¹⁶; עֲרְבָה *set in order*, Jb 33⁵; חִשְׁפֵי *strip off*, Is 47² (on this irregular *Dageš* cf. § 46 d), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e. g. אָהֲבוּ Am 5¹⁵, ψ 31²⁴; cf. Zc 8¹⁹; אֶחָוֶה Ct 2¹⁶; cf. also in verbs לִהַן *sing ye*, Nu 21¹⁷, ψ 147⁷ (compared with אָנְשֵׁיךָ *answer ye*, I S 12³) and אָלִי Jo 1⁸.—*Pathah* occurs in חָבַלְהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20¹⁶, and probably also in ψ 9¹⁴ (חָבַנְנִי).—As a pausal form for חָרַבִי (cf. the plur. Jer 2¹²) we find in Is 44²⁷ חָרַבִי (cf. the imperf. חָרַבְתִּי) with the *ó* repeated in the form of a *Haʿleph-Qameṣ*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 h and § 46 e.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the imperfects in *á* with *h* *S^{ghól}* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e. g. יַחְדַּל, יַחְבֹּם) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time לִהַן, e. g. יַחְזֹה, יַחְצֹה &c. (but cf. יַהֲנֶה &c., יַחְתֶּה Pr 6²⁷, אַעֲשֶׂה ed. Mant., Ex 3²⁰). Even in the strong verb יַחְזֹק is found along with יַחְזֹק. Cf. also וַתַּעֲזַב Ez 23⁵; וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי Gn 27³⁶ (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי); וַתַּחֲלֶקְמֶם Nel 9²², and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עוֹר with suffixes, Gn 49²⁵, &c.—תַּאֲהִבוּ Pr 1²² is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel, but it is a question whether we should not simply read תַּאֲהִבוּ with Haupt in his Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and

such nouns as בָּאֵר, זָאֵב, § 93 *t*.—On יַחְבְּרֶהָ ψ 94²⁰ for יַחְבְּרֶהָ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 *b*.

- n וַיִּצְחָקָם ψ 58⁵ and יַעֲרֹם to deal subtly, 1 S 23²², Pr 15⁵, 19²⁵, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG*. 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47 *i*),—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יַעֲרִים ψ 83⁴.—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיַּחְלֶקְםָ (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24³) 1 Ch 23⁶ and וַיַּחֲזֵק 24³ (partly analogous to הִתְעַבְּרָם § 60 *b*) the Qal וַיַּחְלֶקְםָ is to be read. The form וַיַּרְדֵּף ψ 7⁶ which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'el*), a composite form of Qal (יַרְדֵּף) and *Pi'el* (יַרְדֵּף), can only be understood as a development of יַרְדֵּף (cf. § 64 *h* on יַצְחָק, and § 69 *x* on הִתְעַבְּרָה Ex 9²³, ψ 73⁹). Pathah has taken the place of *Haṭeph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שִׁמְעֵתָ § 28 *e*, note 2) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. It is much simpler, however, to take it as a *forma mixta*, combining the readings יַרְדֵּף (impf. Qal) and יַרְדֵּף (impf. *Pi'el*).

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

- O 3. The above-mentioned (*f*, 3) change of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ to $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *wāw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e. g. הֵעֲמִדְתָּ, but וְהֵעֲמִדְתָּ Nu 3⁶, 8¹³, 27¹⁹; הֵעֲבַרְתִּי, but וְהֵעֲבַרְתִּי Jer 15¹⁴, Ez 2c³⁷; even in the 3rd *sing.* וְהֵאֲוִין ψ 77².—On the contrary $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ occurs instead of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 49^{8,30}; and in the infinitive Jer 31³². The preformative of עָתָר in *Hiph'il* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex 8⁴ הֶעֱתִירוּ; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22²⁷.

- P 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il* $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ is sometimes changed into $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$, and in *Hoph'al* $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ into $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ (cf. § 23 *h*); הֵעֲבַרְתָּ Jos 7⁷, הֵעֲלָה Hb 11¹⁵, הֵעֲלָה Ju 6²⁸, 2 Ch 2c³⁴, Na 2⁸, always before *ע*, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הֶ or הָ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (וְעִמָּה) see § 64 *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qōll*; cf. § 93 *a*, and (on אֲמוֹן &c. for אֲמוֹן) § 84^a *q*.—In the imperfect consecutive בוּ וַיַּחֲזֶק the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* הִתְעַבְּרָם Ex 20⁵, &c., see § 60 *b*.

III. הָיָה and חָיָה.

- Q 5. In the verbs הָיָה to be, and חָיָה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus imperfect Qal יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה, *Niph'al* נִהְיֶה; but in the perfect *Hiph'il* הִחְיֶה (2nd *plur.* וְהִחְיִיתֶם Jos 2¹³, and even without *wāw* consecutive, Ju 8¹⁹). Initial ה always has *Haṭeph-Seghol* instead of vocal *Šwā*; הִיָּה, הָיִיתֶם, הָיִיתָ 1 S 25⁷, הִיִּיתָ (except הִיָּי be thou! fem. Gn 24⁶⁰). The 2nd *sing. fem. imperative* of חָיָה is חַיִּי live thou, Ez 16⁶; the infinitive, with suffix, חַיִּיתֶם Jos 5⁸. After the prefixes ה, כ, ב, ל, מ, (= מן) both ה and ח retain the simple *Šwā* (§ 28 *b*) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Šwā*; hence in the perfect Qal חַיִּיתָ, imperative וְחַיִּי, infinitive לְחַיִּיתָ, &c. (cf. § 16 *f*, *ε*). The only exception is the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the imperative after *wāw*; וְחַיִּי Gn 12², &c., וְחַיִּי Gn 20⁷.

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

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined *a* chiefly to the following¹ :—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with simple *S^ewā*, it necessarily takes a *Haṭeph*, and almost always *Haṭeph-Pathah*, e.g. perfect שָׁחַט, imperfect יִשְׁחַט, imperative *Niph'al* הִשְׁחַט. In the *imperative Qal*, before the affirmatives *i* and *ū*, the original *Pathah* is retained in the first syllable, and is followed by *Haṭeph-Pathah*, thus, וְעָקַבְךָ, וְעָקַבְךָ, &c.; in שָׁחַטְבִּי the preference of the *ā* for *S^eghōl* (but cf. also שָׁחַטְבִּי, Jer 13²¹) has caused the change from *ā* to *ē*; in שָׁחַטְבִּי Jb 6²², even *i* remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e.g. לְשַׁחֵט to love, לְרַחֵץ to pine; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְמַעַרְהָ Is 9⁶; the doubtful form שְׁחַטְהוּ Ho 5², is better explained as *infinitive Pi'el* (= שְׁחַחְהוּ).

2. Since the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less *b* influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal* שָׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction and shortening of the *o* רַחֵץ and רַחֵץ, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Pi'el*, e.g. יִלְחֵם he fights, יִנַּחֵם he comforts, and even the more feeble *S^eghōl* after *wāw* consecutive in such forms as וַיִּלְחֵם, וַיִּנַּחֵם Gn 41⁸ (cf., however, וַיִּנַּחֵם 1 K 12⁶, &c.). But in the *imperative* and *imperfect Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e.g. שְׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; וְעָקַבְךָ, וְעָקַבְךָ; with *suffixes* (according to § 60 *c*), *imperative* שְׁחַטְבִּי, *imperfect* וַיִּנַּחֵם.

With *ō* in the *imperative Qal*, the only instances are נַעַל 2 S 13¹⁷; *c* אָחַז Ex 4⁴, 2 S 2²¹, *fem.* אָחַזְיָה Ru 3¹⁵ (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Haṭeph-Qames*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* אָחַזְיָה Neh 7³; without the *pause* אָחַזְיָה Ct 2¹⁵); אָחַזְיָה Ju 19⁸.² Finally אָחַזְיָה for אָחַזְיָה, Nu 23⁷, is an example of the same kind, see § 63 *p*. Just as rare are the *imperfects* in *ō* of verbs *middle guttural*, as אָחַזְיָה, אָחַזְיָה, אָחַזְיָה Lv 5¹⁵, Nu 5²⁷ (but אָחַזְיָה 2 Ch 26¹⁶); cf. אָחַזְיָה Ez 16³⁸; אָחַזְיָה Jb 35⁶. Also in the *perfect Pi'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. נַחֵם to comfort (cf., however, נַחֵם, נַחֵם, נַחֵם, נַחֵם);

¹ *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'il* is regular.

² Also Ju 19⁵ (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*.

but *א* and *ע* always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 b.

d 3. In *Pī'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before ה, ח, and ע, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 c; e. g. *Pī'el* שָׁחַק נְחֻלִי Jos 14¹, וּבְעַרְתִּי 1 K 14¹⁰, נִהַג Ex 10¹³ (cf., however, אָחַר Gn 34¹⁹; יִנְהַל Ex 15¹³, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִנְהַל, &c.; in verbs ל"ה, e. g. רָעָה), *infinitive* שָׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. דָּחוּ ψ 36¹³ from דָּחָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן¹ Ez 21¹⁸, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֵצְתִּי Jb 9³⁰); *Hithpa'el* *perfect* and *imperative* הִפְתְּרוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 c, 27 q, 29 v, 54 k) הִפְתְּרוּ Nu 8⁷, 2 Ch 30¹⁸; יִתְנַחֵם Nu 23¹⁹, &c.

e The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (פָּרַח Ez 16⁴ is an exception; כָּרַח also occurs, Ju 6²⁸), e. g. פָּרַח (in *pause* פָּרַח, *imperfect* יִפְרַח, *Pu'al* פָּרַח. Before *א* it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאָר, גָּאָל, מָאָן, פָּאָר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בָּאָשׁ, רָאָה, and שָׂאָה; on the other hand, *א* is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נָאָף (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29²³) *to commit adultery*, נָאָץ *to despise* (in the *participle*, Nu 14²³, Is 60¹⁴, Jer 23¹⁷; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* יִנְאָץ ψ 74¹⁰), נָאָר *to abhor* La 2⁷ (also נָאָרְתָה ψ 89⁴⁰) and נִשְׂאָל ψ 109¹⁰; moreover, in the *infinitive* יֵאָשׁ Ec 2²⁰, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאָה Jb 33²¹, cf. § 14 d.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׂאל *to ask, to beg*, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Şere* when the vowel of the *א* stands in an open syllable, cf. שָׂאֵלְךָ Gn 32¹⁸, Ju 4²⁰; שָׂאֵלְנִי ψ 137⁵; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שָׂאֵלְתֶם 1 S 12¹⁸, 25⁵, Jb 21²⁹; שָׂאֵלְתִּיהוּ Ju 13⁶, 1 S 1²⁰. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ā*, § 69 s, and especially § 44 d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *i* attenuated from *ā* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *i* would have been modified to *ē*. Also in the *Hiph'il*-form הִשְׂאֵלְתִּיהוּ 1 S 1²⁸ the *א* is merely attenuated from *א*.

g 2. In *Pī'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Şere* of the ultima to be shortened to *S'ghöl*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e. g. לְשָׂרַח שָׁם *to minister there*, Dt 17¹², even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39¹⁴, Jb 8¹⁸ (see § 29 g). (b) after *wāw* consecutive, e. g. וַיְבָרַךְ and he blessed, Gn 1²² and frequently, וַיִּגְרֹשׁ and he drove out, Ex 10¹¹, וַתִּפְעֹם Dn 2¹.

¹ בָּחַן is explained by Abulwalid as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimḥi as a noun.

3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gn 21⁶ *h* (elsewhere הִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 *g* (c) and § 63 *n*); וָאָחָר Gn 32⁶ (for וָאָחָר); in the *perfect Pī'el* אָחָרָהּ Ju 5²³ (perhaps primarily for אָחָרָהּ; according to Gn 34¹⁹ אָחָרָהּ would be expected), and similarly יִחַמְתִּנִּי ψ 51⁷ for יִחַמְתִּנִּי; in the *imperative Pī'el* קָרַב Ez 37¹⁷ (cf. above, § 52 *n*); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הִרְחַק Jb 13²¹ and הִמְעַר ψ 69²⁴, in both cases probably influenced by the closing conso. ant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in *pause* (according to § 29 *g*); without the *pause* הִרְחַק Pr 4²⁴, &c.; but also הִנְחַח Jo 4¹¹.

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֵשׂ Ezr 8¹, &c., with *i* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מְתַיַחֵשִׂים Neh 7⁶⁴; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׂ, &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וַנִּשְׂאָר Ez 9⁸ (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וַנִּשְׂאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וַנִּשְׂאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וַנִּשְׂאָר (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאַרְהוּ Is 44¹³ (also יִתְאַרְהוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Pī'el* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *ō* for יִתְאַר; cf. § 55 *b* מְלִשְׁנֵי ψ 101⁵ *Qere*; on the other hand Qimḥi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pī'el*, with an irregular ־ for ־ , as in the reading אֶלְקָמָה Ru 2²⁷; cf. § 10 *h*.

5. A few examples in which א, as middle radical, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73 *g*.

§ 65. *Verbs Third Guttural, e.g. שָׁלַח to send.*¹

1. According to § 22 *d*, when the last syllable has a vowel incompatible with the guttural (i.e. not an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel remains, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathah*, or *Pathah* (in *pause Qames*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(a) The unchangeable vowels '־, י, ו (§ 25 *b*) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שְׁלֹחַ, *part. pass.* שֹׁלֵחַ, *Hiph.* הַשְּׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מְשַׁלֵּחַ. So also the less firm *ō* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלַח is almost always retained: cf., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58⁹, and שְׁלַח Nu 20³. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שְׁלַחְךָ Gn 35¹; שְׁלַחְנוּ Nu 35¹⁹; לְרַבְעָה Lv 18²³, &c.

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

¹ Verbs שָׁלַח in which the ה is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. גְּבוּהָ to be high, תִּמְהָה to be astonished, מְדַהָה (only in *Hithpa'pel*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלוח Jer 57, *Kth*. (אָסֵלֶחַ *Q^{er}*); in the *imperative* טַבַּח Gn 43¹⁶. On such cases as אַשְׁפָּעָה Is 27⁴, cf. § 10 h.

c (c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with \bar{e}^a and \bar{a}) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e. :—

d Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle Qal*, *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el*, the forms שָׁלַח (with suff. שָׁלַחִי, but שְׁלַחְךָ), מְשַׁלַּח (with suff. מְשַׁלַּחְךָ), and מְשַׁלְּחֵנִי are used exclusively; except in verbs שָׁלַח where we find, in close connexion, also נָטַע ψ 94⁹, רָגַע Is 51¹⁵, Jer 31³⁵, רָקַע Is 42⁵, 44²⁴, רוֹקַע ψ 136⁶, שָׁעַע Lv 11⁷, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu'al is מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45² according to the best authorities (Kittel מְרַבֵּעַ).

e 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf.* *Niph'al*, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. Pi'el* the (probably more original) form with \bar{a} commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with \bar{e}^a in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e. g. with *D^{hi}* ψ 86⁴ in the *imperative Pi'el*; with *Tiph'ha* 1 K 12³² in the *infinitive Pi'el*; Jer 4³¹ *imperfect Hithpa'el*; Jer 16⁶ *imperfect Niph'al*), cf. e. g. יָרַע Nu 27⁴, with יָרַע 36³; וַיִּשְׁבַּע Dt 1³⁴, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs.* *Niph'al* הִשְׁבַּע Nu 30³ (elsewhere הִשְׁבַּע Jer 7⁹, 12¹⁶ twice, in each case without the pause); הִבְבַּע Hb 3⁹, with הִבְבַּע Ez 13¹¹; בָּלַע to devour Hb 1¹³, Nu 4²⁰ with בָּלַע La 2⁸; for *infinitive Hithpa'el*, cf. Is 28²⁰. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* has the form שָׁלַח Dt 22⁷, 1 K 11²²; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is always as שָׁלַח except לְשַׁלַּח Ex 10⁴.—יִבְבַּח Hb 1¹⁶ has \bar{e} , though not in *pause*, and even יִבְבַּח 2 K 16⁴, 2 Ch 28⁴; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* הֶאֱבַח Ez 21¹¹; *jussive Pi'el* תִּאָּחֵר ψ 40¹⁸; cf. § 52 n. An example of \bar{a} in the *imperative Pi'el* under the influence of a final ר is בְּתַרְרֵה Jb 36², in the *imperfect Niph'al* וַתַּעֲצֵר Nu 17¹³, &c.—In פָּרַח Jb 14⁹ (cf. ψ 92¹⁴, Pr 14¹¹), 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. הַצֵּלְךָ prosper thou, יַבְטַח let him make to trust, וַיַּצְמַח and he made to grow (so in *Hithpalpel* יִתְמַמְהֵם, &c., Hb 2³); even in *pause* וַיַּצְלַח 1 Ch 29²³, and, with the best authorities, וַיִּוֹכַח 1 Ch 12¹⁷; וַיִּשְׁעֵב Is 35⁴ is perhaps to be emended into וַיִּשְׁעֵי (= 'וַיִּשְׁעֵי').—In the *infinitive absolute Sere* remains, e. g. הִנְבִּיחַ to make high; as *infinitive construct* הִוְכַח also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6²⁶); on הִוְשַׁע as *infinitive construct* (1 S 25^{26.33}), cf. § 53 k.

g 2. When the guttural with *quiescent S^ewa* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e. g. שָׁלַחְתִּי, שְׁלַחְתָּ. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *S^ewa*, שְׁכַחְתְּ Jer 13²³ (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14³, לְכַחְתְּ is to be read, not לְכַחְתְּ.

h Rem. The soft combination with *compound S^ewa* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e. g. יָדַעְנוֹךָ we know thee, Ho 8² (cf. Gn 26²⁹, ψ 44¹⁸, 132⁹). Before the suffixes ךָּ and כֶּם, the guttural must have ׀, e. g. אֶשְׁלַחְךָ I will send thee, 1 S 16¹; וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 31²⁷; אֶשְׁמָיְעֶךָ Jer 18².

On the weak verbs אָל, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb.¹

§ 66. Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn (י"נ), e.g. נִשְׁבַּח to approach

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 138 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 595 ff.

The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* ^a in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (cf. § 19 h). On the other hand, the *assimilation* of the נ (see below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the trilateral character of the stem is still preserved by the strengthening of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (a) in the *infinitive construct*. This ^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* נִשְׁבַּח, *infinitive* properly שְׁבַח, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ך to the segholate form שִׁבַּח²; with suffix יתוהוּ Gn 33³; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשְׁבַּח to touch, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּח, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּח (also נִשְׁבַּח, see below); with suffix נִשְׁבַּח to plant, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּח (also נִשְׁבַּח, see below); on the verb נתן to give, see especially h and i. On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נפל to fall, *imperfect* יִפֹּל, *infinitive* נִפֹּל, with suffix נִפֹּלוּ, also נִפֹּלוּ; נִבְרָא Nu 6², &c.; cf., moreover, לִבְרָא Gn 20⁶, &c., נִבְרָא Ex 19¹² (even לִבְרָא Jb 6⁷; cf. Jer 1¹⁰); with suffix בְּנִינִי Lv 15²³. Also לִבְרָא Is 51¹⁶ (but לִבְרָא Ec 3²); נִשָּׂא Is 1¹⁴, 18³; with suffix בְּנִשְׂאָה ψ 28² (elsewhere נִשְׂאָה, cf. § 74 i and § 76 b), לִבְרָא 2 S 20⁹.

(b) In the *imperative*. Here the Nûn is always dropped in verbs ^c with a in the *imperfect*, e.g. נגש, *imperative* שְׁבַח (more frequently with *paragogic ā*, נִשְׁבַּח; before *Maqqeph* also נִשְׁבַּח Gn 19⁹), *plur.* נִשְׁבַּחוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *ō*, נִשְׁבַּח Ru 2¹⁴ (with *retarding* *Metheg* in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29 e, before הִלַּם) and נִשְׁבַּח Jos 3⁹ (before הִלַּם), 1 S 14³⁸ (before הִלַּם) and 2 Ch 29³¹; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִבְרָא drive, 2 K 4²⁴ (*imperfect* יִבְרָא, without assimilation of the Nûn), נִבְרָא 2 K 19²⁹, Is 37³⁰, Jer 29^{5,28}; cf. also the verbs נִלַּח, which are at the same time נִלַּח Ez 32¹⁸, נִלַּח Ex 32³⁴, נִלַּח Ex 8¹, &c.; the verb נִלַּח נִשְׂאָה ψ 10¹² (usually נִשְׂאָה); cf. § 76 b. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נִצַּח, נִתַּן, &c.

¹ Cf. the summary, § 41.

² The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the law of compensation' (*Nominalbildung*, p. xiii).

d 2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19 c); thus in the *imperfect Qal*,¹ e. g. יִפֹּל for *yinpōl*, *he will fall*; יִיָּגַשׁ for *yingaš*; יִתֵּן for *yintēn*, *he will give* (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. *h*)²; also in the *perfect Niph'al* יִיָּגַשׁ for *ningaš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (יִשְׁמַע, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuš*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) יִשְׁמַע.

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.

c The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a *preformative* is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פִּ"פ (§ 71), and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* יִשְׁמַע and the *imperative* שִׁמַּע, also יִשְׁמַע (Gn 19⁹) and יִתֵּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פ"פ (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, יִקַּח, and יִקַּח, from לָקַח to *take*, see *g*.—In יִקַּח (*imperfect Niph'al* of קָוַם), and in similar forms of verbs ע"ע (§ 72), the *full* writing of the *ō* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָוַם, &c.—Also אֲסַפֵּן (ψ 139⁸) is not to be derived from אָסַפ, but stands for אֲסַפֵּן (with a sharpening of the *ס* as compensation for the loss of the *ל*), from אֲסַפֵּן to *ascend*, see § 19 f, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשְׁיִקוּ Ez 39⁹, הִשְׁיִק Is 44¹⁵, and the *Niph'al* הִשְׁיִקוּ ψ 78²¹ are most probably from a stem שִׁלַּק, not שִׁשַּׁק.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e. g. יִנָּטֵר, *imperfect Jer* 3⁵ (elsewhere יִנָּטֵר); also from יִנָּצֵר the pausal form is *always* יִנָּצֵר (without the *pause* יִנָּצֵר Pr 20²⁸); similarly in Is 29¹, 58³, ψ 61⁸, 68³ (where, however, הִנָּדָר is intended), 140^{2,5}, Pr 2¹¹, Jb 40²¹, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* הִנָּדָר ψ 68³, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e. g. הִנָּדָר Ez 22²⁰, הִנָּדָר Ju 20³¹; for לָנָפַל Nu 5²² read לָנָפַל, 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 יִחַח (also יִנְחַח) *he will descend*, Jer 21¹³ (even יִחַח Pr 17¹⁰; without apparent reason accented as *Mi'el*), plur. יִחַחוּ Jb 21¹³ (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יִחַח and יִחַחוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from יַחַח); *Niph'al* נָחַם for נִנְחַם *he has grieved*.

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

¹ Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פ"פ, פ"ן, פ"א,' in the *REJ.* xxvii. 136 ff.

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

before *suffixes* קָרַ (on נָקַרְס־נָקַרְסֵי Gn 48⁹, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָרַה; קָרַי, &c. (but cf. also לָקַח Ex 29¹, Ez 37¹⁶, Pr 20¹⁶, לָקַחְי 1 K 17¹¹, perhaps a mistake for קָחַי לָהּ, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַח (once קָחַח 2 K 12⁹, cf. § 93 h); with לָ, לָקַחַח; with *suffix* קָחַחְי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always יִקַּחְלָה.—The meaningless form קָחַח Ez 17⁵ is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַח Ho 11³ read קָחַחְיָהּ.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above in d, is the only example of a *h* verb פ"ן with *imperfect* in ē (נָתַן for *yintēn*; נָתַן¹ only in Ju 16⁶, elsewhere before *Maqqeph* נָתַןְיָ, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* נָתַן or (very frequently) נָתַנָה (but in ψ S² the very strange reading נָתַנָה is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נָתַנָהְיָ); before *Maqqeph* נָתַנְיָ, fem. נָתַנְיָ, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nún*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַנְיָ for *nāthānti*, נָתַנְיָ or, very frequently, נָתַנְיָ, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nún* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נָתַנְתָּמ Lv 26²⁵, Ezr 9⁷.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* *i* (as נָתַנְתָּ from נָתַנְתָּ), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to נָתַת, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20 l; but with *suffixes* נָתַתְי, נָתַתְו, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לָ לָתַתְי, e. g. Ex 5²¹, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gn 15⁷. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַן Nu 20²¹ and נָתַןְיָ Gn 38⁹; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לָתַתְי 1 K 6¹⁹ read either לָתַתְו or simply לָתַת, just as the *Q'ré*, 1 K 17¹⁴, requires נָתַת תַתְי.

In other stems, the *h* is retained as the third radical, e. g. שָׁפַחְיָהּ, cf. *h* § 19 c and § 44 o. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nún* with a strong vowel in נָתַתְי (for נָתַתְי) 2 S 22⁴¹, cf. § 19 i.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתַּן, cf. § 53 u.

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

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 155 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 632 ff.

1. A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only *a* two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs ע"ע. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained as being due to contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct

¹ P. Haupt on Ju 16⁵ in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *ittan* (besides *inādin*, *ināmdin*) from *nadānu* = נָתַן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in *a* from נָתַן?

to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently developed from the monosyllabic stem.¹ The appearance of a general contraction of trilateral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affirmatives, except in the cases noted in § 22 *b* and *q*. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of trilateral forms.

The development of biliteral to trilateral stems (y"ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of transitive verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e. g. סָבַב, סָבְבָה, סָבְבִי : סָבְבִי : חָנַן Gn 33⁵ (but with suffix חָנַנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר to make strait, צָר to be in a strait; see further details, including the exceptions, in *aa*. The development of the stem takes place (*a*) necessarily whenever the strengthening of the 2nd radical is required by the character of the form (e. g. חָלַל, חָלְלָה, חָלְלִי), and (*b*) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in Qal, סָבֹב, סָבֹבָה, in Pó'el and Pó'al, סוֹבֵב, סוֹבֵבָה.

b 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) takes the vowel which would have been required between the *second* and *third* radical of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43 *b*), e. g. חָמַד answering to קָטַל, חָמְדָה to the ground-form *qātālāt*, חָמַד to the ground-form *qātālū*; *infinitive*, סָב to קָטַל.

c 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under *a*), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20 *l*) in the final consonant of the word, e. g. חָמַד, סָב, not חָמַם, סָבב; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e. g. חָמְדִי, סָבְבִי, &c.

d 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative. In the *perfect* this vowel is ה, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* וְ, e. g. סָבְבִי, סָבְבִי, *imperfect* תְּסָבְבֵנִי (for *sabb-tā, sabb-nū, tasōbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

¹ So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 608 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 *b, c*; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

by this means is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible.¹

The *perfect* תִּמְנֶנִּי (for תִּמְוֹנִי) Nu 17²⁸, ψ 64⁷ (Jer 44¹⁸ תִּמְנֶנִּי with *Silluq*), owing to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs י"ע (cf. תִּמְנֶנִּי from קום).

5. Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect f Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27 e), e.g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב for *yä-sëb*, *imperative* יִסֵּב for *hä-sëb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *ı̇*, either the original *ä* (from which the *ı̇* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yä-söb*, or the *ı̇* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hü-sëb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *ü* of the *Hoph'al*, יִסֵּב for *hü-säb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šwä*, according to § 27 k (under *ä* and *h* *compound Šwä*), e.g. תִּסֵּב, but תִּסֵּבְנָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* תִּסֵּב, but תִּסֵּבְנָה; *perfect* תִּסֵּבְנָה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another (common in *g* *Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסֵּב or יִסֵּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִשֵּׁם 1 K 9⁸, יִקָּר Gn 24²⁶; with *a* in the second syllable, יִגֵּר Lv 11⁷, יִדֵּל Is 17⁴, יִשָּׁח Is 2⁹, &c., יִדֵּם Am 5¹³ and frequently, יִנָּפֹת Dt 9²¹, &c., יִפֵּב (*turn intrans.*) 1 S 5⁸, &c., יִקָּב Lv 24¹¹, יִחֵם Ez 47¹², &c., יִחֵם (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1¹; in the plural, יִתְפֹּו Nu 14³⁵, &c. (in pause יִתְפֹּו ψ 102²⁸); perhaps also יִפֵּל, יִפֹּו (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִהַפֹּו 1 S 2⁹, יִפֵּלוּ Jb 24²⁴); with suffix תִּקְבְּנֶנִּי occurs (cf. § 10 *h*) in Nu 23²⁵; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִתֵּם, *Hoph'al* יִכֵּת, &c. The vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (cf. also *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with affirmatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not strengthened, e.g. יִקָּרוּ Gn 43²⁸, &c., for יִקָּרוּ and *they bowed the head*; יִנָּפְתוּ and *they beat down*, Dt 1⁴⁴ (from פָּתַת Dt 32⁸; יִדְמוּ Ex 15¹⁶, Jb 29²¹ (cf., however, יִנָּפְתוּ Ju 18²³, 1 S 5⁸, יִכְתוּ Jer 46⁵, Jb 4²⁰)). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תִּצְלִינָה (without the separating vowel, for תִּצְלִינָה, cf. 1 S 3¹¹ and below, *p*) *they shall tingle*, 2 K 21¹², Jer 19³.—On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see under *t*.

¹ Of all the explanations of these separating vowels the most satisfactory is that of Rödiger, who, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs לָאוּ. We must, however, regard סָבֹת as formed on the analogy not of גָּלִית, but (with P. Haupt) of a form גָּלֹת (= *gälautā*, cf. Arab. *ğazautā*), while תִּסֵּבְנָה follows the analogy of תִּנְלִינָה. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 229 f.]

- h** 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (a) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יִסֹּב for *yā-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 *b*, 63 *b*, and for verbs ע"י § 72); (b) in the *perfect Niph'al* נִסַּב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 *a*); (c) in *Hoph'al* הִסֹּב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs י"פ) for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, *imperfect* יִפֹּס from *yū-sab*, &c.
- i** On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ā* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e. g. יִמַּר for *yū-mār* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִסֵּב from *hī-sēb* (ground-form הִסֵּב, § 53 *a*), as well as of the participle מִסֵּב (ground-form מִסֵּב), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *ɨ*, attenuated from an original *ā*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *ī* (§ 53 *a*). The *ē* lengthened from *ī* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e. g. הִסְבֹּת. On the retention of the original *ā* in the second syllable, cf. *v*.
- k** 7. The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הִסֵּב, י and יִסֹּב (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e. g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* הִסְבָּה, in *pause* הִסְבָּה; with *ר* and gutturals מְסַבֵּר (for מְסַבֵּר), ψ 44²⁶; on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive וְסֵב Is 6¹² (but וְסֵב Ex 1¹⁶). In the 3rd *plur. perfect* the tone-syllable varies; along with סֵבִי, סֵבִי, we also find סֵבִי and סֵבִי Is 59¹², שֵׁבִי Hb 3⁶, &c.; but in *pause* always סֵבִי, סֵבִי, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in יִסְבֵּי, יִסְבֵּי; *perfect Hiph'il* הִסְבֵּה, הִסְבֵּי; *imperfect* יִסְבֵּי, יִסְבֵּי, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e. g. סֵבֹת, סֵבֵינָה, &c.; except before the endings הִסְבֵּי and הִסְבֵּי in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *ɨ* and *ū* (or *ō*, see *n*), hence הִסְבֹּת from הִסְבֵּי, סֵבֵינָה from יִסְבֵּי; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *S^ewā*, see above, *f*.
- l** 8. In several verbs ע"ע, instead of *P'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'el*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ע, cf. § 72 *m*), generally with the same meaning,¹ e. g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלָל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלָל (from עָלָל; cf. the *Hithpō'el* from רָעַע

¹ Sometimes both *P'el* and *Pō'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e. g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; הִנֵּן to *make pleasing*, הוֹנֵן to *have pity*; סָבַב to *turn, to change*, סוֹבֵב to *go round, to encompass*.

and פָּרַר Is 24¹⁹); in a few verbs also *Pilpāl* (§ 55 f) is found, e. g. גָּלַגַל to roll, *Hithpalpāl* הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix סִלְסְלָה exalt her, Pr 4⁸; נִשְׁעֵשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעַנְשַׁע to be caressed (from נִשְׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pī'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*; cf. עִוְעִים (Is 19¹⁴) and מְקִיּוֹ (Is 18^{2,7}).—For תִּתְבָּרַר 2 S 22²⁷ read, according to ψ 18²⁷, תִּתְבָּרַר.

REMARKS.

I. On Qal.

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *III* which it is customary to refer to trilateral stems with middle *ō* (like יָבַל, § 43 a); viz. רָמוּ they are exalted, Jb 24²⁴ to רָמוּם; רָפוּ they shof, Gn 49²³ to רָכַב; זָרוּ Is 1⁶ to זָרָר. But this explanation is very doubtful: זָרוּ especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52 e.

2. *Imperfects* Qal with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the *II* preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָחַן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is cruel); imperfects with *ā* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ī*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 c and e, § 72 h, and specially Barth in ZDMG. 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Hölēm* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (יָסַב, סָב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. צוּר bind up, Is 8¹⁶; גוּל ψ 37⁶; דוּם ver. 7; לָבוּ for לָבוּ to plunder, Est 3¹³, 8¹¹). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ō*, in a sharpened syllable *ū*, or not infrequently even *ö* (see above, k). Examples of *ö* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רִוַן (rōn) to rejoice, Jb 38⁷; יָסַב Ju 11¹⁸ (once even with *ū* in a toneless final syllable, Ex 16²⁷); on the other hand, in the *plur. fem.* וַיִּסְבּוּ, fem. וַיִּסְבְּינָה; (b) before a tone-bearing *affirmative* or *suffix*, e. g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* רַחֲמֵי, רַחֲמֵי (cf. ff); חַנְּנֵי pity me; סִלְּוָה Jer 50²⁶; יִשְׁדָּם Pr 11³ *Qerē*; הִחַנְּהוּ Ex 12¹⁴ (for the defective writing, cf. יִסְבְּהוּ Jb 40²²). In יַחַנְךָ Gn 43²⁰, Is 30¹⁹ (for יַחַנְךָ) this *ö* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֲרֶה make yourselves naked Is 32¹¹, cf. the *ö* analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רַעָה Is 24¹⁹ (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רַע, cf. קַב Nu 23²⁵ and שָׁל Ru 2¹⁶); so also are the *imperatives* קַבְּה־לִי Nu 22^{11,17}, and אַרְה־לִי 22⁶, 23⁷, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קַבְּהָ, אַרְהָ. If these forms are to be read *qāballi*, 'ōralli, they would be analogous to such cases as מִדְּבַרְהָ (§ 90 i), the addition of the *paragogic* ה־ causing no change in the form of the word (קַבְּ like רַן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballi*, 'āralli, then in both cases the *Qameṣ* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of \bar{o} (קָבַה־לִי, &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַנִי *curse him*, Nu 23¹³, for קָבַנִי or 'קָבַנִי¹

3. Examples with *Pathah* in the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect are בַּר (in לְבַרְרֵם *to prove them*, Ec 3¹⁸); רַר Is 45¹; נָשָׂה Jer 5²⁶; בְּשִׁנְיָם *in their error*, Gn 6³ (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בְּשִׁנְיָם, from בְּשִׁי = בְּשִׁי = בְּשִׁי and נָם also; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also לָקַח *take away*, ψ 119²²; and the imperfects יָחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19⁸, &c. (on the \bar{e} of the preformative cf. n); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is 24⁹; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7⁴; יָתַשׂ *it is desolate*, Ez 12¹⁹ (in pause תִּישָׂם Gn 47¹⁹); וַתִּתְקַלְּ *she was despised*, Gn 16⁴ (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e. g. וַיִּצְרַר Gn 32⁸, &c.; וַיִּרְעַע Gn 21¹¹, &c., cf. Ez 19⁷); in the 1st sing. imperfect יִתְחַמֵּם² ψ 119¹⁴, abnormally written fully for אִתְחַמֵּם, unless אִתְחַמֵּם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יִתְחַמֵּם.—In the *impf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2⁸ varies between יִשְׁלֹךְ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלֹךְ (ed. Mant., Jabl.).—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original \bar{i} in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'il in the same sense: וַיִּגְלַל Gn 29¹⁰; יָגַן Is 31⁵, &c.; וַיִּסְקַף Ex 4c²¹, ψ 91⁴, &c.; perhaps also תִּצְלִינָה 1 S 3¹¹ and יִהַל Jb 31²⁶, &c.; in accordance with this last form, יִהַל (בְּ) Jb 29³ would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not Hiph'il (for בְּהִהַלּוֹ), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתִּרְיַן Ju 9⁵³ may probably be added to the list.

4. Imperfects, with an original \bar{u} in the second syllable, are also found with this \bar{u} lengthened to \bar{u} (instead of \bar{o}), e. g. יִרְוִין, if the text is correct, in Pr 29⁶; יִשְׁרַף ψ 91⁶ (unless it be simply an imperfect from שָׁרַף *to be powerful, to prevail*); יִרְוִין (if from רָצַן) Is 42⁴, &c. (also defectively יִרְוִין ψ 18³⁰; but in Ec 12⁶, according to Baer, וַתִּרְוִין); יִתְחַמֵּם Ez 24¹¹ (on the sharpening of the ת cf. *g* above).³

5. A similar analogy with verbs ע"ו is seen in the infinitives לְבַר (for בַּר) Ec 9¹; בַּחֲקוֹ Pr 8²⁷ (cf. בַּחֲוֹקוֹ Pr 8²⁹) for בַּחֲקוֹ, and in the imperfect יִבְרַח Gn 27²¹. (The forms חָנֹת in ψ 77¹⁰, שְׂמוֹת Ez 36³, חֲלוֹתִי ψ 77¹¹, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"ו stems, are rather to be referred to ל"ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the *aramaizing imperfect*, see above, *g*.

6. 4. In the *participle*, the aramaizing form שְׁאִסְרִי for שְׁסִרִי occurs in K^ethibh, Jer 30¹⁶ (the *Qere* indicates a *participle* from שָׁסַר); רָעָה Pr 25¹⁹ appears to be a contraction from רָעָעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

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

² Also in Ez 6⁶, instead of הִישָׁמְנָה, which could only come from ישם, 'ישם' is intended, and יִשְׁמָנוּ in the same verse is probably only an error for יִשְׁמָנוּ.

³ According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with \bar{u} , since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

II. On Niph'al.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathah* (in *pause* ^t נָסַב) and the *participle* נֹסֵב with *Qameṣ* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e.g. *perfect* נָמַס *it melts*, Ez 21¹², 22¹⁵; נִסְבָּה (for נֹסְבָה) Ez 26²; *part.* נֹמֵס *molten*, 1 S 15⁹, Na 2¹¹; נָקַל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20¹⁰, Is 49⁶ (*perf.* נִקְלָה); with *ō*, e.g. נִלְקָו *they are rolled together*, Is 34⁴; cf. 63¹⁹, 64², Am 3¹¹, Na 1¹², Ec 12^{6b}. In the *imperfect* with *ō* in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs ע"ע (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ō*), we find תִּרְמִי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer 48² (unless this form should be referred to *Qal* with *Qimḥi*, Olshausen, König); יְרוּעַ *he suffers hurt*, Pr 11¹⁵, 13²⁰; תִּירוּץ (for *tirros*) Ez 29⁷; with *ē* in the second syllable תִּחַל *she profanes herself*, Lv 21⁹, but יִחַל Ez 22²⁶, and יִחַל Is 48¹¹, יַחַח Is 7⁸, &c. For *infinitives*, cf. הִיָּמַס *to melt*, ψ 68³ (as *inf. constr.*; 2 S 17¹⁰ as *inf. absol.*); again, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הִחַל Ez 20⁹, 14²², but with suffix הִחִלוּ Lv 21⁴; also הִבוּן *to be plundered*, and הִבוֹק *to be emptied*, Is 24⁹; in the *imperative*, only הִפְּרוּ *be ye clean*, Is 52¹¹. On הִרְפוּ *get you up*, Nu 17¹⁰, and the corresponding *imperf.* יִרְפוּ Ez 10¹⁷, &c., cf. 72 *dd.*

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are, *u* נָחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22¹⁶, 25³ (from חָלַל); נָחַר (from חָרַר) ψ 69⁴, 102⁴ (also נָחַר Jer 6²⁹); נָחַת *fractus est* (from חָתַת) Mal 2⁵; cf. with this in the *participle*, נִחְמִים (for *nihhāmim*) Is 57⁵, and נִחְרִים Mal 3⁹: in the *imperative* and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual strengthening of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *ō* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁרִנִּי Mic 2⁴ is abnormal.

III. On Hiph'il and Hoph'al.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* sometimes has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*, *u* especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e.g. *perfect* הִמַּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׁח *he bowed*, הִפַּר *he hath broken*, Gn 17¹⁴, in *pause*, cf. § 29 q; otherwise הִפַּר, *plur.* הִפְּרוּ Is 24⁵. In הִפִּיר ψ 33¹⁰, Ez 17¹⁹, cf. ψ 89³⁴, and in הִשְׁיירוּ Ho 8⁴ (perhaps also in יִחִיתוּ Hab 2¹⁷, but cf. § 20 n) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ע, see z. Also הִצִּיר Dt 28⁵², הִתּוּ (in *pause*) Is 18³; *inf.* לְהִבְּרַר *to cleanse*, Jer 4¹¹, in *pause*. But also with other consonants, e.g. הִדַּק 2 K 23¹⁵, הִקַּל Is 8²³; הִרְקַּי Jb 23¹⁶; *plur.* הִסְבּוּ 1 S 5^{9,10} (and so usually in the 3rd *plur. perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e.g. הִרְעָע); *imper.* הִשָּׁע *besmear*, Is 6¹⁰; *plur.* הִשְׁמוּ *be astonished*, Jb 21⁶; *imperfect* תִּבְּרַע *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצַּל (on *ē* in the first syllable, see under *š*) *shadowing*, Ez 31³ (but מִסִּיָּהּ Ju 3²⁴ is assimilated to the form of verbs ע"ע, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיָּהּ, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיָּהּ). So in the *imperative* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Ju 16²⁶ *Qeré*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְמַדֵּק Is 33¹).

The *ē* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *ē*, e.g. הִחַל בִּי Gn 31⁷ (see also x). It is unusual (cf. § 53 k) to find the *ē* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפְּרִי Zc 11¹⁰. Instead of *Hateph-Pathah* a *Hateph-*

S^eghôl is found under the preformative in הִקְלַתְנִי 2 S 19⁴⁴, and a *Pathah* occurs before ן (with a virtual sharpening of the ן) in such forms as הִחַתְתָּ Is 9³; cf. Gn 11⁶, Dt 2³¹, 3²⁴, 1 S 22¹⁵, Est 6¹³—in all these cases before ן.—On בְּהִלּוֹ Jb 29³, see above, *p*: on וְהִחַתְתִּי Jer 49³⁷, see below, *dd*.

a 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ä* is retained (§ 22 *a*) in the second syllable instead of *ë*, e. g. וַיִּרְעוּ 1 K 16²⁵: so also with ר, as וַיִּצַר 2 Ch 28²⁰, Dt 2⁹—but cf. also וַיִּפֶר Neh 4⁹.

y 8. Aramaizing forms (but cf. Rem. i § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסַּב Ex 13¹⁸, &c.; cf. Ju. 15²³; וַאֲלֵ-תִמְרָר Ex 23²¹, but read וַאֲלֵ-תִמְרָר from תְּמָרָה: וַיִּכְתְּבוּ Dt 1⁴⁴ (cf. Nu 14⁴⁵), but וַיִּסְבְּבוּ Ju 18²⁸, 1 S 5⁸, 2 Ch 29⁶; וַאֲחַל *profanabo*, Ez 39⁷; וַיִּהְיֶה לְךָ Jb 22³; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), וַיִּהְיֶה לְךָ 1 K 18²⁷, but Jer 9⁴ וַיִּהְיֶה לְךָ, Jb 13⁹ וַיִּהְיֶה לְךָ; with *i* in the second syllable וַיִּשִׂים Jer 49²⁰, 50⁴⁵; cf. וַיִּנְשִׂים Nu 21³⁰; in the *perfect* הוֹלִי לָהּ La 1⁸. In *Hoph'al*, הֵמְכוּ they are brought low, Jb 24²¹; יֵבֶת he is smitten, Is 24¹² (*plur.* יֵבֶתוּ Jer 46⁵, Mi 1⁷); in *pause*, יִחַקּוּ Jb 15²⁸, but also יִבְתּוּ Jb 4²⁰ (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יִבְתּוּ); with *ö* in the initial syllable, הַשְׁמֹה (*infinitive with suffix* = הַשְׁמֹהָ, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26^{34 f.}, cf. 2 Ch 36²¹; בְּהַשְׁמָה, with irregular syncope for בְּהַשְׁ, Lv 26⁴³.

IV. In General.

z 9. Verbs ע"ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע"י (§ 72). The form of verbs ע"ע is generally the shorter (cf. e. g. יָכַב and יָקוּם, יָקַם and יָקוּם); in a few cases, however, the two classes exactly coincide, e. g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw* consecutive, in *Hoph'al* and in the less common conjugations (see above, *l*).

aa 10. The developed forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in *a*, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur. perf. Qal* (i. e. in forms without an affirmative or with an affirmative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e. g. סָבַב, שָׂדוּנִי, סָבְבוּנִי, &c.); sometimes the contracted, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e. g. בָּזַוּ to plunder, *plur.* בָּזוּוּ; in other parts, only בָּזוּוּ Dt 2³⁵, as well as בָּזוּוּ Dt 3⁷; וַמְמַתִּי Zc 8^{14.16} and וַמְמַתִּי Jer 4²⁸. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25¹², Pr 30³²; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5⁹. Apart from *Qal* the only example of a developed form is וְהִחַתְתִּי Jer 49³⁷.

bb On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; cf. דָּק Dt 9²¹ (Ex 32³⁰ דָּקָה; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָתָה, *fem.* חָתְתָה; מָרָה, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָרָה, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. וְחָרָה Ez 24¹¹); שָׁח, *fem.* שָׁחָה; חָתָה, *fem.* חָתְתָה, &c.; *plur.* חָתְתוּ, חָתְמוּ, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, עָשָׂה שָׁחָה ψ 6².

cc The *intransitive* but developed perfects דָּלְלוּ (also דָּלְלוּ), נָדְדוּ, נָדְדָה, חָלַל, חָלְלָה (also דָּלְלוּ) (in *pause* נָדְדוּ סָרַר, עָשָׂה שָׁחָה (*plur.* in *pause* עָשָׂה שָׁחָה ψ 31¹¹), חָלְלוּ, שָׁחָה (also שָׁחָה), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after ה are לְסָבַב Nu 21⁴; לְשָׂדוּר Jer 47⁴; לְזָנוּ Gn 31¹⁹ (also לָזַן Gn 38¹³); cf. also לְחַמֵּם Is 47¹⁴, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחַמֵּם; with *suffix* לְחַנְנֵכֶם Is 30¹³, and, from the same

form **חָנַן**, with retraction and modification of the vowel, **לְחַנְנֶה** ψ 102¹⁴; also **שָׁחַח** Is 60¹⁴, **בָּנִזוּ** 1 S 25², **בְּמַסֵּס** Is 10¹⁸, **בָּעוּזוּ** Pr 8²⁸, **בְּצָרוֹר** Pr 26⁸.—*Imperative* **שָׁדַדְר** Jer 49²⁸ (cf. § 20 *b*, and *ibid.* also on **חָנְנִי** ψ 9¹⁴); in the *imperfect*, **יָדוֹר** Na 3⁷ (ψ 68¹³; cf. Gn 31⁴⁰) from **נָדַר**; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nūn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, **יִשְׁדָּדֶם** Jer 5⁶ is anomalous for **יִשְׁדָּדֶם** (Pr 11³ *Qerē*; the eastern school read the *Po'el* **יְשׁוּדָרֶם** in the *Kethibh*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a vocal *Šewā*. Cf. also **יַחְנַן** Am 5¹⁵ (elsewhere **יָחַן**). In *Niph'al*, the trilateral form **יִלְכַּב** is found, Jb 11¹²; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of **רָנַן**, thus *imperative* **הִרְנִינוּ**, *imperfect* **תִּרְנִין**; *infinitive* **הִשְׁמִים** Mi 6¹³; *participle* **מִשְׁמִים** Ez 3¹⁵. That the developed (trilateral) forms possess a certain emphasis is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in ψ 118¹¹ after a biliteral form (**סִבְּוִי נִם־סִבְּוִי**).

11. The above-mentioned (see *g*) neglect of the strengthening in aramaizing forms, such as **יָדְמוּ** and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect Qal* **תָּמְנוּ** for **תַּמְנוּ** Nu 17²⁸ (Jer 44¹⁸; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* **נָבְזָה** 1 S 14³⁶ (**הָ־** *parag.* without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to vocal *Šewā*; **יִבְלָה** Gn 11⁷ for **נָבְלָה** (cohortative from **בָּלַל** for **יָזְמוּ** *ibid.* ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs **עָוָה** (see above, *r*); from *intransitive imperfects Qal*, **תִּצְרִי** Is 49¹³ (*plur. masc.* Jb 18⁷); **יִרְעוּ** Neh 2³; also **תִּישְׁמְנָה** Ez 6⁶ (for which read **תִּישׁ** = **תִּישׁ**) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* **נִסְכָּה** for **נִסְכָּה** Ez 41⁷; **נָלוּ** Ju 5⁵ for **נָלוּ**; **נִמְלָתָם** for **נִמְלָתָם** Gn 17¹¹ (as if from **מָלַל** not **מָלַל** to *circumcise*), cf. Is 19³, Jer 8¹⁴; *imperfect* **תִּפְקֶנָה** Zc 14¹²; *participle* **נִחְמִים**, cf. *u*. So also **נִפְצָה** 1 S 13¹¹, **נִפְצָה** Gn 9¹³ (cf. Is 33³), are *perfects Niph'al* from **פָּצַח** (= **פָּוַח**), not *Qal* from **נִפְצַח**.—In *Hiph'il* **תִּהְלַחַתְּ** (for **תִּהְלַחַתְּ**) Ju 16¹⁰ (2 S 15³⁴); **תִּהְעָה** for **תִּהְעָה** Pr 7¹³ (cf. Ct 6¹¹, 7¹³).

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in **לְהַפְרִיכֶם** Lv 26¹⁵.—On the *perfect* **תִּלְוִי** Pr 26⁷, cf. § 75 *u*.

12. Cases in which the tone is thrown forward on the affirmatives (see *cc* *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. **וְהִצְרִיתִי** Jer 10¹⁸ before **לָהֶם**) after 1 *consec.*, Ex 33^{19, 22}, 2 K 19³⁴, &c., also Is 44¹⁶ (**חַמּוּתִי** before **רַ**); ψ 92¹¹ (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the *Lexicon*), 116⁶, perhaps also Jb 19¹⁷, **וְחִלַּתִּי** (though in this passage, and in ψ 17³, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ōth*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19¹⁷); in the 2nd *sing.* **וְנִצַּתָּה** (before **א**) Dt 25¹²; in the 3rd *plural*, **רַבּוּ** *multi sunt*, ψ 3², 104²⁴, Jer 5⁶, 1 S 25¹⁰; **רַבּוּ** *they are soft*, ψ 55²² **קָלוּ** *they are swift*, Jer 4¹³, Hb 1⁸; **וְנָבוּ** *they are pure*, Jb 15¹⁵, 25⁵, La 4⁷; **שָׁחוּ** *they did bow*, Hb 3⁶; **הָרּוּ** *they are burned*, Is 24⁶. A by-form of **נִשְׁתוּ** (ψ 72 *dā*) is **נִשְׁתוּ** ψ 49¹⁵, 73⁹.

(*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) **רָנִי** *sing.*, Is 54¹, Zp 3¹⁴, Zc 2¹⁴; **רָנִי** Is 44²³, 49¹³, Jer 31⁷ (but **רָנִי** *lament*, La 2¹⁹), **הִקְרִי** *keep (thy feasts)*, Na 2¹, Jer 7²⁹; **עָזְרָה** (= **עָזְרָה**) before **א**, ψ 68²⁹. On the retention of the short vowels *ū* (*ū*) and *i* before *Dageš forte*, in place of the tone-long *ō* and *ē*, see above, *k*; on the change of the vowel of the preformative into *Šewā*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

dd

cc

ff

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. Verbs א"ב e. g. אָכַל to eat.

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

- a* So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—
- b* 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אָבַד to perish, אָבַח to be willing, אָכַל to eat, אָמַר to say, אָפַח to bake) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ō*, e. g. יֹאכַל.¹ In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יֹאחֹז (18 times) and יֹאחֹזִי (3 times) *he takes hold*; אָסַף (see *h*), also אָסַף־יִשְׂרָאֵל, *he collects*. This *ō* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *ā* (§ 9 *g*), and the *ā* from אָ—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *ā* to *ā*; cf. § 23 *a*.
- c* In the second syllable *ō* (for original *ū*) never appears, but either *ē*² or *ā*; and in *pause* almost always *ē*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* affirmative אֵ, e. g. יֹאכַלְוּ Dt 18¹, without the *pause* יֹאכְלוּ Dt 4²⁸. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אָמַר, however, *ā* is always retained in *pause*, יֹאמַר and אָמַר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תֹּאמַר 1 K 5²⁰, in the 3rd *fem.* תֹּאמְרִי Pr 1²¹; in the *plural* יֹאמְרוּ Jer 5², ψ 145^{6,11}, תֹּאמְרוּ Jer 23³⁸, with *S^egolta*; cf. also תֹּאכְלוּ 1 S 1⁷, &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ā* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e. g. לְעֵר תֹּאכַד ψ 9¹⁹, but in *pause* תֹּאכַד ψ 1⁶; cf. a similar interchange of *ē* and *ā* in § 65 *c*. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תֹּאכְלֶינָה Zc 11⁹.
- d* When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אָבַד and אָכַל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathah*, e. g. יֹאבַד יום Jb 3³, יֹאכַל and *he did eat*; in אָמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw consecutive*

¹ So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yōkul*.

² On this *ē* (originally *i*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ū*), cf. § 27 *w*, and F. Philippi, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xiv. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אָכַל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אָכַלְוּ, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יֹאכַל, as well as by the fact that יֹאחֹז and יֹאסַף are found along with יֹאחֹזִי and יֹאסַף־יִשְׂרָאֵל.

(but never in the 1st *sing.* וַאֲמַר; cf. וַאֲבַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *S^eghöl*, וַאֲמַר and he said (except לוֹ וַתֹּאמֶר Pr 7¹³).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of אָבַל, see below) always has the form וַיֹּאבַל (but *plur.* always וַיֹּאבְלוּ, וַיֹּאמְרוּ, וַיֹּאמְרוּ; except וַיֹּאמֶר in the poetic portion of the book of Job, as 3², 4¹, &c., but not in 32⁶, in the middle of the verse. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֹאחֲזוּ and וַיֹּאחֲזוּ, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49 e, וַיֹּאחֲזוּ Ju 20⁶; cf. וַאֲבַל Gn. 3^{12,13} in *pause*.—אָבַח and אָפַח are, at the same time, verbs ל"ה, hence *imperfect* יֹאבְחָה (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š^ewā, as אֶבְחָה, but אֶבְחָה. —In a few cases, instead of the *ó* in the first syllable an *é* is found, which is due to contraction from the group $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ (or $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$) in place of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$; e.g. תֵּאָבֹה it shall come, Mi 4⁸, from תֵּאָבֹה (from אָבֹה); אָהֵב (for אָהֵב) I love, Pr 8¹⁷, also (four times) אָהֵב Mal 1², &c., with suffixes אָהֵבֵהוּ Ho 11¹, 14⁵, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise יֹאהֵב, &c., from אָהֵב, אָהֵב; וַאֲחָר and I stayed, Gn 32⁶. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with ל is always לֵאמֹר *dicendo*, for לֵאמֹר. —According to Barth (ZDMG. 1889, p. 179) וַיֹּאמֶר Nu 11²⁵ is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of אָ to *ó*, not as *imperfect Hiph'il*, since אָצַל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For תֵּאָבֹה Jb 20²⁶ we should simply emend תֵּאָבֹה; the view that it is *imperfect Pō'el* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ó* to *é*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of ψ 62⁴ (see § 52 q) and ψ 101⁵ *Qeré* (see § 55 b), while the view that it is *Pi'el* ('תֵּאָבֹה = 'תֵּאָבֹה = 'תֵּאָבֹה) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that 'תֵּאָבֹה stands for 'תֵּאָבֹה, *Pu'al* (cf. אָבַלְךָ for אָבַלְךָ, § 27 q); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation 'תֵּאָבֹה.

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 אָמַר¹ (for אָאמַר), &c., and even *plene* וַאֲמַר Neh 2⁷, &c., אָמַרָה ψ 42¹⁰. In the other cases, also, where the א is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ó* or *é*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

Always in the contracted forms of אָסַף, as אָסַף for אָאסַף ψ 104²⁹; וַיֹּסַף 2 S 6¹ (but for וַיֹּסַף Jb 27¹⁹ read וַיֹּסַף = וַיֹּסַף with the LXX); cf. also in

¹ The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to *á* in this 1st pers. occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the א was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Nöldeke (ZDMG. xxxii. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd persons are still written *yá'kūlū*, *tá'kūlū*, but the 1st pers. 'ákulū, not 'á'kūlū.

the 1st pers. Mi 4⁶ and אִסְפַּךְ 1 S 15⁶, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *i*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*: instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אִסְפָּךְ (with *i*, according to § 60 f). But תִּאֲסַפֶּנּוּ Ex 5⁷ (for 'תִּאֲסַפְּנוּ'), וַיִּאֲסַף 1 S 18²⁹ (for 'וַיִּאֲסַף'), and יִאֲסַף Jb 27¹⁹ (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem יִסַּף. Furthermore, יִמְרֹךְ ψ 139²⁰ (where certainly 'יִמְרֹ' is to be read); תִּבֵּן Pr 1¹⁰ (cf. § 75 *hh*); וַתִּפְּהוּ 1 S 28²⁴; יוֹבְלִי Ez 42⁵; וַתִּמְרוּ 2 S 19¹⁴; וַתִּחַזוּ 2 S 20⁹; וַתִּגְדַּדְתְּ עָבֹד (from אָבֹד), Jer 2³⁶; וַתִּתֵּן Dt 33²¹ (for 'וַתִּתְּנֵן'), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 p) וַתִּתֵּן, וַתִּתֵּן or וַתִּתֵּן.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

i Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נִאֲחָזוּ Nu 32³⁰, Jos 22⁹; *Hiph.* וַיִּאֲצֵל Nu 11²⁵ (but the statement in verse 17 is וַאֲצֵלְתִּי, therefore *Qal*); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וַיִּרְבַּ (for 'וַיִּאֲרַב?') and he laid wait, 1 S 15⁵, and אָוִן I listen, Jb 32¹¹ (on the analogy of verbs עָוָה); cf. also אוֹכִיל (ô from á) I give to eat, Hos 11⁴; אֲבִירָה (ô from á) I will destroy, Jer 46⁸; וַיִּוְחַר 2 S 20⁵ *Q^rrê* (for 'וַיִּאֲחַר'); the *Kethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּיחַר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וַיִּיחַר = וַיִּאֲחַר for וַיִּאֲחַר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וַאֲזַעְרָה Neh 13¹³, cf. § 53 n.—*Infinitive* לְהַכִּיל Ez 21³³ (= לְהִאֲכִיל unless it is rather *inf.* *Hiph.* from כָּוַל); *Participle* מוֹיִן giveth ear, Pr 17⁴ (clearly by false analogy of verbs עָוָה, for מְאֲזִין); *Imperative* הִתִּיבִי bring (from אָתַבְהָ) Jer 12⁹. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21¹⁴, cf. § 76 d.)

k 2. In the *Pi'el* the *h* is sometimes elided (like *ה* in יִהְיֶה, יִקְטִיל), thus כִּלְיָה (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for מְאִלְיָה Jb 35¹¹; יְהִל (if not a mere scribal error) for יִהְיֶה Is 13²⁰; וַתִּמְרֹנֵי thou hast girded me, 2 S 22⁴⁰, for וַתִּמְרֹנֵי, as ψ 18⁴⁰; וַאֲבַדְךָ Ez 28¹⁶; cf. § 23 c.

§ 69. Verbs פ"י. First Class, or Verbs originally פ"ו, e.g. יָשַׁב to dwell.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 141 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 596 ff.

a Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* when without preformatives are divided into two classes according to their origin and consequent inflexion: (a) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e.g. יָלַד to give birth to, Arab. and Eth. *wälädä*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into

Yôdh, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (*b*) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs again (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nûn* in verbs פ"ן (see § 71).

With regard to verbs פ"ו (i. e. פ"ו with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see *h*) in the following manner:

A. *Imperfect* ירע, ישב with an unchangeable¹ *Şere* in the first syllable and original *š* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus ילד, יצא, ירר, ילך, see *x*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (ירע, יקע, יחיר).

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

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

C. *Infinitive* שבת from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פ"ן (cf. § 66 b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives ירעה, לרה (see below, *m*) point to a ground-form *dī'at*, *lidat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 42) and Barth (*ibid.* xli. 606), assign to שבת, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שבתתי, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *š* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

¹ The *e* of the first syllable is really *ē*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. ירעם Ho 14¹⁰), but also in ארעה Ex 33^{13,17}. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *ē* occurs (with the exception of יקר ψ 72¹⁴, elsewhere pointed ייקר) only in Mi 1⁸ and Ez 35⁹ *Kth*.; in ψ 138⁶ the Masora prefers to point ייער.—Of the various explanations of the *ē* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yālid*, for example (see above), became *yīlid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēléd* instead of *yēléd*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ē* instead of *ē*) to a trilateral form.

d In more than half the number of verbs פ"ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yôdh*, which, unless it suffers aphaeresis (see *f*), appears:—

in the *imperatives* יִצַק, יִרַשׁ, and *infinitives* יִסַר, יִרֵא, as a strong consonant, but

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

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

e (a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yôdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs פ"ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; cf. *wälädä*, imperf. *yäüidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wägülä*, *yauǧalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

f (b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. יָצַק 2 K 4⁴¹ and יִצַק *pour*, Ez 24³ (cf. יִצַקוּ 1 K 18³⁴ and the *infin.* יִצַקוּ Ex 38²⁷); יִרַשׁ *take possession*, Dt 1²¹, 1 K 21¹⁵ (but cf. *s*), יִרַשׁ (in pause for יִרַשׁ) Dt 2^{24.31}; plur. יִרַשׁוּ Dt 1⁸, 9²³, but also, with הַ— *paragogic*, יִרַשׁוּהָ Dt 33²³. In the *imperfect* יִיקַר Dt 32²² and יִיקַר Is 10¹⁰ *it shall be kindled*; יִיקַר *it was precious*, 1 S 18³⁰ and יִיקַר ψ 49⁹ (cf. יִיקַר ψ 72¹⁴).—The form וַיִּחַמְדוּ Gn 30³⁹, for וַיִּחַמְדוּ, beside וַיִּחַמְדוּ verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 *k*.

g (c) On יָרַד Ju 19¹¹ for יִרַד and יָשׁוּב Jer 42¹⁰ for the *infinitive absolute* יִשׁוּב, cf. § 19 *i*.—But יָרַד Ju 5¹³ (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יִרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יִרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'el* from יִרְדֶּה (= יִרְדֶּה) *to have dominion*.

h (d) The eight verbs,¹ of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יִלָּךְ *to bring forth*, יִצֵּא *to go forth*, יִשֵּׁב *to sit, to dwell*, יִרַד *to descend*, also הִלָּךְ *to go* (cf. below, *x*); and with *š* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יִדַע *to know*, יִיחד *to be united*, יִקַע *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יִירַשׁ, &c.) are יִעָרַף *to be wearied*, יִעַץ *to counsel*, יִישַׁן *to sleep*, יִירֵא (*imperfect* יִירֵא, *imperative* יִירֵא) *to fear*.

i 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the strengthening, e. g. הַוָּשִׁיב, יִוָּשֵׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הַקָּטַל, יִקָּטַל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e. g. הַתְּוַדַע from יָדַע, הַתְּוַפֵּחַ from יָפַח, הַתְּוַנְדֶה from יָנַד; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e. g. וְלָרֶד *offspring* from יָלַד *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

¹ A ninth יִסַף *to add*, is also to be included. In the Mēša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לִסַפַת (cf. יִסַפְתִי, l. 29); hence read in Is 30¹ (Nu 32¹⁴, Dt 29¹⁸) סַפַת for סַפּוֹת. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* סַפּוּ Is 29¹, Jer 7²¹ corresponds to שָׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סַפַה *addere*, there remains only אִסַפַה Dt 32²¹, for which, according to 2 S 12⁸, read אִסַפַה.

vowel *ū* coalesces into *û*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e. g. הוֹשֵׁב for *hūwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ô* (וּ); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e. g. נוֹשֵׁב from an original *nāwšābh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hāwšūbh*.

The first radical always appears as *Yēdh* in the *perfect* and *participle h* *Qal*, וְיָשַׁב, &c., יָשַׁב, יָשׁוּב, even when *!* precedes, e. g. וְיָשַׁב (but וְיִשְׁבְּחֶם, according to § 24 *b*), also throughout *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, e. g. יַחַל to wait, יֵלֵךְ to be born, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִחַל מְדַע known (from יָרַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e. g. הִתְיַצַּב, הִתְיַצֵּב (as against הִתְוַדַּע, &c., with *Wāw*).

The beginner may recognize verbs פ"ו in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *Šere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* by the *Wāw* (וּ, ו) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הוֹלִיד, is rare.) Verbs פ"ו have forms like יָשַׁב (דַּע), נִשְׁבַּח, in common with verbs פ"ו. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ו.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (נִשְׁבַּח, ground-form *šibt*, *m* *וְיָשַׁב*; cf. above, *c*) with suffixes is pointed as נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי, ¹ רָשַׁחְתוּ (the strong form only in לִירְשַׁנּוּ Ju 14¹⁵). The masculine form is very rare, e. g. דַּע to know, Jb 32^{6,10}, as also the feminine ending הַ, e. g. דַּעַה ² Ex 2⁴, לָדַע Is 37³ (2 K 19⁸); Jer 13²¹, Ho 9¹¹; מְיָרֵד ² to descend, Gn 46³, where the change of the *ē* into vocal *Šewā* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָרַע, under the influence of the guttural, דַּעַת is formed, with *sufl.* דַּעַתִּי, &c.; but from יָצַא, יָצַאת. From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30⁴ in *Q^{erē}* מְיָרֵדִי (the *K^{eth.}* requires מְיָרֵדִי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מְיָרֵדִי). For לַת 1 S 4¹⁹ (generally explained as a case of assimilation of *ד* to *ת* in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לַת = *lidt*, see above, *c*) read simply לָתֵת.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יִרָא to fear, Jos 22²⁵, with preposition לִיסַר Is 51¹⁶ (but 2 Ch 31⁷ according to Ben Naphtali לִיפַר, where the *י* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the *ס*; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיפַר, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישׁוֹן Ec 5¹¹; לִרָא 1 S 18²⁹ is irregular, but probably לִרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *sufl.* בִּיפַסְדוּ Jb 38⁴, cf. Ju 14¹⁵, Ezr 3¹²; with *fem.* תִּכְלַת to be able, Nu 14¹⁶. On יִבְשַׁח, which is likewise usually referred to this class, cf. the note on § 70 *a*.

¹ יִשְׁבַּחְתִּי ψ 23⁶ can hardly be intended for an *infn.* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perf. consec.* from יָשׁוּב; but read יִשְׁבַּחְתִּי.

² The infinitives דַּעַה and דַּעַת belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has נָתַן to give, for תַּת; הֵלֵךְ to go, for לָכַת; and עָשָׂה to make, for עָשׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

O 2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הַ, e.g. שִׁבְהָ *sit thou*, ירדָּהּ *descend thou*. From יִהְיֶה *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הִבְּ *give*, lengthened הִבְּהָ generally with the meaning *age, go to*, hence in Gn 11^{3,4} even addressed to several persons (Gn 29²¹ הִבְּהָ before אַ to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הִבְּהָ Ru 3¹⁵, *Milra'* on the analogy of the plural הִבְּהָ (once in Jb 6²² הִבְּהָ before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32³), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פִּי, הִבְּהָ, הִבְּהָ would be expected.—On רָעָה Pr 24¹⁴, cf. § 48 l.

ן 3. The *imperfect* with ו elided takes *ā* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under *f*), also in הִרְדָּהּ Jer 13¹⁷ (cf. La 3⁴⁸) and in the pausal form יִלְךָ Jb 27²¹, &c. (from הִלְךָ, see *x*); on יִקַּח Is 10¹⁶ see above, *f*. The *ā* in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative קָה (תִּרְדָּהּ &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under *c*), by which *ā* takes the place of *ī* in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with *ē* in the second syllable shorten the *ē* to *S^gghôl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבְּנָה Gn 44³³; וְיִרְדָּהּ; וְיִשְׁבְּנָה; but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִנָּא Ex 16²⁹, Ju 9³⁹, in both cases with *nasog 'ahor*, § 29 *e*. The *pausal* is either of the form וְיִשְׁבְּנָה Ru 4¹ or וְיִרְדָּהּ ψ 18¹⁰; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְיִרְדָּהּ, וְיִשְׁבְּנָה, &c., except וְיִרְדָּהּ Jb 19¹⁰, see *x*.—For וְיִרְדָּהּ ψ 13⁵⁶ (cf. the note above, on *b* and the analogous cases in § 70 *d*) *ī* is intended.

ף The *imperfect* of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the *ī* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16 *f*), e.g. יִירָשׁוּ Is 40³⁰, יִירָשׁוּ Is 65²³; and so always יִירָאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִירְאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of רָאָה).—On יִירָשׁוּ Gn 50²⁶, 24³³ *Keth*, and יִירָשׁוּ Ex 30³², see § 73 *f*.

ץ From יִכַּל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִוְכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִוְכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaukhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimhī, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47 *b*, אֶקַּטַּל is differentiated from יִקְטַל. Cf. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yōru'u*) from *waru'a*, *yaujalu* (*yōjalu*) from *wajila*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūṣal*, &c., from *waṣala*. Others regard יִוְכַל as an *imperfect Hoph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 *u*.—יִוְכַל occurs in Jer 3⁵ as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וְיִוְכַל, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִוְרָה or יִרָה is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *impf. Qal* (not *Hiph'il*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoo* (the supposed *impf. Qal* וְיִרָם Nu 21³⁰ is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *impf. Qal* is immediately preceded by the *imperat. Qal* (2 K 13¹⁷) or *infin. Qal* (ψ 64⁵), or is followed by the *participle Qal* (2 Ch 35²³; but in 2 S 11²⁴ by the *participle Hiph'il*).

ס 4. The attenuation of *ā* to *ī* in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 *d* (cf. § 64 *f*) occurs in verbs פִּי in a few forms of יִלַּךְ Nu 11¹², Jer 2²⁷, ψ 2⁷, &c. (always after וּ), as well as of יִרַשׁ, e.g. וְיִרַשְׁתָּם, &c., Dt 4¹, 8¹, 17¹¹, 19¹, 26¹, 31³ (always after וּ for וּי). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial וּ was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *ī* (§ 47 *b*). In the case of יִרַשׁ, however, a secondary form וְיִרַשׁ (cf. § 44 *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wārī'ā*. The forms

וַיִּרְשָׁוּ Ez 36¹² and וַיִּרְשָׁוָּּ ψ 69³⁶, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *i*.

5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a *i* instead of the *t* ו, e.g. וַיִּיָּחַל and he stayed, Gn 8¹² (unless the *Pi'el* or וַיִּחַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), cf. Ex 19¹⁸; 1 S 13⁸ *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אֶנְיָשׁ, not אֶנְיָשׁב, cf. § 51 *p*.—In the *participle* the plural נִיָּגָה (from נָגָה, with depression of *o* to *u*, cf. § 27 *n*) is found in Zp 3¹⁸; cf. La 1⁴. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נִגְלָדוּ *null'dhû*, 1 Ch 3⁵, 20⁸, for נִגְלָדוּ which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

6. In the *imperfect Pi'el* elision of the first radical (*i*) sometimes takes place ו after *wāw* consec. (as in the case of א, § 68 *k*), e.g. וַיִּיָּגָה for וַיִּגָּה and he has grieved, La 3³³, וַיִּיָּדְדוּ for וַיִּדְדוּ and they have cast, verse 53, from יָדָה, which may also be a true verb פ"ב (on the other hand, in יָדוּ גִזְרָל they have cast lots, Jo 4³, Ob 11, Na 3¹⁰, a *perfect Qal* of יָדַד is required by the context; but as this, being a *transitive* perfect, ought to have the form יָדְדוּ according to § 67 *a*, perhaps we should read יָדָה). So from a verb פ"ב, of the second class, וַיַּבְשֵׁהוּ for וַיַּבְשֵׁהוּ and he made it dry, Na 1⁴; cf. וַיִּשְׁרָם 2 Ch 32³⁰ *Qere* (the *Keth.* points either to *Pi'el* וַיִּשְׁרָם or *Hiph'il* וַיִּשְׁרָם).

7. The *imperative Hiph'il*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, sometimes has *i* in ו the second syllable; הוֹשִׁיב Is 43⁸; הוֹפִיעַ ψ 94¹ (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעַ). On the uncertainty of the tone in הוֹשִׁיעָה-נָא see § 53 *m*. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ä*, as הוֹשַׁע, cf. also הִקַּר Pr 25¹⁷ (as in the *infin. constr.* הִבַּח Jb 6²⁵; see § 65 *f*). On the other hand, *i* always appears when the syllable is open, thus הוֹשִׁיב, and so also before suffixes (§ 61 *g*). הוֹשִׁיב Gn 8¹⁷ *Qere* (*Keth.* הוֹשִׁיב, see § 70 *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S'ghöl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e.g. וַיִּזְכֶּךָ that he may increase, Pr 1⁵, before לָקַח; cf. Ex 10²⁸ and Dt 3²⁶ after אֶל-; וַיִּזְכֶּךָ; in *pause*, however, also וַיִּזְכֶּךָ as *jussive*, Jb 40³² (usual *jussive* in *pause* וַיִּזְכֶּךָ, &c., which occurs even without the *pause* after *wāw* consecutive, Gn 47¹¹, Jos 24³, 2 S 8⁴, &c.). With a final guttural וַיִּזְכֶּךָ and וַיִּזְכֶּךָ (*jussive*) and וַיִּזְכֶּךָ, &c.; with a final ר in *pause* וַיִּזְכֶּךָ Ru 2¹⁴: on וַיִּשְׁעֶכֶם Is 35⁴, cf. § 65 *f*).—On forms like וַיִּהוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53 *q*.

In *Hoph'al* *o* stands instead of *i*, in הוֹדַע (for הוֹדַע) Lv 4^{23,28}, הִנָּה 2 S 20¹³, and perhaps in יוֹרָא (for יוֹרָה) Pr 11²⁵; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Ptcp.* מוֹדַעַת Is 12⁵ *Qere* (מִדַּעַת *Keth.*).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הִלְלָתָה Gn 40²⁰, for הִלְלָתָה = הִלָּתָה; cf. above, *t*, on נִגְלָדוּ, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הִלָּךְ to go, also belongs in some respects to the פ"ב class, since it ו forms (as if from הִלָּךְ) *imperfect* וַיִּלָּךְ, with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּלָּךְ (in *pause* וַיִּלָּךְ Gn 24⁶¹, &c.), 1st sing. וַאֲלָךְ (but in Jb 19¹⁰ וַאֲלָךְ); *infinitive construct* לָלַךְ with suff. לָלַכְתִּי (*S'ghöl* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נָכַדְתִּי, cf. also נָגַדְתִּי); *imperative* לָלַךְ, לָלַךְ, in the lengthened form לָלַךְ (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gn 19³², or a *plural*, Gn 31⁴⁴) and לָלַךְ (Nu 23¹⁸, Ju 19¹⁸, 2 Ch 25¹⁷); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיכָה (also in Ex 2⁹ הוֹלִיכָה 2nd *fem.* *imperative* is to be read for הוֹלִיכָה, which probably arose merely through

confusion with the following *הינקהו* (*הינקהו*); *imperfect* *יולי*, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always *ואולי* Lv 26¹³, Am 2¹⁰, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of *הלך* are also found: *imperf.* *יהלך* (*ψ* 58⁹, &c.; but *התהלך* Ex 9²³, *ψ* 73⁹; cf. § 64 a and b); *אהלך* Jb 16²², also Mēša' inscription, line 14, *אהלך*; *infn.* *הלך* (Ex 3¹⁹, Nu 22^{18 f. 16}, 1 Ec 6^{8.9}); *imperative plur.* *הלכו* Jer 51⁵⁰. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always *הלך*, *participle* *הלך*, *infinitive absolute* *הלוך*, *Niph'al* *נהלך*, *Piel* *הלף*, *Hithpa'el* *התהלף*, so that a *י* never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete *הלך*. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ"פ forms of *הלך* with Praetorius (*ZAW.* ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the *Hiph'il*, of which the ground-form *hālūkh* became *hālīkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs פ"א, *hōlīkh*. This *hōlīkh* being referred to a supposed *hālūkh* (properly *hawlīkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ"פ.

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

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

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

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial Yôdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form *יבש*,² the *imperfect* *יבש*, *יבש*, *יבש* (in *pause* *יבש*), also written *יבש*, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ä* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. *ויבש*, except *ויבש* Gn 9²⁴, and *ויבש* Gn 27¹⁹, unless *יבש* is to be included among verbs פ"ו (cf. *נוצר* Is 43¹⁰).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form *היטיב* is regularly contracted to *הטיב* (rarely written *הטיב*, *הטיב*, &c.); *imperfect* *יטיב*, *יטיב*. Instances of the uncontracted form are *יטיב* Pr 4²⁵, according to Barth (see above, § 67 p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*; *הטיב* (*imperative*) *ψ* 5⁹ *Qerê* (the *Keth.* requires *הטיב* according to the form of verbs פ"ו; cf. Is 45², *אטיב* *Keth.*, *אטיב* *Qerê*), cf. Gn 8¹⁷ *Qerê*; *מטיב* I Ch 12², to be explained as a denominative from *מטיב*; *אטיב* Ho 7¹² (§ 24 f, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading *אטיב*.

¹ Cf. above, m, note 2.

² This may be inferred from *בבש* (= *ב'ש*) Is 27¹¹, which with its fem. *יבש* Gn 8⁷, is the only example of an infinitive *construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently the forms *יבש*, &c. (in Paradigm L of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יָטַב to be good (only in the *C* imperfect Qal and in *Hiph'il*; in the perfect Qal טוֹב, a verb עָוָה, is used instead), יָנַק to suck, יָקַן to awake, יָצַר to form (but see above, a), יָלַל only in *Hiph'il* הִילֵּל to bewail, יָשַׁר to be straight, right, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic *yābisā*) to be dry (but *Hiph'il* הִזְבִּישׁ 2 S 19⁸, on the analogy of verbs פ"ו; on Is 30⁵, cf. § 72 x), and the *Hiph'il* הִימִין (denominative from יָמִין), infin. לְהִמִּין 2 S 14¹³ to go to the right.

2. In some examples of the imperfect *Hiph'il* the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: יִיטִיב Jb 24²¹; יִילִיל Is 15^{2,3}, 16⁷; יִילִיל Jer 48³¹; plur. יִילִילוֹ Ho 7¹⁴, cf. Is 65¹⁴. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yōdh* and *He*, arising from the unsynopated forms יְהִילִיל, &c. (cf. Is 52⁶). It is, perhaps, more correct to suppose that the regular forms (יִיטִיב, יִילִיל) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

Isolated anomalies are: perfect *Hiph'il* וְהִטְבַּחְתִּי Ez 36¹¹ with separating vowel (for הִיטְבַּחְתִּי) on the analogy of verbs ע"ו; imperfect יִיטִיב for יִטִּיב 1 K 1⁴⁷; תִּיטְבִּי (imperfect Qal for הִיטְבִּי) Na 3⁸; וְתִנְיָהוּ imperfect *Hiph'il* Ex 2⁹, either an error for וְתִינְקוּ, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'il* הִקִּיין (from קִיין) is always used instead of הִיקִיין from יָקַן; hence also הִקִּיצוֹתִי, הִקִּיצוֹתִי, imperat. הִקִּיצָה, infin. הִקִּיין.—On וַיִּבְשָׁהוּ Na 1⁴, see § 69 u).

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

In some verbs פ"י, the *Yōdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nūn*,¹ is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms, therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יָצַע (פּוֹפ. וּצַע) to spread under; *Hiph'il* הִצִּיעַ, *Hoph'al* הִצַּע; יָצַח to burn, imperfect יִצַּח, *Niph'al* נִצַּח, *Hiph'il* הִצִּיחַ (in Is 27⁴ also אֲצִיחֶנּוּ is to be read with König; in 2 S 14³⁰ the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethibh* הוּצִיחֶנּוּ, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"ו, to the imperative וְהִצִּיחֶנּוּ in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַג, *Hiph'il* הִצִּיג to place, *Hoph'al* הִצַּג; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from יָצַב, viz. נִצַּב (*Niph'al*), הִצִּיב, נִצִּיב, הִצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the *Hithpa'el* הִתְצַב; instead of the anomalous וְתִתְצַב Ex 2⁴ read with the Samaritan וְתִתְצַב, i.e. וְתִתְצַב. Besides the common form we find once אֲצַק in Is 44³ (from יָצַק to pour) with a transitive meaning, beside וַיִּצַּק intransitive, 1 K 22³⁵. Elsewhere the imperfect

¹ These verbs, like verbs ע"ו (cf. above, note on § 67 g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ"ו.

consecutive has the form וַיִּצַק Gn 28¹⁸, 35¹⁴, &c., cf. § 69 f, where also other forms of צַק are given; וַיִּצַר and יָצַר (Is 44¹², 49⁸, Jer 1⁵ *Q^{er}ê*), from יָצַר to *form*, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also אֶפְרַם Ho 10¹⁰; וַיִּטְרַן (for וַיִּתְרַן according to § 47 k) 1 S 6¹²; לֵיפֹד 2 Ch 31⁷ (cf. § 69 n) and מוֹסֵד Is 28¹⁶. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיִּזַּן 1 K 3¹⁵ (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer וַיִּזֵּן) and in הִלְפֹת Gn 40²⁰, Ez 16⁵ (cf. הִלְפֹת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of יָלַר (cf. נִגְדִי § 69 t).

§ 72. Verbs וָע (vulgo וָע), e. g. קָם to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 144 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 605 ff.

- a 1. According to § 67 a a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the trilateral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i. e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39 a), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39 b), the *û* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs וָע or more correctly (see below) וָע.¹

¹ The term וָע was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or ו in the case of verbs וָע) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Piel* (וָעַר, the ו usually passing into ו as in קָם, cf. Arabic *qāwawmū*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e. g. מוֹת death, compared with מוֹת to die. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs וָע e. g. *šayat*) was always assumed, and קָם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* קָם to original *qawōm*, the *participle passive* קָם to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like וָעַר, קָם (see m) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קָם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָם, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These וָע stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real וָע stems of the strong forms, such as וָע, וָע, &c. (see below, gg).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to וָע stems was taken by Samuel Hannagid (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwā'id*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to וָע stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67 a, note). On the other hand, the old view of ו and ו as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs $y''y$, the monosyllabic stem of verbs $y''y$ \bar{b} generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 \bar{b} ; § 67 \bar{b}). However, it is to be remarked: (a) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e. g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* דָּם, *fem.* דָּמָה, *plur.* דָּמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* דָּמָה, &c.¹; (b) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Cf. *f*.

Intransitive verbs *middle e* in the *perfect Qal* have the form מֵת *he c is dead*; verbs *middle o* have the form אֹר *he shone*, בֹּשׁ *he was ashamed*, טוֹב *he was good*.² Cf. *n-r*.

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al*, and throughout *Hiph'il* and *d Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niph'al* the original \bar{a} is the basis of the form and not the \bar{i} attenuated from \bar{a} (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יְבֹרֵשׁ), hence יָקַם, for *yāqûm*; נָקַם for *nāqôm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִקַּם for *hūqâm*; *participle* מְקַם (on the *Şere* cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הִקַּם for *hūqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes *vocal Šewá* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. יִמְוֹתֵנוּ *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragogic*; יִמְוֹתָיו (without *Nûn* יִמְוֹתָיו). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of \bar{e} in הִיָּמִיר Jer 2¹¹ (beside הִמִּיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הִיָּמִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the \bar{a} is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long \bar{o} (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs $y''y$).

¹ In Aramaic, however, always קָמַת; also in Hebrew grammars before *Qimhi* קָמַתִּי, קָמַתִּי, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e. g. קָמַתִּי Mi 7⁸, קָמַתִּי 2 K 7^{3.4}.

² According to Ståde (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in מֵת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel \bar{i} , the sign of the intransitive, with the \bar{a} of the root), and likewise the *o* in אֹר, &c. (from *au*). But \bar{o} (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed *penultima* (בֹּשֶׁת, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i. e. due to lengthening of an original \bar{a} , and similarly the \bar{e} of מֵת to lengthening of an original \bar{i} . This is confirmed by the fact that the \bar{o} in בֹּשֶׁת, בֹּשֶׁתִּי, בֹּשֶׁנִּי is always, and in בֹּשֶׁן, 3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בֹּרֶשֶׁן, בֹּרֶשֶׁן, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

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

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

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ū* (now *û*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ô*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא, יָבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָבֹא (but cf. וְתָאֲרֶנָּה I S 14²⁷) and בֹּשׂ from the *intransitive perfects* אָוֹר (see above, *c*), most probably also in יָאֲתֹר 2 K 12⁹, יָאֲתֹת Gn 34¹⁵ from an unused אָוֹת to *consent*, and perhaps in וְתָהִרם I S 4⁵, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 *e* and especially § 67 *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ī* (which is attenuated from original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš*, and finally *yē-bōš*. Finally the *Niph.* נָקַם (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יְקַם from *yiqqām*, originally (§ 51 *m*) *yinqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ā*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'ûl* a *ī* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and *יְ* regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'ûl* (as in תְּבִיאֲנָה Lv 7³⁰, cf. תְּהִימָנָה Mi 2¹²), before the termination of נָה. As in verbs עָע (§ 67 *d* and note) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order to preserve the long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'ûl*, however, before the *ī*, instead of the *î* an *ē* is somewhat often found² (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw con-*

¹ So in Arabic, prop. *qâim*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *n*, cf. Aram. קָיַם; but also contracted, as *šāk, hār*, for *šâ'ik*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

² וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם I S 6⁷ (cf. 2 Ch 6²⁵) could only be an orthographic licence for 'והִשְׁבַּח'; perhaps, however, 'והִשְׁבַּח' was originally intended.

secutive, Dt 4³⁹, 30¹, as well as before the affirmatives הַם and הֵן or before suffixes, Dt 22², 1 S 6⁸, 1 K 8³⁴, Ez 34⁴. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *i* to *e*; thus הַקִּים, הַקִּימוֹת, (or הַקִּי; on הַעֲוֹתָהּ Ex 19²³, cf. *x*), but הַהֲקִימוֹת, &c., Ex 26³⁰, &c.; Dt 4³⁹, Nu 18²⁶ (cf., however, הַהֲקִימוֹתָּ Mi 5⁴). In the same way in the 1st *pers. sing.* of the *perfect Niph'al*, the *o* before the separating vowel is always modified to *u* (הַקִּימוֹתִי); cf. *v*. In the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'ul* the separating vowel ' always bears the tone (הַקִּימוֹנֶה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *u* instead of *u* and *i* we find in *imperfect Qal* תִּבְּאֲנָה (see § 76 *g*); הַשִּׁבְּךָ Ez 16⁵⁵ (also הַשִּׁבְּכֶנָּה in the same verse); וְהַשִּׁבְּכָה 1 S 7¹⁴ (cf. Ez 35⁹ *Qéré*; on the *Kethibh* הַשִּׁבְּכָה cf. above, note on § 69 *b*); וְהַתְּאָרְכָה 1 S 14²⁷ from אָר (Kethibh הַתְּאָרְכָה and they saw, see § 75 *w*); in *Hiph'ul*, e.g. הַנִּפְּוֹתִי Jb 31²¹; וְהַטְּלֵתִי Jer 22²⁶; הַשִּׁבְּכָה Jb 20¹⁰; with a separating vowel, e.g. תִּבְּיָנָה Lv. 7³⁰ from בּוֹא. *S'ghöl* without ' occurs in the *imperfect Qal* in הַמּוֹתְנָה Ez 13¹⁹, Zc 1¹⁷; and in *Hiph'ul* Mi 2¹²: the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is הַקִּימוֹנָה Jer 44²⁵, probably an erroneous transposition of ימ (for הַקִּימוֹנָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling הַקִּימוֹנָה or הַקִּימוֹנָה.

6. The tone, as in verbs ע"ע (cf. § 67 *k*), is also generally retained *l* on the stem-syllable in verbs ע"ע before the affirmatives הַ, וּ, י; thus הַקִּימוֹת (but also הַקִּימוֹת 2 K 19²¹, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following הַקִּימוֹת; after *wāw consecutive* הַקִּימוֹת Is 23¹⁷); הַקִּימוֹת (but also הַקִּימוֹת, cf. Is 28⁷, 29⁹, Na 3¹⁸, ψ 76⁶, Pr 5⁶, La 4¹⁸; הַקִּימוֹת 1 S 8¹¹; so especially before a following א, cf. § 49 *l*, Nu 13³²; הַקִּימוֹת Is 19¹; before ע, ψ 131¹, Pr 30¹³, La 4¹⁴); הַקִּימוֹת, but before a *suffix* or with *Nûn paragoric* הַקִּימוֹת 2 Ch 28¹⁵; הַקִּימוֹת Dt 33¹¹, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *P'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el* is, *m* strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ע"ע. It is only in the latest books that we begin to find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ע"ע (with consonantal ו, see below, *gg*); e.g. the *P'el* עָוְרַנִּי ψ 119⁶¹; and with change of ו to י, הַקִּימוֹת Est 9³¹, הַקִּימוֹת Est 9²⁷, *impf.* הַקִּימוֹתָּ ψ 119¹⁰⁶, *inf.* הַקִּימוֹת Ez 13⁶, Ru 4⁷ &c., Est 9²¹ &c., *imperat.* הַקִּימוֹתָּ ψ 119²⁸; הַקִּימוֹתָּ Dn 1¹⁰ from הַקִּימוֹת to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הַקִּימוֹתָּ Jos 9¹², which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צָרַר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *P'el'el* (see § 55 *c*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually

employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e. g. קוֹמִים *to set up* from קוּם; מוֹתֵת *to slaughter*, 1 S 14¹³, 17⁵¹, 2 S 19⁹, from מוּת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוּמַם, from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעַרֵר Jb 17⁸ in *pause*) from עוּר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשִּׁישׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2²⁵. The conjugation *Pilp'el* (§ 55 f), on the analogy of verbs ע"ע, is less common, e. g. טָלַטַל *to hurl away* from טוּל; בָּלַבַּל *to contain* from בּוּל; קָרַר *to destroy* from קוּר.

REMARKS.

I. On Qal.

- nl 1. Of verbs *middle e* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מָת he is dead, fem. מֵתָה, 2nd masc. מָתָה (cf. § 44 g; § 66 h); 1st sing. מָתִי, וּמָתִי (even in *pause*, Gn 19²⁹); plur. מָתוּ, 1st pers. מָתַנּוּ, in *pause* מָתַנּוּ בַשׁ he was ashamed, בַּשָּׁתָה, בַּשָּׁתִי, בַּשָּׁנּוּ, בַּשָּׁנּוּ אֹר; אֹרִי it has shone, plur. אֹרוֹ; טוֹב to be good, טָבוּ. *Participles* מֵת a dead man (plur. מֵתִים, מֵיָתִי); אֲשָׁמִים ashamed, Ez 32²⁰. For נָד Is 27¹¹ read נָד, or, with LXX, עָד.
- o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁבַת (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁבָה) Ez 46¹⁷ (see § 44 f); צָקוֹן Is 26¹⁶ (see § 44 l).—In בָּנוּ 1 S 25⁸ (for בָּאנוּ from בּוֹא) the נ has been dropped contrary to custom. In יבֹאָ Jer 27¹⁸ (instead of בָּאָ) the Masora seems to point to the *imperfect* יבֹאָ which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.
- p The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9 b) with נ in the *perfect*, קָאם Ho 10¹⁴, also in the *participles* לָאֵם softly, Ju 4²¹, רָאֵשׁ poor, 2 S 12^{1,4}, Pr 10⁴, plur. 13²³; שְׁאֵטִים doing despite unto (unless נִשְׁאָטִים is to be read, from a stem שְׁאָט whence שְׁאָט Ez 25¹⁵, 36⁵), Ez 28^{24,26}; fem. 16²⁷; also in Zc 14¹⁰ רָאֵמָה is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאֵמָה. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle o* (like בּוֹשִׁים, see above) קוֹמִים occurs for קָמִים 2 K 16⁷ and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט occultans, Is 25⁷; בּוֹסִים Zc 1c⁶.—*Participle passive*, מוּל circumcised; but סוֹג a backslider, Pr 14¹⁴, and סוֹרָה put aside, Is 49²¹ (cf. Jer 17¹³ *Q'rê*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qātûl* (§ 50 f), not passive participles. For חֲשִׁים hastening, Nu 32¹⁷, read חֲחִשִׁים as in Ex 13¹⁸; for שָׁבִי Mi 2⁸ read שָׁבִי.
- q 2. Imperfects in *û* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *û*, as יְקוּם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קוּם (also defectively written יְקָם, יְקָם); but יְרוּשׁ he threshes (*infin.* יְרוּשׁ), has *imperative* יְרוּשִׁי (*fem.*), Mi 4¹³; יְמוּט it slippeth, *infinitive* מוּט (ψ 38¹⁷, 46³); cf. נוּחַ (also נוּחַ) Nu 11²⁵ and נוּע Is 7² (elsewhere נוּע) with the *imperfects* יְנוּחַ and יְנוּע; יְעוּז Is 30²; שׁוּב Jos 2¹⁶; רוּם Ez 10¹⁷ (verse 16 רוּם).
- r Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *ô* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יְבוּא (יְבוּא), *infin.* and *imper.* בּוּא or בָּא¹; וַיֵּאָר 2 S 3², אֹרוֹ, אֹרוֹי; בּוּשׁ, יְבוּשׁ, &c.—יְקוּם Jb 8¹⁴ (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע"ע,

¹ In 1 K 14¹² (בְּבֹאָה before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בְּבֹאָהָ.

since the *imperfect* of קִיַם appears as אֶקְיַם in ψ 95¹⁰. On the other hand יִקְשֹׁן (as if from קִישׁ, on the analogy of יְבוֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of יִקָּשׁ ("פ"). The *imperfect* יִרְוֶן, with \acute{o} , Gn 6³, probably in the sense of *to rule*, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יִרְיֶן *to judge* (from רִיַן, ע"י). Or can יִרְוֶן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly לֹא תַחֲוֶם עֵינַי (עֵינְךָ) might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16³⁰), in Dt 7¹⁶, 13⁹, 19^{13,21}, 25¹², Ez 5¹¹, 7^{4,9}, 8¹⁸, 9¹⁰. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תַחֲוֶם was originally intended, as in Is 13¹⁸, Jer 21⁷, while cases like יַחֲם ψ 72¹³ are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has \acute{o} , e.g. יִקְיָמוּ קוֹם Jer 44²⁹.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָמוּ, קָמִי) the tone is on the stem ^s syllable (cf., however, עֲיָרִי Ju 5¹² intentionally varied from עִירִי; also עֲוָרִי Ze 13⁷ and Is 51⁹ beside עֲוָרִי בְיָמַי; עֲוָרִי גֵילִי Ze 9⁹; עֲוָרִי Is 21², שׁוּבִי ψ 116⁷, likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שׁוּבָה Jer 3¹², ψ 7⁸, and עֲוָרָה verse 7. But if an א follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קוּמָה, &c.¹ in order to avoid a hiatus, e.g. Ju 4¹⁸, ψ 82⁸; hence also before יְהוֹה, *Q^{eré} perpetuum* אֲרָכִי (§ 17 c), e.g. ψ 3⁸, 7⁷ קוּמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עֲוָרָה and in Jer 40⁵, שׁוּבָה before א), and so even before ר ψ 43¹, 74²², &c. (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יִקָּם (see above, f), יָקוּם also occurs ^t (as subjunctive, Ec 12⁴; נָסוּג ψ 80¹⁹ may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יִקָּם (Gn 27³¹; cf. Ju 6¹⁸, Pr 9^{4,16}), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (cf. Jer 46⁶). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיִּקָּם, in *pause* וַיִּקָּם, see above, f) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable, א often takes the place of \acute{o} , e.g. וַיִּנַּח and he rested; וַיִּנְעַע and it was moved; וַיִּסָּר and he turned aside, Ju 4¹⁸, Ru 4¹ (distinguished only by the sense from וַיִּסָּר and he removed, Gn 8¹³); וַיִּצָּר; Ex 21⁴, 2 K 5²³, 17⁵ (but also וַיִּגָּר from both גָּר *to sojourn*, and גָּרַר *to fear*); וַיַּעַף (to be distinguished from וַיִּעָף and he flew, Is 6⁶) and he was weary, Ju 4²¹, 1 S 14^{28,31}, 2 S 21¹⁵, but probably in all these cases וַיַּעַף for וַיִּיעַף from יָעַף is intended. For ותלוש 2 S 13⁸ *K^{eth.}*, the *Q^{eré}* rightly requires וַתִּלְוֶשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְיָמוּ, וַיִּסְאוּ, &c. On וַאֲקָמוּ (וַאֲקָמוּ), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, l) are וַיִּמְתְּחוּ Gn 3^{3,4}; וַיִּנְדָּחוּ ψ 104⁷; וַיִּרְצְחוּ Jo 24^{7,9}.

II. On Niph'al.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְיָמוֹתִי, which frequently occurs (נִסְוֹגְתִי, ו נִפְוִיגְתִי, cf. also the *ptcp. plur.* נִבְוִיבִים Ex 14³), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְיָמוֹתְךָ, נִקְיָמוֹת, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְיָמוֹנִי given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

¹ Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on ψ 3⁸.

only examples found have *ô* (not *û*), viz. **נִפְּזוּתֶם** *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11¹⁷, 2c^{34,41}, and **וַיִּקְטוּתֶם** *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 20⁴³, 36³¹.—To the *i* (instead of *ä*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* **נָעוּר** Zc 2¹⁷ (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* **נָמוּל**, see below, *ee*), *imperfect* **יַעוֹר** for *yi'ôr*.—The *infinitive construct* **הַרְוִישׁ** occurs in Is 25¹⁰; in **לְאֹר** Jb 3, 30, the Masora assumes the elision of the *h* (for **לְהֹאֹר**); but probably **לְאֹר** (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 l).—**נִמְוֹנִי** Is 14³¹, **נָסוּנִי** Is 59¹³ are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

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

6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, *k*) are: **הִבְּאֵת**, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); **הִמְתָּה** (from **מִוֹת**) for *hēmāth-tū* (cf. § 20 *a*); **הִבְּנִי** 1st plur. *perfect* *Hiph'il* from **בִּנָּן** 2 Ch 29¹⁹, even **הִמְתָּם** (§ 27 *s*) Nu 17⁶, &c.; cf. 1 S 17³⁶, 2 S 13²⁸, also **וַהֲמַתְּנִי** Ex 1¹⁶, and **וַהֲמַתְיָהּ** Ho 2⁵; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive **וַהֲמַתִּי** Is 14³⁰; cf. **וַהֲמַלְתִּי** Jer 16¹³, and **וַהֲנַפְתִּי** Ex 29²⁴, &c.—In these cases the *ē* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes **ֵ** (1 Ch 15¹², &c.) or more frequently **ֶ**, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily **ֶ** (e. g. **וַהֲקַמְתִּי** Gn 6¹⁸). Before a suffix in the 3rd *sing. masc.* (except Gn 40¹³) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd *plur.*, the vowel of the initial syllable is *Ḥaṭeph-Seghōl*, in the other persons always *Ḥaṭeph-Pathah* (König); on **הִקְמַתִּי** 2 K 9², ψ 89⁴⁴, cf. Ex 19²³, Nu 31²⁸, Dt 4³⁹, 22², 27², 30¹, Ez 34⁴, and above, *i*. The 3rd *fem. perf. Hiph.* **הִמְתָּה** 1 K 21²³ is quite abnormal for **הִמְתִּיתָה** from **סוּת** or **סִית**.
- As in verbs **עָע** with *h* for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of **עוּר** Ex 19²³ (where against the rule given under *i* we find **הַעֲרִיתָהּ** with *ē* instead of *i*), Dt 8¹⁹, Neh 9³⁴, Jer 42¹⁹, and **עוּר** Is 41²⁵, 45¹³, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of **ֵ**. The irregular **וַהֲוִישְׁבוּתִים** Zc 10⁶ has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. **וַהֲוִישְׁבוּתִים** (from **וַיִּשְׁב**) and **וַהֲוִישְׁבוּתִים** (from **וַיִּשְׁב**): the latter is to be preferred.—On **הִבְּיִשׁ** and **הִבְּיִשׁ** as a (metaplastic) *perfect Hiph'il* of **בוּשׁ**, cf. § 78 *b*.
7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form **הִקֵּם** (on **הִשְׁב** Is 42²² with *Silluq*, cf. § 29 *q*); but in Ez 21³⁵ for **הִשְׁב** read the *infinitive* **הִשְׁבֵּה** the lengthened form **הִקְיֵמָה** is also found. With suffix **הִקְיֵמֵנִי**, &c. The *imperative* **הִבֵּיָהּ** Jer 17¹⁸ is irregular (for **הִבֵּא** Gn 43¹⁶); perhaps **הִבֵּיָהּ** (as in 1 S 2c⁴⁰; cf. 2 K 8⁶) is intended, or it was originally **הִבְּיָהּ**.
- In the *infinitive*, elision of the *h* occurs in **לְבִיא** Jer 39⁷, 2 Ch 31¹⁰ (for **לְהִבֵּיא**); **הִ** *fem.* is added in **לְהִנְפֵּה** Is 30²⁸; cf. Est 2¹⁸ and the analogous *infinitive Haph'el* in biblical Aramaic, Dn 5²⁰.—As *infinitive absolute* **הִבִּין** occurs in Ez 7¹⁴ (perh. also Jos 4³, Jer 1c²³).—The *participles* have *ē*, on the analogy of the *perfect*, as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs **עָע** (§ 67 *i*). On **מְבִי** 2 S 5², &c. (in *K'thibh*), see § 74 *k*.
- On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* (**יָקַם**, **וַיָּקַם**, but always **וַיָּבֵא**); in the *jussive* also with retraction of the tone **אֶל-הֲתִשְׁבֵּה** 1 K 2²⁰ see above, *f*. With a guttural or *ḥ* the last syllable generally has *Pathah* (as in *Qal*), e. g. **וַיְעֵר** *and he testified*, 2 K 17¹³; **יָרַח** *let him smell*, 1 S 26¹⁹; **וַיְרַח** Gn 8²¹; **וַיָּסַר**

and he took away, Gn 8¹³. The 1st sing. of the imperfect consecutive commonly has the form וְאֵשִׁיב Neh 2²⁰, or, more often, defectively וְאָעַד 1 K 2⁴², less frequently the form וְאֵשִׁב Jos 14⁷.—For אָסַף Zp 1² (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָמַר § 68 g; similarly in Jer 8¹³ אָסַפְּם instead of אֵסִיפֶם.

In the imperfect Pôlél the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. וְתִתְבַּנְּנֵנִי Pr 14³⁴; לֹא תִחַלְלֵנִי Jb 35¹⁴; cf. Pr 25²³, and acc. to Baer וְתִתְבַּנְּנֵנִי Jb 30²⁰ (ed. Mant., Ginsb. וְתִתְבַּנְּנֵנִי), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Sere*, cf. § 16 f. γ.—As Pôlél cf. יִרְעַע Is 16¹⁰.

As participle Hoph'al הַפּוֹשֵׁב occurs in close connexion, Gn 43¹²; cf. § 65 d.

Peculiar contracted forms of Pôlél (unless they are transitives in Qal) are CC וְיִבְנְנֵנִי Jb 31¹⁵; יַעֲרֹנֵנִי 41² וְתִמְנְנֵנִי Is 64⁶ for וְיִבְנְנֵנִי, &c. [but read וְיִבְנְנֵנִי (§ 58 k), יַעֲרֹנֵנִי or יַעֲרֹנֵנִי, and וְתִמְנְנֵנִי]; also תִּרְמְמֵם Jb 17⁴, for תִּרְמְמֵם.—In Is 15⁵ יַעֲרֹ appears to have arisen from the *Pilpel* יַעֲרֹ, the *ä* after the loss of the *ṛ* having been lengthened to *ā*, which has then been obscured to *ê*.—For the strange form בְּתִקְוֵמֶיךָ ψ 139²¹, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a participle with the *ṣ* omitted, read בְּמִתְקֶךָ.

IV. In General.

8. The verbs ו"ע are primarily related to the verbs ע"ע (§ 67), which were dd also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analysing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. imperfect Qal and Hiph'il with *wāw* consecutive, the whole of Hoph'al, the Pôlél of verbs ו"ע, and the Pôlél of verbs ע"ע; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ו"ע sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. perfect Qal בָּזָה he has despised (from בָּזָה, as if from בָּזָה) Zc 4¹⁰; perfect Niph'al נָמַר Jer 48¹¹ (for נָמַר from מָרַר, as if from מָרַר). The same explanation equally applies to נִקְטָה Jb 10¹ for נִקְטָה (cf. § 67 dā) = נִקְטָה from קָטַה, and נָקַטוּ Ez 6⁹ (for נָקַטוּ); יָרֹמוּ Ez 10¹⁷ and יָרְמוּ verse 15; הִרְפוּ (imperative) Nu 17¹⁰; יָסַג Mi 2⁶; Hiph'il perfect הִתָּו Is 18⁵ for הִתָּו (cf. § 29 q), which is for הִתָּו from הִתָּו. On the other hand the imperfects יָמַר Ez 48¹⁴ (unless it be intended for יָמַר, cf. ψ 15⁴) and יָפַח Hb 2³, are to be regarded according to § 109 i, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ע (§ 67 g) verbs ו"ע sometimes have in Niph'al CC and Hiph'il the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e.g. הִסִּית to incite, imperfect יָסִית (also הִסִּית, יָסִית); הִסִּיג, imperfect יָסִיג to remove (from סָוַג), also Hoph'al הִסִּיג Is 59¹⁴ (on הִסִּיג cf. § 29 g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ to cause to rest,¹ but הִנִּיחַ (imperfect הִנִּיחַ, consecutive וְהִנִּיחַ Gn 39¹⁶; imperative הִנִּיחַ, plur. הִנִּיחוּ) to set down; for וְהִנִּיחָה (Baer, Ginsburg וְהִנִּיחָה) Zc 5¹¹ (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of Hiph'il on the analogy of the biblical Aramaic הִקִּימַת Dn 7⁴) we should probably read וְהִנִּיחָה with

¹ As the passive of this Hiph'il we should expect the Hoph'al הִנִּיחַ, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחַ in La 5⁵.

Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8¹¹ the *Kethibh* הרים is intended for a perfect *Hiph'il*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלַן to spend the night, to remain, and יָלַן Ex 16⁷ *Qere* (*Kethibh* תָּלוּנוּ; conversely, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלַנו, *Qere* תָּלוּנוּ), participle מְלִין Ex 16⁸, Nu 14²⁷, 17²⁰, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלַן only יָלַן is found, Ex 17³. Other examples are *Niph'al* נְמֹול he was circumcised, Gn 17^{26 f.}; participle 34²² (from מֹול, not נְמֹול); נָעוּר he is waked up, Zc 2¹⁷ (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִזְלִיגָה La 1⁸; יָלַיוּ Pr 4²¹.

ff Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וְתַחַשׁ וְתַחַשׁ and she hastened (from חָיַשׁ) Jb 31⁵; וַיֵּעַט (another reading is וַיֵּעַט) וַיֵּעַט 1 S 15¹⁹, 25¹⁴ (14⁸² *Qere*) from עָוַט or עָיַט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשַׁה and עָטָה (ל"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

gg 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. חָוַר, *imperfect* יַחְוֹר to be white; נָוַע, *imperfect* יִנְוַע to expire; רָוַח to be wide; צָוַח to cry; *Pi'el* עָוַל, *imperfect* יַעְוֹל to act wickedly; עָוַת to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעָוַת to bend oneself; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צָוָה, *Pi'el* צִוָּה to command, קָוָה to wait, רָוַח to drink, *Pi'el* רָוַח (on אֶרְבֵּיָהּ Is 16⁹, see § 75 *dd*) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle *i* (*vulgo* "ע), e. g. בִּין to discern.

Paradigm N.

a 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs "ע, and in contrast to them may be termed "ע, or more correctly, 'ayin-î verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *infm. constr.* This distinction is justified in so far as it refers to a difference in the pronunciation of the *imperfect* and its kindred forms, the *imperative* and *infm. constr.*—the "ע verbs having *â* lengthened from original *û* and "ע having *î* lengthened from original *î*. In other respects verbs "ע simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the trilateral form¹ (§ 67 *a*). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in "ע, has *â* lengthened from *ă*, thus: שָׁת he has set; *infinitive* שֵׁת, *infinitive absolute* שׁוּת, *imperative* שֵׁת, *imperfect* יִשֵּׁת, *jussive* יִשֵּׁת (§ 48 *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּשֵּׁת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

¹ That verbs "ע and "ע are developed from biliteral roots at a period before the differentiation of the Semitic languages is admitted even by Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 34 ff.), although he contests the view that בִּינָתִי and רִיבֹתָ are to be referred to *Hiph'il* with the preformative dropped.

used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e. g. בִּינְתִי Dn 10¹; בִּינְתִי Dn 9², also בָּנְתָהּ ψ 139²; רִיבֹתָ thou strivest, Jb 33¹³, also רִבְתָּ La 3^{5a}. The above *perfects* (בִּין, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *i*), the *i* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like the *ü* lengthened to *û* in the *imperfect Qal* of קָיַם). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'il*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of בִּין, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e. g. *perfect* בִּינְתִי (but בִּין only in Dn 10¹), בִּינְתִי, *infinitive* בִּינְתִי (but *infin. abs.* בִּין only in Pr 23¹), *imperative* הִבֵּן (only in Dn 9²³ בִּין immediately before הִבֵּן, also בִּינְתִי three times, and בִּינְתָהּ ψ 5²), *participle* מְבִין.¹ Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מְרִיב (also רִב), מְשִׂים *placing* (but only in Jb 4⁹, which, with the critically untenable הִשְׂיִטְי Ez 21²¹, is the only instance of שִׂים in *Hiph'il*), מְבִיחַ *breaking forth* Ju 20³³, with *infin. Qal* בָּיְחוּ they rushed forth Ju 20³⁷, with חָשְׂפִי, חָשְׂפִין *glancing*, also in *perfect* צָץ he spat out, with *imperat. Qal* קִי. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive of Qal*, e. g. הִתַּל Is 66⁸ from הָיַל to turn round, יִשָּׁר from יָשַׁר to sing, יִשָּׁח from יָשַׁח to set.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived ^b from verbs ע"ו; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"ו is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבַח (ground-form *nabān*), בּוֹגַן *Pōlēt*, and *Hithpōlēt* הִתְבּוֹגַן. The very close relation existing between verbs ע"ו and ע"ו is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from הָיַל to turn round, *imperative* also הִיֵּל Mi 4¹⁰; שִׂים to place, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׂים (2 S 14⁷ שִׂים *Qere*), *imperfect* יִשִּׁים, but Ex 4¹¹ יִשִּׁים. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. בָּיַל to exult (בָּיַל only Pr 23²¹ *Kethibh*); from לָח (perhaps denominative from לָיַל) to spend the night, לָח occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָח only in Gn 24²³; but the *imperative* is always לָח, &c.—Of verbs ע"ו the most common are שָׂית to set, רִיב to strive, דָּן to judge, שִׂישׁ to rejoice; cf. also *perfect* כָּל (*middle*

¹ Since בָּנְתָהּ ψ 139² might be intended for בִּנְתָהּ, there remains really no form of בִּין which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *plur. plur.* בָּנְתִים Jer 49⁷. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יָבִין, יִשִּׁים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 f., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.

Yôdh in Arabic) to comprehend, to measure, Is 40¹²; עֵיט (as in Arabic and Syriac) to rush upon, and the denominative perfect קָיַן (from קָיַן) to pass the summer, Is 18⁶. On the other hand, וְיִרְגְּמוּ and they shall fish them, Jer 16¹⁶, generally explained as perfect *Qal*, denominative from יָרַג fish, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְיִרְגְּמוּ.

c Corresponding to verbs properly ע"ו, mentioned in § 72 *gg*, there are certain verbs ע"י with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַב to hate, עָיַף to faint, הָיָה to become, to be, הָרָה to live.

d Rem. 1. In the perfect *Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וְלָכְנָה occurs once, Zc 5⁴, for וְלָכְנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. participle וּנְרָה Is 59⁸); cf. the analogous examples in § 48 *l* and § 80 *i*.—2nd sing. masc. וְשָׁתָה ψ 90⁸, *Qéré* (before ע; cf. § 72 *s*); 1st sing. once שָׁתִּיתָ ψ 73²⁸, *milra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st plur. וְלָכְנָה Ju 19¹³ for *lān-nū*. The lengthened imperatve has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, וְרִבֵּה יְהוּה, ψ 35¹; see further, § 72 *s*.—Examples of the infinitive absolute are: רָב *litigando*, Ju 11²⁵, Jb 4c²; שָׁם Jer 42¹⁵; שָׁת *ponendo*, Is 22⁷. On the other hand, רִיב יָרִיב (for רָב) Jer 5c³⁴, בֵּין תְּבִין Pr 23¹, חוּל חוּל Ez 30¹⁶ *Keth.*, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the *Qéré* requires הוּל תְּחוּל, but read חוּל; cf. § 113 *x*.

e 2. The shortened imperfect usually has the form יָבַן, יָשַׁח, יָשַׁח; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. לֹא יָרַב לוֹ Ju 6³¹, cf. Ex 23¹, אֶל-תָּשַׁח 1 S 9²⁰. So with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּשַׁח and he placed, וַיִּבֶן and he perceived; with a middle guttural בָּהֶם וַיַּעַט 1 S 25¹⁴ (see § 72 *ee*); with ר as 3rd radical, וַיִּתְשַׁח Ju 5¹. As jussive of לָוִן, לָוִן is found in Ju 19²⁰ (in pause) and Jb 17², for תָּלָוִן.—For אֶל-תְּרוּב Pr 3³⁰ *Keth.* (*Qéré* תְּרִיב) read תְּרִיב.

f 3. As participle active *Qal* לָוִן spending the night, occurs once, Neh 13²¹; participle passive שָׁם Nu 24²¹, 1 S 9²⁴, Ob 4; feminine שֹׁמֵה 2 S 13³², in the *Qéré*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2); the *Kethibh* has שֹׁמֵה. A passive of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 *e* and *s*, and § 53 *u*) from שָׁם may perhaps be seen in וַיִּשַׁח Gn 5c²⁶ (also Gn 24³³ *Kethibh* וַיִּשַׁח, *Qéré* וַיִּשַׁח); the Samaritan in both places has וַיִּשַׁח, and also in יִסְקָה Ex 3c³², Samaritan יוּסַח. Against the explanation of יִסַּח as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָקַח, Barth (*Jubelschrift*. . . *Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָקַח is the doubtful וַיִּסְקָה, which is probably an *i*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יִשַׁח, &c., as a passive of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuyssam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1), is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

* * * * *

g 4. In verbs ע"י the ע always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *middle Guttural* (§ 64). An exception is יָנֵאֵן Ec 12⁶ if it be imperfect *Hiph'il* of נָאֵן (for יָנֵאֵן); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָעַן, and regarded as incorrectly written for יָנֵאֵן. On נָאֵן (from נָאֵן), which was formerly treated here as ע"י, see now § 75 *x*.

§ 74. Verbs נ"ל, e.g. מצַף to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נ"פ, is treated in some cases as *a* a consonant, i. e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.:

1. In those forms which terminate with the נ, the final syllable always has the regular vowels, if long, e. g. מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ, הַמִּצִּץ, i. e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter suffering any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *û* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ quiesces in a preceding *ä* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ä* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27 g, as standing in an open syllable; e. g. מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on *b* the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; cf., however, § 76 e.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'el* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54 k) in the principal pause (Nu 31²³), or immediately before it (Jb 10¹⁶), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lv 21^{1,4}, Nu 19^{13,20}), but even out of pause with *Me'kha*, Nu 6⁷, and even before *Maqqeph* in Nu 19¹².

2. When נ stands at the end of a syllable before an affirmative *c* beginning with a consonant (ת, נ), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; thus in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ä* it regularly becomes *Qames* (מִצַּץ for מִצַּץ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (נִמְצַץ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S^eghôl*, מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ.

(a) The *S^eghôl* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* considered as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ä* (see § 8 a). In the same way the *ē* of the *perfect* forms in *Pi'el*, *Hithpa'el*, and *Hiph'il* might be traced to an original *i* (as in other cases the *ē* and *i* in the final syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect* of these conjugations), although this *i* may have only been attenuated from an original *ä*. According to another, and probably the correct explanation, however, both the *Sere* and the *S^eghôl* are due to the analogy of verbs ה"ל (§ 75 f) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 nu.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd *masc. sing.* הִצַּץ Ez 40⁴, lengthened according to rule.

(b) Before suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the נ *c* retains its consonantal value; so before ה and כּ, e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי Ct 8¹; יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 28¹³ (cf. § 65 h), not יִקְרָאֵנִי, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 f, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *S^ewā mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 25⁶; *participle* with suffix יִקְרָאֵנִי Is 43¹; *infinitive Pi'el* בְּטַמְאֵנִי.—The doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאֵנִי Jer 23⁶ (for יִקְרָאֵנִי or יִקְרָאֵנִי) is perhaps a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאֵנִי and יִקְרָאֵנִי.

f 3. When א begins a syllable (consequently before affirmatives which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e. g. מִצָּאָה *māṣṣ'ā*, מִצָּאֵי, &c. (in *paruse* מִצָּאָה, מִצָּאֵי).

REMARKS.

g 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מָלָא *to be full*, retain the *Ṣere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e. g. מְלֵאֲתִי (מְלֵאֲתָי Est 7⁵ has ־ owing to its transitive use; for יִרְאֲתֶם Jos 4²⁴ read with Ewald יִרְאֲתֶם). Instead of מִצָּאָה the form קָרְאָה *she names*, on the analogy of the ל"ה-forms noticed in § 75 *m*, occurs in Is 7¹⁴ (from קָרְאָתָי, cf. § 44 *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31²⁹, Jer 44²³, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְהִטָּאתָ Ex 5¹⁶, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to לְעַפְדֵּךְ וְהִטָּאתָ with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלְאָתָא ψ 118²³; in *Hoph'al* הִבְבֵּאתָ Gn 33¹¹.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קָרְאָתָי by Baer, Gen 16¹¹, &c., according to early MSS.

h 2. The *infin. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל"ה (גְּלוּתָא, &c., see § 75 *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֵאָתָא *to fill* (as distinguished from מְלֵאָתָא *fullness*), Lv 8³³, 12^{4,6}, 25³⁰, Jer 29¹⁰, Ez 5², also written מְלֵאוֹתָא Jer 25¹², Jb 20²², &c., and מְלֵאוֹתָא Est 1⁵. Cf. further, קָרְאָתָא Ju 8¹; שְׁנֵנָתָא Pr 8¹³; before suffixes, Ez 33¹², and likewise in *Niph.* זָע 13⁴; also in *Piel* לְמֵלֵאָתָא Ex 31⁵, 35³³, or לְמֵלֵאוֹתָא Dn 9², &c. *Kethibh*; with suffix 2 S 21².—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מִשְׁאוֹתָא and מִשְׁאוֹתָא, see § 45 *e*; on לְקָרְאָתָא *obviam*, § 19 *k*.—בְּמִצָּאָתְכֶם *when ye find*, Gn 32²⁰, stands, according to § 93 *q*, for מִצָּאָתְכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַפְּאָה Ps 41⁵ as *Mil'ra'* (before נִפְשֵׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1⁹ has, according to Qimḥi, the form מִצָּאֵי and in verse 20 קָרְאֵי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מִצָּאֵי, קָרְאֵי.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מִצָּאתָא (for מִצָּאָתָא) 2 S 18²², cf. Est 2¹⁵; so *Niph'al* נִפְלְאָתָא Dt 30¹¹, Zc 5⁷ (but נִשְׁאָה Is 30²⁵), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38²⁵; less frequent forms are מְוִצָּאתָא Ct 8¹⁰; נִשְׁאָתָא 1 K 10²² (cf. § 76 *b*, שְׁאָתָא beside לְשָׂאתָא as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׂאָ and without א (see *k*) יוֹצֵתָא (from יוֹצֵא) Dt 28⁵⁷. In the forms חַטָּאִים *sinning*, 1 S 14³³, cf. ψ 99⁶; בְּרָדָא *feigning them*, Neh 6⁸, the א is elided, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23 *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75 *oo*.—On the *plur. masc. pcp. Niph.* cf. § 93 *oo*.

k 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23 *f*): (a) in the middle of the word, e. g. בָּנִי 1 S 25⁸; מִצָּתִי Nu 11¹¹, cf. Jb 1²¹; צְמִתִּי Ju 4¹⁹, cf. Jb 32¹⁸. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶנָּה Jer 9¹⁷, Zc 5⁹, Ru 1¹⁴ (but the same form occurs with *Yódk* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל"ה in Ez 23⁴⁹, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 *b* and Jer 50²⁰); in *Piel* אֲחַפְּנָה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31³⁹; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמַתָּא Lv 11⁴³; cf. Jos 2¹⁶. (b) at the end of the word; יוֹבֵי 1 K 12¹² *Kethibh*; *Hiph'il* הִחְבֵּי 2 K 13⁶, cf. Is 53¹⁰ הִחְלִי for הִחְלִיא *perfect Hiph'il* of חָלָה formed

after the manner of verbs א"ל); in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* יִשֵּׁי ψ 55¹⁶ *Kethibh*; יָנִי ψ 141⁵; אָבִי 1 K 21¹⁰, Mi 1¹⁵; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32³⁵; in the *participle*, 2 S 5², 1 K 21²¹, Jer 19¹⁵, 39⁶, all in *Kethibh* (מְבִי, always before א, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative* *Hiph'il* a number of cases *l* occur with *i* in the final syllable; cf. אֲשֵׁי Is 36¹⁴ (in the parallel passages 2 K 18²⁹, 2 Ch 32¹⁵ אֲשֵׁי); אֲבִי Neh 8² (before ו); אֲהַטָּא 2 K 21¹¹ (cf. 1 K 16², 21²²); אֲתַחַבָּא 2 K 6²⁹; אֲוִיֹּעָא Dt 4²⁰, 2 K 11¹², ψ 78¹⁶, 105⁴⁸; *imperative* אֲהִיבָא Jer 17¹⁸; אֲהִיבָא Is 43⁸ (in both cases before ו). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *i* is to be attributed to the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after ו *consecutive*, the *i* is always reduced to *e*. In the examples before ו considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40³, Baer reads with the Western school אֲהִיבָא, while the Orientals read in the *Kethibh* אֲהִיבָא, and in the *Qere* אֲהִיבָא.

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

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

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

These verbs, like the verbs א"ל (§§ 69, 70), belong to two different *a* classes, viz. those originally א"ל and those originally א"י,¹ which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה always appears (except in the *ptcp. pass. Qal*) as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23 *k*); hence both classes are called א"ל, e. g. גָּלָה for גָּלִי *he has revealed*; שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח *he has rested*. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally א"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs א"ל.

אֲשֵׁי to be at rest may be recognized as originally א"י, in the forms in which *b* the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁלַחְתִּי Jb 3²⁶, the *participle* שָׁלַח and the derivative שָׁלַח rest; on the other hand the *imperfect* is אֲשֵׁי (with *Yôdh*). In אָנַח (Arab. عني) to answer, and אָנַח (Arab. اعنو)² to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the Lexicon, s. v. אָנַח).

¹ According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the א"ל verbs, apart from some true א"ל and some probable א"י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the א"ל verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like אָנַח (see *u*). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

² In the Méša' inscription, line 5, אָנַח and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Pi'el*, and in line 6, אָנַח I will oppress as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiaie gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

C The grammatical structure of verbs ה"ל (see Paradigm P) is based on the following laws:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (cf. § 24 g) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8 k, and *ā* in הַלִּיף, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ה"ל the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה־ in all perfects, הָה, הַה, הֵה, &c.

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

ה־ in all imperatives, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הֵה, &c.), except in *Hiph'âl*, *Hoph'âl*, and generally also *Pi'êl*, see *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י (or ו, see *v*) reappearing at the end, יָה; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84^a, *c*, *ε*, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending הִי (with ה *feminine*); *Qal* הָלוֹת, *Pi'êl* הָלוֹת, &c.; for exceptions, see *n* and *y*.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָה stands, according to the above, for (י)ָה, and, similarly, in *Niph'âl*, *Pu'âl*, and *Hoph'âl*. The *Pi'êl* and *Hithpa'êl* may be based on the forms הָהִי, הָהִי (§ 52 l; and § 54 k), and *Hiph'âl* on the form הָהִי, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic *'aqtûlâ* (§ 53 a). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is still a matter of dispute. As to the various treatments of it, see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx ff, with § 136, Rem., and *ZDMG*. xlv. 695 f., against Philippi's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 356 f.; also *ZDMG*. lvi. 244, where Barth appeals to the rule that, in the period before the differentiation of the North Semitic dialects, final *iy* becomes ה־ (*constr.* ה־), not *i*; M. Lambert, *Journ. Asiat.* 1893, p. 285; Prätorius, *ZDMG*. lv. 365. The most probable explanation now seems to be, first, that the uniform pronunciation of all imperfects and participles with *S^gghôl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *impf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S^gghôl* of the *impf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination י־ (= *ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *ê*.

2. When the original *Yôdh* stands at the end of the syllable before *f* an affirmative beginning with a consonant (ת, נ) there arises (a) in the *perfects*, primarily the diphthong *ai* (אֵי). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ê* (אֵ), but this *ê* is only found consistently in the passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qal*, and frequently in the other active and reflexive conjugations (especially in *Pi'êl*), it appears as *î* (cf. *x, z, ee*). This *î*, however, in the *perf. Qal* is not to be explained as a weakening of an original *ê*, but as the original vowel of the *intransitive* form. It then became usual also in the *transitive* forms of *Qal* (and in some other conjugations on this analogy), whereas e.g. in Syriac the two kinds of forms are still carefully distinguished.—(b) In the *imperfects* and *imperatives*, אֵ with the tone always appears before the affirmative תָּ. On the most probable explanation of this אֵ, see above, *e*.

Summary. Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant the principal vowel is—

In the perfect *Qal* *î*, e.g. תָּלִי;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes *ê*, sometimes *î*, תָּלִי and תָּלִי; תָּלִי and תָּלִי;

In the perfects passive always *ê*, e.g. תָּלִי;

In the imperfects and imperatives always אֵ, e.g. תָּלִי, תָּלִי.

The diphthongal forms have been systematically retained in Arabic and Ethiopic; only as an exception and in the popular language is the diphthong contracted. In Aramaic the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syriac, for example, has in *Qal* 2nd *pers. sing. g'lat* (but 1st *pers. sing. תָּלִי*), and so too the Western Aramaic תָּלִי, but also תָּלִי.

3. Before the vocalic affirmatives (אֵ, אֵ, אֵ) the *Yôdh* is usually *h* dropped altogether, e.g. תָּלִי (ground-form *gâlâyû*), תָּלִי, *participle fem.* תָּלִי, *plur. masc.* תָּלִי; yet the old full forms also not infrequently occur, especially in *pause*, see *u*. The elision of the *Yôdh* takes place regularly before *suffixes*, e.g. תָּלִי (see *U*).

4. In the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect*, the original feminine ending תָּ-*i* was appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Yôdh*, arose properly forms like תָּלִי, with *ā* in the final syllable with the tone. This form, however, has been but rarely preserved (see below, *m*). The analogy of the other forms had so much influence, that the common ending תָּ- was added pleonastically to the ending תָּ-. Before the תָּ- the vowel of the ending תָּ-, which thus loses the tone, becomes *šewā*, and thus there arise such forms as תָּלִי, תָּלִי, &c. (but in *pause* תָּלִי, &c.).

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

k 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ה"ל is the rejection of the ending הַיִּתְּ in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening occurs in all the conjugations, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see *o, y, bb, gg*). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (cf. § 48 *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final הַיִּתְּ (see *cc, gg*).

l 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending הַיִּתְּ serves in verbs ה"ל to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *c*); cf. Gn 1²⁶, 2¹⁸, 2 Ch 25¹⁷, &c. With a final הַיִּתְּ there occur only: in *Qal*, עֲשֵׂהָּ ψ 119¹⁷, אֲהַמְיָהּ (with the ' retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77⁴; and in *Hithpa'el* וְנִשְׁחַעְהָּ Is 41²³ (with *Tiphḥa*, therefore in lesser pause).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

m 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* עָשָׂתָּ, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשָׂתָּ (before א) Lv 25²¹ (cf. 2 K 9³⁷ *Kethibh*)¹; likewise in *Hiph'il* הִרְצַתָּ (before א) Lv 26³⁴; אֲהַלְלַתָּ Ez 24¹²; and in *Hoph'al* הִנְלַתָּ (before י) Jer 13¹⁹.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written הַיִּתְּ; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהַיִּתְּ 2 S 14², and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הַיִּתְּ and הַיִּתְּ Is 57⁸; עָשִׂיתְּ Jer 2²³, Ez 16⁴⁸, &c. (so וְהַיִּצְאָתְּ 1 K 17¹³ from יִצְאָתְּ). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלָה, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37²⁰, גָּלָהּ, both on account of the *païse* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding קָלוּ; also in Is 16⁸ תַּעֲרֵנּוּ (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נִנְעֵנּוּ); and in Jb 24¹ הָיוּ.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

n 2. The *infin. absol.* frequently has ה (probably a survival of the older orthography) for הַיִּתְּ, e. g. הָיוּ Gn 18¹⁸; עָשָׂו Jer 4¹⁶, &c., Ez 31¹¹; קָנוּ 2 S 24²⁴; אָרוּ Gn 26²⁸, Is 6⁹ (cf. 1 S 6¹²), &c., beside רָאוּ. The form נִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתָּ Is 22¹³ (beside נִשְׁתַּחֲוּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַת; so in Is 42²⁰ *Q'ré* and Ho 10⁴, אֲלֹתָּ (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and כָּרַתָּ; cf. also עָרוּת Hb 3¹³.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלוּת such forms are occasionally found as גָּלוּהּ or גָּלוּ, cf. רָאוּהּ Gn 48¹¹; קָנוּהּ Pr 16¹⁶; עָשָׂהּ Gn 50²⁰, ψ 101³, also עָשָׂוהּ Gn 31²⁸ (cf. Pr 31⁴), and even with the *suffix* הָיוּ the very remarkable form עָשָׂהּוּ Ex 18¹⁸.²—The feminine form רָאוּהָ (for רָאוּתָּ) Ez 28¹⁷, analogous to nouns like גָּאוּהָ (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הָיָה as *infin.* Ez 21¹⁵ is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָיוּ and הָיוּ Is 59¹³ are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *Pö'el*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* הַיִּתְּ occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4⁴ and 7²; but

¹ In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, הִיתָּ may be read הַיִּתְּ quite as well as [הַיִּתְּ].

² All these infinitives construct in *ô*, in the Pentateuch, belong to the document called E; cf. § 69 *m*, second note.

probably these forms are simply to be attributed to r Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *ê* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ê*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 n, and especially § 75 hh, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרָאָהּ Ct 3¹¹ (for וְרָאָהּ, on the analogy of the reading מְצָאָהּ &c., § 74 h), see Baer's note on the passage.

3. The shortening of the imperfect (see above, k, and the note on hh) occasions O in Qal the following changes:

(a) As a rule the first radical takes a helping *S^ghōl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 e). Thus וַיִּבֹרַךְ for וּבָרַךְ; וַיִּבְרַךְ and he despised, Gn 25³⁴; וַיִּבְנֶה and he built; וַיִּשַׁע he looks; וַיִּמַח and he destroyed, Gn 7²³.

(b) The *î* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. וַיִּרְאֵהּ he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ת, whilst after י the homogeneous *î* remains, e.g. וַתִּתְקַל (but וַתִּקַּל), וַתִּתְפַּן (but וַתִּפַּן), וַתִּתְרַב (but וַתִּרַב); with middle guttural וַתִּתְחַע, וַתִּתְכַּה, Jb 17⁷ (from כָּהָה). The unusual position of the tone in וַתִּתְרַא Zc 9⁵, וַתִּתְרַא Mi 7¹⁰ (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. וַתִּרְא, וַתִּרְאָהּ) is best explained (except in וַתִּרְא Gn 41³³, before פ) on the analogy of וַקִּימָהּ &c., § 72 s, as due to the following א. But cf. also hh.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 d; וַיִּשְׁעַב Nu 21¹, Jer 41¹⁰, cf. וַיִּפְתַּח Jb 31²⁷; on the other hand, with *î* lengthened into *ē* (see p) וַיִּשְׁתַּהּ, וַיִּבְרַךְ, וַיִּרְדַּךְ, וַיִּשְׁטַח. The form וַיִּרְאֵהּ he sees, occurs parallel with וַיִּרְא and he saw (but 3rd fem. always וַתִּרְאָהּ), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following ר, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the imperf. consec. *Hiph'il*, 2 K 11⁴.

(d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל"ה, ר are וַיַּעֲשֶׂה, in pause וַיַּעֲשֶׂה and he made, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעֲנֶה and he answered, from עָנָה (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'il*), וַיַּחְצֵץ and he divided, from חָצַע. On some similar forms of א"פ see § 76 d.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּתְחַר and he was wroth, וַיִּתְחַן and he encamped (3rd plur. וַיִּתְחַנו), וַיִּתְחַד (with *Dageš lene* and *Šewā*) let i rejoice, Jb 3⁶; cf. Ex 18⁹.—On וַיִּוַי, וַיִּוַיט, וַיִּוַיט (ל"ה) as well as (א"פ), &c., see § 76 b, c, f.

(e) The verbs הָיָה to be, and הָיָה to live, of which the shortened imperfects S ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to יָהִי and יָהִי, the second *Yōd* being resolved into *i* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 n) יָהִי, יָהִי, with the original *ā* modified to *S^ghōl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like בָּכִי for *bakhy*. in pause בָּכִי עָנִי for *ʿōny*, &c., § 84^a c, and § 93 x). For הָשִׁי, however, in Dt 32¹⁸, since no verb שָׁיָה exists, we must read either הָשִׁי, or better הָשָׁה (Samaritan תשא), as *imperfect Qal* of שָׁשָׁה to forget.—Analogous to יָהִי from הָיָה, there occurs once, from הָיָה to be, the form יָהִי for יָהִי he will be, Ec 11³, but no doubt הָיָה is the right reading.

The full forms (without apocope of the ה, cf. § 49 c) not infrequently t occur after *wāw* consecutive, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. וַאֲרָאָהּ and I saw, twenty times, and Jos 7²¹ in *Ke'thibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וַאֲרָאָהּ fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. וַיַּעַשׂ Ez 18²⁸, Jb 42¹⁶ *Qere*; וַיַּעֲשֶׂה and *he made*, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); cf. also Ju 19² (וַתַּעֲשֶׂה); 1 K 10²⁹ (וַתַּעֲשֶׂה); Dt 1⁶ (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה), and Gn 24⁴⁸. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1³, 41³⁴, Jer 28⁶.—For the well attested, but meaningless תִּירָאוּ Jb 6²¹ (doubtless caused by the following וַתִּירָאוּ), read תִּירָאוּ *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

- u 4. The original *y* sometimes appears even before affirmatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending וְ—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* חָסְרֵיךְ ψ 57², חָסְרֵי Dt 32³⁷, cf. ψ 73² *Qere*; *imperative* בְּעָיוּ Is 21¹². *Imperfect* יֵאָתֵי Jb 16²², 30¹⁴ (without the *pause*, ψ 68³²); יֵשְׁלֵיוּ ψ 122⁶, Jb 12⁶, cf. ψ 77⁴; יֵרְבִינָה Dt 8¹³; ψ 36⁹: more frequently like יֵשְׁתִּיבֵן ψ 76⁴⁴; Is 17¹², 21¹², 26¹¹, 31³, 33⁷, 41⁵, ψ 36⁸, 39⁷, 83³; before a suffix, Jb 3²⁶. Also in Pr 26⁷ הֲדָלִי, as *perf. Qal* from הִדָּלַח, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly הֲדָלִי, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; הֲדָלִי probably points to הִדָּלַח from הִדָּלַח as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg*.
- U 5. The *participle active* (cf. Vollers, 'Das Qatil-Partizipium,' ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the participles of ה"ל, *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like עֹלָה Ju 20⁸¹, &c., רֹאֶה Pr 20¹², has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical *y*, viz. בּוֹכֵיהָ (= בָּכָה) weeping, La 1¹⁶; הוֹמֵיהָ tumultuous, Is 22² (*plur.* Pr 1²¹); צוֹפֵיהָ spying, Pr 31²⁷; פְּרִיָהָ fruitful, ψ 128³, *plur.* אֲתִיבֹת the things that are to come, Is 41²³. With the ordinary strong inflexion *y* appears in עֹמְטֵהָ Ct 1⁷, but perhaps there also עֹמְטֵהָ was intended, unless it should be טְעִיָה a wanderer. For רֹאֶנִי Is 47¹⁰, רֹאֶנִי is to be read.—On עֵשָׂה 1 K 20⁴⁰ for עֵשָׂה, cf. § 116 *g*, note.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as *v* (§ 24 *b*), cf. עָשָׂה made, Jb 41²⁵, צָפַו Jb 15²³, contracted from עָשָׂוּ וְצָפַו; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, הַעֲשִׂימוֹם (read הַעֲשִׂימוֹם) 2 K 23⁴; עֲשׂוּת (read ^a*sūwōth*) 1 S 25¹⁸ *Kethibh*, נְטוּת (read ⁿ*tūwōth*) Is 3¹⁶ *Kethibh*. The shortening of the *u* in רֹאִיֹת Est 2⁹ is irregular.
- UW 6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהִיָּתָה 2 S 15³³; בָּנִיתִי 1 K 8⁴⁴, cf. 1 K 9³; וַתִּרְלָנָה Ex 2¹⁶ (cf. Jer 18²¹, 48⁶, 1 Ch 7¹⁵, Jb 17⁶, &c.), and the pronunciation תִּרְאִיָּה Mi 7¹⁰, cf. תִּעֲנִיָּה Ju 5²⁹ (unless they are *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases are probably to be explained according to § 20 *i*.

II. On Niph'al.

- x 7. Here the forms with *y* in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (*y* only in נִקְיִיתָ Gn 24⁸); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always *y*, as נִקְיִינוּ 1 S 14⁸. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With *y* retained in *pause* נִפְיִי Nu 24⁶; once with an initial guttural נִחְרוּ Ct 1⁶ for נִחְרוּ, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *nihru*, but the harshness of *h* immediately followed by *r* is avoided by pronouncing the *h* with *Ḥateph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתָּהָה Pr 27¹⁵ (in *pause* for נִשְׁתָּהָה) ו and ת may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתָּהָה.—Among Niph'al forms of ה"ל must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִצְּוֹה from נִצְּוָה, not Pi'el of נִצְּוָה = נִצְּוָה; hence, according to § 23 d, נִצְּוֹה they are beautiful (for נִצְּוָוֹה) Is 52⁷, Ct 1¹⁰; but in ψ 93⁵, where Baer requires נִצְּוָה, read נִצְּוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה־, e.g. יִגְלֵל from יִגְלֵלָה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יִמַח (for יִמַחַ) ψ 109¹³, as in verbs ע"ע; but in *pause* תִּמַח verse 14. Cf. *bb.*—The *infinitive absolute* נִגְלוֹת emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 S 6²⁰, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הגלות.—The *inf.* *const.* לְחַרְרָה occurs in Ju 13²¹, 1 S 3²¹ for לְחַרְרָת; cf. above, *n.*—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular תַּעֲלֶה Ez 36³ has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תַּעֲלֶה (*Qal*) and תַּעֲלֵי (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְבֹּה 1 S 15⁹ might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* (נִמְבֹּהַ, cf. נַחֲלָה, נַחֲפָה, נַחֲשָׁח) with the *Hoph'al* (מִבְּוָה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נִמַּס and to read, in fact, נִבְּוַח וְנִמְאָסַת.

III. On Pi'el, Pô'el, Pu'al, and Hithpa'el.

9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect* Pi'el the second syllable in *z* most of the instances has ' on the analogy of *Qal* (see *f*), as קָיִיתִי, דְּמִיתִי; always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e.g. דְּבִיתָנוּ Gn 37²⁶, דְּבִיתָנוּ ψ 44²⁰. The form with ' is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e.g. Jo 4²¹; Is 5⁴, 8¹⁷ along with the form with *i*). On the tone of the *perf. consec. Pi'el* of ל"ה, see § 49 k.—*Hithpa'el* has (besides ' Jer 17¹⁶) as a rule ' (Pr 24¹⁰, 1 K 2²⁶, Jer 50²⁴). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has ' , e.g. עֲשִׂיתִי ψ 139¹⁵.—A 1st *sing. perfect* Pô'el שׁוֹשֵׁת (= שׁוֹסִיתִי) occurs in Is 10¹³.

10. The *infinitive absolute* Pi'el takes the form בָּלָה, בָּוָה (like קָטַל, the more *aa* frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with *i* only in ψ 40² בָּוָה; with *ôth* Hb 3¹³ עָרִית (cf. above, *n*). On הָרוּ and הָנוּ, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of Pô'el, see above, *n.*—As *infinitive construct* חָפִי occurs in Pi'el, Ho 6⁹ (only orthographically different from חָפָה, if the text is correct); לְכַלֵּא Dn 9²⁴ (on the *ס* see *rr*); עָרַלְכֶם 2 Ch 24¹⁰, 31¹, for which in 2 K 13^{17,19}, Ezr 9¹⁴ עָרַפְלָה with *inf.* *abs.*; in *Pu'al* עָנוֹת ψ 132¹.

11. The *apocopated imperfect* must (according to § 20 l) lose the *Dageš forte* *bb* of the second radical, hence וַיִּצַו and he commanded, תַּעַר (for תַּעְרָה = *t^earrè*) ψ 141⁸; cf. Gn 24²⁰; even in the principal *pause* אֶל־תִּגְלֵל Pr 25⁹; *Hithpa'el* וַיִּתְּלֵל and he uncovered himself, Gn 9²¹; תִּתְּרַע Pr 22²⁴; cf. ψ 37^{1,7,8}. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וַיִּתֵּן and he made marks, 1 S 21¹⁴ (but read with Thenius וַיִּתֵּן, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנוּ *ibid.* read וַיִּשְׁנֵן). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל־תִּתְּרַע, in close connexion, Dt 2^{9,19}; תִּשְׁתַּע Is 41¹⁰; according to Qimhi also וַיִּתְּאוּ, וַיִּתְּאוּ ψ 45¹², Pr 23^{3,6}, 24¹, 1 Ch 11¹⁷, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities וַיִּתְּאוּ, וַיִּתְּאוּ (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).¹—On אֶחָוֶה Jb 15¹⁷ (for אֶחָוֶה cf. § 20 m; on אֶכְלֶה Ex 33³, see § 27 q;

¹ In Nu 34^{7 f.}, according to verse 10, וַיִּתְּאוּ (= וַיִּתְּאוּ) is intended to be read for וַיִּתְּאוּ (*imperfect Pi'el* from וַיִּתְּאוּ).

on יָרַר Ju 5¹³, see § 69 g. Finally, on יָרַי, which is referred to *Pi'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, u.

CC 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צו, also צוה *command thou*, גַּל *open thou*, ψ 119^{18,22}; מִן *prepare thou*, ψ 61⁸; נִם for נִיפה *prove thou*, Dn 1¹²; הִתְחַל *feign thyself sick*, 2 S 13⁵; cf. Dt 2²⁴.—On רָבָה Ju 9²⁹, cf. § 48 l.—In ψ 137⁷ עָרוּ *raise it*, is found twice instead of עָרוּ (for 'arrú) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, וַיַּעְרוּ in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24¹¹).

dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yódh* is retained are the *imperfects* הִנְפוּיִן Is 40¹⁸, cf. verse 25 and 46⁶; יִכְסִימוּ *they cover them*, Ex 15⁵; *participle Pu'al* מִמַּחֲסִים Is 25⁶; for אַרְיִנָּה Is 16⁹ (from רָוה) read with Margolis, אַרְיִנָּה.

IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

CC 14. The 3rd *sing. perfect Hiph'il* sometimes has *S^eghól* in the first syllable instead of *i* (§ 53 p), especially in הִנְלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִנְלָה 2 K 24¹⁴), הִרְאָה, הִלְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הִנְלַם 1 Ch 8⁷, הִלְאָנִי Jb 16⁷, וְהִפְדָּה Ex 21⁸. The *S^eghól* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הִלְאָתִיךָ Mi 6³. On וְהִרְאִיתִי Na 3⁵, cf. § 53 p. The forms with *e* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִפְתִּי Jer 21⁶) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Pr 5¹³), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *i*, except in the 2nd *plur.*, where *i* predominates. Before *suffixes* the forms with *i* predominate throughout; cf., however, *e* in Ex 4¹², Mi 6³, Pr 4¹¹. On the tone of the *perf. consec. Hiph.* of ל"ה, see § 49 k. In *Hoph'al* only י occurs in the 2nd syllable.

ff 15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רָבָה *to be abundant*, besides the *construct* הִרְבֹּת we find the *absolute* הִרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הִרְבָּה, which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ez 21²⁰) as an adverb, in the sense of *much*; in 2 S 14¹¹ the *Q^{ere}* requires הִרְבַּת for the *K^ethibh* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבֹּת. Cf. Gn 41⁴⁹, 22¹⁷, Dt 28⁶³; the pointing הִרְבָּה Jer 42² probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הִמְרוֹת Jb 17² (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3²⁴ הִכּוֹת (before א) is probably *infinitive absolute*, used in order to avoid the hiatus, cf. § 113 x, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, n.—On the *infinitives* with elision of the ה, cf. § 53 q.

gg 16. The *shortened imperfect Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as וַפָּתַל *let him enlarge*, Gn 9²⁷; יִרְדַּח *he shall subdue*, Is 41²; וַיִּשְׁקַח *and he watered*, Gn 29¹⁰, &c.; וַיִּרְא *and he showed*, 2 K 11⁴ (see § 28 d): or else has a helping vowel, as וַיִּנְלַח (for וַיִּנְלַח, see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18¹¹; וַיִּפְסַח *ψ 105²⁴*; וַיִּתְמַח *Ez 5⁶*; וַיִּחַע *2 Ch 33⁹*; וַאֲרַב i. e. probably וַאֲרַב Jos 24³ *K^ethibh* (וַאֲרַב *Q^{ere}*).—Examples of verbs *first guttural*: וַיַּעַל Nu 23², וַאֲעַל, &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'il* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The *apocopated imperative Hiph'il* always (except in verbs פ"ן, e. g. הִקַּח, הִטַּח, § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S^eghól* or *Pathah*, e. g. הִרְבֵּה *increase thou* (for *harb*, הִרְבָּה) ψ 51⁴ *Q^{ere}*, also Ju 20³⁸; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הִרְבֵּה *let alone* (for הִרְבָּה) Dt 9¹⁴, &c.; הִעַל (for הִעֲלָה) Ex 8¹, 33¹²; but for הִשַּׁע ψ 39¹⁴, which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= *smear over*, as in Is 6¹⁰), read with Baethgen שָׁעָה *look away*.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yódh* retained occurs only in תוֹנִיִּין Jb 19², from יָנָה. Cf. u.

V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate *hh* in $\text{N}_{\text{---}}$ or '--- . The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in $\text{ה}_{\text{---}}$, less frequently $\text{N}_{\text{---}}$ or '--- , may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct* *Pi'el* יְפַחֵי , see above, *aa*; *imperative Qal* הָיִיא Jb 37⁶ (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect* יִרְא let him look out, Gn 41³⁸ (but see above, *p*); יַעֲשֶׂה he will do, Is 64³; אֶל-תְּרִיֵּה Jer 17¹⁷; אֶל-תִּבְנֶה consent thou not, Pr 1¹⁰; אֶל-תַּעֲשֶׂה do thou not, 2 S 13¹² (the same form in Gn 26²⁹, Jos 7⁹, Jer 40¹⁶ *Q'rê*); אֶהְיֶה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will be, Jer 31¹; וַיַּעֲשֶׂה Jos 9²⁴; תִּבְנֶה Dn 1¹³. Cf. also in *Niph'al* יִמְצֶה Lv 5⁹; תִּבְנֶה (according to Qimhi) Nu 21²⁷; in *Pi'el* תִּנְלֶה Lv 18^{7,8,12-17}, 20¹⁹, in each case לֹא תִנְלֶה , beside תִּנְלֶה with a minor distinctive; יִנְקֶה (Baer יִנְקֶה) Na 1⁸; אִזְרָה Ez 5¹² (with *Zaqeph*; Baer אִזְרָה). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos 7⁹), suggests the view that the *Şere* is used merely to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *voluntative* and the ordinary *imperfect*.¹ Elsewhere (Gn 26²⁹, Lv 5⁹, Jer 40¹⁶, Dn 1¹³; according to Baer also Mi 7¹⁰, Zc 9⁵) the pronunciation with *é* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following N or P ; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 *l*.

The ending '--- appears to stand for $\text{ה}_{\text{---}}$ in the *imperfect Qal* in וַתִּזְנֶי-שָׂם *ii* and there hath she played the harlot, Jer 3⁶; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16¹⁵, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect Hiph'il* אֶל-תִּמְהִי Jer 18²³; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to תִּמְחִי as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13¹⁴). The '--- stands for $\text{ה}_{\text{---}}$ in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִחֲלִי he made sick, Is 53¹⁰, which is probably for הַחֲלִי from חָלַא , a secondary form of חָלָה ; see *rr*. The *plur.* הִמְסִי (Baer הִמְסִי) they made to melt, Jos 14⁸, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'el* or its reflexive (§ 55 *d*) occurs: *hh* מִטְחִי archers, Gn 21¹⁶ (from טָחַח); but most frequently in שָׁחָה to bend, *Pa'el* שָׁחָה not in use, whence reflexive הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd *pers.* in יָתַע and 1st *pers.* in יָתִיעַ , *imperfect* יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה , consecutive 3rd *sing. masc.* וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה for *wayyistahaw* (analogous to the noun-forms, like שָׁחַח for *sahw*); 3rd *plur.* יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶוּ .—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with *suffix* $\text{בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּתִי}$ 2 K 5¹⁸ read with König $\text{בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי}$; in Ez 8¹⁶ מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתֶם is still more certainly a scribal error for מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיִּים .

19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in ה , a connecting vowel is employed *ll* instead of the ה and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 *f*), e. g. נִחְנִי Gn 24²⁷; in *pause* עֲנִנִי 1 K 2³⁰, &c., even with lesser disjunctives, ψ 118⁵, Pr 8²², or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28¹⁵ (but Baer עֲנִנִי , Jb 30¹⁹; cf. § 59 *h*; עֲנִנְךָ , in *pause* עֲנֶנְךָ , Is 30¹⁹ (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23³⁷) or like קִנְךָ Dt 32⁶; וַיִּפְרֶדְךָ , וַיִּרְבֶּדְךָ , Gn 28⁸; cf. also עֲנֶהוּ , עֲנֶם , *imperfect* יַעֲנֶהוּ , יַעֲנֶם , *Hiph'il* הִפְנִי , הִפְנֶהוּ .

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in '--- before *suffixes*, e. g. *mm*

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

הִמָּאֵהֶם Dt 32²⁶; יִכְפְּימוֹ ψ 140¹⁰ *Q^rrê*; הִכִּינִי smite me, 1 K 20^{35,37}; cf. Hb 3², Is 38¹⁶. Even in these examples a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd sing. *perf. fem.* the older form גָּלַת (see *i*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. בָּלַתָּהּ (for בָּלַתְהוּ) Zc 5⁴; in pause עָשָׂתָנִי Jb 33⁴; רָאִיתָּהּ 4²⁵.

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

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"ה and ל"א is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

oo 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—

(a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* בָּלַאתִי I have refrained, ψ 119¹⁰¹; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חֹטֵא) *sinning*, Ec 2²⁶, 8¹², 9^{2,18}; cf. Is 65²⁰; מוֹצֵא Ec 7²⁶; לֹשֵׁא lending, 1 S 22²; *Pi'el perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer 51³⁴; cf. 1 K 9¹¹, Am 4² (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89¹¹, 143⁹; רָפְאֵתוּ I heal, 2 K 22¹; cf. Jer 51⁹; *imperfect* יִגְמֵא Jb 39²⁴; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלְאָתָהּ (like נִגְלַתָּהּ) it was wonderful, 2 S 1²⁶; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלְאָהּ Dt 28⁶⁹; הִחְבְּאָתָהּ (not אָתָהּ—, cf. above, 2 S 1²⁶) she hid, Jos 6¹⁷. On the other hand, forms like חֹטְאִים 1 S 14³⁸, קָרְאִים ψ 99⁶, נִרְפְּאוּ Ez 47⁸, תִּדְרַבְּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19² (cf. Gn 31³⁹ אֲחַפְּנֶנָּה), and יִרְאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרָא Jos 24¹⁴, 1 S 12²⁴, ψ 34¹⁰, are due to the elision of the א, see § 74 i. On יִנְשֵׂאוּ Jer 10⁶ and נִשְׂאוּ ψ 139²⁰, see § 23 i.

pp (b) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל"א vowels, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֲרַפֶּה Jer 3²²; *imperative* רַפֵּה heal thou, ψ 60⁴; *Niph'al* נִחַבְהָ Jer 49¹⁰ (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחַבְהָ as in verse 23), and הִחַבְהָ to hide oneself, 1 K 22²⁵, cf. Jer 19¹¹; *Pi'el imperfect* יִמְלֵא he will fill, Jb 8²¹.

qq (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וּצְמַתְּ and when thou art athirst, Ru 2⁹, cf. 2 S 3⁸; בָּלוּ they shut up, 1 S 6¹⁰; cf. 25³⁸; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28¹⁶, cf. 39²⁶; *infinitive* חָטָו (see above, n) to sin, Gn 20⁶ (on מָלֵאת see above, § 74 h); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is 26²⁰; *imperfect* יִכְלֵה (for יִכְלֵא) he will keep back, Gn 23⁶; תִּרְפְּינָהּ they heal, Jb 5¹⁸; *participle* בּוֹטֵה Pr 12¹⁸; *fem.* יִצֵּא Ec 10⁵; *plur.* צִבְיָהּ Is 29⁷; *participle passive* נִשְׂעִי ψ 32¹; *Niph'al* נִרְפְּתָהּ Jer 51⁹; נְבִיִּיתְּ thou hast prophesied, Jer 26⁹ (cf. ψ 139¹⁴, Jb 18⁹); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפֵּב 2 K 2²² (*infinitive* Jer 19¹¹); *Pi'el imperfect* וַיִּרְפֵּב Jer 8¹¹, cf. Gn 31³⁹; *Hiph'il participle* מְקַנֵּה Ez 8³; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבְּיִיתְּ 1 S 10⁶; *infinitive* הִתְנַבְּוֹת 1 S 10¹⁵. For the *K^ethibh* להִשׁוֹת 2 K 19²⁵, Jablonski and others require as *Q^rrê* the form לְהִשְׁאוֹת (so Is 37²⁶); the *K^ethibh* would have to be read לְהִשְׁוֹת, with elision of the א and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל"ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל"א, e. g. in their consonants אָתָא he comes, Is 21¹²; בָּרָא 2 S 12¹⁷ (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וַיִּרְצֵאֵתִי Ez 43²⁷; יִשְׁנֵא Jb 8¹¹; יִשְׁנֵא La 4¹; וַיִּהְלֵא 2 Ch 16¹²; תִּקְרָאָהּ Ex 1¹⁰, Lv 10¹⁹; תִּלְאִים Dt 28⁶⁶ (cf. Ho 11⁷); נִקְרָא (*infin. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרִיתִי) 2 S 1⁶; שָׁנֵא 2 K 25²⁹; מִרְפֵּא

Jer 38⁴; אִשְׁנָא Ec 8¹: in their vowels, אָתָנוּ Jer 3²²; יָקְרָה Dn 10¹⁴; תִּכְלֶה; 1 K 17¹⁴: in both, יִקְרָא Gn 49¹; cf. 42⁴, Is 51¹⁹; תִּלְוָנוּ 2 S 21¹² *Q'rê*; לִירֹא 2 Ch 26¹⁵ (cf. וִירָאוּ הַמּוֹרָאִים 2 S 11²⁴ *K'ithibh*); קִרְיָהּ (*participle fem. Qal*) Zp 3¹; וַפְרִיא Ho 13¹⁵; מִסְלָאִים La 4².—For פְּרָאוֹת (so Baer, Ez 17⁶, cf. 31⁸), which can only be intended for פְּרָאוֹת *participle fem. plur.* from פָּרָא = פָּרָה, read פְּרָאוֹת *branches*, according to Ez 31⁵, &c.

§ 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak *a* letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect.

Thus e.g. from נָרַד to *flee*, the *imperfect* is יִרְדֹּר in Na 3⁷ and יִרַד in Gn 31⁴⁰ (on the analogy of verbs פ"ן); *Hiph'il* הִרְדֵּר (like a verb ע"ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יִרַד (as פ"ן).

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

(a) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נָשָׂא to *bear*, *imperative* שֵׂא *ψ* 10¹² נָשֵׂא, of which נָסָה *ψ* 4⁷ is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שֵׂאת (for שֵׂאתָ; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 *l*), also נָשָׂא Is 1¹⁴, 18³; Gn 4²⁸ נָשָׂא; *ψ* 89¹⁰ שָׂא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לִשְׂאת (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִשְׂתוֹ Jb 41¹⁷, with rejection of the א); *imperfect* תִּשְׂנֶה for תִּשְׂנֶה Ru 1¹⁴; wholly irregular are תִּשְׂאִינָה Ez 23⁴⁹ (so Baer after Qimḥi; *textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשְׂאִינָה) and נִשְׂאת 2 S 19⁴³ as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal* ?); but most probably נָשָׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה to *bow*, to *incline*, נָכָה to *smite*. Hence *imperfect Qal* יִטֶּה, *apocopated* וַיִּטַּ (Gn 26²⁵ וַיִּטַּ—) and he bowed; וַיִּז (so, probably, also Is 63³ for וַיִּז) 2 K 9³³ and he sprinkled (from נָזָה); *perfect Hiph'il* הִכָּה he smote, *imperfect* יִכֶּה, *apocopated* יָכָה, יָכָה (even with *Athnaḥ* 2 K 15¹⁶; but also ten times וַיִּכֶּה) וַיִּכֶּה Dt 2³³; so also וַיִּז Lv 8^{11.30}; וַיִּז *ψ* 141⁴ (cf. Jb 23¹¹); *imperative* הִכֶּה, *apocopated* הִךְ smite thou (like הִט *incline*, with הִטָּה), *infinitive construct* הִכּוֹת, *participle* מִכֶּה; *Hoph'al* הִכָּה, *participle* מִכָּה.

(c) Verbs פ"א and ל"ה (cf. § 68 and § 75), as אָבָה to *be willing*, אָפָה to *bake*, אָתָה to *come*. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יִאבֶּה, יִאפֶּה, *plur.* יֵאָפוּ; וַיָּתָא (cf. § 68 *h*) Dt 33²¹ for וַיָּאָתָה (= וַיָּאָתָה); *imperfect apocopated* וַיָּאָתָה Is 41²⁶ for וַיָּאָתָה; *imperative* אָתִי Is 21¹², 56^{9.12} (cf. אָפּוּ bake ye, Ex 16²³) for אָתִי, אָתִי (§ 23 *h*; § 75 *u*); *Hiph'il perfect* הִתִּי הִתִּי הִתִּי Is 21¹⁴; *imperfect apocopated* וַיִּאָלַ and he adjured, 1 S 14²⁴, properly יִאָלַהּ (יִאָלַהּ) from אָלַהּ, whence יִאָלַהּ, and, with the obscuring to *ô*, יִאָלַהּ; instead of the simple *apocope* (יִאָלַהּ) the א which had already become

quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S^eghôl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of **לָא**).

c (d) Verbs **פָּוּ** and **לָוּ** (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as **פָּוּ** to go forth, *imperative פָּוּ* go forth, with **הַ** *paragogic* **פָּוּ** Ju 9²⁹ in principal pause for **פָּוּ**; 2nd fem. plur. **פָּוּ** Ct 3¹¹; *infinitive פָּוּ*; *Hiph'il* **פָּוּ** to bring forth.—**פָּוּ** to fear, *imperfect פָּוּ* and **פָּוּ** (or **פָּוּ**), *imperative פָּוּ*; *imperfect Niph'al פָּוּ* ψ 130⁴, *participle פָּוּ*.

f (e) Verbs **פָּוּ** and **לָוּ** (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. **פָּוּ** to throw, *Hiph'il* to confess, to praise, and **פָּוּ** to throw (both properly verbs **פָּוּ**), and **פָּוּ** to be beautiful. *Infinitive פָּוּ*, *פָּוּ*; *imperative פָּוּ*; *imperfect consecutive פָּוּ* Ez 31⁷ (cf. also **פָּוּ** 16¹³); with *suffixes* **פָּוּ** we have shot at them (from **פָּוּ**) Nu 21³⁰; perhaps, however, it should be read with the **פָּוּ** and their race (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74⁸ **פָּוּ** is probably a *substantive*, and not the *imperfect Qal* with *suffix* from **פָּוּ**); *Pi'el* **פָּוּ** for **פָּוּ** (§ 69 u). *Hiph'il* **פָּוּ**, *הוֹרָה; *infinitive הוֹרָה* (as *infinitive absolute* 2 Ch 7³); *imperfect פָּוּ*, cf. **פָּוּ** Jer 22³; *apocopated פָּוּ* 2 K 13¹⁷.*

g (f) Verbs **פָּוּ** and **לָוּ**, particularly **פָּוּ** to come. *Perfect פָּוּ*, **פָּוּ**, or **פָּוּ** (Gn 16⁸, 2 S 14³, Mi 4¹⁰; cf. § 75 m), once **פָּוּ** 1 S 25⁸; for **פָּוּ** Jer 27¹⁸, which is apparently the *perfect*, read **פָּוּ**. In the *imperfect Qal* the separating vowel occurs (**פָּוּ** instead of the more common **פָּוּ**, cf. also **פָּוּ** Gn 30³⁸) only in Jer 9¹⁶, ψ 45¹⁶, and 1 S 10⁷ *Kethibh*.

h For **פָּוּ** 1 S 25³⁴ *Qerê* (the *Kethibh* **פָּוּ** evidently combines the two readings **פָּוּ** and **פָּוּ**; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* xiv. 319), read **פָּוּ** on the impossible forms Dt 33¹⁶ and Jb 22²¹ cf. § 48 d.—In the *perfect Hiph'il* **פָּוּ**, **פָּוּ** and (only before a suffix) **פָּוּ**; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14³¹, where the Masora requires **פָּוּ**, cf. 2 K 9², 19²⁵, Is 43²³, Jer 25¹³, Ct 3⁴. Before suffixes the *ē* of the first syllable in the 3rd *sing.* always becomes *Ḥateph-S^eghôl*, e.g. **פָּוּ**; elsewhere invariably *Ḥateph-Pathah*, e.g. **פָּוּ** or **פָּוּ**. On the other hand, *ē* is retained in the secondary tone in the *perfect consecutive* when without suffixes, e.g. **פָּוּ**. Cf. moreover, **פָּוּ** (in **פָּוּ** in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25¹⁶, from **פָּוּ**; but **פָּוּ** *spue ye*, Jer 25²⁷ (perhaps only a mistake for **פָּוּ**), is not to be referred to **פָּוּ** but to a secondary stem **פָּוּ**. In the *imperfect* **פָּוּ** is found once, Lv 18²⁵, besides **פָּוּ** (analogous to **פָּוּ**).—On **פָּוּ** (for **פָּוּ**, **פָּוּ**, **פָּוּ**), see § 74 k.

i (g) The form **פָּוּ** to live, in the *perfect Qal*, besides the ordinary development to **פָּוּ** (*fem.* **פָּוּ**), is also treated as a verb **פָּוּ**, and then becomes **פָּוּ** in the 3rd *pers. perfect*, in *pause* **פָּוּ**, and with *wāw consecutive* **פָּוּ** Gn 3²², and frequently. In Lv 25³⁶ the contracted form **פָּוּ** is perhaps *st. constr.* of **פָּוּ** *life*, but in any case read **פָּוּ** *perfect consecutive* as in verse 35. The form **פָּוּ** occurs in Ex 1¹⁶ in *pause* for **פָּוּ** (3rd *fem.*) with *Dageš* omitted in the ' on account of the pausal lengthening of *ä* to *ā*.

§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak *a* verbs (e. g. between פ"ו and פ"י, ל"א and ל"ה, ע"ע and ע"י, ע"ע and ל"ה) appears not only in their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30 g) recurs in various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root דף there occur with the same meaning דָּבַק, דָּבַד, דָּבַא *to strike, to crush*; and from the root נד there are נָד, נָדַד, נָדַה *to flee*.

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

1. Verbs ע"ע and ע"י in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e. g. מָוַף and מָבַף *to become poor*; מָשַׁשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ *to feel*; נָדַד and נָדַד *to flee*.

2. Verbs פ"י and פ"ן; e. g. יָצַב and נָצַב *to place*, יָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) *to lay snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע"ע) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"ן, e. g. יָנַד and יָנַד *to fear*; יָטַב and יָטַב *to be good*; נָפַח and נָפַח *to blow*; נָפַץ and נָפַץ *to dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"א are less frequently connected with these classes, e. g. אָרַשׁ and דָּוַשׁ *to thresh, &c.*

3. Verbs ל"א and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants form the real *d* body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּבַא and דָּבַה *to crush*, קָרַא and קָרַה *to meet* (cf. § 75 *nm*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַא and מָצַץ *to suck*, דָּרַה and דָּרַה *to thrust, &c.*

4. Verbs ע"ע and ל"ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; e. g. אָנַה and אָנַן *to sigh*, דָּמַה and דָּמַם *to be quiet*, חָנַה and חָנַן *to incline*, בָּלַה and בָּלַל *to end*, קָלַה and קָלַל *to despise*, שָׁנַה and שָׁנַנ *to err*, שָׁחַה and שָׁחַח *to bend down*, שָׁסַה and שָׁסַס *to plunder*.

5. Verbs ע"י and ע"ה; e. g. מָוַל and מָוַל (New Hebrew; in O. T. only מָוַל *f* Is 1²²) *to circumcise*, מָוַר and מָוַר *to exchange*, נָוַר (in מְנוֹרָה *a light*) and נָוַר *to shine*; cf. also לְהַטִּים *secret arts*, Ex 7¹¹ with לָטַת *secret*, from לוֹטַת.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with *a* the same meaning, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire

verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre, &c.*, but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

b The most common verbs of this kind are—

בשׁ to be ashamed. *Hiph'il* הִבִּישׁ (inferred from הִבִּישׁוֹת), but also הִבִּישׁ, הִבִּישׁ, as if from יבשׁ, on the analogy of verbs פ"ו; also in Is 30⁵ the *Q're* requires הִבִּישׁ, where the *Kethibh* has הִבְאִישׁ from בָּאִישׁ.

טוב to be good. *Perfect* טוב; but *imperfect* יִטַּב and *Hiph'il* יִטַּב from יָטַב (but cf. הִטִּיבָה 2 K 10³⁰).

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

יָקַץ to awake, only in the *imperf.* יִקַּץ; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'il* הִקַּץ is used (קִיץ).

נָפַץ to break in pieces. *Imperfect* יִפְרֹץ (from פָּרַץ). *Imperative* פּוּץ. *Niph'al* נִפְּץ. *Pi'el* נִפְּץ (from נָפַץ). *Pölel* פּוּצֵץ (from פָּרַץ). *Reflexive* הִתְפּוּצֵץ. *Hiph'il* הִפְּץ. Also פִּצְּץ Jb 16¹².

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) to place, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'il* הִצִּיב (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַצַּב.

שָׁתָה to drink, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁתָּה to give to drink, from a *Qal* שָׁתָה which is not used in Hebrew.

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

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

יָסַף to add. The *infinitive* (but cf. § 69 h, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (on יוֹסִיף as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 i).

פָּשַׁל to stumble. *Perfect* from *Qal*, *imperfect* from *Niph'al*.

נָגַשׁ to approach, unused in *perf. Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* נִגַּשׁ is used; but *imperfect* נִגַּשׁ, *imperative* נִגַּשׁ, and *infinitive* נִגְשָׁת from *Qal* only are in use.

נָחָה to lead. *Perfect* usually נָחָה in *Qal*, so *imperative* נַחֵה, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'il*.

נָתַךְ to be poured out. *Perfect* *Niph'al* נִתְּךְ with *imperfect* *Qal* יִתְּךְ, but the *perfect* *Qal* and *imperfect* *Niph'al* are not in use.

2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms which unite the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders, or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an intentional conflation of two different readings.

CHAPTER III

THE NOUN

§ 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *Simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *Nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude, etc.*, ii. 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3 f.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 535 ff. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 ff.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 340 ff.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 344 ff. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 692 ff.), and *ZDMG.* xlvi, p. 149 ff. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.*, xlviii, p. 10 ff.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii (1892), p. 359 ff. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 187 ff.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 221 ff.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83 d.—Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 104 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

1. Since, according to § 30 a, most word-stems are developed into *α* verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the Lexicon) to refer the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. perfect *Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly connected with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 ff.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83 c.

2. A special inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does *β* not exist in Hebrew; only a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct*

state, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 ff.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual, and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*.¹

§ 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 404 ff.; 'Ueber die Femininendung *at, ah, ā*' in *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 106 f.; *Grundriss*, pp. 105, 405 ff.; 'Die Femininendung *T* im Semit.' (*Sitzung d. orient.-sprachwiss. Sektion d. schlesischen Gesellschaft*, Feb. 26, 1903); against him J. Barth, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 628 ff.; Brockelmann's reply, *ibid.*, p. 795 ff.; and Barth again, *ibid.*, p. 798 ff.

a 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122 q).

b 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication.

Feminine nouns are also without an indication of gender when the meaning of the word naturally denotes a feminine, as אִמָּה *mother*, אִתָּהּ *a she-ass*, אִתָּהּ *a she-goat*, אִתָּהּ *an ewe* (cf. § 122 b). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending ת־, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44 a). This ת־, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 e and § 91 o), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple ת² (see below, d). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89 a) is—

c (a) Most commonly a tone-bearing ה־, e. g. סוּסִים *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in ת־, like עֲבֹרֵי, the feminine (by § 24 b) is עֲבֹרֵהָ, cf. § 86 h. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (הִקְטִילָהּ, &c.), this ה־ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ת, and the lengthening of the *ā* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה was added as an orthographic indication of the final long vowel: cf. the exactly similar origin of such forms as אִלָּהּ for אִלָּהִי, § 75 c. It must, however, be

¹ To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

² In Mal 1¹⁴ מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so e. g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁחָתָהּ, the ptc. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so Baer and Ginsb.) is also supported by good authority.

noticed that in Arabic (see *m* and note) the pausal form of *at* is *ah*, of which a trace may be preserved in the Hebrew הַ .

(b) Simple ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e. g. יהודית *Jew*, יהודית *Jewess*. The same ending ת is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *S^eghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e. g. קטל *kill*, fem. קטלת *killling*; before suffixes, e. g. קטלתי, according to the rule given in § 69 c, cf. also § 84^a s; מורע *an acquaintance*, fem. מורעת. The forms which arise in this way follow in every respect the analogy of the *segholate* forms (§ 94 f). The forms which have been developed by means of a helping vowel are retained even in the connective form (*construct state*); except וילדת (for ילדת, which is used elsewhere) Gn 16¹¹, Ju 13^{5,7}; cf. Jer 22²³ and 51¹³ *Qerê*, also מושרת I K 1¹⁵, *participle fem. Pi'el*, properly *m^ešaratt* = משרתת; also מבעתה (*participle fem. Pi'el* with suffix) arises from the form מבעתה which was developed into מבעתת.

Rem. 1. The fem. form in תָּ is in general less frequent, and occurs *e* almost exclusively when the form in תַּ is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e. g. קטלת more common than קטלה, לדת than לדה.

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(a) תַּ with the tone, e. g. ברקת *emerald*, *f* Ez 28¹³ (also ברקת Ex 28¹⁷); שפעת *a company*, 2 K 9¹⁷, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language תַּ was the usual fem. ending, § 2 d) and other neighbouring tribes,¹ e. g. זרפת *Zarephath*, גבעת *Gibeath*, קיריאת *Kiriath*, אילת *Greek Ailana* in Idumea; אהות Gn 26²⁶: on the reading גלית cf. g. Cf., moreover, נגינת ψ 61¹ (prob. originally נגינת *LXX* חיות 74^{19a}); פוגת La 2¹⁸; [רבת *much*, in ψ 65¹⁰, 120⁶, 123⁴, 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) תַּ , which likewise occurs in some names of places, e. g. חלקת *g*, as well as in the masc. proper name גלית I S 17⁴, &c. (in 17²³, and 21¹⁰, ed. Mant. has גלית), and in the fem. proper name שמעת; otherwise, almost only in poetry, viz. זמרת Ex 15², Is 12², ψ 118¹⁴ (really for זמרת *my song*; the absorption of the *i*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner', as suggested by Duham on Is 12², nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of ה''); so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 f.); נחלת *heritage*, ψ 16⁶ (either again for נחלתי *my heritage*, or for נחלתה, cf. § 90 g, as probably also עזרת *help*, ψ 60¹³, 108¹³ for עזרתה). These forms are possibly

¹ In the list of Palestinian towns taken by Pharaoh Shoshenq, the feminine town-names all end in *t*. Cf. also the Mēša' inscription, line 3, הבמת זאת *this high place*; line 26, המסלת *the highway* [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, note].

survivals from a period when even final vowels were not supported by a vowel-letter. Cf. also פֶּרֶת *fecunda* (a fruitful tree) Gn 49²²; יְהֵרֵת *abundance*, Jer 48³⁶ (before *y*; but in Is 15⁷ יְהֵרֵת); שָׁנָת *sleep* (for שְׁנָה) *ψ* 132⁴; and (unless the ה is radical) in prose קָאֵת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34¹¹, to the form קָאֵת), also מָחָרָת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמָּחָרָת.¹—תְּהֵלֶת Jer 45²⁵ *Q'rê* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהֵלֶת, parallel to מִשְׁוֹשֵׁי; cf. above, on וְמָרָת, &c.

h (c) אָ, the Aramaic orthography for הָ, chiefly in the later writers; לֹאֲרָ *loathing*, Nu 11²⁰; חֲנָא *a terror*, Is 19¹⁷; שְׁנָא *sleep*, *ψ* 127²; לְבִיאָ *a lioness*, Ez 19² (unless לְבִיאָ is intended); מַטְרָא *a mark*, La 3¹²; cf. also תְּשָׁא *threshing* (participle *Qal* from דָּוָשׁ) Jer 50¹¹; מָרָא *bitter*, Ru 1²⁰. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרְחָה *baldness* is to be read in Ez 27³¹; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הָ, an obtuse form of הָ (§ 27 u), only in הַזְּרָה for הַזְּרָה Is 59⁵ (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the *active ptcp. masc.* הַזְּרָה and the *passive ptcp. fem.* הַזְּרָה); cf. לָנָה for לָנָה Zc 5⁴; אָנָה 1 K 236⁴² (§ 90 i, and § 48 d).

k (e) הָ without the tone, e. g. רְחָמָה Dt 14¹⁷ [Lv 11¹⁸ רָחַם]; תַּנּוּר בְּעֵרָה; an oven heated, Ho 7⁴; cf. Ez. 40¹⁹, 2 K 15²⁹, 16¹⁸. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הָ is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 c) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16¹⁸, Is 24¹⁹, Ez 21³¹ (note in each case the following ה), and in Jb 42¹⁸, Ho 7⁴, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) יָ, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*; see examples in Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, § 83), in Arabic and (contracted to *ê*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרַי *Sarai*, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 183, and xlii. 484; also עֵשְׂרָה *ten (fem.)* undoubtedly arises from an original 'esray; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the vowel-ending הָ² as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הָ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ה throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in ה, which is pronounced *at* in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in א (see Gesenius, *Monumm. Phoen.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 169 ff.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse ending (*ah*) almost exclusively in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

¹ In 1 S 2c²⁷ also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5¹¹) for some unknown reason requires מִמָּחָרָת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opatius, and Ginsburg, מִמָּחָרָת.

² In this ending the ה h can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ה was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ה was dropped before h, just as the old Persian *mīthra* became in modern Persian *mīhr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an h is still heard as a fem. ending, cf. Socin, *Dirvan aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

§ 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be *a* referred to any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אָב, אִמָּה, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83-5), e. g. גָּמַח *high*, גְּמוּחָה *high place*, מְרוֹם *height*, from רוּם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מְרִגְלוֹת *the place at the feet*, from רִגְלָא *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem, and *b* therefore all nouns as verbals, dividing them into (*a*) *Formae nudae*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) radicals, and (*b*) *Formae auctae*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מְמַלְכָה, מְלֻכּוּת. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה' א' ט' נ' ת' י' ו' (הַאֲמַנְתִּיו),¹ and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* presented in § 30 *d*, nouns (other *c* than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Cf. § 79 *a*.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בְּלֵיעַל *d* *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גַּבְרִיאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹיָקִים (*Yahwe raises up*), יְהוֹנָתָן (*Yahwe gave*), &c.²

§ 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the verbal idea, e. g. names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׂעֵרָה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *plā*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from זָהַב = צָהַב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e. g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), as קַרְנֵי *horn*, עֵינַי *eye*.

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 צִפְרִדָּע (cf. below, § 85 *w*) and צִלְמוֹת (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.]). In p. 8 ff. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds', i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לֹא, בְּלִי, מְבֻלִי.

§ 83. Verbal Nouns in General.

- a 1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e. g. **אֵיבֹן** *enemy*, **דַּעַת** *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form **קָטַל**, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form **מִקְטַל** (as a *noun* also **מִקְטָל**), further **קָטְלָה**, **קָטְלָהּ**, **קָטְלָהּ**, **קָטְלָהּ** (§ 45 d), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.
- b 2. As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract*; while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.
- c Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted*; the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew **מוֹרֵעַ** *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*.
- d The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. A sentence which consists of only *one* word is called a verb, and anything which serves as a complement to it is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qatil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qatil*, *qatal*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qat*, *qul*, *qit*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattil*; *qi'il*, *qittil*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'. Thus, e. g. קָטַל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קָטַל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, וְשָׁבַב infinitive of וְשָׁבַב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qull* for *qil*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yaqtülü* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yaqtälü* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qull*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it postulates for the development of the language a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a modification of the original sense. But though many of the details (e. g. the alleged unessential character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a systematic, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on *one* characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

§ 84^a. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

Preliminary remark.—From the statement made above, § 83 *d*, it follows that *an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.*

I. Nouns with One Vowel, originally Short.

R. Růžicka, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der nomina segolata,' in *Sitz.-ber. d. böhmischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag, 1904.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical: *present ground-form* *qätl*, *qïl*, *qütl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms appeared to be required by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are strong reasons for believing that at least a large proportion of these forms go back to original dissyllabic bases with a short vowel in each syllable. When formative additions were made, the vowel of the 2nd syllable

was dropped, i.e. before case-endings in Assyrian and early Arabic, and before pronominal suffixes in Hebrew. From the forms thus produced, the bases *qatl*, *qitl*, *quṭl* have been assumed, although they never appear in Hebrew except in the singular and then in connexion with suffixes.

In support of this view of a large number of original dissyllabic bases, we must not, however, appeal to the Sēghöl or Pathah under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, קָפַר, יָרַע, &c. These are in no sense survivals or modifications of an original full vowel in the 2nd syllable, but are mere helping-vowels (§ 28 e) to make the monosyllabic forms pronounceable,¹ and consequently disappear when no longer needed. Under certain circumstances even (e.g. in קִשְׁטָה) they are not used at all. Actual proofs of such original toneless full vowels in the 2nd syllable of existing Segholates are—

1. Forms like Arab. *mālik*, for which rarely *malik*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew גָּדַר, יָרַךְ, פָּבַד, פָּתַח, the connective forms of גָּדַר, יָרַךְ, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gādīr*, *yārīk*, *kābid*, *kāṭip*.

3. The forms treated under e, which are in many ways related to the Segholates proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew Segholates, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination ׀ִם־, fem. ׀ִת־, of the absolute state, as מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת, סְפָרִים, &c. This *Qameṣ* (see note 1 on § 26 e) can only be due to a lengthening of an original short vowel in the 2nd syllable, and hence it would seem as though the vowel were always *ä*. This is impossible from what has been said, especially under 1 and 2. Hence the explanation of the consistent occurrence of *Qameṣ* in the plurals of all Segholates can only be that the regularly formed plurals (i.e. from singulars with original *ä* in the 2nd syllable) became the models for all the others, and ultimately even for some really monosyllabic forms.²

(a) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) קִשְׁטָה *truth*. If the second

¹ According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *qatl*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (= קָלַב, שָׁמַשׁ, אֲבָן), with case-endings *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu*.

On the other hand, acc. to Sievers, *Metrik*, i. 261, Hebrew ground-forms probably have a twofold origin: they are shortened according to Hebrew rules partly from old absolute forms like *kālbū*, *sifru*, *quḏšu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sifir*, *quduš*.

² On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *m^elākhim*, *m^elākhōth* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *qatlim* arose *qat^alim*, then *qaṭalim* and finally *q^etālīm*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l* with their corresponding feminines *fa'la*, &c., on assuming the plural termination commonly take an *a* before the 3rd radical, but that no satisfactory account can be given for it. M. Margolis, 'The plural of Segolates' (*Proc. of the Philol. Assoc. of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1903, p. 4 ff.), and S. Brooks, *Vestiges of the broken plural in Hebrew*, Dublin, 1883, explain *m^elākhim* as a *pluralis fractus*.

³ It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for גָּדַר, אֲבָן, אָדַר, חָרַב, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for קָדַם, שָׁקַל, דָּבַר, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghól*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, עֶצֶם *eternity*, פֶּעַל *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רָחֵם) *womb*, אֶהָל *tent*, בְּהֵן *thumb*; so with final א, פָּרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ā* to *è* does not occur, e.g. רֶחֶב, נָעַר, לֶחֶץ (exceptions, again, לָחֵם, רָחֵם). On the inflexion, cf. § 93, Paradigm I, a-f, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malk*, *king*), סִתְרָה *a covering* (also סִתָּרָה), אֹכֶלָּה *food* (also אֹכָלָה); with a middle guttural גִּירָה *girl*, טְהוּרָה *purity* (also טוּהָרָה). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (a) from stems ע"ו, e.g. אָף *nose* (from 'ānp, hence with formative additions, e.g. אָפִי for 'ānpī, *my nose*); עוּ *a she-goat* (ground-form 'inz); fem. חֲטָה *wheat*; (β) from stems ע"ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, l-n); פַּח *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עַם; with article הָעַם, הָעָם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great*, *numerous* (in close connexion also רַב); רָע *evil*, with the article in close connexion הרָע, unconnected הָרָע; with the *ā* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ā* to *ī*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qīl, אִם *mother*; fem. גִּנָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūll, חֻק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (γ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, g and i); מָוֶת *death* (from mā-ut, the u passing into the corresponding consonant, as in מִתּוֹן *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׁוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūll, צוֹר *a rock*; fem. סוּפָה *a storm*. (δ) from stems ע"ח (Paradigm I, h); זַיִת *an olive-tree* (with a helping *Hireq* instead of a helping *Seghól*) from zā-it, the i passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 K 18¹⁷ (elsewhere חֵיל) *host*; fem. שֵׁיבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qīl, דִּין *judgement*; fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (ε) from stems ל"ה (Paradigm I, k); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, הִנִּיחַ *murmuring*, נִּיחָה *a present*, קִצְּהָה *the end*, partly such as אֶרֶץ *a lion* (ground-form būky, 'āry); cf. also the forms from stems originally ל"ו, שָׁחַח *swimming* (ground-form sāhw); fem. שָׁחַחָה *rest*, נִשְׁחַחָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"ז, לְוִיָּה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* שְׁבִיבָה *captivity*, also שְׁבִיבָה, formed no doubt directly from the masc. שְׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qīl, חִצִּי (from hīsy); fem. חִצְּהָה *joy*, עֲרִיָּה and עֲרִיָּה *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūll, בָּהוּ (from bōhw) *waste*, תְּהוּ *emptiness*; דָּלִי, for דָּלִי, *bucket*; fem. אֶנְיָה *a ship* (directly from אֶנִּי *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have either an abstract or a concrete meaning. In the form קָטַל the *passive* or at any rate the abstract meaning is by far the more common (e.g. נָעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר *boy*; אָכַל *food*, &c.).¹

¹ M. Lambert also (*REJ.* 1896, p. 18 ff.), from statistics of the *Segholates*, arrives at the conclusion that the *qāll*-form is especially used for concretes (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty concretes as against two abstracts), and the *qīll*-form, and less strictly the *qull*, for abstracts.

c 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *q^etāl*, *q^etīl*, *q^etūl*), e. g. דְּבֵשׁ *honey*, דִּיּוֹ *sickness*, חִתָּה *terror*; and so always with middle א, בְּאֵר *a well*, וּלְב *a wolf*, בְּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original *dissyllabic* forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבֵשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבִשְׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בְּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בְּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'ūs* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qātāl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.¹

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

f 3. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דְּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שִׂבְע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צְדָקָה² *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs עָנָה *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *Yôdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *è*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the י and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרְה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׂנְה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"ו the strong form עָנָן *afflicted* occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qātīl*, fem. *qātīlāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an old man; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אֲפֵלָה and חֹשֶׁכָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"ב: irregularly, דְּלִיּוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11¹⁶, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִית (stem רָלָה), and הֶרִיּוֹתָיו Ho 14¹ *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרָת, plur. *st. absol. and constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל"ו with consonantal *Wāw*: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלוֹ Jb 21²³.

h 5. The ground-form *qātūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אֵים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְתוּק *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֲבַת *interwoven*, עֵגֶל *round*, עֵמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטָן *small*, only in *sing. masc.*, with a parallel form קָטְנָן of the class treated under *f*, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

¹ On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

² In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (צְדָקָה), *šāaca* (צַעֲקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָה *a splintering*, צִוּתָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qātāl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qātāl*.—Fem. אִימָהּ, בְּבוּדָהּ (*glorious*), עֲבֵתָהּ, עֲנָנָהּ (*delicate*), עֲנָלָהּ, עֲמָקָהּ, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals בְּרָדִים, נְקָרִים, עֲנָלִים, אֲסָפִים *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qātāl* develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), *i* e. g. לֵבָב *heart*, עֲנַב *a bunch of grapes*, שֶׁכָּר *strong drink*; from a verb לָוָה, probably of this class is רֵעָה, generally contracted to רֵעַ *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעָהּוּ *his friend*, for רֵעִיהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qātāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטַל, the *k* *ā* becoming an obscure *ô*. The fact that this form is also written קָטַל must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qātūl*.¹ Moreover the *qatōl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like גְּדוֹל *great*, קְדוֹשׁ *holy*, fem. גְּדוּלָהּ, the short vowel becoming Š^ewā, whereas in גְּדוּל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form קָטַל (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד *honour*, שְׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as בַּחוּן *assayer* (of metals), עוֹשֹׁק *an oppressor*, חֹמֵץ *oppressing*; in the feminine בְּגוּרָה *treacherous* Jer 37.¹⁰, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qātōl*.

8. The ground-form *qātīl* develops to קָטַיִל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b). *l* Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantivally with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as אֲסִיר *a prisoner*, מְשִׁיחַ *an anointed one*. These proper *qātīl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qatūl*-forms (see *m*), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qatīl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as צָעִיר *small*, and, from לָ"י stems, נָקִי *pure*, עָבִי *poor* (see § 93 *sv*), or (c) active, as נְבִיא *a speaker* (prophet), פֶּקִיד *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (d) forms like אֲסִיף *the ingathering*, בְּצִיר *vintage*, חֲרִישׁ *ploughing time*, קְצִיר *harvest*. On *qātīl* forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84^b *f*.

9. The ground-form *qātūl* develops to קָטַנּוּל. As in the *qatāl* and *qatīl*-forms *m* (see *k* and *l*), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qatūl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e. g. בְּתוּלָהּ *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qatūl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 *f*), as אֲנָנִישׁ *incurable*, עֲצוּם *strong*, עָרוּם *subtil*, or even transitive, as אֲחֹזֵן *holding*; (c) active substantives, as יְקוֹשׁ *a fouler*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84^b *g* belong to this class; see above, the remark on *l*.

10. The ground-form *qītāl* or *qūtāl*² in Hebrew changes the *i* to vocal Š^ewā, *n*

¹ In Na 1³ only the *Qeré* requires נְרָל־ (in the constr. state) for the *Kethibh* נְרָל.

² On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them נְעָרָת *lute*, and טְהָרִים *hemorrhoids*.

and develops to קטל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קטול, with *á* obscured to *ó* (as above, *k*). Cf. שְׂאֵר *remnant*, יָקָר *honour*, כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kítáb*), מָרָב *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חֲלוֹם *a dream*, חֲמֹר *an ass* (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים *God* (Arab. 'ilāh); with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), אַרְוֵעַ *arm* (twice: usually וְאַרְוֵעַ); fem. בְּשׂוּרָה *good news* (Arab. *bīšārāt*); עֲבוּדָה *service*, כְּתָבָת *tattooing*.

o 11. The ground-form *qīṭil* seems to occur e. g. in Hebrew אֵייל *foolish*, אֵיל *vanity*, בָּרִיל *lead*, פְּסִיל *a fool*, חֲזִיר *a swine* (the prop. name חֲזִיר points to the ground-form *qīṭil*, cf. Arab. *ḥinzīr*).

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

q Rem. When the forms *qēṭul* and *qēṭol* begin with א, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Ṣere* under the א instead of the ordinary *Ḥateph-Seghōl*; cf. אֲבוֹם *a crib*, אֲטוּן *thread*, אֲמוּן *faithful*, אֲזוּב *hyssop*, אֲזוּר *a waist-band*, אֲסוּר *a bond*, אֲפוּד *an 'ephod'*; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥateph-Seghōl* in verbal forms § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d.

IV. Nouns with a Long Vocal in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

r 13. The ground-form *qāṭāl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *á* into an obscure *ó*, קוֹטָל (קוֹטֵל), e. g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. 'alām, *eternity*; חוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥātām*) *a seal* (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתָמָת (from *ḥōtāmt*); תוֹלַעַ *worm* (unless from a stem וּלַע, like תוֹשֵׁב from וָשַׁב; see the analogous cases in § 85 b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs ל"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III, c), cf. § 75 e; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with the termination ת, see below, s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauṭal*) are such forms as אוֹפֵן (or אוֹפֵן Ez 10⁹ in the same verse) *a wheel*; גּוֹזֵל *a young bird*, דּוֹנֵג *wax*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qāṭil* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטָל (קוֹטֵל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קוֹטָלָת, if their ground-form *qōṭalt* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qāṭilt*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן *priest* (Arab. *kāhīn*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ē* (lengthened from *i*) retained before the tone, e. g. יֹלְרָה *a woman in travail* (cf. also בְּגֵרָה *the treacherous woman*, Jer 3⁸; הַצֹּלְעָה *her that halleth*, Mi 4^{6 f.}, Zp 3¹⁹; כֹּחֲרָה *a buckler*, ψ 91⁴); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְרָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Ṣewa*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29^{8, 6}, 34⁹, ψ 68²⁸, 118¹⁸ (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 S 13²⁰, Is 33¹⁴; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1⁶).

t 15. The ground-form *qūṭāl*, Hebrew קוֹטָל (as יוֹבֵל *river*, Jer 17⁸) or קוֹטָל e. g. עוֹנֵב *a pipe*, commonly עֹנֵב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150⁴, not עֹנֵב.

V. Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.

u 16. קִטוּל, e. g. קִטוּר *smoke*. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qīṭāl* (*qīṭāl* ?), i. e. the original *á* has become an obscure *ó*.

§ 84^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 (cf. § 52 *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or state. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd., p. x.

17. The ground-form *qättäl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָטַל; cf. *b* אֵילָא *a stag*, fem. אֵילָהּ, constr. st. אֵילָתָא (from 'äyyält); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) אֵלְהָבָה *a flame* (according to § 27 *q* for lähhābhā), אֵלְהָבָה *dry land* (for ḥarrābhā), אֵלְהָבָה and אֵלְהָבָה *a burning fever*, אֵלְהָבָה and אֵלְהָבָה *dry land*, אֵלְהָבָה *a seal-ring*, אֵלְהָבָה *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are אֵלְהָבָה *sinful*, אֵלְהָבָה *went to gore*, אֵלְהָבָה *jealous*, אֵלְהָבָה (for *kaḥhāš*, by § 22 *c*) *lying*. *Nomina opificum* also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the constr. state of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qättäl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ä* in the second syllable; cf. אֵלְהָבָה *a thief*, אֵלְהָבָה *a judge* (constr. st. אֵלְהָבָה ψ 68^b), אֵלְהָבָה *a cook*, אֵלְהָבָה (for ḥarrās) *artificer* (constr. st. אֵלְהָבָה, but plur. constr. אֵלְהָבָה); אֵלְהָבָה *horseman* (for parrās), constr. st. אֵלְהָבָה Ez 26¹⁰.

18. The ground-form *qättäl* appears in אֵלְהָבָה *dry*, אֵלְהָבָה *haughty* (the *i* being C lengthened to *ē* according to § 22 *c*), if these forms go back to original *sihhäy*, *gi'äy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qättül*; moreover, אֵלְהָבָה *ground-form of the fem.* אֵלְהָבָה *foolishness*, goes back to an original *i* *will*, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qättäl* and *qättül*; cf. the fem. אֵלְהָבָה *spelt*, אֵלְהָבָה *coat*.

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

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

22. The ground-form *qättäl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the *nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form אֵלְהָבָה *a searching out*; אֵלְהָבָה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) אֵלְהָבָה *contumely*; but cf. also אֵלְהָבָה Ez 35¹², with full lengthening of the original *ä* before *š*; אֵלְהָבָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ä* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

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

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

r); cf. גָּבוּר *hero* (Arab. *gābbār*), יָסוּר *caviller*, צִפּוּר *(piper or chirper) a bird*, שָׁכוּר *drunkard*. On the other hand, יָלוּד *born* probably arises from *yullād*, an old participle passive of *Qal*, the *ū* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ō*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

f 25. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. אָבִיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, בָּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barri^ah*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *'ārrīš*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class (see above, remark on *a*), appears from the *constr. st.* פָּרִיץ *ravenous*, Is 35⁹ (but פָּרִיצִי, פָּרִיצִים always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 *a*) also from the *constr. st.* אָבִיר (but also אָבִיר I S 21⁸) of אָבִיר. However, the form אָבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אָבִיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אָסִיר *prisoner*, סָרִיס *eunuch* (*constr. st.* always סָרִיס, plur. סָרִיסִים, *constr. st.* סָרִיסִי Gn 40⁷, but in the book of Esther always סָרִיסִי with suffix סָרִיסִי, &c.), and עָתִיק *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84^a l.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. חַנוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), קָרוֹן *diligent* (for *harrūš*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class, § 84^a m. The same applies to substantives like אֵשֶׁר *a step* (in אֲשֶׁרִי, as well as אֲשֶׁרִי, &c.), עַמּוּד *pillar*; fem. חַבּוּרָה *a stripe* (also חַבּוּרָתוֹ), בִּטְחוּת *security*: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

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

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. צָפָיִי *a coating of metal*, שְׁלוּם *requital*, עָזוֹן *drink*, שְׂקָיִן *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning לְמוּד *a disciple*, עָזוֹן *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים *reproach*, מְלֵאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נְחָמִים *consolations, compassion*, שְׂבָבִים *bereavement*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, שְׂבָרִים *observance*.

VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

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

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

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

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

33. The ground-form *qūlāl*, in אִמְלָל *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. עֲבָטִים *plunder*, סְרִיר *rain-storm*, שְׁפִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43¹⁰ *Q^erē*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* in בְּמִרְיִים *all that maketh black*, Jb 5⁸ (but the better reading is בְּמִרְיִי).

35. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. שְׂבָרוֹר *Jer 43¹⁰ K^eth.*; נְאֻפִים *adulteries*.

VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

n 36-39. *Q^eālāl*, *q^eālāl*, *q^eālāl*; *q^eālāl*, *q^eālāl* (in *fem.* and *plur.* often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in *a* above); cf. הַכְּפָהּ.

crooked, חֲלָקָה slippery places; עֲקָלֹת crooked (ways); פְּתִילֹת tortuous; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָה (Lv 13^{42,49} in pause) reddish, fem. אֲדָמָה, plur. אֲדָמֹת; יִרְקֶקק greenish, plur. fem. יִרְקֶקֶת; q^e!altül, יִפְיָהָ very fair (to be read in Jer 46²⁰ for יִפְהָיָה); q^e!altül, שְׁחֻחָה (fem.) blackish; אֲסָפָה a rabble (augmented from אָסַף collected). From a verb פִּי with aphaeresis of the initial syllable אֲפִיָּה offspring. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוּצָה a trumpet (for חֲצוּצָה, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2²⁰ לְחַפְּרוֹת is to be read instead of לְחַפְּרוֹת (from the sing. חֲפְּרוּהָ a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole). But פְּתָחוֹת opening, Is 61¹ (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פְּתָחוֹת), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פְּתָח as in 42⁷.

IX. *Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.*

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע"ו and ע"ע O (on פִּיפִיּוֹת see § 96 under פִּה). Thus:—

40. גִּלְגָּל a wheel, and, with attenuation of the first ā to z̄, גִּלְגַּל (from גלל); fem. חֲלָה anguish (from חל or חיל); כֶּבֶד (for kirkar) a talent; cf. also כּוֹכַב a star (from häwkäb, Arabic kauküb, for כֶּבֶב, טוֹטֶפֶת bands, for טֹטֶפֶת; צִלְצִל probably a whirring locust.
41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. Filpēl (prop. Palpūl) from פּוּל; fem. טֹטְלָה a hurling (from טול).
42. כֶּבֶד perhaps a ruby (for kädküd), from כּוּד.
43. קִרְקֹד the crown of the head (for qūdqud), from קֹד; fem. גִּלְגֻּלְתָּה a skull (for gūlgūlt), from גלל.
44. וְרִוִּיר girded, from וּר; בֶּקֶבֶק a bottle, from בֶּקֶק; פִּרְפִּירִים fattened birds(?).

§ 85. *Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.*

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms a having preformatives (*Hiph'äl, Hoph'al, Hithpa'äl, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadrilaterals and quinqueliterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the trilateral stem.

X. *Nouns with Preformatives.*

45. Nouns with א prefixed. Cf. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), b such as אֲרֹעַ arm (Jer 32²¹, Jb 31²²; elsewhere always אֲרֹעַ); אֲצִפֶּע a finger, אֲרֶבֶה a locust, אֲנִרוֹף fist (others mailtock, or clod), אֲשִׁמְרָה or אֲשִׁמְרֶת a watch. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150 b); in other cases it is 'essential'; cf. especially the adjectives, אֲכֹזב deceitful, אֲכֹזֵר cruel, אֲיִתֵּן perennial (for 'aitan) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֲנִפְרָה fragrant part¹ (of the meal-

¹ Or perhaps more correctly with Jacob, *ZAW*. 1897, p. 79, 'declaration,' i.e. the part of the meal-offering which 'announces the sacrifice and its object'.

offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'il*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*), hence with suff. אֲפִרְתָּהּ Lv 2⁷, &c.

C 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הַקָּטֵל and הַקָּטִיל, of *Niph'al* הַקָּטֵל, הַקָּטִיל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הַת, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. הַפָּרָה *appearance* (from נָכַר), Is 3⁹; הַנִּפְּהָ *a swinging* (from נָפַח), [Is 30²⁸; הַנְּחָה *a rest-giving*, Est 2¹⁸]; הַצִּלָּה *deliverance* (from נָצַל), [Est 4¹⁴ an Aram. form: cf. הַזָּרָה Dn 5²⁰]; perhaps also הַיָּבֵל *palace*, from *haikäl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יֶצְהָר *oil*, יֶלְקוּט *wallet*, יֶנְשׂוּף *owl* (?); from verbs יָעַר, e. g. יָקוּם *a living thing*, יָתוּר *a range*; from a verb יָיַב, עֵי יָיַב *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יַצְחָק, &c.

e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mêm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי *who*, and מָה *what* (see § 37 and § 52 c), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ *subjective*, when preformative of the participles *P'el*, *Hiph'il*, *Hithpa'el*, and other active conjugations. (2) מ *objective*, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) מ *instrumental*, as in מַפְתֵּחַ *a key*, &c. (4) מ *local*, as in מְרַבֵּר *a drive for cattle*, &c.

f As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative מ was originally in most cases followed by a short ä. This ä, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to ĩ; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to ā (so also the ĩ, attenuated from ä, is lengthened to ē), and in מִגֶּן *shield* (with suff. מִגִּנִּי) it even becomes unchangeable á. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the ä necessarily becomes *S'wā*.

g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māqtāl*, in Hebrew מִקָּטַל,¹ e. g. מִמְּאֵכֶל *food*; fem. מַמְּלָכָה *kingdom*, מִמְּאֵלֶת *a knife*, מִמְּלֵאכָה *a going forth*, מִמְּוֹשֵׁב *a seat*; from verbs מִיָּטַב *the best* (from *maītāb*); with י (or י) assimilated, מִמְּצַע *a bed*; from verbs מִמְּקָף *a screen*, and with the shortening of the ä under the preformative, מִמְּרָם *bitterness* (from מָר developed to a *segholate*), fem. מִמְּשָׁמָה *desolation*; from a verb מִמְּקוֹם *place*, the ä lengthened to ā and obscured to ô (Aramaic *māqām*); from verbs מִמְּרָאה *appearance*, מִמְּעֵן (for מִמְּעֵנָה) *prop. intention*, only in לְמַעַן *on account of, in order that*.

h (b) Ground-form *miqtāl* (the usual form of the infn. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקָּטַל, e. g. מִדְּרָבֵר (in Jer 2³¹ also, where Baer requires הַמְּדִרְבֵּר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הַמְּדִרְבֵּר) *a cattle-drive*, fem. מִלְחָמָה *war*, מִדְּרָבָה *a chariot* (with *S'ghôl* instead of ĩ, but in *constr. st.* מִדְּרָבָת Gn 41⁴³; cf. מִדְּרָחַק *distance*), מִשְׁמֶרֶת *a watch*; from verbs מִמְּסָב *surroundings* (from *mī-sāb*; ĩ in the open syllable being lengthened to ē; but cf. also מִשְׁעָק Is 33⁴ as *constr. state* from שָׁעַק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs מִמְּהָרָה *a possession*, fem. מִמְּהָרָה.

¹ In כְּמִתְקִים Ct 5¹⁶, Neh 8¹⁰, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the ä of the second syllable cf. § 93 *ee*.

(c) Ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מקטל, e. g. משׂען *a support* (fem. מִשְׁעָנָה), *i* מסִּיר *a smith*, מעֵשִׂיר *a tithe*; fem. מִבְּשֵׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פִּן *an overthrow*, מצִּבָּה *a pillar*; from verbs ע״ע *מִגֵּן a shield*; fem. מִגִּלָּה *a roll* (from גָּלַל), מִאֲרָה *a curse* (for *m^eirrā* from אָרַר); from a verb פִּו *מוֹקֵשׁ a snare* (from *māwqīš*).

(d) Ground-form *mīqūl*, Hebr. מקטיל, e. g. מִסְפָּד *mourning*, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* *l* (place of sacrifice); from a verb ע״ע, e. g. מִסֵּב (מִסֵּב?) *concessus*; (e) ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מקטל, fem. מִמְאֲכָלָת *food*, מִשְׂבָּרָת *wages*; from a verb ע״ע, fem. מִסְכָּה *a covering* (from סָכַף). Also from ע״ע, according to the Masora, מעוֹן *a refuge*, with suffixes מעוֹי and מעוֹי, plur. מִעוֹיִם, but, very probably, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem עוּן *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מעוֹי, &c. The form מעוֹן, if derived from the stem עוּן, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מְרִירָה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מְרִירָה, for *mārōkh* from מְרִירָה, like מְחִים *soundness of body*, from חָמַם.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (*f*) ground-form *maqūl*, with *ā* *l* always obscured to *ō*, e. g. מִחְסוֹר *want*, מִלְקוֹחַ *booty*; from verbs ע״ו, e. g. מִגּוֹר *fear*, fem. מִגּוֹרָה and מִגְּוִרָה (with the *ō* depressed to *ū* in a toneless syllable; cf. § 27 n), מִזְהוּמָה, &c., Is 22^b. (*g*) Ground-form *mīqūl*, in Hebr. again מקטול, e. g. מִסְתוֹר *a covert*, מִכְשׁוֹל *a stumbling-block* (cf. above under *i*, *mākḥšēlā*); fem. מִכְמֵרָת *a fishing-net*; (*h*) the ground-forms *maqūl*, *miqūl* (cf. מִקִּים) are found only in participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מִבְּלִינִית *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (*i*) ground-form *māqūl*, as מִלְבּוּשׁ *a garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *III* *Qal* and *Niph'al*, cf. § 52 c. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מוֹפְרָת *snuffers*, מִשְׁחִית *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *n* *nāqūl*, still retained e. g. in נוֹלָד for *nāwlād*, but commonly attenuated to *nīqūl*, Hebr. נִקְטַל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִקְטַל, the prefix נ is found in נִפְתוּלִים *wrestlings*, Gn 30⁸, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*, and נִייד *boiled pottage* (stem וייד).

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

51. Nouns with ת prefixed. Examples of this formation are numerous, *p* especially from weak stems, for the purpose of strengthening them phonetically (see Barth, *ibid.*, p. 283), and notably from verbs פ״ו and פ״ו. They may be classified as follows:—(*a*) the ground-form *tāqūl* in תִּחְמָם *ostrich* (?); from verbs פ״ו *תוֹשֵׁב a settler*; fem. תוֹחֵלָת *expectation*, תוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'il* correction); from a verb פ״ו *תִּימֹן the south*; from verbs פ״ו and ל״ה *תוֹרָה thanksgiving*, and תוֹרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'il*; from a verb פ״ו and ל״א *תוֹצְאוֹת issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs ע״ע *תִּבְבֵּל confusion*, and תִּמָּס *a melting away* (developed from תִּבְבֵּל and תִּמָּס, from בָּלַל and מָסַם).

(*b*) *Tīqūl*, e. g. fem. תִּפְאָרֶת and תִּפְאָרָת *glory*; from a verb ל״ה, e. g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; (*c*) *tāqūl*, e. g. תִּשְׁבִּיץ *chequer work*; fem. תִּרְדָּמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* נִרְדַּם); from a verb פ״ו *תִּיבְחָה correction* (from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the constr. *st. plur.* תוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs ע״ע *תִּהְלָה praise*, תִּפְלָה *prayer* (from the *Pi'el* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

- 7' With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tīqāl*, as תהום *the ocean, the deep* (for *tihām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tīāmtu*, constr. st. *tīāmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tīqīl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pī'ēl*), e.g. from a verb ל"ה fem. תְּכַלִּית *completeness*; תְּרִבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד *a disciple*; (f) תַּקְטִיל, e.g. תַּפּוּחַ *an apple* (for *tānpū'āh*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תַּמְנוּל *a benefit* (also נְמוּל); from verbs עִירַם *a treading down*, תְּנוּפָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'ūl* stem), תְּשׁוּקָה *a longing*, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תְּהַפְּכוּת *perverseness*, תְּהַבְּלוּת *guidance*, תְּמַרְמָרִים *bitterness*, תְּנַחֲמִים and תְּנַחֲמוֹת *consolation*; from a verb עִוַּי, תְּנַאֲמִים *toil*.

XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- § 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל *amber* (?), and probably בְּרוֹן *iron*, בְּרָמֶל *garden-land* (*S^eghōl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גְּבֻעַל *bloom*, cf. § 30 g.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מֵיכַל, מֵיכַל, חֲמוּטַל (*little lizard* ?) אֲבִיגַיִל (also אֲבִיגַיִל).
- † 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֵילָם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֵילָמִים; but in כְּנָם *a swarm of gnats*, the ם is radical. With original affirmative *ām*, עִירָם (also עִירָם) *naked* (from עוּר), plur. עִירָמִים Gn 37, parallel form עָרוֹם, plur. עָרוּמִים Gn 25.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100 g, and many proper names, as גְּרִישָׁם, also גְּרִישׁוֹם, and גְּרִישׁוֹן (*patronymic* גְּרִישָׁנִי), מִלְפָם, עִמָּרָם, &c.; but for פְּדִיּוֹם *ransom* (?), Nu 349, probably פְּדִיּוֹם is to be read.
- ‡ 54. Nouns with ן affixed. The ן is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעַן *Canaan*, and צַפְרָן *a finger nail*; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S^eghōl* (as גְּרָן *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אֲהַרְנִית and קְדַרְבִּית); e.g. קַנְיָן *a possession*, שְׁלֵחָן *a table*, קָרְבָן *an offering*. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as דְּאָבוֹן *a pining away*; דְּרָבוֹן (also דְּרָבוֹן) *a goad*; רַעְבּוֹן *hunger*; from verbs ל"ה גָּאוֹן *pride*, הָמוֹן *noise*, חוֹזוֹן *a vision*; שְׂרִיּוֹן *a coat of mail*; from a verb פ"ן מִשְׁאָחוֹן *guile* (the only instance with both *m* preformative and *ōn* affirmative)¹; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. זְכָרוֹן *memorial*, בְּלִיּוֹן *destruction* (constr. st. וְזָכוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן), &c.; cf. also הַרְיוֹן *pregnancy* (for הָרָה) and § 93 uu; יְקָלוֹן *shame*, for יְקָלוֹן. Proper names occur with the termination *ūn*, as יִשְׂרָאוֹן, § 86 g, and others.

¹ The plurals נְצַנִּים *flowers*, Ct 212, and קַמְשָׁנִים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נֶצַן (cf. נֶצֶה) and קַמֹּשׁ with the insertion of *ān* (which in 'קמ' is obscured to *ōn*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עֹבֹנִים *wares*, Ez 27^{14, 16} from עֹבֵב = עֹבֵב.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה־ or י־ used to *u* be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix ון־. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nūn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְנַדֹּן, once used (*Zc* 12¹¹) for מְנַדֵּן (and conversely in *Pr* 27²⁰ אֲבָדָה *Kethibh* אֲבָדָה, *Qere* אֲבָדָה for אֲבָדֹן *destruction*), also by the fact that for שְׁלָמָה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 *h*) a *Nūn* appears before the termination *i*, as גִּילֹנִי *Gilonite* from גִּלָּה and שְׁיִלֹנִי from שְׁיִלָּה (modern name *Sailūn*). Wetzstein, however (in *Delitzsch's Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nūn* in מְנַדֹּן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination *ō* (יְרִיחוֹ, עֵבֹ, רְמוֹנֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 *b*) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nūn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ōn* than in proper names, and גִּילֹנִי and שְׁיִלֹנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gilō-i*, *šilō-i*, &c.; cf. also שְׁלָנִי from שְׁלָה.

On the affirmatives י־, י־, וְהַ, י־, see below, § 86 *h-l*.

XII. Quadrilaterals and Quinquilaterals.

55. פְּלִכּוּדַר *barren*, חֲלָמִישׁ *a flint*, and the fem זֹלְעָפָה *heat*, &c., have probably *u* arisen from the insertion of a ל ; חֲרָזַל *a locust*, קַרְדֵּם *an axe*, סְרַעְפָּה *a branch*, *Ez* 31⁶ (verses 6, 8 סְרַעְפָּה, שְׂרַעְפָּים, also שְׂרַעְפָּים) *anxious thoughts*, שְׂרַפְיֹת *sceptre*, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, חֲרָמִישׁ *a sickle*, סְקָרַר *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עֲטָלָף *a bat*, עֲפָבִישׁ *a spider*, עֲכָבָר *a mouse*, עֲקָרַב *a scorpion*,¹ &c.—Quinquilateral, צַפְרָדַע *a frog*.

§ 86. Denominative Nouns.

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, *u* whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. קְרָמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָרַם *the east* (verbal stem קָרַם *to be in front*).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already *u* been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed מ (*§* 85 *e to m*) express the place, &c., of an action, so the denominatives with מ *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see *e*).

The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the *participle Qal* (§ 84^a *s*), e.g. שְׂעָר *a porter*, from שָׁעַר *a gate*; בִּקָּר *a herdsman*, from בָּקַר *a herd*; בִּרְסָם *a vinedresser*, from בָּרַם *a vineyard*.

2. Those like the form *qāttāl* (§ 84^b *b*), e.g. קִשְׁתָּן *an archer*, from קִשְׁתָּה *a bow*.

¹ Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *'usfūr*, *sparrow* (from *šafara*, *to chirp*), that ע was especially employed to form quadrilateral names of animals.

Both these forms (c and d) indicate customary occupations, inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της, τεύς*, e. g. *πολίτης, γραμματεύς*.

e 3. Nouns with **מ** prefixed, denoting the place where a thing is (cf. § 85 e), or its neighbourhood, e. g. *מַעְיָן* a place of fountains, from *עָיַן*; *מַרְגְּלוֹת* the place about the feet, *מַרְאֲשׁוֹת* the place about the head, from *רָגַל*; *רֹאשׁ*, *מִקְשָׁה* (for *מִקְשָׁה*) a cucumber field, from *קִישָׁא* cucumber. Cf. *ἀμπελῶν* from *ἀμπελος*.

f 4. Nouns with the termination **וֹן** or **וִין** expressing adjectival ideas: *קֶדְמוֹן* eastern, from *קָדַם*; *אַחֲרוֹן* posterior, from *אַחַר*; *חַיצוֹן* exterior, from *חָיצוֹן*; probably also *לְוִיָּהּ* coiled, hence coiled animal, serpent, from *לָוְיָהּ* a winding; *נְחֹשֶׁת* brazen, from *נְחָשֶׁת* brass. Also abstracts, e. g. *עֵצוֹן* blindness, from *עָוָר*. Cf. § 85 u.—With a double termination (*ôn* or *ân* with *i*) *אֲדָמְנִי* reddish, *יֹדְעָנִי* a knowing (spirit); *צַפְפְּנִי* basilisk; *רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת* merciful [fem. plur.].

g **וֹן** appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac **וֹן**) in *אִישׁוֹן* little man (in the eye), apple of the eye, from *אִישׁ*¹; on the other hand *שִׁפְיָן* adder, which was formerly regarded as a diminutive, is properly an adjectival form from *שָׁפַף* to rub (hence, as it were, a rubbing creature); in the same way *יִשְׂרָוִן* is a denominative from *יִשׂוּר* (= *יִשָּׁר*), properly upright (righteous people), and not a diminutive (pious little people, and the like); finally, *שֶׁהָרוֹן* is not lunula, but an artificial moon (used as an ornament), and *צַוְרָנִים* not little neck, but necklace (from *צוּאָר* neck). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4^o.

h 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination **וֹת**, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals, patronymics, and tribal names*; e. g. *רַגְלִי* footman, plur. *רַגְלִים*, from *רֶגֶל* foot; *נְכָרִי* strange, from *נְכָר* strangeness, *תַּחְתִּי* lower, from *תַּחַת* below, fem. *תַּחְתִּית* and *תַּחְתִּיָּהּ*, plur. *תַּחְתִּיּוֹת*, *תַּחְתִּיּוֹת* the sixth, from *שֵׁשׁ* six; *מוֹאָבִי* Moabite, from *מוֹאָב*, plur. *מוֹאָבִים*, fem. *מוֹאָבִיָּהּ* and *מוֹאָבִית*, plur. *מוֹאָבִיּוֹת*; *עִבְרִי* Hebrew, plur. *עִבְרִים* and *עִבְרִיִּים*, fem. *עִבְרִיָּהּ*, plur. *עִבְרִיּוֹת*; *יִשְׂרָאֵלִי* Israelite, from *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. When the original substantive is a compound, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. *בְּנֵי־מִינִי* Benjamite, from *בְּנֵי־מִיָּן* (cf. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127 d).

i Instead of **וֹת** we find in a few cases (a) the ending **וֹי** (as in Aram.), e. g. *בְּיָלִי* (crafty, or, according to others, churlish) if it stands for *נְבִילִי* and is not rather from a stem *כלא* or *כלה*; *חֹזְרִי* white cloth, Is 19^o in pause; perhaps also *זְבִי* a swarm of locusts, Am 7¹ *זְבִי* Na 3¹⁷; hardly *נְנִיּוֹתִי* Is 38²⁰, Hb 3¹⁹; but certainly in proper names as *בַּרְזִילַי* (ferreus) Barzillai;² and (b) **וֹה**,

[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. *עוּלְיָמָא*, Syr. *حَكْمَلَا*, Arab. *عَلَيْمٌ* a very young man, *kulaib*, a little dog, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180), *זְעִיר* (Is 28^{10,13}, Jb 36²) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added *שְׁבִיטִים* Is 3¹⁸ (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais*, little sun), and *אֲמִינוֹן* 2 S 13²⁰, 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 f. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192 d.]

² On **וֹי** as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80 l.

arising from *ay*, in אֵשׁ belonging to fire (אֵשׁ), i. e. a sacrifice offered by fire; לְבָנָה (prop. milky) the storax-shrub, Arabic lubnay.

6. Abstract nouns formed from concretes by the addition of וֹת, תְּ [יָ] לְ (§ 95 t), cf. our terminations -dom, -hood, -ness, e.g. יְלָדוֹת youth, מְלָכוּת kingdom (the omission of the Dageš in כ shows that the Šewā is weakened from a full vowel; on *matik* as underlying the present form מְלֵךְ cf. § 84^a a) ; אֶלְמָנוּת widowhood, from אֶלְמָן widower, אֶלְמָנָה widow. In Aram. this fem. ending וֹת (or וְ with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (cf., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הִשְׁמָעוֹת the announcing, Ez 24²⁵, and הִתְחַבְּרוֹת the making of a league, Dn 11²³); in Hebr. וֹת as a termination to express abstract ideas (including some which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as סְבָלוֹת folly, רְפוּאוֹת a healing¹) becomes more common only in the later books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *i* (see above, h) in אֲכֹרְיוֹת cruelty, and קוֹמְמִיּוֹת upright position (Lv 26¹³, used adverbially).

The ending יָתְ is found earlier, e.g. in שְׂאֲרֵית remainder, רֵאשִׁית principium, from ראש = ראש (head) princeps. The termination *ôth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת wisdom (in Pr 1²⁰, 9¹, joined to a singular; so also חֲכָמוֹת Pr 14¹, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 1¹⁷, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 10¹³.

§ 87. Of the Plural.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 426 ff., and on the feminines, p. 441 ff.; M. Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' *REJ.* xxiv. 99 ff., and 'Les anomalies du pluriel des noms en Hébreu,' *REJ.* xliii. 206 ff.; P. Lajciak, *Die Plural- u. Dualendungen im semit. Nomen*, Lpz. 1903; J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Pluralbildung des Semit.,' *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff., i. 'the *ai* of the constr. st.'

1. The regular plural termination for the masculine gender is יָם, *a* always with the tone, e.g. סוּס horse, plur. סוּסִים horses; but also very often written defectively סִם, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e.g. Gn 1²¹ תַּיִנִּים. Nouns in יָ make their plural in יָם, e.g. עֵבְרִי a Hebrew, plur. עֵבְרָיִם (Ex 3¹⁸); but usually contraction takes place, e.g. עֵבְרִים; שָׁנִים crimson garments, from שָׁנִי.

Nouns in הָ lose this termination when they take the plural *ô* ending, e.g. חֶזֶה seer, plur. חֶזִים (cf. § 75 h).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the סִם in the two old plurals מַיִם water and שָׁמַיִם heaven, cf. § 88 d and § 96.

The termination יָ is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. *c* שְׂנִים women, § 96 under אֵשָׁה; שָׁנִים years, from שָׁנָה; רְחָלִים ewes, from רָחַל), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily implied in it (cf. also below, *m-p*).—On the use of this termination יָ to express abstract, extensive, and intensive ideas, cf. § 124.

¹ [See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgeäude*, ii. 1, p. 205 f.]

d The ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צדנם *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *áni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *ámi*, cf. § 88 *d*); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *ána* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *án*. Cf. also the verbal ending *in* in the 3rd plur. perf. (§ 44 *l*) and in the 3rd and 2nd plur. impf. (§ 47 *m*).¹

e Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(a) *in*—, as in Aramaic,² found almost exclusively in the later books of the O. T. (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מלכין *kings*, Pr 31³, יָרֵינִין I K 11³³, רָעִין *the guard*, 2 K 11¹³, חֲפִיין *wheat*, Ez 4²; defectively יָאִין *islands*, Ez 26¹⁸; יָמִין *days*, Dn 12¹³. Cf. also מַרְדִּין *carpets*, Ju 5¹⁰, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עֵיין *heaps*, Mi 3¹² (before ת; cf. § 44 *k*); מְלִין *words* (from the really Aram. מְלִיָּה), Jb 4², and twelve other places in Job (beside מְלִים, ten times in Job); further, חֲרִין Jb 24²², אַחֲרִין 31¹⁰, and שׁוֹמְמִין La 1⁴, חֲפִין 4³.—The following forms are doubtful:

f (b) *in*— (with the *in* rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָרִי for רְיָים Ez 13¹⁸, cf. § 88 *c*), e. g. מְנִין *stringed instruments*, ψ 45⁹ for מְנִים (unless it is to be so written)³; עַמִּין *peoples*, ψ 144², and, probably, also La 3¹⁴ (in 2 S 22⁴⁴ it may be taken as עַמִּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 18⁴⁴ עַם; also in Ct 8² the *i* of רַמְנִי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 S 23⁸ as compared with 1 Ch 11¹¹, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

g (c) *in*— (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרִין *princes*, Ju 5¹⁵ (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שָׂרִי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שָׂרִים); for חֲלוֹנֵי וּם Jer 22¹⁴ (according to others *dual*, see § 88 *c*, or a loan word, cf. ZA. iii. 93) read חֲלוֹנֵי כַפּוֹן. On חֲנֻרֵי and חֲנֻרֵי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 *i*.—חֲשִׁיפִי Is 20⁴ (where the right reading is certainly חֲשִׁיפִי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable *in*— = *bareness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 *d*) to avoid the harsh combination *h^asúfê šēt⁴*; in אֲדֹנָי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲדֹנָיִם *lord*), the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 *q*.

h (d) *in*—, a supposed *plural* ending in בָּנִים = בָּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), and הָלָם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*); but cf. on the former, § 85 *t*.

i 2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively ת—, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

¹ On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, *Obs.* 2].

² So also always in the Meša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty*; line 4 מלכין *kings*; line 5 ימן רבן *many days*, &c.

³ According to some this *i* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5 *m*), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending.

⁴ Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 525, regards חֲשִׁיפִי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. בְּלוֹבִי, אֲחֻבִּי) transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

סֵפֶר תְּהִלּוֹת, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as תְּהִלִּים *the Book of Psalms*); אֵיזָרָה a letter, plur. אֵיזָרוֹת; בְּאֵר a well, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת־ form their plural in יוֹת־, e.g. מִצְרַיִת an Egyptian woman, plur. מִצְרַיִת; and those in יָת either make יוֹת־, as מְלָכֻתָּה kingdom, plur. מְלָכֻתוֹת, Dn 8²² (cf. תְּנִיּוֹת cells, Jer 37¹⁶), or are inflected like עֲדוּתֵי testimonies (pronounced 'ēdhēwōth for 'ēdhūwōth).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings יָת־ and יוֹת־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יָם־ or אוֹת־, e.g. הַנִּיֵּתִים spear, plur. הַנִּיֵּתוֹת and הַנִּיֵּתוֹת; וְנִיֵּתוֹת whoredom, plur. וְנִיֵּתִים (by the side of וְנִיֵּתִים; אֶלְמִנּוּתִים widowhood; שְׁחִיתוֹת pits, כְּפָתוֹת amulets (if connected with Assyr. *kāsu*, to bind), &c.

The termination *-ōth* stands primarily for *-āth* (which is the form it has in *l* Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of *ā* into an obscure *ō*, see § 9 *q*). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *āth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *āth* (cf. § 80 *b*).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become *Šewā* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-5.

3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and *m* feminine (§ 122 *d*), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עָבֹד cloud, plur. 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. דּוֹרוֹת and דּוֹרִים; שָׁנָה fem. a year, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אֲרִי masc. a lion, plur. אֲרִיּוֹת masc., Zp 3³, דּוֹרוֹת masc., Jb 42¹⁶.

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים days, שָׁנִים years are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the *constr. st.* Dt 32⁷, ψ 90¹⁶) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, *o* the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in תָּו expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 *u*), e.g. יָדַי hands, יָדוֹת artificial hands, also e.g. the arms of a throne; כַּפָּי hands, כַּפּוֹת handes (Lat. *manubria*); פְּעָמַי foot, פְּעָמוֹת artificial feet (of the ark), קַרְנֵי horns, קַרְנוֹת horns (of the altar); עֵינָי eyes, עֵינּוֹת fountains; cf. also אֲרִיִּים lions, אֲרִיּוֹת the figures of lions on Solomon's throne, תְּמָרָה palm, תְּמָרוֹת a palm-like column, plur. תְּמָרוֹת and תְּמָרִים.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in אוֹת, *p* while many feminines have a plural in יָם־. The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.

Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in **ות** are : **אב** *father*, **אוצר** *treasure*, **באר** and **בור** *cistern*, **זנב** *tail*, **חלום** *dream*, **כסא** *throne*, **לב** and **לֵבָב** *heart*, **לוח** *tablet*, **לילה** and **לַיְלָה** *night*, **מזבח** *altar*, **מקום** *place*, **נאר** *skin-bottle*, **נר** *lamp*, **עור** *skin*, **קול** *voice*, **שֶׁלֶחַן** *table*, **שֵׁם** *name*, **שופר** *trumpet*.

q Feminines ending in **ה** which take in the plural the termination **ים** are **אלה** *terebinth*, **אימה** *terror* (but also **אימות**), **הבֵּלָה** *a cake of figs*, **חטה** *wheat*, **לבֵּנָה** *a brick*, **מלה** (only in poetry) *a word*, **סֵאָה** *seā, a dry measure*, **שְׁעוּרָה** *barley*, and the following names of animals **דבורה** *a bee* and **יונה** *a dove*; also, for **ביצים** fem. *eggs*, a singular **ביצה** is to be assumed. **שֶׁלֶפָּה** *sheaf* and **שָׁנָה** *year* (see above, n) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **שֶׁפֶלֶת** *an ear of corn*, plur. **שֶׁפֶלֶתִים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פְּיִלְגָּשׁ** *concubine*, plur. **פְּיִלְגָּשִׁים**.

7 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e.g. **טובים** *boni*, **טובות** *bonae*, **קטלים** masc., **קטלות** fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as **בנים** *fili*, **בנות** *filiae*; **מלכים** *reges*, **מלכות** *reginae*.

8 Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending **ות** a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the *constr. st.* **ים**, cf. § 89 c), or a dual ending **ים**, e.g. **במה** *a high place*, plur. **במות**, *constr. s.* **במותי** (also **במתי** *bām^othē*, Is 14¹⁴, Jb 9⁸, &c., sometimes as *Q^{er}ē* to the K^ethibh **במותי**; see § 95 o); **מראשתי שאול** *from Saul's head*, 1 S 26¹²; **חומה** *wall*, plur. **חומות** *moenia*, whence dual **חומתיים** *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending **ות** (§ 91 m).

t 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e.g. **אדם** *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e.g. **מרים** *men* (the old *sing.* **מתי** is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 o; in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēl*, *man*); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 a), as **פנים** *face*. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e.g. **פנים** means also *faces*, Gn 40⁷, Ez 1⁶; cf. **אלהים** *God*, and also *gods* (the *sing.* **אלה**, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

§ 88. Of the Dual.

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Frockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

a 1. The *dual* is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see e). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination **ים**.

appended to the ground-form,¹ e.g. יָרִים *both hands*, יוֹמִים *two days*. In the feminine the dual termination is always added to the old ending *ath* (instead of הַ־), but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus תִּמְתִּים־ָ, e.g. שְׂפָה שְׂפָתַיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending ת־ָ, e.g. נְחֻשְׁתִּית (from *nēhušt*) the dual is formed like נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the *l* dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the shifting of the tone, e.g. כַּנְּף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כַּנְּפַיִם, the first *ā* becoming *Šewā*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone-syllable. In 1 K 16²⁴, 2 K 5^{23b} the form כַּבְּרַיִם (which should be כַּבְּרִים) evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כַּבְּרִי, which would be expected before פָּקֶד; cf. כַּבְּרַיִם in 2 K 5^{23a}, and on the syntax see § 131 *d*. In the segholate forms (§ 84^a *a*) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e.g. רֶגֶל רַגְלַיִם *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; cf., however, קַרְנַיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנֵי חֹרֶן from קַרְנֵי חֹרֶן *horn*, and לְחַיִּים from לְחַיִּי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לְחַיִּים).—A feminine dual of an adjective used substantivally occurs in עַצְלָתַיִם *a sluggish pair* (of hands) Ec 10¹⁸ from the sing. עָצֵל.

Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in *C* earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 437), viz.—
 (a) those in יַיִם־ָ and יַיִם־ָ, e.g. דְּתַיִן Gn 37^{17a} (locative דְּתַיִן, but in 17^b דְּתַיִן), and דְּתַיִן 2 K 6¹⁹; קַרְתַּיִן Jos 21³², identical with קַרְיָתַיִם in 1 Ch 6⁶¹ (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mēša' inscription, line 10 קריתן = Hebrew קַרְיָתַיִם; line 30 בַּת דְּבַלְתַּיִם = בַּת דְּבַלְתַּיִם Jer 48²²; lines 31, 32 חורנין = חורניִים Is 15⁶, &c.); (b) in יַיִם־ָ, Jos 15³⁴ הַעֵינַיִם (= עֵינַיִם Gn 38²¹). The view that יַיִם־ָ and יַיִם־ָ arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יַיִם־ָ (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and יַיִם־ָ seemed to be supported by the Mēša' inscription, where we find (line 20) כַּמְאֵתַיִן *two hundred* = כַּמְאֵתַיִם, Hebrew כַּמְאֵתַיִם. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that יַיִם־ָ and יַיִם־ָ in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יַיִם־ָ and יַיִם־ָ: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philippi, *ZDMG*. xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 135. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Q'ere perpetuum* (§ 17 *c*) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרוּשָׁלַיִם): similarly in

¹ On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87 *s* and § 95 *o* at the beginning.

the Aramaic שַׁמְרִין = שַׁמְרִין for the Hebrew שַׁמְרִון *Samaria*.—We may add to this list אֶפְרַיִם, נְהַרִים, the river country (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nārīma*, *na'rīma*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרָיִם *midday* (Mēša' inscription, line 15 צהרם), and perhaps עֶרְבַיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּי-הָעֶרְבַיִם Ex 12⁶, 16¹², &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψι, and only in Lv 23⁵ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. The Arabs also say *el 'isā'án*, the two evenings, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יְרֵי Ez 13¹⁸ read יְרִים. On חַלּוּנֵי (generally taken to be a double window) Jer 22¹⁴, see above, § 87 g.

d 2. Only apparently dual-forms (but really plural) are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. According to P. Haupt in *SBOT*. (critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, line 18 ff.), they are to be derived from the old plural forms (found in Assyrian) *māmi*, *šamāmi*, whence the Hebr. מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם arose by inversion of the *i*, *māmi*, *māimi*, *maim*. It is simpler, however, to suppose that the primitive singulars *may* and *šamay*, when they took the plural of extension (§ 124 b), kept the tone on the *ay*, thus causing the *im* (which otherwise always has the tone, § 87 a) to be shortened to *im*. Cf. the analogous formations, Arab. *tarḡaina*, 2nd fem. sing. imperf. of a verb *لوي*, for *tarḡay + ina*, corresponding to *taḡtulīna* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. בִּנְיָן the *abs. st. plur.* of the *ptcp.* *Qal* of בָּנָה (*לוי*), which otherwise always ends in *in* with the tone, e.g. in the *ptcp. Qal* of the strong verb, דְּבַחֵין *sacrificing*.

e 2. The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, cf. יָרְעִים and יָרְעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יְדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנוֹיִם *both ears*, שֵׁנַיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נַעֲלָיִם *a pair of sandals*, מֵאֲזָנָיִם *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c.; or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e.g. יוֹמַיִם *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנַתַּיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמְתַּיִם *two cubits*.¹

f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e.g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלָיִם *four feet*, Lv 11²⁸; שֵׁשׁ בְּנָפְיַיִם *six wings* (i. e. three pairs), Is 6², Ez 1⁶; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינָיִם *seven eyes*, Zc 3⁹, כָּל-בְּרָכְיָיִם *all knees*, Ez 7¹⁷; כָּל-יְדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21¹²; מִצְלָתַיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3¹⁰; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks*, Ez 40⁴³.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Ju 16²⁸, Am 3¹².—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87 o and s.

g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development. The

¹ But for דְּרָכַיִם Pr 28^{0.18} (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכַיִם is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo, ambo, octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

§ 89. *The Genitive and the Construct State.*

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. . .*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*,¹ but either has no external indication of case (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or expresses the relation by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) of the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter,² and the consequently weakened tone of the former word then usually involves further changes in it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to *Šewâ* (cf. § 9 a, c, k; § 27 e-m); e.g. דָּבָר word, דְּבַר יְהוָה word of God (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word, house-top, landlord*); יָד hand, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ the hand of the king; דְּבָרֵי הָעָם words, דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before* a *genitive* suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a genitive after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

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.

b Very frequently such interdependent words are also united by *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a); this, however, is not necessary, but depends on the accentuation in the particular case. On the wider uses of the *constr. st.* see the *Syntax*, § 130.

c 2. The *vowel* changes which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92-5. But besides these, the *terminations* of the noun in the *construct state* sometimes assume a special form. Thus:

(a) In the *construct state*, plural and dual, the termination is 'ֿֿֿ, e. g. סוּסִים horses, פְּרָעֹה סוּסֵי the horses of Pharaoh; עֵינַיְם eyes. עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ the eyes of the king.

d Rem. The 'ֿֿֿ of the dual has evidently arisen from 'ֿֿֿ (cf. דְּוָיִם), but the origin of the termination 'ֿֿֿ in the *constr. st. plur.* is disputed. The *Syriac constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסֵיךָ, סוּסֵיךָ, &c., § 91 h) would point to a contraction of an original 'ֿֿֿ, as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen, and Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 48 ff.), or is to be regarded as the *abstract, collective* termination, as in אֲשֶׁר (see *f*) and חוֹרֵי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

e (*b*) The original תֿֿֿ is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in תֿֿֿ, e. g. מַלְכֵּה queen, מַלְכֵּת שֶׁבַע the queen of Sheba. But the feminine endings תֿֿֿֿ, תֿֿֿֿ, and also the plural תֿֿֿֿ, remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

f (*c*) Nouns in תֿֿֿֿ (cf. § 75 e) from verbs ל"ה (§ 93, *Paradigm III c*) form their *constr. st.* in תֿֿֿֿ, e. g. רֵאָה seer, constr. רֵאָהֿ. If this תֿֿֿֿ is due to contraction of the original 'ֿֿֿֿ, with ה added as a vowel letter, we may compare רֵ, constr. רֵֿ sufficiency; חֵ, constr. חֵֿ life; נַיֵּ (נַיֵּ), constr. נַיֵּֿ valley.

On the terminations י and 'ֿֿֿ in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

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

תֿֿֿֿ local, י in compound proper names, 'ֿֿֿֿ and י in the *Construct State*.

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882; J. Barth, 'Die Casusreste im Hebr.,' *ZDMG.* liii. 593 ff.

a 1. As the Assyrian and old Arabic distinguish three cases by special endings, so also in the Hebrew noun there are three endings which, in the main, correspond to those of the Arabic. It is, however, a question whether they are all to be regarded as real remnants of former case-endings, or are in some instances to be explained other-

wise. It can hardly be doubted (but cf. *h*, Rem.) that the (locative) termination $\eta\text{-}$ is a survival of the old accusative termination *a*, and that η in certain compound proper names is the old sign of the nominative. The explanation of the \hat{i} as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that \hat{i} is a form of the nominative termination η , are open to grave doubts.

In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative,¹ 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending *-a* represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Beduin, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG.* v, p. 9, xii, p. 874; Wetzstein, *ibid.*, xxii, p. 113 f., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Ägypten*, Lpz. 1880, p. 147 ff.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 f.). Ethiopic has preserved only the *-a* (in proper names *-hā*), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

2. As remarked above, under *a*, the *accusative* form is preserved in Hebrew most certainly and clearly in the (usually toneless) ending $\eta\text{-}$, originally \hat{a} , as in the old Arabic accusative. This is appended to the substantive:

(a) Most commonly to express *direction towards* an object, or *motion to a place*,² e. g. $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ seaward, westward, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ eastward, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ northward, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to Assyria, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to Babylon, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ (from $\eta\text{-}$) to the mountain, Gn 14¹⁰, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to the earth, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to the house, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to Tirzah ($\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$) 1 K 14¹⁷, &c., $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to Gaza ($\eta\text{-}$) Ju 16¹; with the article $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to the mountain, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ into the house, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ into the chamber, 1 K 1¹⁵; $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ into the tent, Gn 18⁶, &c.; similarly with adverbs, as $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ thither, $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ whither?; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ into Joseph's house, Gn 43¹⁷⁻²⁴; $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ toward the land of the south, Gn 20¹; $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ to the land of Egypt, Ex 4²⁰; $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ toward the wilderness of Damascus, 1 K 19¹⁵; $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ toward the sun-rising, Dt 4⁴¹; and even with the plural $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ into Chaldea, Ez 11²⁴; $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ towards the heavens.

¹ This rule is almost always observed in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (see § 2 f); cf. the instances cited by Barth, l. c., p. 595, from Winckler's edition.

² On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118 d, and cf. the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire.*

³ $\eta\text{-}$ $\eta\text{-}$ in Baer's text, Gn 18⁶, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *יָמָה, הָרָה, בַּיְתָה* show that the locative form of *itself* possessed a defining power.

d (b) In a somewhat weakened sense, indicating the place *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118 d), e.g. *מִחַנֵּימָה* in *Maḥanaim*, 1 K 4¹⁴; *שָׁמָּה* *there* (usually *thither*, see c), Jer 18², cf. 2 K 23⁸, and the expression *to offer a sacrifice הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ*, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, *בְּבָבֶלָה* Jer 29¹⁵, and *וּבְלָהָה* Hb 3¹¹, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פְּאַת צָפוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15⁵ (at the beginning of the verse, *גְּבוּל קְדֻמָּה* *the border toward the east*), cf. 18^{15,20}, Ex 26¹⁸, Jer 23⁸.

e (c) The original force of the ending *הַ* is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also *עַרְאֵלָה* *how long?*), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-* or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעַלָה* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּה* *downwards*, *לְשָׁאוֹלָה* *to Sheol*, ψ 9¹⁸; *עַד-אַפְהֵקָה* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13⁴, *אֶל-הַצְּפוֹנָה* *toward the north*, Ez 8¹⁴, cf. Ju 20¹⁶; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e.g. *בְּפְנֵינָה* *in the south*, Jos 15²¹, cf. Ju 14², 1 S 23^{15,19}, 31¹³, 2 S 20¹⁵, Jer 52¹⁰; *מִבְּבֶלָה* *from Babylon*, Jer 27¹⁶; cf. 1¹³, Jos 10³⁶, 15¹⁰, Ju 21¹⁹, Is 45⁶.

f Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָה*, in pause *לַיְלָה*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative¹ appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיִל*, only used in poetry, Is 16³, *constr. st. לַיִל* (even used for the *absol. st.* in pause Is 21¹¹). Most probably, however, *לַיְלָה* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִי*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִיָּא*, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is *מְאֵמָה* *something*, probably from *מְאֵוִם*, *מָוִם* *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אַרְצָה* Is 8²³ and (in pause) Jb 34¹³, *סוּפָתָה* Ho 8⁷, and the place-name *צָהָה* 1 Ch 6⁶⁸, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless *הַ* can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus *אַרְצָה* (in pause) Jb 37¹²; *הַמּוֹתָה* *death*, ψ 116¹⁵; *נְגַדְהָ-נָא* ψ 116^{14,18}; *נְחָלָה* *stream*, ψ 124⁴; *הַחֲשֵׁמְלָה* *amber*, Ez 8² [in 1⁴ *הַחֲשֵׁמֶל*, cf. § 80 c], &c. In Jos 15¹² *הַיָּמָה* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14¹⁸ instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרֻסָה* (towards the sun??) read as in 15¹ *הַחֲרָה* *to the bride-chamber*.

¹ Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *lāylā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original *לַיְלָה*, like *אַנָּה* from *אָנָּה*.

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,¹ viz. אֲחֻמִּי (if compounded of אָחוּ and מִי), קְמוּטָל (for which in Jer 52¹ *Keth.* קְמוּטָל), מְתוּשָׁלַח and מְתוּשָׁלַח (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְתָיִם *men*; to מְתָיִם corresponds most probably בְּתוּיָל (בְּתוּיָל, פְּנִיָּאֵל Gn 32³¹ (but in ver. 32 פְּנִיָּאֵל) *face of God* (otherwise only in the plur. פְּנִיָּם *constr. st.* פְּנִיָּי).²—שְׂמוֹנֶה Neh 6⁶ (elsewhere שְׂמוֹנֶה), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6¹. On the other hand the terminations ם־ and ם־ are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the *constr. st.*, on the analogy of the *constr. st.* of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see *b*) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* ם־ and ם־ are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, *i* being the old genitive and *o* for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the *i* and *o* almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative ם־ is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. *i* and *ü* are short. Both these objections, however, lose their force if we consider the special laws of the tone and syllable in Hebrew. The language does not admit a final *i* or *ü*, and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the *constr. st.* Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the *constr. st.* is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the *constr. st.* of terms of relationship, אָבִי, אָחִי, אָחִי, אָבִי from אָב *father*, אָח *brother*, חָמִי *father-in-law* (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like *i*, ם־ is also used only to emphasize the *constr. st.* (see *o*), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, this ם־ corresponds to a primitive Semitic *á* (cf. § 9 *g*) and is traceable to 'abá, 'ahá, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the *constr. st.*, which have *á* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבִי, אָחִי, אָחִי, אָבִי, and only of the analogous בְּנִי. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנִי) only in two words and those in quite late passages. However we have no better explanation to offer in place of Barth's.

Finally we cannot deny the possibility, in some cases, of Barth's explanation of the ם־ in compound proper names like בְּתוּיָל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in ם־. But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנִיָּאֵל, בְּתוּיָל, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

¹ Cf. the list in L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 54.

² The name שְׂמוּנֶה formerly regarded as a compound of שְׂמוֹ = שְׂמוֹ name and אָל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for אָל = שְׂמוּנֶה = אָל [but see Driver on 1 S 1²⁰]; similarly, according to Prätorius, אָל = פְּתוּיָל and many others.

The instances found are:

(a) Of the ending '—: עֹזְבֵי הַצֹּאן *his ass's colt*, Gn 49¹¹; שֹׁכֵנֵי סִנְהָ *that leaveth the flock*, Zc 11¹⁷ (cf. the preceding רֹעֵי הָאֵלִיל); שֹׁכֵנֵי סִנְהָ *the dweller in the bush*, Dt 33¹⁶ (on שֹׁכֵנֵי cf. below Jer 49^{16a}, Ob³); appended to the feminine יוֹם וַיִּגְנַבְתִּי לַיְלָה *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gn 31³⁹ (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); מְלֵאֲתִי מִשֶּׁטֶט *plena iustitiae*, Is 1²¹; עַם רַבָּתִי *full of people*, La 1¹ (on the retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, cf. § 29 e; in the same verse the second רַבָּתִי and שֹׁרָתִי, see below, follow the example of רַבָּתִי, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10¹¹ below); עַל-דְּבָרָתִי מִלְכֵי-צָדֵק *after the order of Melchizedek*, ψ 110⁴; cf. also ψ 113⁹, Jer 49^{16b}. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct state* and its genitive (cf. § 130 a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e. g. בְּגוֹיִם רַבָּתִי *she that was great among the nations*, שֹׁרָתִי בְּמִדְיָנוֹת *princess among the provinces*, La 1¹; אֲהַבֵּתִי לְרוּשׁ *that loveth to tread*, Ho 10¹¹; cf. also Jer 49^{16a}, Ob³.—In Ex 15⁶ נֶאֱדָרְתִּי can only be so explained if it is a vocative referring to יהוה, but perhaps we should read נֶאֱדָרְתָּ as predicate to יְיָיִנִּי.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as מִזֵּי (וּלְתִי =) *except*, מִן (מִן) *from*, בְּלֹתִי *not*, אֶפְסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי אֶפְסִי *I am, and there is none else beside me*; but many take the '— as a suffix here), Is 47^{8,10}, Zp 2¹⁵. [The above are all the cases in which this '— is attached to independent words in the O.T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names (again attached to the *constr. st.*), as מֶלֶךְ-צֶדֶק (*king of righteousness*), גְּבֻרֵי-אֵל (*man of God*), חַסְדֵי-אֵל (*favour of God*), and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַסְדֵי-בָעַל *favour of Ba'al*).

Otherwise than in the *constr. st.* the *Hireq compaginis* is only found ^m in participial forms, evidently with the object of giving them more dignity, just as in the case of the construct forms in *î*. We must distinguish, however, between passages in which the participle nevertheless does stand in close connexion, as Gn 49¹¹, Is 22¹⁶ (הֹקְנִי and הֹצֵבִי), also in impassioned speech), Mi 7¹⁴ (probably influenced by Dt 33¹⁶), ψ 101⁵, 113⁷; and passages in which the *î* added to the participle with the article merely serves as an ornamental device of poetic style, e. g. in the late Psalms, 113^{5,6,7,9} (on verse 8 see *n*), 114⁸, 123¹.

In *Kethibh* the termination *î* also occurs four times in יוֹשְׁבֵתִי, i. e. יוֹשְׁבֵתִי ^{nu} Jer 10¹⁷, 22²³ (before בָּ), Ez 27³ (before עַל-), La 4²¹ (before בָּ). The *Qere* always

requires for it יוֹשֶׁבֶת (or יֹשֵׁב), except in Jer 22²⁵ יֹשֶׁבֶת; cf. *ibid.* מִקְנֵנְתִי *Keth.*, מִקְנֵנְתִי *Qere*, and finally Jer 51¹³ שְׂכַנְתִּי *Keth.*, שְׂכַנְתִּי *Qere*. Perhaps יֹשֶׁבֶתִי and שְׂכַנְתִּי are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings יֹשֶׁבֶת, &c. and שְׂכַבְתָּ (2nd fem. *perf.*), &c., but מִקְנֵנְתִי may be merely assimilated to יֹשֶׁבֶתִי which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4²³ הַהֶלְכְתִי *Keth.*, due to the preceding אֶתִּי, and to be read הֶהֱלַכְתָּ as in the *Qere*; ψ 30⁸ (read הַרְרִי), 113⁸ (read לְהוֹשִׁיבֵי), 116¹ (read קוֹל תַּחַר, as in five other places). On בְּרִיתִי, thrice, in Lv 26⁴², cf. § 128 d.

- o (b) Of the ending $\dot{\iota}^1$ (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1²⁴ בְּיַת־אֲרִיץ *the beast of the earth* (= בְּיַת הָאֲרִיץ ver. 25); similarly in ψ 50¹⁰, 79², 104^{11,20}, Is 56⁹ (twice), Zp 2¹⁴; otherwise only in בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor*, Nu 23¹⁸; בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר *son of Beor*, Nu 24^{3,15}; and מַעְיֵנוּ מַיִם *a fountain of waters*, ψ 114⁸.

§ 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895; A. Ungnad, 'Das Nomen mit Suffixen im Semit.,' *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xx, p. 167 ff.

- a With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, which then stand in a genitive relation (§ 33 c) and are, therefore, necessarily appended to the *construct state* of the noun, we shall first consider, as in the verb (§ 57 ff.), the forms of the suffixes themselves, and then the various changes in the form of the noun to which they are attached. The nouns are also tabulated in the Paradigms of the flexion of the noun in § 92 ff. Cf. also Paradigm A in the Appendix. We are here primarily concerned with the different forms of the suffixes when added to the singular, plural, and dual.

- b 1. The Suffixes of the singular are—

With nouns ending in a—

| Vowel. | | Consonant. | |
|----------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| Sing. 1. | c. י | י־ | <i>my.</i> |
| 2. | { m. ך | ך־ (pause ך־) | } <i>thy.</i> |
| | { f. ך | | |
| 3. | { m. הו, ו | ו־ (הו), הו־ | <i>his.</i> |
| | { f. ך | ו־, ך־ | <i>her.</i> |

¹ Cf. Kaila, l.c., p. 59 ff.

| Vowel. | | Consonant. | |
|----------|----------------|-------------------------|--------|
| Plur. 1. | c. נִי | נִי | our. |
| 2. | { m. כֶּם | כֶּם } כֶּן } | your. |
| | { f. כֶּן | | |
| 3. | { m. הֶם | הֶם } (poet. מוֹ) } | eorum. |
| | { f. הֵן (הֵן) | | |
| | | הֵן | earum. |

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes ; C the particular forms are used as follows :—

(a) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these ‘connecting vowels’ from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58 f) are generally joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the constr. st. of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיהוֹ, אֲבֵיהוּ and אֲבֵיו, אֲבֵיהָ, אֲבֵינִי, אֲבֵיכֶם, אֲבֵיכֶן, אֲבֵיהֶם, אֲבֵיהֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל”ה stems (see § 93 x, y), e. g. פְּרִיהֶם the fruit of them, Am 9¹⁴ (also פְּרִיָם Is 37³⁰, &c.), and פְּרִיהֶן Jer 29²⁸ (also פְּרִיָן verse 5); cf., moreover, חֲלָבֵהֶן Lv 8^{16,25} and similar examples with הֶן (Is 3¹⁷ הֵן) Gn 21²⁸, Ez 13¹⁷, 16⁵³.ⁱ Also in Gn 1²¹, 4⁴, Ez 10¹², Nah 2⁸, &c., the K^{eti}. perhaps intends the singular, לְמִינֵהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *e*.

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

The forms with *e* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הֵאֱ (from stems ל”ה), constr. st. הֵאֱ (cf. § 89 f), e. g. שְׂדֵהוּ (from *sadaihû*) his field; עֲלֵהָ its leaf, Is 1³⁰; מְרֵאָהּ the appearance thereof, Lv 13⁴ (from *mar’aihâ*; on the *Sêghôl* see k); but שְׂדֵהָ her field. The orthographic retention of the *e*, e. g. מְעֵשָׂיו, מְעֵשָׂיךְ, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 ss.

Apart from these ל”ה forms the connecting vowel *e* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; הֵאֱ his light, Jb 25³; לְמִינֵהוּ after its kind, Gn 1^{12,25} [+ 12 times]; Na 1¹³; in Ju 19²⁴ read פִּילִגְשֻׁ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הֵאֱ in the 2nd sing. fem. and נִי in the 1st plur. are by far the more common forms, while הֵאֱ, נִי are of rare occurrence; see c.—Instead of הֵאֱ (with *Sêuâ* mobile), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הֵאֱ, כֶּם, כֶּן, e. g. רִיחֶךָ thy spirit, בְּרֵאֶךָ thy creator, Is 43¹, רֵיעֶכֶם your friend, Jb 6²⁷ (on such cases as בְּחֹזְכֶם Hag 2⁵, see § 10 g).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 i, and on עֹנֶךָ Jb 5¹, &c., cf. § 61 h) הֵאֱ occurs in Pr 25¹⁶, in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

Sing. 1st pers. נִי in בְּשׂוֹבְנִי Ez 47⁷ (certainly only a scribal error, caused C by וַיִּשְׁבְּנִי in verse 6).

¹ Also in Jer 15¹⁰ read (according to § 61 h, end) בְּלִפְנֵיהֶם קָלְלוּנִי; in Ho 7⁸ probably אֲפֵהֶם for אֲפֵהָם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָּחֶ־, e.g. כַּפְּיָהּ (thy hand), ψ 139⁵, cf. Pr 24¹⁰; once חֲנֶ־ ψ 53⁶ (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 l); *fem.* הָ־ Ez 5¹² (in 16⁵³ also for שְׁבִיתֶיךָ probably שְׁבִיתֶיךָ is intended), כִּי־ Jer 11¹⁵, ψ 103³, 116¹⁹, 135⁹ (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal בַּה־ Na 2¹⁴, cf. l), לְכִי *Keth.* 2 K 4², Ct 2¹³. Also הָ־ Is 22¹, Ez 23²⁸, 25⁴.

3rd pers. הָ־ (cf. § 7 c), e.g. אֶהְלֶה Gn 9²¹, 12⁸, 13³, 35²¹ (always with *Q^{eré}* אֶהְלֶה; נָחָה Nu 10³⁶; לָחָה Dt 34⁷; בָּלָה Jer 20⁷, Na 2¹ *Q^{eré}*; קָצָה 2 K 19²³ *K^{eth.}*, for which קָצָה is read in Is 37²⁴; עִירָה and סוּתָה Gn 49¹¹, cf. Ex 22²⁶ (*Q^{eré}* עִירָה); סָכָה ψ 10⁹, 27⁵ *K^{eth.}*; הָמוּנָה Ez 31¹⁸, &c., *K^{eth.}*; תְּבוּאָתָה Ez 48⁸ [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2⁹, 21¹].

3rd *fem.* הָ־ for הָ־ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases in § 58 g) occurs repeatedly before *B^ghadhk^ephath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9¹⁸ (before ך, if the text is right), Lv 13⁴ (before ך), Nu 15^{28,31}, 1 S 1⁹ (unless אֶכְלֶה, the infin. with *fem.* termination, is intended; שָׁתָה follows), Ez 16⁴⁴, 24⁶ (before ב), 1 S 20²⁰, 2 K 8⁶, Pr 12²⁸ (before ס), Na 3⁹ (before ו), ψ 48¹⁴ (before פ), Ez 47¹⁰, Jb 31²² twice (before ת), Is 21², Jer 20¹⁷ (before ה), Nu 32⁴², Am 1¹¹ (before נ), Lv 6² (before ע); even in *pause*, Lv 12^{4 a} and 5^b; Is 23¹⁷, Pr 21²², also with *Zaqeph*, Is 45⁶, Jer 6⁶ (probably), 44¹⁹; on הָ־ Lv 26³⁴, &c., see § 67 y. Cf. also אָ־ Ez 36⁶.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the הָ־ with feminines as a shortening of תָּה־, e.g. נָצָה Gn 4c¹⁰ for נָצָתָה, פָּנָה Pr 7⁸ for פָּנָתָה; also דָּ־ for דָּתָה־ in פְּתוּכִים Ho 13², and עָרָמָם Jb 5¹³. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28⁴ the reading is simply to be emended to בְּפִנְיָהּ, and in Zc 4² to גִּלְיָהּ, Jb 11⁹ to מִדָּהּ, Neh 5¹⁴ to פְּחָהּ. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 g.]

f *Plur.* 1st pers. נוֹ־, in *pause* קִימְנוּ Jb 22²⁰ (where, however, קִמְנוּ is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3² [Is 47¹⁰, cf. § 61 c, h], and so always בְּלִנּוּ all of us, Gn 42¹¹, &c [cf. בָּנוּ, לָנוּ, אֲתָנוּ, עִמָּנוּ].

2nd pers. *fem.* בָּנָה Ez 23^{48,49}.

3rd pers. *masc.* מוֹ־ ψ 17¹⁰ (on מוֹ in פִּימוֹ in the same verse, and in ψ 58⁷ see l); הָ־ 2 S 23⁶, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading כַּלְהָם. *Fem.* הָ־ 1 K 7³⁷, Ez 16⁶³ (in *pause*); נָה־ Gn 41²¹; נָה־ Gn 30⁴¹; נָה־ Ru 1¹³; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21²⁹, 42³⁶, Jer 8⁷, Pr 31²⁹, Jb 39²); finally הָ־ as suffix to a noun, only in Is 31⁷.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see l.

g 2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* (־־, cf. § 89 d). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to ׳־, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur. and in the poetical suffix יהוֹ־ of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is ׳־ (cf. k). On the 1st *pers.* and 3rd *masc. sing.* see i.—Thus there arise the following

Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

h

| Singular. | | Plural. |
|--|--|---|
| 1. c. יָ—, pause יָ— my. | | 1. c. יָנִי— our. |
| 2. { m. יָיָ— f. יָיָ—, pause יָיָ— } thy. | | 2. { m. יָיָנִי— f. יָיָנִי— } your. |
| 3. { m. יָיָ—, poet. יָיָ— his. f. יָיָ— her. | | 3. { m. יָיָנִי—, poet. יָיָנִי— } their. |

Thus the original יָ— is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc. *i* יָיָ— and throughout the plural, as סִיָּיָנִי, &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing. סִיָּיָ, the real suffix-ending י (see b) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending יָ—; and in the 2nd fem. sing. יָיָיָ, with a *helping-Hireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (c) the *Yôdh* of יָ— is lost in pronunciation and the *ā* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing. סִיָּיָ, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*).¹ The 2nd masc. sing. יָיָיָ and the 3rd fem. sing. יָיָיָ were formerly also explained here as having really lost the י, and modified the *a* of *sūsakā*, *sūsahā* to *S^eghôl*; but cf. the view now given in *g* and *k*.

Rem. 1. As סִיָּיָנִי represents *sūsai-nū*, so סִיָּיָיָ and יָיָיָ represent *sūsai-kā*, *h* *sūsai-hā*, and the use of *S^eghôl* instead of the more regular *Sere* is to be explained from the character of the following syllable,—so P. Haupt who points to יָיָיָיָ as compared with יָיָיָיָ. In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the י is only orthographically retained, too much stress must not be laid on the fact that it is sometimes omitted,² thereby causing confusion in an unpointed text with the singular noun. A number of the examples which follow may be due to an erroneous assumption that the noun is a plural, where in reality it is a singular, and others may be incorrect readings. Cf. יָיָיָיָ *thy ways* (probably יָיָיָיָ is intended), Ex 33¹³, Jos 1⁸, ψ 119³⁷; for other examples, see Jos 21¹¹ ff. (מִנְרָשָׁה; but in 1 Ch 6⁴⁰ ff. always יָיָיָ), Ju 19⁹, 1 K 8²⁹, Is 58¹³, ψ 119^{41.43.98} (probably, however, in all these cases the *sing.* is intended); Nu 30⁸ (cf. v. 5); Jer 19⁸, 49¹⁷; Dn 11⁶. For the orthographic omission of י before suffixes cf. רַעֲיָהוּ for רַעֲיָהוּ *his friends* 1 S 30²⁶, Pr 29¹⁸; Jb 42¹⁰ (but it is possible to explain it here as a *collective singular*); עֲוֹנֵינוּ *our iniquities*, Is 64^{5.6}, Jer 14⁷; Ex 10⁹, Neh 10¹ (לֵוִינִי from לְוִיִּם which is always written defectively); Nu 29³³, Jer 44⁹; יָרְבֵּם; ψ 134²; לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds*, Gn 1²¹ (but see c), cf. 4⁴ and Na 2⁸. The

¹ In the papyrus of the decalogue from the Fayyûm, line 16, ויקרשיו occurs for ויקרשהו Ex 20¹¹. Gall, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 349, takes this as an indication that the traditional forms of the noun-suffix יו or ו represent *aiü* or *eü*. P. Haupt aptly compares the Greek use of the *iota subscript* (̣).

² So in the Mēša' inscription, l. 22 מנרלתה *its towers* (along with שעריה *its gates*). Can it have been the rule to omit י after the termination *ôth*? Cf. below, n.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd masc. *sing.* לְ , which in *Q^{erê}* is almost always changed to לִ , e. g. לְצִיָּו *his arrows*, ψ 58⁸, *Q^{erê}* לְצִיָּו . On לְ , only three times לְהִרְיִי , cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—*Sing.* 2nd pers. *fem.* הִיָּ (after אַשְׂרֵי *happy!* Ec 10¹⁷, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage); יָבִי (cf. Syr. בִּי) 2 K 4³, and יָבִי in *K^{eth.}*, ψ 103³⁻⁵, 116⁷ (יָבִי in *pause*).—In Ez 16³¹ הִיָּ (so בָּמִי in 6⁸) occurs with an *infin.* ending in וֹת , the וֹת being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending וֹת (Nu 14³³, Is 54⁴, Jer 3⁸, Ez 16¹⁵, 23⁷, as well as in 16²⁰ *Q^{erê}*, and Zp 3²⁰), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5²⁴, reading $\text{וְהִמְשִׁיחֶנּוּ$), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47¹³, Ez 35¹¹, ψ 9¹⁵, Ezr 9¹⁵.—Wholly abnormal is מְלָאֲכָנָה *thy messengers*, Na 2⁴, evidently a case of dittography of the following הָ : read מְלָאֲכָנָה .

3rd masc. וְהִיָּ Hb 3¹⁰, Jb 24²³; וְהִיָּ 1 S 30²⁶, Ez 43¹⁷, Na 2⁴; וְהִיָּ (a purely Aramaic form) ψ 116¹².—3rd fem. אִהִיָּ Ez 41¹⁵.

Plur. The strange 2nd pers. *masc.* הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם (with *i*, so Qimḥi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25³⁴, is probably a mixed form combining הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם and הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם ; *fem.* יָבִיָּנָה Ez 13²⁰.

3rd masc. וְהִיָּמָה Ez 40¹⁶; *fem.* וְהִיָּנָה Ez 1¹¹.

3. The termination וֹת (also with the *dual*, e. g. ψ 58⁷, 59¹³), like וֹת and וֹת , occurs with the noun (as with the verb, § 58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular, ψ 21¹¹, 17^{10,10}, 58⁷, 59¹³, 89¹⁸; with a dual or plural, Dt 32^{27,32,37,38}, 33²⁹, ψ 2^{3,3}, 11⁷, 35¹⁶, 49¹², 58⁷, 59¹⁴, 73^{5,7}, 83^{12,12}, 140^{4,10}, Jb 27²³; after prepositions, see § 103 f, o, notes], and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. On the other hand there can be no doubt that these are revivals of really old forms. That they are consciously and artificially used is shown by the evidently intentional accumulation of them, e. g. in Ex 15^{5,7,9}, ψ 2^{3,5}, and 140^{4,10}, and also by the fact observed by Diehl (see the heading of this section) that in Ex 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Dt 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

- m 3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix*-forms which include the plural ending וֹת , even to the feminine plural in וֹת (וֹת *קִיסוֹתֵינִי*, וֹת *קִיסוֹתֵיךְ*, &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural.¹

- n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (see b), also occurs with the ending וֹת (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e. g. וְעָרְוֹתֵי ψ 132¹² (unless it be *sing.* for וְעָרְוֹתֵי , as, according to Qimḥi in his *Lexicon*, 2 K 6⁸ is for וְעָרְוֹתֵי); מִבְּתָרְךָ Dt 28⁶⁹ (treated on the analogy of an *infin.* לְהִיָּ);

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

אֲחֵי־יָדָךְ Ez 16⁵². On the other hand מִצֹּתְךָ (so Baer, Ginsb. ; but Opit. יָדָךְ) ψ 119⁹⁸, Dn 9⁵ is merely written defectively, like גִּרְרָתְךָ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1⁹, &c. In the 3rd plur. the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e. g. אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14¹⁵, and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׂמוֹתָם, שְׂמוֹתֵיהֶם *their names*, דִּירוֹתָם, דִּירוֹתֵיהֶם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 S 22⁴⁶ compared with ψ 18⁴⁶, Is 2⁴ with Mi 4³, it appears that in many cases the longer form in אֵיהֶם can only subsequently have taken the place of אֵם.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun *O* with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with one unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending ת— in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ä* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and כֵּן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

Singular.

p

| | <i>Masculine.</i> | <i>Feminine.</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | סוּס <i>a horse.</i> | סוּסָה <i>a mare.</i> |
| Sing. 1. <i>com.</i> | סוּסִי <i>my horse.</i> | סוּסָתִי <i>my mare.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסְךָ <i>thy horse.</i> | סוּסְךָ <i>thy mare.</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֶיךָ <i>thy horse.</i> | סוּסְתֶיךָ <i>thy mare.</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסוֹ <i>equus eius (suus).</i> | סוּסָתוֹ <i>equa eius (sua).</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסָהּ <i>equus eius (suus).</i> | סוּסָתֶיהָ <i>equa eius (sua).</i> |
| Plur. 1. <i>com.</i> | סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i> | סוּסָתֵינוּ <i>our mare.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horse.</i> | סוּסָתֵיכֶם <i>your mare.</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horse.</i> | סוּסָתֵיכֶן <i>your mare.</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסֵם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i> | סוּסָתֵם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֵן <i>equus earum (suus).</i> | סוּסָתֵן <i>equa earum (sua).</i> |

Plural.

q

| | <i>Masculine.</i> | <i>Feminine.</i> |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| | סוּסִים <i>horses.</i> | סוּסוֹת <i>mares.</i> |
| Sing. 1. <i>com.</i> | סוּסֵי <i>my horses.</i> | סוּסוֹתַי <i>my mares.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i> | סוּסוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i> | סוּסוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסֵיוֹ <i>equi eius (sui).</i> | סוּסוֹתֵיוֹ <i>equae eius (suae).</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֵיהָ <i>equi eius (sui).</i> | סוּסוֹתֵיהָ <i>equae eius (suae).</i> |
| Plur. 1. <i>com.</i> | סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horses.</i> | סוּסוֹתֵינוּ <i>our mares.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horses.</i> | סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם <i>your mares.</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horses.</i> | סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן <i>your mares.</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equi eorum (sui).</i> | סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eorum (suae).</i> |
| { <i>f.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equi earum (sui).</i> | סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן <i>equae earum (suae).</i> |

§ 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun.

a 1. Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive; (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

b 2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:—

(*a*) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case when the plural and dual endings ים־, וֹת and יִם־ are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes *Šewā*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e. g. דָּבָר word (ground-form *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרָנִי; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֵיךְ, &c.; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, קָנָה wing, dual קַנְפַּיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פְּקִיד overseer, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the suffix of the sing. פְּקִידִי, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. פְּקִידַי, פְּקִידֵיךְ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם eternity, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמִי, &c.¹

c But in participles of the form לַטָּל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ī*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šewā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e. g. אֶיב enemy, plur. אֶיבִים, with suff. אֶיבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קָטַל, קָטַל, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84^b *d, l, p*; § 85 *i* and *k*), e. g. אֵלֵם dumb, plur. אֵלֵמִים.

d (*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the *grave suffixes* to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, is moved forward two places within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šewā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e. g. דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people, דְּבָרֵיכֶם your words, דְּבָרֵיהֶם their words (in all which instances the *ī* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ā*).

¹ The participles *Niph'al* נִדְרַחַךְ Dt 30⁴, נִדְרַחוֹ 2 S 14¹³, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs לִ" form an exception; cf. § 93 oo.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is *e* appended to the ground-form (מִלְכִּי my king, מְלִכָּנוּ, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings מִי־, וְ, (sometimes also before מִי־) a *Qames* regularly occurs,¹ before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Šewā* (מְלִכִּים, מְלִכֹּת). This *Qames* (on which cf. § 84^a a) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלִכֵי, מְלִכָּי, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, regularly, according to *d*, has the form מְלִכֵי, with grave suffix מְלִכֵי־, &c., מְלִכֵי־ from דְּלָתַיְם folding-doors.

(c) Before the *Šewā mobile* which precedes the suffix *ך* when *f* following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e. g. דְּבַרְךָ, דְּבַרְךָ, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93 qq); but before the grave suffixes מְלִכֵי־ and מְלִכֵי־ in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְךָ (d^ebhārkhēm), &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st. sing.* also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֵצֵר הַיְבֵית; (from חֵצֵר).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Diqduqe ha-š'amim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words *g* which retain *Qames* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *ā* and therefore need not be considered. On the other hand, אֵלֶם or אֵלֶם I K 7^e, Ez 40⁴⁸, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st. plur.* אֵלֶמִי); מַצֵּב ψ 65⁶, Pr 25¹⁹; מַצֵּב I S 13²⁸ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מַצֵּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezr 8³⁰ and מִתֵּן Pr 18¹⁶ are very peculiar.

3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are *h* not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already become *Šewā*.

Besides the vowel changes discussed above in *a-g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25-28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84-86). Such are, e. g., the rejection of the ה of לְיָה stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 d), the sharpening of the final consonant of ע"ע stems in such cases as חַק, חַקִּי, &c.

A striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and noun is *k* that in a verb when terminations are added it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes *Šewā* (קָטַל, קָטַלָה, קָטַלְתִּי), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַר, דְּבַרְי, דְּבַרְיִם), cf. § 27. 3.

¹ For the rare exceptions see § 93 l and § 97 f, note 2.

§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.*¹

a Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given on pp. 264, 265, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised :

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122 *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. **חֶרֶב** *f.* sword, like **מֶלֶךְ** *m.* king, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination **וֹת**—; thus **חֶרְבוֹת**, *constr.* חֶרְבוֹת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

b (*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained even before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending **וֹת**— . All suffixes, except **וֹת**, **וֹן**, **וֹם**, **וֹן** (**וֹתְוֹ**—, **וֹתְוֹן**—, **וֹתְוֹם**—, **וֹתְוֹן**—), are called *light*. Cf. § 92 *e*.

Explanations of the Paradigms (see pp. 264, 265).

c 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84^a *a-e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms, *mälk*, *sîphr*, *quďš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *S^eghöl* to **מֶלֶךְ** (with *ä* modified to *è*), **סֵפֶר** (*š* lengthened to *ē*), **שִׁפְרֵי** (*ä* lengthened to *ō*).² The next three examples, instead of the helping *S^eghöl*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *constr. st. sing.* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ö* takes the place of the original *ä*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ä* and *ö* in the form of a *Haṭeph* (**מַעְרֵי**, **פַּעְלֵי**); before a following *S^ewā* this *Haṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ä*, *ö*), according to § 28 *c*; hence **מַעְרֵי**, &c.

d In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix **וֹת**— (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

¹ A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, ii. 1, p. 1 ff.

² According to P. Haupt 'The book of Nahum' in the *Journ. of bibl. Lit.*, 1907, p. 29, the *e* in **סֵפֶר** and the *o* in **שִׁפְרֵי** are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *σέφρ*, *σζν* (שִׁפְרֵי), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

second syllable; cf. § 84^a a), in the form of a pretonic *Qames*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Šewā*. The original *a* of the 2nd syllable is elided in the *construct state*, so that the short vowel under the first radical then stands in a closed syllable. The omission of *Dageš* in a following *Begadkephath* (מַלְכֵי, not מֶלְכֵי, &c.) is due to the loss of a vowel between ל and כ. On the other hand, the pretonic *Qames* of the *absolute state* is retained before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *construct state*.—The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground-form (so in *a-d* and *h*, but cf. *k*). The *construct state* of the dual is generally the same as that of the plural, except, of course, in cases like *m*.

Paradigms *g* and *h* exhibit forms with middle *u* and *i* (§ 84^a c, γ e and δ); the ground forms *maut* and *zait* are always contracted to *môth*, *zêth*, except in the *absol. sing.*, where *u* and *i* are changed into the corresponding consonants ו and י.

Paradigm *i* exhibits one of the numerous forms in which the contraction of a middle *u* or *i* has already taken place in the *absol. sing.* (ground-form *šaut*).

Paradigm *k* is a formation from a stem ה"ל (§ 84^a c, ε).

Paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms from stems י"ע, and hence (see § 67 a) *f* originally biliteral, *yam*, 'im, *huq*, with the regular lengthening to יָ, אָ, קָ. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs י"ע, takes place in the second radical, e.g. אָמַי, אָמַיִם, &c. (see § 84^a c, β).

REMARKS.

I. A. On I. *a* and *d* (ground-form *qatl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to *ā* *g* generally takes place, thus יָרְדֵי *vineyard*, נָעַר, נָרַע *seed* (from יָרַע), and so always (except ψ 48¹¹), in יָרְעֵי *earth* with the article, הַיָּרְעֵי, according to § 35 o (cf. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφίθ for הֶבֶל, יָפֶת). However, the form with *è* is also sometimes found in *pause*, along with that in *ā*, e.g. הָקָר together with הֶקָר; and very frequently only the form with *S^eghôl*, e.g. הַקָּרָה *grass*, חַצְרֵי *perpetuity*, פְּלֵא *a wonder*, צְדָקָה *righteousness*, קָרָם *the East*, יָשַׁע *help*, &c.—With two *S^eghôls*, although with a middle guttural, we find לֶחֶם *bread* (in *pause* חֶמֶס) and רֶחֶם *womb* (in *pause* רָחַם), besides רָחַם Ju 5³⁰ (in *pause* חֶמֶס). A helping *S^eghôl* always stands before a final א, as יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע (with *uff.* הַיָּשַׁע), פְּלֵא, פְּלֵא (also written הַפְּלֵא), except in יָשַׁע, see v.

B. The *constr. st.* is almost always the same as the *absolute*. Sometimes, *h* however, under the influence of a final guttural or ר, *Pathah* appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, s), e.g. יָרַע ψ 18²⁶; יָרַע

Paradigms of

I.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| <i>Sing. absolute</i> | מֶלֶךְ (king) | סֵפֶר (book) | קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary) | נָעַר (a youth) | נֶצַח (perpetuity) | פְּעֹל (work) |
| „ <i>construct</i> | מֶלֶךְ | סֵפֶר | קֹדֶשׁ | נָעַר | נֶצַח | פְּעֹל |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | מֶלְכִי | סִפְרִי | קֹדְשִׁי | נְעָרִי | נֶצְחִי | פְּעוּלִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | מֶלְכְּךָ | סִפְרְךָ | קֹדְשְׁךָ | נְעָרְךָ | נֶצְחְךָ | פְּעוּלְךָ |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i> | מְלָכִים | סִפְרִים | [קֹדְשִׁים] | נְעָרִים | נֶצְחִים | פְּעוּלִים |
| „ <i>construct</i> | מְלָכֵי | סִפְרֵי | קֹדְשֵׁי | נְעָרֵי | נֶצְחֵי | פְּעוּלֵי |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | מְלָכֵי | סִפְרֵי | [קֹדְשֵׁי] | נְעָרֵי | נֶצְחֵי | פְּעוּלֵי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | מְלָכֵיכֶם | סִפְרֵיכֶם | קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם | נְעָרֵיכֶם | נֶצְחֵיכֶם | פְּעוּלֵיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absolute</i> | רַגְלָיִם (feet) | קַבְצָיִם (two heaps) | מַחְזָיִם (loins) | נַעֲלָיִם (sandals) | | |
| „ <i>construct</i> | רַגְלֵי | [proper name.] | מַחְזֵי | נַעֲלֵי | | |

II.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Sing. absolute</i> | דָּבָר (word) | חָכָם (wise) | זָקֵן (an old man) | כְּתֹף (shoulder) | חֲצֵר (court) | שָׂדֶה (field) |
| „ <i>construct</i> | דָּבָר | חָכָם | זָקֵן | כְּתֹף | חֲצֵר | שָׂדֶה |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרִי | חֲכָמִי | זָקֵנִי | כְּתָפִי | חֲצָרִי | שָׂדֵי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרְךָ | חֲכָמְךָ | | | | שָׂדֶךָ |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i> | דְּבָרִים | חֲכָמִים | זָקֵנִים | | חֲצָרִים | פְּנִים |
| „ <i>construct</i> | דְּבָרֵי | חֲכָמֵי | זָקֵנֵי | | חֲצָרֵי | פְּנֵי |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרֵי | חֲכָמֵי | זָקֵנֵי | | חֲצָרֵי | פְּנֵי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרֵיכֶם | חֲכָמֵיכֶם | זָקֵנֵיכֶם | | חֲצָרֵיכֶם | פְּנֵיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absolute</i> | כְּנָפַיִם (wings) | חֲלָצָיִם (loins) | יָרְכָיִם (thighs) | | | (face) |
| „ <i>construct</i> | כְּנָפֵי | | | | | |

Masculine Nouns.

I.

| <i>g.</i> | <i>h.</i> | <i>i.</i> | <i>k.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>m.</i> | <i>n.</i> |
|-------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| מָוֹת | זַיִת | שׁוֹט | פְּרִי | יָם | אִם | חֵק |
| (death) | (olive) | (whip) | (fruit) | (sea) | (mother) | (statute) |
| מוֹת | זַיִת | שׁוֹט | פְּרִי | יָם, יַם | אִם | חֵק |
| מוֹתֵי | זַיִתֵי | שׁוֹטֵי | פְּרִיֵי | יַמֵי | אִמֵי | חֻקֵי |
| מוֹתֶיךָ | זַיִתְךָ | שׁוֹטְךָ | פְּרִיְךָ | יַמְךָ | אִמְךָ | חֻקְךָ |
| מוֹתְכֶם | זַיִתְכֶם | שׁוֹטְכֶם | פְּרִיְכֶם | יַמְכֶם | אִמְכֶם | חֻקְכֶם |
| [מוֹתֵינוּ] | זַיִתֵינוּ | שׁוֹטֵינוּ | פְּרִיֵינוּ | יַמֵינוּ | אִמוֹת | חֻקִים |
| מוֹתֵי | זַיִתֵי | שׁוֹטֵי | גְּדֵיֵי | יַמֵי | אִמוֹת | חֻקֵי |
| | זַיִתֵי | שׁוֹטֵי | (kids) | יַמֵי | אִמוֹתֵי | חֻקֵי |
| | זַיִתְכֶם | שׁוֹטְכֶם | | יַמְכֶם | אִמוֹתֵיכֶם | חֻקְכֶם |
| | עֵינַיִם | יוֹמַיִם | לְחָיִים | כַּפָּיִם | שִׁנָּיִם | |
| | (eyes) | (two days, biduum) | (cheeks) | (hands) | (teeth) | |
| | עֵינַי | | לְחָיֵי | כַּפָּי | שִׁנָּי | |

III.

IV.

| <i>a.</i> | <i>b.</i> | <i>c.</i> | <i>a.</i> | <i>b.</i> | <i>c.</i> |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| עוֹלָם | אֵיב | הוֹה | פְּקִיד | עָנִי | כְּתָב |
| (eternity) | (enemy) | (seer) | (overseer) | (poor) | (writing) |
| עוֹלָם | אֵיב | הוֹה | פְּקִיד | עָנִי | כְּתָב |
| עוֹלָמֵי | אֵיבֵי | הוֹוֵי | פְּקִידֵי | | כְּתָבֵי |
| עוֹלָמְךָ | אֵיבְךָ | הוֹוְךָ | פְּקִידְךָ | | כְּתָבְךָ |
| עוֹלָמְכֶם | אֵיבְכֶם | הוֹוְכֶם | פְּקִידְכֶם | | כְּתָבְכֶם |
| עוֹלָמִים | אֵיבִים | הוֹוִים | פְּקִידִים | עָנִיִים | [כְּתָבִים] |
| עוֹלָמֵי | אֵיבֵי | הוֹוֵי | פְּקִידֵי | עָנִי | [כְּתָבֵי] |
| עוֹלָמֵי | אֵיבֵי | הוֹוֵי | פְּקִידֵי | | [כְּתָבֵי] |
| עוֹלָמֵיכֶם | אֵיבֵיכֶם | הוֹוֵיכֶם | פְּקִידֵיכֶם | עָנִיכֶם | [כְּתָבֵיכֶם] |
| מְלָקָתִים | מֵאֻזְנַיִם | | שָׁבָעִים | | |
| (pair of tongs) | (balance) | | (two weeks) | | |
| | מֵאֻזְנֵי | | | | |

(only in Nu 11⁷, before Maqqeph), חָרַר Ju 3²⁴ (but Ct 3⁴ חָרָר), נָטַע, as well as וָרַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קָחַת 2 K 12⁹ (for קָחַת, *infn. constr.* from לָקַח).

i C. The הַ־ locale is, according to § 90 i, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. הַבְּתָרָה ψ 116^{14,18}: הַבְּתָרָה Gn 19⁶, to the door; but also with a firmly closed syllable הַבְּתָרָה Ex 4c²⁴; under the influence of a guttural or ר, הַרְרָה, אַרְרָה, in pause אַרְרָה (cf. אַרְרָה 1 Ch 14¹⁶, from אַרְרָה).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Haṭeph-Pathah* instead of the *S^{wā} quiescens*; גַּעְרִי, &c. (but also לְחַמִּי, וְעַמִּי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qāṭl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, the *ā* of the first syllable is attenuated to *ī*,¹ thus בְּמִנִּי *my womb*, יִתְרוֹ; so in בְּנָדָר, בְּצַעַע, בְּצַעַע, בְּצַעַע, וְכַח, וְכַח, וְכַח, פְּשָׁעַע, פְּתַחַח, צָרָק, קָרַב, קָרַב, רָשָׁעַע, רָשָׁעַע, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ā* there most probably existed another with original *ī* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יִשְׁעַע beside יִשְׁעַע, יִצַּח beside יִצַּח, &c. (According to the *Diquḏe ha-ṭ'amim*, § 36, the *absolut. st.* in such cases takes *ē*, the *constr. st.* *ē*; cf. יָרַר Nu 30⁴ (*absol.*) and יָרַר 30¹⁰ (*constr.*); שָׁבַר Lv 24²⁰ (*absol.*) and שָׁבַר Am 6⁶ (*constr.*). According to this theory² פְּלִיאַ (so the best authorities) Is 9⁵ would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בְּנָרִי, &c. from בְּנָר and יִקְרָה Dt 15¹⁴, 16¹³, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S^{ghól}* for *ī*: הַבְּלִי, יִשְׁעַע, נְנָדִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is found as well as יִם, e.g. נְפִשׁוֹת, עֲצָמוֹת together with נְפִשִׁים (Ez 13²⁰ [but read חֲכָשִׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st.* נְפִשׁוֹת. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אַרְצוֹת, *constr.* אַרְצוֹת from אַרְצָה. Without *Qames* before the ending יִם we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., cf. § 97 f, note 2. Moreover *a* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אֲשֶׁרִי, &c., properly *thy happiness!* (a word which is only used in the *constr. st. pl.* and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection).

m F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסַפְיָהֶם Gn 42^{25,35}; רִשְׁפֵי Ct 8⁶ (רִשְׁפֵי ψ 76⁴); טַרְפֵי Ez 17⁹; צְמֵדֵי Is 5¹⁰, and so always in נְסִיבֵיכֶם Nu 29⁸⁹, נְסִיבֵיהֶם ψ 16⁴, &c. (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חֲסִדֵי Is 55³, &c., though in ψ 107⁴³ Ginsburg reads חֲסִדֵי); cf. § 46 d. Even with a middle guttural בְּעֵלְיָהֶן Est 1^{17,20}.—The attenuation of *ā* to *ī* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, k), e.g. וְכַחִי, &c., even יִלְרִי Is 57⁴ beside יִלְרִי Ho 1², &c.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלָיִם *feet*, with suff. רַגְלָיִךְ, &c. רַגְלָיִם, &c. רַגְלָיִם *two thousand*, נַעְלָיִם *sandals*, בְּרַבְיָם *knees* (*ā* attenuated to *ī*, *constr. st.* בְּרַבְיָם with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַבְיָם, &c. (cf., however, בְּרַבְיָהֶם Ju 7⁶), forms with pretonic *Qames* are also found (in consequence of the

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

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

tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 17), as קַרְנַיִם horns, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dn 8³ ^{fr.}; elsewhere always קַרְנַיִם, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַיִם, constr. st. דְּלָתַי folding-doors, דְּרָבַיִם (?) double way.

2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final א rejected (but retained orthographically) we find הַטָּא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S^eghôl* instead of the original *i*, e.g. הַלְקִי, עוֹרִי, &c., so in the constr. st. plur. עוֹרָי, &c.; אַטָּא forms אַטָּאֵי 2 K 10²⁹, &c., retaining the *Qameš* of אַטָּאֵי before the weak א.—The pausal forms סִתְרָה and שִׁבְטָה (out of pause always סִתְרָה, שִׁבְטָה) go back to by-forms סִתְרָה, שִׁבְטָה.—On עֲשׂוּבוֹת (*constr. st. plur.* of עֲשׂוּבָה) Pr 27²⁵, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמוֹת *sycamores*, without *Qameš* before the termination אֵ—(see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמוֹה found in the Mišna.

3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִטְשָׁה occurs in Pr 22²¹ without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural בָּעֵל, &c., but with ה also אֶהָל, בָּהָה; with a final guttural גָּבַהּ, רָבַע, &c., but with א, גָּמָא; with a firmly closed syllable אֶסְפִּי Mi 7¹.

Before suffixes the original *ü* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גִּדְלוּ (*ψ* 150²) beside גִּדְלוּ, from גִּדְלוּ greatness; סִבְלוּ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ü* repeated in the form of a *Ḥateph-Qameš*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9³, &c.; and גִּשְׂמוֹה Ez 22²⁴.—Corresponding to the form פִּעְלֵכֶם *po'ól'khêm* we find קִטְבְּךָ Ho 13¹⁴, even without a middle guttural; similarly קִטְנִי (so Jablonski and Opatius) 1 K 12¹⁰, 2 Ch 10¹⁰, from קִטְנָה little finger; but the better reading is, no doubt, קִטְנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the *q* proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קִטְנוּ, not *qütün*, as Brockelmann quotes him, in *Grundriss*, p. 103. The reading קִטְנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but אֵ is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *ö*. In the forms פִּעְלוּ Is 1³¹ (for פִּעְלוּ) and תִּאָּרוּ Is 52¹⁴ (for תִּאָּרוּ 1 S 28¹⁴), the lengthening of the original *ü* to *ö* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּמִצְעָאֵם Gn 32²⁰).—In the same way *ö* remains before הֶ—*locale*, e.g. מְרִנָּה הַמְרִנָּה Gn 18⁶, 24⁶⁷, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נִכְחָה?) seems to occur in נִכְחוּ Ex 14², Ez 46⁹, for נִכְחוּ.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *ü* generally becomes *S^ewā* before the *Qameš*, *r* e.g. בְּקָרִים from בְּקָר morning, פְּעָלִים works, רִמְחִים lances, יְדָעִים handfuls (*constr. st.* יְדָעִי Ez 13¹⁹); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *ü*-sound reappears as *Ḥateph Qameš*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים months, עֲפָרִים gazelles, אֲרָחוֹת ways; and so even without an initial guttural, הַנְּרָנוֹת the threshing-floors, 1 S 23¹, Jo 2²⁴; קִדְשִׁים sanctuaries, and שְׁרָשִׁים roots (*qōdhāšîm*, &c., with *ö* for אֵ); also קִדְשֵׁי [but קִדְשֵׁי, קִדְשָׁיו, once 'ק], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'ק and 'ק; with the article הַקָּ, בַּקָּ, לַקָּ, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אֶהָל tent, both בְּאֶהָלִים and אֶהָלִים (cf. § 23 *h* and פִּעְלוּ above) are found; with light suffixes אֶהָלֵי, &c.; so from אֶרְחָה way, אֶרְחָתִי (also אֶרְחָתִי)—hence only with initial א, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the

plural of אַרְחָה *caravan*, and of אַרְחַ way; however, אַרְחָה is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 6¹⁹) and אַרְחָה in the latter (e.g. Jb 13²⁷ according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); cf. also אַרְחָה 2 Ch 8¹⁸ *K^{eth.}* (אַרְחָה *Q^rrê*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֹנוֹת Ju 16^{f.}, as if from a sing. בְּהֹן: of נְהִי *brightness*, Is 59⁹ נְהִיּוֹת (on these *q^el-ol*-forms, cf. *l*).—If אַפְּנִי Pr 25¹¹ is not dual but plural (see the Lexicon) it is then analogous to the examples, given in *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בְּטַנִּים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בְּטַנָּה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, 345 f. אַפְּנִי is a sing. (אַפְּנִי, the ground-form of אַפְּנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ä* is רַכְסֵי ψ 31²¹; otherwise like קְדָשֵׁי, אֲהָלֵי, &c.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84^a e). Thus (a) of the form קָטַל; רֵבֶשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*; in *pause*, רֵבֶשׁ, מְעַט; מְעַט *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*), ψ 18²⁶ (elsewhere always מְעַטְּ), and *infinitives* like שֹׁכֵב (§ 45 c; on קָחַת, see above, *h*); שֹׁכֵב *shoulder*, *ä* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שֹׁכֵב); locative שֹׁכְמָה, also שֹׁכְמָה Ho 6⁹. With suffixes in the usual manner שֹׁכְמִי, שֹׁכְמָה Gn 19^{33.35} (an *infin.* with suffix, therefore not שֹׁכְמָה). On the other hand, the *ä* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָמִים (*constr.* אֲנָמִי) *marshes*, הַרְפִּים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

(b) Of the form קָטַל; בְּאֵר *a well*, זֶאֵב *wolf*, &c.¹; locative בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרֵי, *plur.* זֶאֵבִים, זֶאֵבֵי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin. constr.* שֹׁאֵת, cf. § 76 b.

(c) of the form קָטַל; בְּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, just as סִבְכּוֹ occurs in Jer 4⁷ along with the *constr. st.* סִבְכָּה ψ 74⁵; cf. for the Dageš, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאָם *nation*, pl. לְאָמִים.

5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (a) of the form *qätl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ä* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מוֹתָו *vanity*, עוֹלָו *iniquity*, מִדְּתָו *midst*; with final א, שוֹאָו *falsehood*; cf. however, also רוֹחָו *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עוֹלוֹ as *constr. st.* Ez 28¹⁸ (according to Qimḥi) and with *suff.* עוֹלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

(b) Of the form *qätl* with consonantal *Yôdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, גֵּיָא (also גֵּי), in Is 40⁴ גֵּיָא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14⁴) גֵּיָא (also גֵּי); plur. 2 K 2¹⁶ and Ez 6³ *K^{eth.}* according to Baer נֵאוֹת, i. e. doubtless נֵאוֹת (cf. גֵּיאוֹתֵיךְ Ez 35⁸; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נֵיאוֹת,

¹ The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT.* 'Proverbs', p. 34, l. 44 ff.) to read בְּאֵר, זֶאֵב, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1²² where the Masora requires תְּאֵהְבוּ, no doubt on the analogy of בְּאֵר, &c., for תְּאֵהְבוּ, which was probably intended, see § 63 *m*.

i. e. doubtless **נְיָאוֹת**, but in *Q'ré*, and all other passages, **נְיָאוֹת**. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before הַ־ locale, e. g. **בְּיַתְהָ** (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. **יְיֹסֶף** **בְּיַתְהָ**—**עִירָה** (from **עִירָה**) Gn 49¹¹ is peculiar, so also **שִׁתּוֹ** Is 10¹⁷ (from **שִׁתּוֹ**).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like **הַחֲלִים** *hosts*, **עֵינֹת** *springs*, **עֵצִים** *young asses*, **הַיְשָׁים** *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Pr 8²⁸ **עֵינֹת** for **עֵינֹת**.

(c) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st. sing.* (Paradigm *z*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form *qātl*: **יוֹם** (cf., however, § 96), **סוֹף**, **שׁוֹר**, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, **חֵיל** I Ch 9¹³ (elsewhere **חַיִל**), **לֵיל** Is 21¹¹ (elsewhere **לַיִל**, in prose **לַיְלָה**, see above, § 90 *f*); from the ground-form *qūl*, **דֵּין**, **שִׁיר** (see, however, § 96); from the ground-form *qūl*, **גֹּר**, **רוּחַ**, &c. The plurals **דְּרוֹדִים** *pots*, **שׁוּקִים** *streets*, **שׁוֹרִים** *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for **הַחֲוֹתִים** I S 13⁸ read **חֲוֹרִים** as in 14¹¹). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle א also belong to this class, such as **רֹאשׁ** *head* (obscured from **רֹאשׁ** = *ra's*, see § 96) and **צֹאן** *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from *l^ah* stems. Besides the formations *u* mentioned in § 84^a *c*, *e*, like **בְּכָה**, &c., and **שָׁחוּ** Ez 47⁵, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24 *d* (cf. the *constr. plur.* **חַנְיָ** *clefts*, Ob 3, &c., and **קַצְיָ** *ends*, ψ 48¹¹, &c., where the ו becomes again a strong consonant,¹ from **חַנְיָ** and **קַצְיָ** or **חַנְיָ** and **קַצְיָ**), there occur also (*a*) commonly, of the ground-form *qāl*, forms like **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **גָּדִי**, **לְחִי**, **צָבִי**, **אָרִי**, &c.; in *pause* **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **לְחִי**, **צָבִי** (cf. § 29 *m*), but **אָרִי** Ju 14¹⁸; with suffixes **פָּרִי** (attenuated from *pāryō*), **בָּבִי** ψ 6⁹, but also **פָּרִיךְ**, **לְחִי**, &c.; before a grave suffix **פָּרִיהֶם**, but also **פָּרִיכֶם**. *Plur. constr.* **גְּדִיִּים** (constr. **גְּדִי**, see above, *o*, **חַטָּאִי**), **אָרִיִּים** and **אָרִיֹת**; with softening of the י to א (as elsewhere in **בְּלוֹאִי** Jer 38¹² for which there is **בְּלוֹי** in verse 11, according to § 8 *k*; **עֲרֵבִיאִים** 2 Ch 17¹¹, cf. 26⁷ *Keth.*; probably in **דְּוִדִּים** and **לְלוֹאִים** from **דְּוִדִּי** and **לְלוֹאִי**; also **חַלְבָּאִים** ψ 1c¹⁰ *Keth.*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. **חַלְבִּי** *hapless*): **חַלְבִּי** *jewels*, Ct 7² (from **חַלְבִּי**), **טְלָאִים** *lambs*, Is 40¹¹ (from **טְלִי**); but instead of **פְּתָאִים** and **צְבָאִים** (from **פְּתִי** and **צְבִי**) the Masora requires **פְּתָאִים** and **צְבָאִים**; dual: **לְחַיִּים**, *constr. st.* **לְחַיִּי**, with *suffix* **לְחַיִּי**, &c. On **דֶּל** *door*, cf. § 95 *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG*. 1887, p. 603 ff., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 ff.

(b) From the ground-form *qūl*, **חַצִּי** *half*, in *pause* **חַצִּי**, with *suffix* **חַצִּי**, &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as **אִי** (from *'ivy*), **עֵי**, **צֵי** *ship*, plur. **אֵיִם**, **צֵיִם**, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. **צֵים** Nu 24²⁴ read with the Samaritan **אֵיִם**, and for **בְּצֵים** Ez 30⁹ read probably with Cornill **אֵצֵים**.

(c) From the ground-form *qūl* sometimes forms like **תָּהוּ**, **בָּהוּ** (from *tāhw*, ≈ *bāhw*), sometimes like **חַלְיָ**, **עַנְיָ**, and even without an initial guttural **יָפִי**, **יָכִי**,

¹ Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58: the direct or indirect retention of this ו is hardly a feature of early Hebrew. The true Hebrew forms from *קַצְה* would be **קַצְה**, **קַצְוֹת**, **קַצְוֹת**, the aramaizing forms **קַצְה**, **קַצְת**, **קַצְוֹת**.

צָרִי (also יָפִי, דָּמִי, צָרִי, רָאִי, &c; in *pause* הָלִי, &c., with suff. הָלִי, plur. הָלִיִּים. From עֲפָי *branch*, there occurs in ψ 104¹² the plur. עֲפָאִים (analogous to אֲפָאִים, &c., see above, x); the *K^{eth}*. evidently intends עֲפָאִים (so Opatius and others). Dual, with suff. הָלִי Nu 24⁷, *bucket* (from הָלִי, for הָלִי), more correctly, with the Masora, הָלִי with Munah for *Metheg*. This unusual *Metheg* is to be treated as following the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 9 v.

aa 7. On Paradigms l-n: segholate forms from stems ע"ע (see § 84^a c, B).

(a) In the *qatl*-form the *ä* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָד (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יָד־סוּף *the Red sea*; and even before *Maqqeph*, יָד־הַפֶּלֶחַ *the salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. פַּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qames* in *pause*, as well as after the article (e.g. הָעַם). Adjectives under the influence of a guttural either have forms like לַחִים, צָחִים or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעִים, רָעִי. In the *constr. st.* חַי *living* (in the plural חַיִּים also a substantive, *life*), and רַי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חַי¹ and רַי. As a locative form notice הָרָה *to the mountain*, Gn 14¹⁰ (see § 27 q) beside הָרָה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הָרָרִי (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הָרָר on the analogy of *qätäl*-forms) Jer 17³ (but in ψ 30⁸ before הָרָרִי read הָרָרִי) and הָרָרִם Gn 14⁶; plur. *constr.* הָרָרִי Nu 23⁷, &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הָרָרִיָּה Dt 8⁹; with suffix, עֲמָמִים Ju 5¹⁴ (where, however, read probably בַּעֲמָמִיָּה), Neh 9²²; עֲמָמִי Neh 9²⁴: elsewhere עֲמָמִים, עֲמָמִי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ä* is sometimes attenuated to *i*, e.g. פָּתִים, פָּתִי, from פַּת; סָפִים and סָפִות (also סָפִות 2 S 17²⁸) from סָף. Before *ח* *ä* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e.g. פָּחִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qitl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ־אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but cf. also אֵשֶׁבֶת Is 50¹¹), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חֵנִים ψ 77¹⁸.

(c) *Qitl*-forms: חֵק, חֵק־חֵק *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חֵק־חֵק, with suff. חֵקִי, &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20 m) always חֵקֶךָ, חֵקְכֶם, חֵקְכֵם, but from עוֹ, עוֹנֶךָ, עוֹנֶכֶם, עוֹנֶיךָ, עוֹנֶיכֶם, עוֹנֶיכֵם, for which עוֹנֶיךָ and עוֹנֶיכֶם are also found. חֵקִי, expanded to a trilateral form, Ju 5¹⁵ and Is 10¹, generally explained as a secondary form of חֵקִי with abnormal weakening of the *ä* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qitl*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nün* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms l-n, e.g. אָף *nose, anger* (אָפִים, dual אָפִים, also *face*) for 'any; חֵךְ *palate* for *hink*, חֵךְ־חֵךְ *fetters*, עֹז *goat*, plur. עֹזִים, for 'inz, probably also יָבֵן *green herb*, for 'inb.

dd 2. Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; cf. § 84^a f-i, and the general laws of formation, § 92 b-g.

¹ חַי only in Dn 12⁷ as *constr. st.*, since in the asseverative formulae (cf. § 149) חַי פָּרַעַר, חַי נִפְשֶׁךָ, חַי (otherwise only in 2 S 15²¹, after חַי יְהוּה, and Amos 8¹⁴), חַי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.). It is evidently only a rabbinical refinement which makes the pronunciation חַי distinctive of an oath by God (or of God by himself), as in the regular formulae חַי אֱלֹהִים (חַי אֱלֹהֵי) Dt 32⁴⁰) and חַי יְהוָה (= חַי אֱלֹהֵי).

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the second *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in *א"ל*-forms, e.g. *צָבָא* *army*, *צָבָא*. For the construct forms *חָלֵב* *milk*, *לָבָן* *white*, Gn 49¹², instead of the ordinary *absolutes* *חָלֵב*, *לָבָן*, a secondary form *חָלֵב*, *לָבָן* must be assumed; from *עָשָׂן* *smoke*, the *constr. st.* *עָשָׂן* occurs once, Ex 19¹⁸, beside *עָשָׂן*, from *הָדָר* *ornament* the *constr. st.* *הָדָר* Dn 11²⁰, beside the common form *הָדָר*.—The plur. *פָּרָשִׁים* *horses*, Is 21⁷ (instead of *פָּרָשִׁים*, ground-form *pārās*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qāṭāl*-form *פָּרָשׁ* *horseman*.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. *גַּמְלִים* *camels*, *קִטְנִים* *small ones*, *פְּלִגּוֹת* *brooks* (see § 20 *a*).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *i* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as *חֻכְמֵי*, *עֲנוּי*, but *חֻקֵי*, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. *נְהַרֵי*; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms *וּנְבוֹת* *tails*, *בְּנֵפּוֹת*, and (in the dual) *בְּנֵפֵי* *wings*, from *וּנְבָה*, *בְּנֵה*.—The dual *נְהַרֵים* from *נְהַר* *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 *c*.

B. From *ע"ע* stems, forms like *חָלָל*, *עָנָן*, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as *לֵבָב* *heart*, *שֵׁבֶר* *strong drink*, *עֵנַב* *grape*, &c. From *שֵׁעַר* *hair*, in the *constr. st.* besides *שֵׁעַר* the form *שֵׁעַר* is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from *צִלְע* *rib*, *צִלְע* and even *צִלְע* 2 S 16¹³ (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer *צִלְע*), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of *צִלְע*; cf. also *צִלְעֵי* and *צִלְעוּ*, as well as the *constr. st. plur.* *צִלְעוֹת*; also from *נֶכְר* *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* *נֶכְרֵי* is found, Dt 31¹⁶.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭil*, developed to *qāṭēl*; with a final guttural, e.g. *שָׂבַע* *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *i* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 *c*, becomes *ā*, e.g. *וְזָקַן*, *חָדַל*, &c., but not before suffixes, *בְּתַפִּי*, &c., nor in forms from *א"ל* stems, e.g. *מָלְא* *full*, *מָלְא*; cf., moreover, *עָקַב* Gn 25²⁶ from *עָקַב* *heel*, and *אֲבָל* ψ 35¹⁴, *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary *בְּתַף*, &c., have a segholate form, as *אֲרָף*, *יָרַף*, *גָּוַל*, *עָרַל* (Ez 44⁹), *constr. st.* of *אֲרָף* *long*, *יָרַף* *wall*, *יָרַף* *thigh*, *גָּוַל* *robbery*, *עָרַל* *uncircumcised*. In Is 11¹⁴ *בְּבִתָּף* would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for *בְּבִתָּף*); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for *בְּבִתָּף* 'בב' *with one shoulder*, i. e. *shoulder to shoulder*); [cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.*].

In the *plur. constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *i* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. *שְׂמֵחֵי*, *שְׂמֵחֵי*, *יְשִׁנֵי*, *אֲבָלֵי*, *חִפְצֵי*; cf. also *יְתֻרְתֵי* (with *ē* under the protection of the secondary tone) from *יְתֵר* *tent-peg*. On the other hand from *יָרַא* *fearing*, always *יָרַא*; cf. also *רִנְעֵי* ψ 35²⁰ from *רִנַע*.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. *אֲחָר* *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the *ח*).—From *ע"ע* stems come forms like *מֵת* *dead person*, *גֵר* *resident stranger*, *עֵד* *witness*, with unchangeable *Ṣerē*; hence *מֵתֵי*, *מֵתֵי*, &c.

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

ff' gg

hh

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāfōl*, e.g. עָלַל *round*, עָמַק *deep*, אָרֶם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ū* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עָנְלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נְבָהָה, נְשָׁחִירִים). The form עָנְלוֹל, 1 K 10¹⁹, is abnormal; likewise עֲמוּקָה Pr 23²⁷, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֲמֻקָה, Baer and Ginsburg עֲמֻקָה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāfāl* from ל"ה stems. As in verbs ל"ה § 75 *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שָׁרָה the form שָׁרִי, with the final *Yōdh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מִשְׁתִּיהֶם, in *ss*); in the same way final י is retained in עֲנִיִּים *the poor*, constr. עֲנִי. The plur. of שָׁרָה is שָׁרוֹת, constr. שָׁרוֹת (also שָׁרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׁרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG*. xlii, p. 351). The *qāfāl*-form (see § 84^a *i*) רָעָה 2 S 15³⁷, 16¹⁶, 1 K 4⁵ is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opitius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנִי, פָּנִי, &c.

mm In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, constr. יָד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יָדְכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדַיְכֶם, יָדַיְכֶם, with *suff.* יָדַיְכֶם, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דָּמְכֶם (*ā* attenuated to *ē*), plur. דָּמַיְכֶם, דָּמַיְכֶם. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nn 3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes *S^ewā* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אֲפֻנִים *wheels*, for אֲפֻנִים, and אֲלֻמִּים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *S^ewā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of ל"ה formations is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālām), the following forms also are inflected: מְקַטֵּל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מְבַטְחוֹ Jer 17⁷, ψ 40⁵, Jb 8¹⁴, &c.; ל"ה nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מְקַרְיָא from מְקַרְיָא¹; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs ל"ה (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נְקַרְיָאִים but also נְחַבְיָאִים Jos 10¹⁷, Ez 20^{30f},

¹ מְקַרְשִׁיהֶם Ez 7²⁴ for מְקַרְשִׁי (from מְקַרְשִׁי) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ר (according to § 20 *m*).

and so always נְבָאִים (except Ez 13² הַנְּבָאִים) and נִמְצְאִים 1 S 13¹⁵, 2 K 14¹⁴, &c. (except Ezr 8²⁵ הַנִּמְצְאִים in pause).¹

Moreover, the other participles in *ā* also follow the analogy of עֹלָם as *pp* regards the final syllable (מִקְטָל, מִקְטַל; cf., however, הַמּוֹשֵׁב Gn 43¹² in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65 *d*); also שֹׁלְחָן *table* (§ 85 *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, *constr. שְׁלַחְנוֹת*), קָרְבָן, *constr. קִרְבָּן*, hence in plur. *constr.* with *suff.* קִרְבָּיָהוּ Lv 7³⁸; עֲקָרָב (§ 85 *w*), plur. עֲקָרְבַיִם (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרְבַיִם, cf. also עֵרִים *naked*, plur. עֵרְמִים Gn 3⁷ [but in 2²⁵ מְעֵרְמִים, according to § 90 an orthographic licence for עֵרְמִים from עֵרִים], עֵרְמִים *nakedness*, 2 Ch 28¹⁵; קָרְדָּמוֹ, מְעַמְמֵי Is 51¹⁰; נִכְבְּדֵי Is 23^{8 f.}; מְשֻׁבְּבֵי ψ 18³; even with attenuation of the *ā* to *ī*, מוֹרְגִים *threshing instruments*, 2 S 24²², 1 Ch 21²³, from מוֹרֵג (מתן) (§ 85 *g*), מִגֵּן (§ 85 *ī*), מֵעוֹ (§ 85 *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *ā* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic. e.g. מְנַיִ, מְעוֹי, מוֹשֵׁב (§ 85 *g*); תוֹשֵׁב (§ 85 *p*), *constr. st. plur. תְּשׁוּבֵי* 1 K 17¹; also isolated forms according to § 84^a *t*, and § 84^b *b, c, k, m, n, o*. Cf. finally צְנָאָר *neck* (from *šāw'ār*), *constr. st. צְנָאָר* Jer 28^{10 ff.}, *constr. st. plur. צְנָאָרֵי* Gn 45¹⁴, &c.

2. (Paradigm *b*; cf. § 84^a *s*.) Instead of the original *ī* in such forms as אֵיבָכְךָ (cf. 2 K 22²⁹), the second syllable more frequently has *ē*, e.g. יִצְרָךְ *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91 *d*; but cf. also אֶבֶר Dt 32²⁸) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחָךְ, sometimes like בְּרִאֶךְ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נָטַע ψ 94⁹ (according to § 65 *d*); with a middle guttural זֹאֶךְ Is 48¹⁷; cf. 43¹⁴.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *ē* in the final syllable (מִקְטָל, מִתְקַטֵּל, &c.), see further, in § 84^b *d*, נָבַן, &c. (but with exceptions, as שְׁלֵשִׁים, (רִבְעִים, and *ibid.* *l, p*; § 85 *i, k* (מִזְבֵּחַ *altar, constr. st. מִזְבְּחַת*, plur. מִזְבְּחוֹת), and *ibid.* *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מְקַהֲלִים ψ 26¹²).

3. (Paradigm *c: part. Qal* of verbs לָה, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the *unchangeableness* of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ez 17¹⁵ *ē* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S'ghôl* in the *constr. st.* in 2 S 24¹¹ (so Opatius, Ginsburg; but Baer חוּהוּ, Ec 2¹⁵ (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מְקַהֵר Ec 3¹⁹ is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the לָה-forms mentioned in § 84^a *r*, § 85 *g* (with *suff.*, e.g. הִמְעֵלְךָ Dt 20¹, *which brought thee up*), and *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *SS* *āy* of the termination has been contracted to *ī*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*; as מְשֻׁפְּיָהֶם Is 5¹², Dn 1^{10.16}; מְרִאֵיהֶם *their appearance*, Dn 1¹⁵, Gn 41²¹, cf. Na 2⁵; נֹטְיָהֶם *who stretched them forth*, Is 42⁵; *defectively* אֶפְהֶם Ho 7⁵ (cf. נֹהֶם Ez 34¹⁴); on the other hand, the examples in Is 14¹¹, Gn 47¹⁷, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מַחֲנֵיךְ *thy camp*, Dt 23¹⁵ (מַחֲנֵךְ occurs just before),

¹ Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 659, observes that except in 2 Ch 5¹¹, 35¹⁷ הַנִּמְצְאִים is always followed by a preposition governing a word, so that the punctuators perhaps intended to indicate a sort of *constr. st.*

מִקְנֵיךָ *thy cattle*, Is 30²³ (probably also שְׂרִירָךְ 1 K 2²⁶, מִרְאֵיךָ Ct 2¹⁴, and מִרְאֵי *the sight of him*, Jb 41¹ (with the *י* here retained orthographically), מִעֵלָיו Ez 40³¹, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מִמְחֵיִם Is 25⁶ (*part. Pu.* from מחה).

tt 4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$ (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like פֶּתַח) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

uu Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqīd*) are § 84^a *k*, נָדוּל, &c. (with *ó*, not changeable *ō* for *ü*); in substantives like נְשָׁלוֹם, this *ó* is demonstrably obscured from *á* (Arab. *sālām*); *ibid.* *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וְזָרוֹן, *constr.* וְזָרוֹן; חָזִיוֹן, *constr.* חָזִיוֹן; בְּלִיוֹן, *constr.* בְּלִיוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצָבוֹן, קִנְמוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲבוּבֵיךָ Ez 27¹²); § 85 *w*, חִלְמֵיִשׁ, *constr.* חִלְמֵיִשׁ; § 85 *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

uu 2. עָנִי (ground-form *āniy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a final *Yōdh* has been resolved into *i*; before formative additions the original *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dageš forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$; cf. § 84^a *l*, נָקִי, plur. נְקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

uu 3. פֶּתַח with unchangeable *á* in the second syllable, whilst the $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$ is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kīláb*); *constr. st.* פֶּתַח Est 4⁸ (readings like פֶּתַח 2 Ch 35⁴ are incorrect, although יָקַר Est 1⁴ and פֶּתַח 4⁸ are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *qēfāl*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבֵרֵיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9¹. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84^a *n-p* belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84^a *u*, § 84^b *e* (קָטַל, cf., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), *ibid.* *f-i, m* (No. 34 *f.*), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85 *b-w* (especially *l* and *r*).

xx In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָטַל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the antepenultima (with the secondary tone); cf. above, *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטַל (properly *qāfīl*) the examples סְרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלֵיִשִּׁים, whilst the *constr. st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$ (סְרִיִן, פְּרִיִן). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיִן *tyrant*, which is for עֲרִיִן, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qameš*.) Of the form קָטַל (*qāfīl*) in this class are שָׁבַע *week*, plur. שְׁבַעִים and שְׁבַעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבַעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבַעְתֵּיכֶם.—On קָעוֹן, מְעוֹן, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

§ 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending הַ־, when appended to the masculine *a* forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92 *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always *b* added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, כְּבֻשָׁה, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* כְּבֻשָׁה *lamb*, רֶצֶפָה *hot stone*, Is 6⁶ (from another root רֶצַפָּה; see Baer on Ez 40¹⁷), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר); עֲרֵנָה *pleasure* (עֲרֵן), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ, derived from ל"ה stems, as מְצֻוֹה *command*, plur. מְצֻוֹת; (*c*) חֲלִידָה, proper name (חֲלִיד *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) גַּעְרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהֻרָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עֲוִלָּה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צִירָה *victuals* (masc. צִיר, cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qitl* and *quṭl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲלִיָּה *fat tail* (as if from אָלַי), שְׁבִיָּה (*ā* attenuated to *ī*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִוְיָה *wreath* (probably an original *qitl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מְדָה *measure* (attenuated from מִדָּה). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רָעָה *mala*; (*m*) וְזָה *plan*; (*n*) חֲקָה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *c* (*b*) אֲרָמָה *earth*; (*c*) גְּבִילָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֲרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part. Qal* from עוֹר) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲמִיקָה *profunda* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבֻדָה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the *d* second syllable, (*a*) יִלְדָּה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84^a *s*, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part. Pīēl*, Ex 22¹⁷, 23²⁶; in the *Hithpaēl* 1 K 14^{5f.}), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ī*) into *Šōwā*, יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling*, Na 3⁸. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by הַ־ (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a return of the final *Yôdh*, הַמְיָה *clamorous*, Pr 7¹¹, and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *ā* of the participles of verbs ע"ע, which also belong to this class, such as וְרָה *peregrina*, cf. § 72 *g*.

e Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (a) *גְּדֹלָה* magna, *סְטוּרָה* stork, properly *pia*; *בְּתוּלָה* virgin, properly *seivuncta*; (b) *עֲנִיָּה* misera.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like *בְּכִית* weeping (masc. *בָּכִי*, § 93 x, a), *בְּרִית* covenant; but feminine participles of verbs *לֵא*, as *יִצְאָת*, *מִצְאָת*, may be due to contraction from *yôšè et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *î* in the ground-form *môšî*), whilst forms like *מוֹצְאָת*, *נִשְׂאָת* (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from the *לֵא* formations, we find the simple ת in the participle *מִשְׁרַת* I K 1⁵, contracted from *מִשְׁרַתָּה*. But *וְיִלְדָּת* Gn 16¹¹, Ju 13^{5,7} is the ground-form of the ptc. *וְיִלְדָּת* (as in the same connexion in Gn 17¹⁹, Is 7¹⁴), cf. § 80 d and the *Q^{re}* *שְׂבָתָה*, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (a) from *גְּבִירָה* (for original *g^ebirt*; § 69 c), the form *גְּבִירָת* mistress (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47⁷ also *גְּבִירָת עַד* are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is *גְּבִירָה*); from *מַלְכָּה*, *מַלְכָּת* queen (in Paradigm II, a); *פִּתָּה* = *פִּתָּת* pit Lv 13⁵⁵; (c) *גִּירָה* wall, *גִּירָת* (from *גִּירָתָה* = *g^edirt*; cf. *וְגִירָת* as *construct st.* of *וְגִירָת*); on the other hand, *חֲמִשָּׁת* is *construct st.* of *חֲמִשָּׁה* five, with lengthening of the original *î* of *חֲמִשָּׁת*.

h Formations with a changeable *ô* in the second syllable belonging to this class are *נְחֹשֶׁת* bronze (from *נְחֹשֶׁתָה* the *constr. st.* of *בְּתֹנֶת* coat, perhaps also *בְּתֹנֶת* writing (unless it be obscured from *בְּתֹב*, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) *הֲחֹמָת* (from *הֲחֹמָתָה*), masc. *חֹמָת* seal; (b) *יוֹנְקָת* (properly *sucking*) sprout (in *pause*, e. g. *הַבְּרָח* Ex 26⁴, &c.), and so most feminines of participles *קָטְלָת*. On this transition of the ground-form *qôtilt* to *קָטְלָת* (regularly before suffixes in *יוֹנְקָתוֹ*, *יִלְדָּתוֹ*, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qôtilt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e. g. *יֹדְעָת*, feminine of *יָדָע* knowing; in a wider sense, *גִּלְגָּלָת* skull may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, c.

On the endings *ית* and *ית*—, see § 86 k, l, § 95 at the end.

§ 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92 b-k, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of

feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the \bar{a} of the termination $\eta\text{---}$ becomes again \check{a} in the *construct st.* $\eta\text{---}$). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the endings $\eta\text{---}$ and η in the *abs. st.*, e. g. $\eta\check{\text{ר}}\check{\text{ק}}\check{\text{ה}}$; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes $\check{e}w\acute{a}$; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become $\check{e}w\acute{a}$ the \check{a} in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to $\check{e}w\acute{a}$ returns, although usually attenuated to \check{z} , e. g. $\eta\check{\text{ר}}\check{\text{ק}}\check{\text{ת}}$ from $\check{s}adh\check{a}q\check{a}th$; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination of η or $\eta\text{---}$, and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qames* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes $\check{e}w\acute{a}$. This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st. plur.*, whether ending in η or $\eta\text{---}$; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms (with the exception of I, d) deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, d.

| | | I. | | | | | b |
|--------------------|--|--------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| | | a. | b. | | c. | d. | e. |
| sing. absolute | | מְלִכָּה | [בְּלִיָּה] | חֲרַפָּה | חֲרַבָּה | חֻקָּה | [גְּבִירָה] |
| | | (queen) | (kidney) | (reproach) | (waste) | (statute) | (mistrcss) |
| „ construct | | מְלִכַת | | חֲרַפַת | חֲרַבַת | חֻקַת | גְּבִירַת |
| „ with light suff. | | מְלִכָּתִי | | חֲרַפָּתִי | חֲרַבָּתִי | חֻקָּתִי | גְּבִירָתִי |
| „ with grave suff. | | מְלִכְתְּכֶם | | חֲרַפְתְּכֶם | חֲרַבְתְּכֶם | חֻקְתְּכֶם | גְּבִירְתְּכֶם |
| plur. absolute | | מְלִכּוֹת | בְּלִיּוֹת | חֲרַפּוֹת | חֲרַבּוֹת | חֻקּוֹת | |
| „ construct | | מְלִכּוֹת | בְּלִיּוֹת | חֲרַפּוֹת ¹ | חֲרַבּוֹת | חֻקּוֹת | |
| „ with suff. | | מְלִכּוֹתֵי | בְּלִיּוֹתֵי | | חֲרַבּוֹתֵי | חֻקּוֹתֵי | |
| Qual absolute | | | רֻקְמֵתַיִם | | | | מְצַלְתַיִם |
| | | | (a double piece of embroidery) | | | | (cymbals) |

¹ Only in ψ 69¹⁰, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, cf. § 93 m.

| c | II. | | | III. | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| | a. | b. | c. | a. | b. |
| <i>Sing. absolute</i> | צָדָקָה (righteousness) | זַעֲקָה (outcry) | שָׁנָה (year) | יוֹנְקָת (sprout) | גִּלְגָּלֶת (skull) |
| „ <i>construct</i> | צָדָקַת | זַעֲקַת | שָׁנַת | יוֹנְקַת | גִּלְגָּלַת |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | צָדָקְתִּי | זַעֲקַתִּי | שָׁנַתִּי | יוֹנְקַתִּי | גִּלְגָּלַתִּי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | צָדָקְתְּכֶם | זַעֲקַתְּכֶם | שָׁנַתְּכֶם | יוֹנְקַתְּכֶם | גִּלְגָּלַתְּכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i> | צָדָקוֹת | | שָׁנוֹת ¹ | [יוֹנְקוֹת] | |
| „ <i>construct</i> | צָדָקוֹת | | שָׁנוֹת | יוֹנְקוֹת | גִּלְגָּלוֹת |
| „ <i>with suff.</i> | צָדָקוֹתִי | | שָׁנוֹתִי | יוֹנְקוֹתִי | גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי |
| <i>Dual absolute</i> | [נְחֻשֵׁתַיִם] (fettors of brass) | | שִׁפְתַיִם (lips) | | |
| „ <i>construct</i> | | | שִׁפְתַי | | |

REMARKS.

d 1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form נִבְעָתָהּ *towards Gibeah* (masc. גִּבְעָה). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qātl* or a *qūl* base, e.g. חֲזָקָה *strength* (cf. חֲרָפָה under b). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (cf. שִׁבְעָה *seven*, fem.).

Analogous to masculine forms like דְּרִיבֵשׁ (§ 93 s) is הֲרָפָה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פְּרִי (ל"ה, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like נִאֲוָה, שְׁלָהּ, אֱלִיָּהּ (see above, § 94 b), sometimes like בְּכִית (§ 94 f); occasionally the final ת is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (cf. § 87 k), e.g. חֲנִיתוֹת *spears*. Forms like גְּדִיָּה (cf. אֲנִיָּה, a *qūl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms גְּדִי *kid*, אֲנִי *a fleet*.—(b) From a stem ע"ן *wheat* (for חֲטָהּ), plur. חֲטָיִם.—(c) From עָרְלָה *foreskin*, the plur. absol. is עָרְלוֹת (cf. פְּעֻלִים, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. עָרְלוֹת.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem ע"ע (ground-form *qūll*, like חֲתָהּ of the form *qātl*, וְנָהּ of the form *qūl*), with ö for ü, חֲנָא *terror*, Is 19¹⁷ (Aramaic orthography for חֲנָהּ).

e (e) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פ"ו and פ"ן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as שָׁבַת (from יִשָּׁב), דָּעַת (from יִדַּע), גָּשַׁת (from יִגַּשׁ), as well as כָּחַת (from לָקַח); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs פ"ו are, however, also found in the form דָּעָה, לָרָה, צָאָה, and of the same origin also are יְדָה *congregation* (from יָעַד), עֲצָה *counsel* (from יָעִין), נִשְׁנָה *sleep* (from יָשָׁן), constr. עֲרַת, שָׁנַת, while in the constr. forms זַעַת *sweat*, Gn 3¹⁹ (from יָעַת *to flow*), and צָאָת *excrement*, Ez 4¹², the Şere has remained firm.

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

¹ On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנִים see § 87 u.

From a stem ל"ה (דלה, cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ירל) the masculine דל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דלת *door*; but in the plural דלתות, constr. דלתות, the ת of the termination is retained (see above, *d*, תניתות). In a similar way רפתים *stalls*, Hb 3¹⁷, has arisen, if it is from the stem רפה, and שקת *trough* (from שקה), of which the masc. must have been שק = שקי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. נשקות Gn 30³⁸ (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular נשקת, not from a kindred form נשקת or נשקת.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qāṭlāt*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, *a* and *b*. Analogous to the masculine forms like קטן, plur. קטנים, we find קטנה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צרקה (šidh^hqāth), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣ^{wā}* (§ 10 *d*) from the segholate forms, like כבשת (kibh-sāth). Consequently the constr. st. ברבב Gn 28⁴, &c. (from ברבה *blessing*), and חרדת I S 14¹³, &c. (from חרדה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm *b*) the original *ā* is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (cf. also ארמה *earth*, ארמת); in other cases it is modified to *Ṣ^{ghōl}*, e. g. ענלה *wagon*, ענלתו. Frequently from an absol. st. in ה— the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e. g. עטרה *crown*, constr. עטרות (from עטרת); along with עצרה *assembly*, עצרת is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יבמת (from יבם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as יבמתי, and thus entirely agrees with גברת (Paradigm I *e*). From a stem ל"ן (אמן) is formed אמת *truth* (from 'āmant, and this no doubt for an original 'āmint, § 69 *c*) before suffixes יבמתי, &c.

From the masc. form קטל (qāṭil) are formed, according to rule, גרה *wall*, הללה *corpse*, constr. נבלת; בהמה *cattle*, constr. בהמת (for בהמת), with suffix בהמתך Lv 19¹⁹. More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *ath* of the constr. st.; thus from נבלה once נבלתי Is 26¹⁹, and always ברבב *pool*, גולת *prey*, טמאת *unclean*, מלאתי *full*, Is 1²¹ (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 *l*), מדרתי Jb 16¹³, שאלתי I S 1²⁷, &c. (with elision of the א, שאלתי I S 1¹⁷), also שאלתי Jb 6⁸. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מגפת *plague*, תרדמת *deep sleep*, from מגפה.

As dual we find ירכתים *sides* (cf. ירכתו Gn 49¹³, from the obsolete ירכה, *i* feminine of ירה); the constr. st. ירכתי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (ירכה, cf. ירה as constr. st. of ירה), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of ברבב and חרדת (see *g*).

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qāṭilt* is developed (*k* § 69 *c*) to *q^eṭalt*, and this again regularly to קטלת. Thus the feminine of חבר *companion* is חברת (with suffix חברתה Mal 2¹⁴, cf. שננתה Ex 3²²), of נדר fem. נדרת besides נדרה.—Of ע"ו stems the segholate forms נחת *rest* and נחת *pit* (from נח, נח) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from נחת *corruption* (stem נחת); in the same way also נחת *rest* is distinct from נחת *a lighting down* (stem נחת).

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

witness (from מוֹת עוֹר, *עוֹר*), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Cf., on the other hand, the forms from פ"י stems mentioned above, under *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שָׁנַת; moreover, חָמָה *anger*, constr. st. חָמַת (but חָמַת a leathern bottle, in pause חָמַת [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel חָמַת Gn 21¹³, constr. st. מֵיִם חָמַת Gn 21¹⁴, perhaps from a stem חַמַת).

11 The feminines of the form *qāfūl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עֲמֻק), maintain the original *ū* by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 *kk*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נְחֻשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשֶׁתָּם, &c. Dual נְחֻשֶׁתַיִם (see Paradigm II, *a*); but cf. נְחֻשֶׁתַי La 3⁷.

11 A few (aramaising) feminines from ל"ה stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the termination *āth*; thus מְנַחַת *portion* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāwāth*), קֶצֶת end (also קֶצֶה and קֶצֶה), plur. מְנַחֲתוֹת (constr. st. Neh 12⁴⁷, 13¹⁰) and מְנַאֲוֹת (Neh 12⁴⁴); קֶצֶוֹת Ex 35⁵; cf. 37⁸ and 39⁴ K^{eth.}; on נְאִיִּת *valleys*, see § 93 *v*.—אוֹת *sign* (stem אוּה) is obscured from אוֹת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אוֹתוֹת, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, *f*, and § 87 *k*.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֶלְתַּי, &c., Gn 24⁴¹, &c., is abnormal.

0 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 *d* and *f-h*. The dual חוֹמַתַּיִם *two walls*, Is 22¹¹, &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חוֹמַתַּיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 *s*, and the proper name נְדַרְתַּיִם Jos 15³⁶).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ע"ו, such as זָרַח (masc. זָרַח from *zār*, hence with unchangeable *ā*), must be reckoned also בָּמָה *high place* (from בּוֹם), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בְּמוֹתַי, or written defectively בְּמוֹתַי (see § 87 *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמוֹתַי, which is to be read *bām^othē* (not *bōm^othē*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to *ē*; but with suffixes בְּמוֹתַי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84^b *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e.g. רִלְקָת *inflammation* (from *dallāqt*), with suff. צִרְקָתָה Ez 16⁵²; טַבַּעַת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84^b *c* and *d*), as אֶלְתַּת *folly* (for *'iwwālt*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85 *g-k*), e.g. מְמַלְכָה *kingdom*, constr. always מְמַלְכַת; מְמַמְרָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מְמַמְרוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרַת *reward*, with suff. מְשַׁבְּרַתַי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 *g* and *p*, like מוֹלְדַת *birth* (but from ל"ה מוֹצֵאָה *outgoing*), תּוֹלְדַת *generation*, תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination*, constr. תּוֹעֵבַת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אֶלְתֵּרַת *a letter*, plur. אֶלְתֵּרוֹת (as if from אֶלְתֵּרָה); also יוֹנְקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנְקָה. Cf., moreover, מְחַרְשֶׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשׁוֹת (as if from מְחַרְשָׁה)¹; on the other hand, בְּתָרוֹת *capitals* (of columns), and תּוֹכְחוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of בְּתָרַת and תּוֹכַחַת.

¹ עֲשֵׂתְתֵרַת *Astarte* (plur. עֲשֵׂתְתֵרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the

In בְּחַנְתָּ *coat* the original *ū* of the first syllable is maintained by the *r* sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭūn*), with suff. בְּחַנְתִּי, the *constr. st.*, however, is בְּחַנְתָּ (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex 28³⁹); plur. בְּחַנּוֹת, *constr.* בְּחַנּוֹת.—The form בְּחַנְתָּ given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pätpül*-form of the stem בְּחַל, cf. בְּחַקֵּר, § 84^b *p*.

4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become *Šewa*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע"ע stems especially belong to this class, as מְנִלָּה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (§ 85 *i* and *q*), as well as the feminine of the participle *Hiph'ül* of verbs ע"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע"ע stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ), see § 85 *l*; from ל"ה stems perhaps also תְּעֻלָּה *conduit* (*constr. st.* תְּעֻלַּת Is 7³, &c.) and תְּלַאָּה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, in the masculine form, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93 *ww*).

5. The feminine ending ית־ (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּבִית, § 94^f) arises *t* from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending י־, which is employed to form adjectives, &c., see § 86 *d, h, and k*. The ending וּת, mentioned there, is attached, in *segholate* forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֵׂתוֹת Jb 12⁶ (v.l. עֲשֵׂתוֹת), sometimes to forms with a loosely-closed syllable, as מְלֻכּוֹת *kingdom*; from ל"ה stems we find forms sometimes like שְׁבוּת *captivity* (according to others from the stem שׁוּב, like לוּת *perverseness* from לוּ), sometimes like בְּכוֹת *weeping*, גְּלוּת *exile*, חֲזוֹן *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qāṭūl*-form is formed כְּבִירוֹת *heaviness*; from a *qāṭūl*-form פְּקָדוֹת &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending וּת is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, *f*), e.g. אֲלֻמְנוֹתַי from אֲלֻמְנוֹת, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלֻכּוֹת Dn 8²² (no doubt for *māl'khuwwoṭh*), and עֲדוּת *'edh'woṭh*, from עֲדוּת *testimony*, but only with *suffixes*, עֲדוּתֶיךָ ψ 119¹⁴, &c.; עֲדוּתֵי 1 K 2³, &c.

§ 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms,¹ pp. 282 to 284, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

original עֲשֵׂתָרַת, like כּוֹלֵךְ Lv 18²¹, &c. (for מְלֻכָּה), with the vowels of בִּשְׂת *shame*, the latter word being substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

¹ The only omissions from these Paradigms are אֲחָר, חָר, and חֲמוֹת (on which see the remarks), and all forms which are not found in the O. T.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Sing. absolute</i> | אָב | אָח | אָחוֹת | אִישׁ | אִשָּׁה |
| | (father) | (brother) | (sister) | (man) | (woman) |
| „ <i>construct</i> | אָבִי | אָחִי | אָחוֹתִי | אִישׁ | אִשָּׁתִּי |
| „ <i>with suff. of I sing.</i> | אָבִי | אָחִי | אָחוֹתִי | אִישִׁי | אִשְׁתִּי |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | אָבִיךָ | אָחִיךָ | אָחוֹתְךָ | | אִשְׁתְּךָ |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i> | אָבִיךָ | אָחִיךָ | אָחוֹתְךָ | אִישֶׁךָ | |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ) | אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ) | אָחוֹתוֹ | אִישׁוֹ | אִשְׁתּוֹ |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | אָבִיהָ | אָחִיהָ | אָחוֹתָהּ | אִישָׁהּ | |
| „ <i>1 Pl.</i> | אָבִינוּ | אָחִינוּ | אָחוֹתֵנוּ | | |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | אָבִיכֶם | אָחִיכֶם | [אָחוֹתֵכֶם] | | |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i> | אָבִיכֶן | | | | |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | אָבֵיהֶם | אָחֵיהֶם | אָחוֹתֵם | | |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | אָבֵיהֶן | | | | |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i> | אָבוֹת | אָחִים | | אָנָשִׁים | נָשִׁים |
| „ <i>construct</i> | אָבוֹת | אָחִי | | אָנָשִׁי | נָשִׁי |
| „ <i>with suff. of I sing.</i> | אָבוֹתִי | אָחִי, pause | אָחוֹתִי | אָנָשִׁי | נָשִׁי |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | אָבוֹתֶיךָ | אָחֶיךָ | | אָנָשֶׁיךָ | נָשֶׁיךָ |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i> | | אָחֶיךָ | אָחוֹתֶיךָ | | |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | אָבוֹתָיו | אָחוֹיו | אָחוֹתָיו | אָנָשָׁיו | נָשָׁיו |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | | אָחֵיהָ | | אָנָשֶׁיהָ | |
| „ <i>1 Pl.</i> | 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), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 *k*, which serve as the model for the *Hireq compaginis*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אָבִישָׁלוֹם, beside אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17⁴ *f.* אָבִיהֶמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אָבִיר[הֶם]. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 *p*.

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

אָחָד *one* (for אָחָד, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22 *c*, cf. § 27 *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחָד, Gn 48²², 2 S 17²², Is 27¹²,

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| אָמָה (handmaid) | בֵּית (house) | בֵּן (son) | בַּת (daughter) | יוֹם (day) | כֵּלִי (vessel) |
| | בֵּית | בֶּן | בַּת | יוֹם | כֵּלִי |
| אִמְתִּי | בֵּיתִי | בְּנִי | בַּתִּי | | |
| אִמְתֶּךָ | בֵּיתְךָ | בְּנֶךָ, <i>pause</i> | בַּתְּךָ, <i>pause</i> | | כֵּלֶיךָ |
| | בֵּיתְךָ | בְּנֶךָ | | | |
| אִמְתּוֹ | בֵּיתוֹ | בְּנוֹ | בַּתּוֹ | יוֹמוֹ | |
| אִמְתָּהּ | בֵּיתָהּ | בְּנָהּ | בַּתָּהּ | | |
| | | בְּנֶנּוּ | | | |
| | בֵּיתְכֶם | | בַּתְכֶם | | |
| | בֵּיתֶם | | | יוֹמֶם | |
| אִמְהוֹת | בְּתִיִּם | בְּנִיִּם | בָּנוֹת | יָמִים | כֵּלִים |
| אִמְהוֹת | בְּתִי | בְּנִי | בָּנוֹת | יָמִי | כֵּלִי |
| אִמְהַתִּי | | בְּנִי | בְּנֹתִי | יָמִי | כֵּלִי |
| | בְּתִיךָ | בְּנִיךָ | בְּנֹתֶיךָ | יָמֶיךָ | כֵּלֶיךָ |
| | בְּתִיךָ | בְּנִיךָ | בְּנֹתֶיךָ | יָמֶיךָ | |
| אִמְהַתִּי | | בְּנִי | בְּנֹתִי | יָמִי | כֵּלִי |
| אִמְהַתֶּיךָ | | בְּנִיךָ | בְּנֹתֶיךָ | יָמֶיךָ | כֵּלֶיךָ |
| | בְּתִינִי | בְּנִינִי | בְּנֹתֵינוּ | יָמֵינוּ | כֵּלֵינוּ |
| אִמְהַתֶּיכֶם | בְּתִיכֶם | בְּנִיכֶם | בְּנֹתֵיכֶם | יָמֵיכֶם | כֵּלֵיכֶם |
| | בְּתִיָּהֶם | בְּנִיָּהֶם | בְּנֹתֵיהֶם | יָמֵיהֶם | כֵּלֵיהֶם |
| אִמְהַתֶּיהֶן | בְּתִיָּהֶן | בְּנִיָּהֶן | | | |

Zc 11⁷; and especially before מֵן (מ) Gn 3²², Ex 3c¹⁴, Nu 16¹⁵, Ju 17⁵, 1 S 9³, Ez 18¹⁰; fem. אַחַת *una* (for אַחַתְךָ, according to § 19 *d*), in *pause* אַחַתְךָ. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 *h*), Ez 33³⁰, as in Aramaic; plur. אַחַדִּים *some*, but also *idem*.

אִחֹת *sister*, from 'āhāwāt or 'āhāyāt, with elision of the ה or י, and with the ā, which has arisen from āā, obscured to ō.¹ In Nu 6⁷ אַחֹתוֹ stands for אַחֹתוֹ (with virtual sharpening of the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אַחֹתוֹת) does not happen

¹ This explanation of אַחֹת (and חַמּוֹת q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending *āth* is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from 'ahā, the old-semitic constr. *sl.* of the accusative, with ת feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|----------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>Sing. absolute</i> | [מַי] | עִיר | פֶּה | רֹאשׁ | שֵׁם | [שָׁמַיִם] |
| | (water) | (city) | (mouth) | (head) | (name) | (heaven) |
| „ <i>construct</i> | | עִיר | פִּי | רֹאשׁ | שֵׁם- | שָׁמַיִם |
| „ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i> | | עִירִי | פִּי | רֹאשִׁי | | שָׁמַיִ |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | | עִירְךָ | פִּיךָ | רֹאשְׁךָ | שָׁמְךָ, pause | שָׁמַיְךָ |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i> | | | | רֹאשֶׁךָ | | שָׁמֶךָ |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | | עִירוֹ | פִּיהוּ, פִּיו | רֹאשׁוֹ | | שָׁמוֹ |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | | עִירָהּ | פִּיהָ | רֹאשֶׁהּ | | שָׁמָהּ |
| „ <i>1 Pl.</i> | | | פִּינוּ | רֹאשֵׁנוּ | | שָׁמָנוּ |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | | | פִּיכֶם | רֹאשֵׁכֶם | | שָׁמְכֶם |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | | עִירָם | פִּיהֶם | רֹאשֵׁם | | שָׁמָם |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | | | פִּיהֶן | רֹאשֵׁן | | |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i> | סִיִּם | עָרִים | פִּיּוֹת | רֹאשִׁים | שֵׁמוֹת | שָׁמַיִם |
| „ <i>construct</i> | מֵימַי, מֵי | עָרַי | | רֹאשֵׁי | שֵׁמוֹת | שָׁמַיִ |
| „ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i> | מֵימִי | עָרַי | | | | |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | מֵימֶיךָ | עָרֶיךָ | | | | שָׁמַיְךָ |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i> | | עָרֶיךָ | | | | |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | מֵימֵנוּ | עָרֵינוּ | | רֹאשֵׁינוּ | | שָׁמֵנוּ |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | מֵימֶיהָ | עָרֶיהָ | | רֹאשֶׁיהָ | | |
| „ <i>1 Pl.</i> | מֵימֵינוּ | עָרֵינוּ | | רֹאשֵׁינוּ | | |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i> | | עָרֵיכֶם | | רֹאשֵׁיכֶם | | שָׁמַיְכֶם |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i> | מֵימֵיהֶם | עָרֵיהֶם | | רֹאשֵׁיהֶם | שֵׁמוֹתָם | |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i> | | | | רֹאשֵׁיהֶן | שֵׁמוֹתָן | |

to occur. In Ez 16⁶² אַחֲזִיתָךְ occurs (for אַחֲזִיתֶיךָ). In the forms אַחֲזִיתִי Jos 2¹³ *Keth.*, אַחֲזִיתֶיךָ Ez 16^{61, 65, 61} (to be read also in verse 45 for אַחֲזִיתֶיךָ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אַחֲזִיתֶכֶם Ho 2⁹ (for which, however, read אַחֲזִיתֶכֶם), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אִישׁ (from 'inš, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form 'inš, which again has been attenuated from 'anš from the stem אָנַשׁ), or softened directly from 'inš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אִישׁ to be strong?) is to be assumed for the singular¹; consequently the stem אָנַשׁ to be sociable,

¹ So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.*, i. 83 f., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 ff., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L.-B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 f.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אִישׁ and אָנַשׁ with the stem אָנַשׁ.

would be connected only with the plur. אֲנָשִׁים (אִישִׁים is found only in Is 53³, ψ 141⁴, Pr 8⁴).

אֲמָה slave, handmaid; with the plur. אֲמָהוֹת, with consonantal ה, cf. in Aram. אַבְרָהָן fathers, and similarly in Phoen. רִלְתָּה from רִלְתָּה, also Arab. 'abahât (fathers), 'ummahât (mothers), with an artificial expansion into a trilateral stem.

אִשָּׁה woman, probably for אֲנָשָׁה; from אֲנָשׁ i.e. not (as Aram. אֲתַתָּא shows) אֲנָשׁ to be sociable (see above, on אִישׁ) but אֲנָשׁ to be weak (Arab. 'änülî). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 159 f. The form אֲנָשָׁה (for 'išt, with ת fem., from 'išt, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *e*) occurs in Dt 21¹¹, 1 S 28⁷, ψ 58⁹, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In ψ 128³ אֲנָשָׁתְךָ is found for אֲנָשְׁתְךָ. Instead of the plur. נָשִׁים, we find in Ez 23⁴⁴ אֲנָשָׁה.¹

בַּיִת house, locative הַבַּיְתָה, הַבַּיְתָה, in pause הַבַּיְתָה, constr. בַּיְתָה, plur. בָּתִּים (but in Dt 6¹¹, 1 Ch 28¹¹ בָּתִּים without *Metheg*), pronounced *bâtîm*. The explanation of the Dageš in the ת is still a matter of dispute. The Syriac *bâtîm*, however, shows that the *Dageš* is original, and belongs to the character of the form.² According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בָּתִּים is simply contracted from *bai-tim* (as אָן from אֵן, עֵינַיִם from עֵינַיִם, &c.), and the *Dageš*, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum*; on the other hand Rahlfs, *ThLZ.* 1896, col. 587, suggests that the *v* is assimilated to the ת, while Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. A definite solution is at present impossible. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation *bottim* is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 g, note 3), which leaves no doubt as to the *â*.

בֵּן son (Gn 30¹⁹ בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל) constr. usually בְּנֵי- (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gn 17¹⁷, Is 8², &c., 1 Ch 9²¹; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבְּנֵי, Ex 30¹⁴, Lv 27³, &c. [מִבְּנֵי- only after וְאִם and before אֲרָשׁ, also in Is 51¹²; see Strack on Ex 30¹⁴]), rarely בְּןִי (Dt 25², Jon 4¹⁰ twice, Pr 30¹, and so always in the combination בְּנֵי-נִי, and in the proper names בְּנֵי-יִמִּי [but בְּנֵי-יִמִּי Benjamite] and בְּנֵי-יָקֹב Pr 30¹), once בְּנִי (cf. § 90 l) Gn 49¹¹, and בְּנִי (§ 90 o) Nu 23¹⁸, 24^{3,15}.—In Gn 49²² בְּנֵי, for which בְּנֵי ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch (in his Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ez 23⁴⁴ remarks that in Assyro-Babylonian the plur. of *aššatu* (woman) is *aššāti*, corresponding, therefore, to אֲשֻׁוֹת, not to the ordinary plur. נָשִׁים. The *a* of נָשִׁים (instead of *i* as in Arab. or *e* as in Syr.) is to be explained with Barth (*Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, Giessen, 1906, p. 792) from the natural connexion of the ideas 'men' and 'women', אֲנָשִׁים and אֲנָשָׁה.

² This disposes of the traditional view that the *Dageš* (after a firm *Metheg*, see § 16 f ζ) only serves to distinguish it from בָּתִּים *passing the night*, ptep. *Qal* of בִּיתָה, a stem which never occurs in the O. T. According to P. Haupt the stem is בָּא to go in, ת therefore being the feminine termination, as in *bit* daughter, and the original form *ba'tu*, *bātu* (entrance) is preserved in the plural *bâtîm* where the *tt* is to be explained as due to the analogy of trisyllabic stems. In the singular *bât* passed into *bēt* (?), and this was resolved into *bait*, as *Y'erūsālem* into *Y'erūsālayim*.

בַּת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 c, for *bint*, fem. of בָּן), with suff. בְּתִי for בְּתֵי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בְּנָה, comp. בְּנִים *sons*.

חָם *husband's father*, only with suff. חָמִי, חָמִיָּה; and חֲמוֹת *husband's mother*, only with suff. חֲמוֹתָהּ, חֲמוֹתָי. Cf. אָח, אָחָה, and especially אָחוֹת.

יוֹם *day* (Arab. *yaum*),¹ dual יוֹמַיִם; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָמָא), constr. יָמַי and (poetically) יָמוֹת, Dt 32⁷, ψ 90¹⁵.

כֵּל *vessel*, in pause כֵּלִי (with suff. כֵּלְיָךְ Dt 23²⁶) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כֵּלִים (as if from כָּל, כָּלָה; according to König, ii. 63, shortened from *kilyim*).

מַיִם *water*; on the plur. cf. § 88 d.

עִיר *city*. The plur. עָרִים is scarcely syncopated from עִירִים, as it is pointed in Ju 10⁴ (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 פֶּאָה (ground-form *pi'ay*) from פָּאָה *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for פִּי, from a stem פִּיָּה or פִּוָּה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assyr. *pû*, Arab. *fû*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, bibl. Aram. פִּם, פִּמָּא, Syr. *pûm*, *pûnâ*, so that Barth, *ZDMG.* xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (פִּמוּ), viz. *fm* and *fw*. פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיָּה we find in ψ 17¹⁰, 58⁷, 59¹³ פִּיָּמוּ. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 S 13²¹ is generally explained as a contraction from פִּיִּים, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. פִּיּוֹת, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Pr 5⁴; reduplicated פִּיפִּיּוֹת Is 41¹⁵, ψ 149⁶.

רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רֹאשׁ = *rûš*); plur. רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23 c); רֹאשָׁיו only in Is 15².

שֵׂה *a head of small cattle (sheep or goat)*, constr. st. שֵׂהָ, with suff. שֵׂהָי 1 S 14³⁴ and שֵׂהָיו Dt 22¹, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 f., from a stem וִישׁ (שֵׂהָ = *say* = *wisay*).

שֵׁם *name*, constr. generally שֵׁם (only six times שֵׁם); cf. בֵּן.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven* (§ 88 d).

§ 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 116 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 484 ff.

a 1. The formation of the cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 (on 1 and 2 see below) has this peculiarity, that numerals connected with a mascu-

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58, *yaum*, probably an extension of a biliteral word which has survived in יָמַי, יָמִים. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on אָשָׁה), sees in יָמַי, יָמִים, יָמוֹת new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with שָׁנַיִם, שָׁנִי, שָׁנֹת *years*, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that יָמִים is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָם, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְבַיִם (= וְבָיִם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 f), and מֵיָמַי Ho 6². Cf. also the note on § 100 g.

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 p). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *τρεις*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים trias filiorum*, *עֶשְׂרֵת נָשִׁים decas mulierum*. A trace of this earlier usage was seen in the examples mentioned under *c*, like *שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים*.—Further, it was possible to say *בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה trias*, sc. *filii*, as well as *בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה filii, trias*. From this second appositional construction it was only a step to the treatment of the abstract numeral as an adjective, *filii tres*. Similarly the subsequently shortened forms of the abstract numeral, which were used in connexion with feminines, might stand either in the *constr. st.* before, or in apposition before or after the word numbered, thus *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias filiarum*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias*, sc. *filiae*, or *בָּנוֹת שְׁלֹשׁ filiae, trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine *עֶשְׂרֵה* in compounds.

So long as it was felt that נְשָׁלֶשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה simply meant *the three of the decade*, the gender of the noun numbered made no difference. When, however, the consciousness of this meaning became weakened and the combination of units and tens came to be felt as a copulative rather than a genitive relation, it seemed suitable to connect only feminine nouns with the feminine form עֶשְׂרֵה. New forms were therefore invented, both of the units and the tens, for use with masculine nouns. The former, however, no longer had the form of the *constr.* but of the absolute state, clearly showing that the consciousness of the original syntactical relation in נְשָׁלֶשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה, &c., was lost. On the other hand, after the extension of these new formations to the first decade, the new feminine forms readily came to be used also in the genitive construction (and therefore in the *constr. st.*) on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

Of the first two numerals, אֶחָד *one*, with its fem. אַחַת (see § 96), may be recognized, from its form and use, as an adjective, although even so it admits of such combinations as אֶחָד הַהָרִים *unus e montibus*. The numeral two, as would be expected, appears as an abstract in the *dual*, but, like the other numerals, can also stand in apposition to the noun numbered. In form it always agrees with the gender of its noun. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows :

| b | With the Masculine. | | With the Feminine. | |
|-----|------------------------|------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Absol. | Constr. | Absol. | Constr. |
| 1. | אֶחָד | אֶחָד | אַחַת | אַחַת |
| 2. | שְׁנַיִם | שְׁנַיִ | שְׁתַּיִם ¹ | שְׁתַּיִ |
| 3. | שְׁלֹשָׁה | שְׁלֹשָׁת | שְׁלֹשׁ | שְׁלֹשׁ |
| 4. | אַרְבָּעָה | אַרְבַּעַת | אַרְבַּע | אַרְבַּע |
| 5. | חַמֵּשָׁה ² | חַמֵּשָׁת | חַמֵּשׁ | חַמֵּשׁ |
| 6. | שֵׁשׁ | שֵׁשֶׁת | שֵׁשׁ | שֵׁשׁ |
| 7. | שִׁבְעָה | שִׁבְעַת | שִׁבְעַ | שִׁבְעַ ³ [שִׁבְעַ] |
| 8. | שְׁמֹנֶה | שְׁמֹנַת | שְׁמֹנֶה | שְׁמֹנֶה |
| 9. | תְּשֻׁעָה | תְּשֻׁעַת | תְּשֻׁעַ | תְּשֻׁעַ ³ [תְּשֻׁעַ] |
| 10. | עֶשְׂרֵה | עֶשְׂרֵת | עֶשְׂרֵה | עֶשְׂרֵה |

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִתַיִם, which would be the regular feminine form of שְׁנַיִם. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in שְׁתַּיִם, &c. (even after מִן; Jon 4¹¹; cf., however, מִשְׁתַּיִ Ju 16²⁸), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in that case the word could only be שְׁתַּיִם (cf. Arab. *šintāni*). This form does occur in the Codex Babylonicus of A. D. 916, but it is only a later correction for שְׁתַּיִם, while in the Berlin MS. or. qu. 680 described by Kahle (Lpz. 1902) there is no trace of the *Dageš*. It is rather to be read *štayim*, *šlé* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. אִשְׁתַּיִם, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *šintāni* (with a kind of prosthetic א; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of

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

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the C external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The fem. form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns,⁴ e. g. נְשֵׁי שְׁלֹשָׁת נְשִׁים Gn 7¹³, 1 S 10⁵, Jb 1⁴, Ez 7² *Keth.*; probably also Jos 17¹¹, where we should read with Dillmann הַנְּפוֹת 'ש'. In apposition, Zc 3⁹, 4², cf. Jer 36²³. From what was said above, under a, it follows that these cases are not a return to original usage, but only an intrusion of the form used before masculines into the sphere of the feminine. Conversely in Gn 38²⁴ נְשֵׁי הַרְדִּים (but in the Samaritan נְשֵׁי הַרְדִּים).—For שֶׁבַע *seven*, there occurs in Jb 42¹³ the strange form שֶׁבַעֲנָה, according to Ewald [*Ausführl. Lehrb.*⁸, § 269 b] an old feminine substantive (German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, *d* without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form עָשָׂר masc., עָשָׂרָה fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. As was said above, under a, and as is proved by the use of אַחַד, אַחַת in the numeral 11, the feminine numerals from 13 to 19 are to be regarded as *construct* forms in a genitive connexion. The connective forms of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשָׁת, &c., are not admitted in combination with עָשָׂר, since they are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation (see the rare exceptions at the end of e). On the other hand שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like אַחַד and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of שְׁנֵי (Ex 28²¹, Jos 3¹² and four other places) and שְׁתֵּי (Jos 4⁸ and three times in Ezek.), we generally find שְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם, on the analogy of עָשָׂרָה, &c., and then extended to שְׁתַּיִם; the Masora, however, required שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי (but see below), and therefore pointed שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם as a *Qerê perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם (introduced on the analogy of שְׁלֹשָׁה, &c.) were contracted to שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם to facilitate the pronunciation of the duals when closely

¹ *itnāni, duo.* According to Barth (*Orient. Studien . . . Th. Nöldeke*, ii. 792 f.) the irregularity of שְׁתַּיִם (he takes the Dageš as *Dageš forte*) is due to the complete assimilation of its vowels to those of the masc. שְׁנַיִם where the *Šewa mobile* is normal.

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

³ שְׁבַע and הִשָּׁע appear only as connective forms before עָשָׂרָה and מֵאוֹת.

⁴ In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97 h).

connected with עָשָׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה, and that the contraction is founded on an early and correct tradition. The second explanation is supported by the large number of examples of שָׁנִים (66) and שָׁתִים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שָׁנִי and שָׁתִי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שָׁנִי and שָׁנִים, &c., cf. e. g. Ginsburg on Jos 3¹². We cannot therefore assume a *Q^orê perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

| | <i>Masculine.</i> | <i>Feminine.</i> |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 11. | אֶחָד עָשָׂר עֶשְׁתִּי עָשָׂר | אֶחַת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׁתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה |
| 12. | שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנַיִ עָשָׂר | שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה |
| 13. | שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר | שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה |

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 f.

Very rarely the units appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמִשָּׁת עָשָׂר fifteen, Ju 8¹⁰, 2 S 19¹⁸; שְׁמֹנֶת עָשָׂר eighteen, Ju 20²⁶.—Connected by וְ we find חֲמִשָּׁה וְעֶשְׂרֵה in Ex 45¹².

f 3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit), thus, שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שֵׁשִׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תְּשַׁעִים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עָשָׂר *ten*.² 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

¹ עֶשְׁתִּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *ištin* or *ištēn*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׁתִּי עָשָׂר is a compound, like the Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ἑνδεκά*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12 to 19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עֶשְׁתִּי עָשָׂר for אֶחָד עָשָׂר and אֶחַת עָשָׂר see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; עֶשְׁתִּי עָשָׂר occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1³), in the Priestly Code, and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

² For עֶשְׂרִים, שְׁבַעִים, תְּשַׁעִים (from the *segholates* עָשָׂר, שִׁבְעָה, תְּשַׁעָה), we should expect **asārim*, **šebhā'im*, **tšā'im*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 l, o, r) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of *segholates*?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e. g. Nu 3³⁰, 26¹⁴. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e. g. 1 Ch 12²⁸, 18⁵.¹ In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before *Šewá*; see § 104 d, e, g.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

100 מֵאָה fem., constr. מֵאָת.

200 מֵאָתַיִם dual (contracted from מֵאָתַיִם; cf. § 23 c).

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 K 11^{4.9.10.15}, *Keth.* הַמֵּאוֹת).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אֶלְפַיִם dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֲלָפִים in 2 S 18³, 2 K 24¹⁴ *Keth.*; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים).

10000 רִבּוּבָה, in the later books the aramaizing² forms רבוּ, רבוא, רבות (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רִבְתַּיִם dual (see below, *h*); but נְשֵׂי רִבּוּת Neh 7⁷⁰ (also נְשֵׂי רבוא Neh 7⁷¹).

40000 אַרְבַּע רבוא Neh 7⁶⁶.

60000 נְשֵׂי שְׁבַע רבואות Ezr 2⁶⁹ (Baer and Ginsburg רבואות, as in Dn 11¹²). רבואות אלפי thousands of myriads, Gn 24⁶⁰.

Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning *h* of our ending *-fold*, e. g. אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם fourfold, 2 S 12⁶; שִׁבְעַתַּיִם sevenfold, Gn 4^{15.24}, Is 30²⁶, ψ 12⁷, 79¹² (cf. § 134 r). The dual רִבְתַּיִם ψ 68¹⁸ (explained by אֲלָפֵי שְׁנַאן 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.³—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֲחָרִים *some*, also *idem*, and עֶשְׂרֹת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex 18^{21.25}.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, *i* although they are translated in English as nominatives, e. g. נְשֵׂי שְׁלֹשָׁתֶךָ *your triad*, i. e. *you three*, Nu 12⁴; חֲמִשִּׁי *his fifty* (i. e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 1⁹⁻¹³, and חֲמִשִּׁיךָ 2 K 1^{10.12}.

¹ According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticæ Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.*, ii. p. 215 ff.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herner (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 ff.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW.* 1896, p. 123, and König's reply, *ibid.*, p. 328 f.

² Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Aramäer im A. T.* (Halle, 1902), p. 79 f.

³ Cf. D. H. Müller, 'Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln u. im Hebr.,' *Semitica*, i, Wien, 1906, p. 13 ff.

§ 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers.

a The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination יָ— (§ 86 *h*), before which another יָ— also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שֵׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי (like רְבִיעַ, רִבְעִים, רִבְעֵי, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִשִּׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִשִּׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שִׁבְעִי, שְׁמֹנִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עָשְׂרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רִאשׁוֹן (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination וֹן (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אֶחָד as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, cf. § 134 *p*; in such cases as Gn 1⁵, 2¹¹, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

b The feminine forms have the termination יָת—, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָה—. They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עָשְׂרִית and עָשְׂרִיָה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רְבִיעַ and רְבִיעִי *a quarter*, חֲמִשָּׁה *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative וֹן, עָשְׂרוֹן (plur. עָשְׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שְׁבִיעַ עָשָׂר *εβδομάς, a week*; עָשָׂר *a decade* (of days), and also the *tenth day*.

On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134 *q* and *r*.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTICLES

§ 99. *General View.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 492 f.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30 s). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100 i) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 f.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun, or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; cf. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e. g. the Latin *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, the German *statt*, *anstatt*, *wegen*, *weg*, and the English *instead*, *away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (a) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as דַּי by *day*, from דַּי (cf., however, § 100 g); or most commonly (b) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Cf. in German *gen*, from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g. $\alpha\beta\acute{o}$, *ab*, *a*; $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.¹

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or $\check{S}ewd$. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26 m),

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. *iü* (to give), also the sign of the dative; $\dot{\imath}$ (to make use of), *to*, *for*; *nēi* (the interior), *in*.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

d The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i. e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic רִי becomes at a later period ר ; in modern Arabic, e. g. *hallaq* (now) is from *hahwaqt*; *lêš* (why?) from *li-ayyi-šaišn*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

e 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as מִדּוּעַ *wherefore?* for מַה־יְדוּעַ *quid edoctus?* ($\tau\acute{\iota}$ μαθών); or *quid cognitum?*; בְּלַעַי (from בַּל and עַי) *besides*; מִלְמַעְלָה (from מִן , לְ , מִלְמַעְלָה) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e. g. אֶתְרִיבֶן , אֶתְרִיבִי , אֶתְרִיבִי , אֶתְרִיבִי ; cf. also the compounds of אֵי with demonstrative pronouns, as אֵי־מֶנָּה *from what?*; אֵי לָזֶמֶת *wherefore?* [R. V. *how*]. See the lexicon under אֵי .

§ 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

a 1. The negative לֹא *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there*, are of obscure origin.

b 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—

(a) Substantives with prepositions, e. g. בְּמֵאֵד (with might) *very*; לְבַד *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִבֵּית *from within, within*; cf. also בְּאַהֶד (as one) *together*, לְעִמָּת and מִלְעִמָּת (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.

c (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf. $\tau\eta\nu$ ἀρχήν, δωρεάν, e. g. מֵאֵד (might) *very*, עֲסָפָה (cessation) *no more*, הַיּוֹם (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b), מָחָר ¹ *to-morrow*, יַחַד (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e. g. סְבִיב , plur. סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת , *circuit*, as adverb

¹ Generally derived from the *ptcp.* מֵאֵד $m^e\text{šhār}$ (= $m^e\text{šhār}$) and hence to be read *mūhār* (cf. מֵחָרָת *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from יּוֹם אַחַר .

circum, around; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. בָּרָר (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹר (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רֵאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרֵאשׁוֹנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus, sc. modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'el*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 *h*), e.g. הִרְבֵּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבֵּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הִשְׁפִּיעַ (mane faciendo) *early*; הִעָרַב (vespere faciendo) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there = at this place*) *here, f* הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עָדָן and עַדְנָה = עַד-הוּן; עַד-הוּן; אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה, *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שְׁנַיִת *for the second time*).

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently מֶ-) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֲמָנָם and אֲמָנָם *truly* (from אֱמֹן *truth*); הֵנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from הֵן *gratia*); רֵיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רֵיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1²¹, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם)¹; with *o* in the last syllable, פִּתְעָם, פִּתְעָם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פִּתַּע *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *o*).²—Moreover, cf. אֲחֵרֵינִית *backward*, and קִרְרֵינִית *darkly attired*, Mal 3¹⁴. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ith*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination מֶ- occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. אֹיָלָם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that מֶ- , מֶ- , would correspond to מֶ- , הֵן (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּפִתְאֵם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29³⁶. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *än* in Arabic.

¹ Is this מֶ- an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צִהָרָם) mentioned in § 88 *c*? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers אֹיָלָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctu*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יַמָּם, Syr. 'imāmā; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *ām* is an adverbial termination.

² דּוֹמָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47⁵, La 3²⁶; a substantive in Hb 2¹⁹), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like עוֹלָל, שׁוֹכֵב, so that דּוֹמָם (perhaps assimilated to דּוֹמָה) stands for original דּוֹמָם.

i 4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e.g. *אָז* then, *הִנֵּה* here (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), *כֵּן*, *כֵּן* thus (cf. *איכָה*, *איכָה* how?), *אָז* only, *אָז* truly (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative *הִי* (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. *הֲלֹא* (Dt 3¹¹ *הֲלֹא*) *nonne?*, *הֲגַם* *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הָלֵה*, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32⁶.¹

k The *ה* interrogative takes—(1) *Haṭeph-Pathah* generally before non-gutturals (even before *ר*), with a firm vowel, e.g. *הֲשִׁמְתָּ* hast thou set? see the interrogative clause, § 150 c (*הִיטַב*) Lv 10¹⁹ is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Šewā*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* Gn 27³⁸, cf. 18¹⁷, 29⁵, 30¹⁵, 34³¹; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathah* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* num in via, Ez 20³⁰, *הֲלִבֵן* Gn 17¹⁷, 18²¹, 37³², Nu 13¹⁹, Jb 23⁶; even in *ר*, 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³².

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameš* or *Haṭeph-Qameš*, it takes *Pathah*, e.g. *הֲאֵלֵךְ* shall I go?, *הֲאֵתָה* num tu?, *הֲאֵם* num si; *הֲאֵרְצָה* Mal 1¹³; also in Ju 6³¹ read *הֲאֵתָם* (not *הָאֵתָם*), likewise *הֵ* in Ju 12⁵, Jer 8¹⁹, Neh 6¹¹.—In *הֲאֵיִשׁ* Nu 16²², the Masora intends the article; read *הָאֵיִשׁ*, and cf. Dt 20¹⁹; in Ec 3²¹ read *הֲעֵלָה* and *הֲיֵרְרַת*; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The *ה* takes *Seghōl* before gutturals pointed with *Qameš* or (as in Ju 9^{9ff.}) *Haṭeph-Qameš*, e.g. *הֲאֵמֹר* Mi 2⁷; *הֲאֵלֵכִי* Jb 21⁴; *הֲהֵיִתָה* Jo 1²; *הֲהֵיִשָּׁב* Gn 24⁵ (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 c, § 35 k, § 63 k). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34³¹, Neh 13²⁷, Jer 22¹⁵, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus *יִשְׁךָ* thou art there, 3rd sing. masc. *יִשְׁנֶנּוּ*² (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. *יִשְׁבְּכֶם*; *אֵינִנִּי* I am not, 2nd sing. *אֵינֶנְךָ*, fem. *אֵינֶנְךָ*, 3rd sing. *אֵינֶנִּי*, fem. *אֵינֶנָּה*, 2nd plur. *אֵינֶכֶם*, 3rd plur. masc. *אֵינָם*.—Also *עוֹדֵנִי* I am yet (*עוֹדֵי* only in *בְּעוֹדֵי* and *בְּעוֹדֵי*), *עוֹדֶנִּי*, *עוֹדֶנֶךָ*, *עוֹדֶנִּי* (La 4¹⁷ *Qerê*; *עוֹדֵנָה* *עוֹדֵנָה*).

¹ The separation of the *ה* at the beginning of Dt 32⁶, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle *הָלֵה*.

² This form, which occurs in Dt 29¹⁴, 1 S 14³⁹, 23²³, Est 3⁸, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful *קִבְּנוּ* (for *קִבְּנוּ*) Nu 23¹³. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read *יִשְׁנֶנּוּ*.

Keth.; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading (עוֹרְיִנוּ), עוֹרְםָ.—אֵיפֶּה *where art thou?*, אֵי *where is he?*, אֵימָּה *where are they?* The same applies to הֵן (הֵן־) and הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19² הִנֵּה־נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּנִי, once הִנֵּנִי (Gn 22⁷ with *Munah*), in *pause* הִנֵּנִי *behold me (here am I)*, הִנֵּךְ (*pause* הִנֵּךְ ψ 139⁸), הִנֵּךְ, הִנֵּוּ, and הִנֵּהוּ [both very rare], הִנֵּנוּ (*behold us*), and הִנֵּנוּ (in *pause* הִנֵּנוּ), הִנֵּכֶם, הִנֵּם; [see more fully in the Lexicon, p. 243].

The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nun p energicum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e.g. יֵשֶׁנּוּ *there is, he is*), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אֵי, בְּעוֹרֵי) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable. Brockelmann suggests that the ך in connexion with these particles is a survival from הנה corresponding to the Arab. 'anna which introduces dependent clauses.

101. Prepositions.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 494 ff.

1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally *a* substantives, viz.:

(a) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, cf. in German *statt dessen, kraft dessen*, in Greek *τούτου χάριν*, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia, montis instar*.¹ Cf. אַחֲרֵי (hinder part*) *behind, after* (*Mil'el* in בְּן אַחֲרֵי Lv 14³⁶, Dt 21¹³, 1 S 10⁵; וְהָאֲחֵרִים 2 Ch 32⁹); אֶצֶל (side) *close by*; בֵּינֵן (intermediate space*) *between*; בְּעֵד, בְּעֵדָה (distance*) *behind, around*; וּבֵלַת, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבֵלַתִּי (removal, want) *except*; לְעֵן (purpose) *on account of*; מוֹל (מול only in Dt 1¹) *before, over against*; מִן (separation; cf. § 119 v) *from, out of*; מִבְּרֵחַ (coming in front, that which is over against) *before, over against*; עַד (progress, duration*) *during, until*; עַל (height, upper part*) *upon, over*; עִם (connexion?) *with*; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמָּת, לְעִמָּת *near, beside, like*; תַּחַת (under part*) *under, instead of*.

(b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the *b* genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e.g. לְפָנַי (in the face of*) *before*; כְּפִי, לְפִי (according to the mouth,

¹ In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use [though it is mostly in such cases very rare], is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kawisprache*, iii, p. 621.

² So also J. Hoch de Long, *Die hebr. Präpos.* בְּעֵד, Lpz. 1905.

i. e. the command of*) *according to*; בְּגִלָּל (in the concern of) *on account of*; לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

- c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become prepositions in this way, e. g. בְּלֵי, בְּבָלִי, מְבָלִי, בְּלֵתִי, בְּאֵיוֹ, בְּאֵפֶסֶם (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹר (in the duration of) *during*; בְּרֵי, בְּרֵי (according to the requirement of) *for, according to*.

§ 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

- a 1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן *from, out of*, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99 c), with its *Nûn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e. g. מִן־עֵר *out of a forest*.

- b Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20¹⁴ with verse 15, Ez 43⁶, &c.) only before the article, e. g. מִן־הָאֲרָץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e. g. מִן־אֶזְרָא Jer 44¹⁸, מִן־בְּנֵי Jo 1¹², 1 Ch 5¹⁸; cf. Ex 18¹⁴, Lv 1¹⁴, 14³⁰, Ju 7²³, 10¹¹, 19¹⁶, ψ 104⁷ (2 K 23³⁶ before ך; also before ך in ψ 18⁴⁹), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)¹; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (cf. § 90 m) and מִיִּי Is 30¹¹. Its form is most commonly מִי with a following *Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewâ* (cf. § 20 m). With a following י the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מי, e. g. מִי־י = מִי־י or מִי־י (but cf. מִי־שֵׁנִי Dn 12²; מִי־שֵׁנִי 2 Ch 20¹¹); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22 c), e. g. מִ־אֶדָם, מִ־עַם; before ה the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מַחוּזִין *on the outside*, and in מַחוּט Gn 14²³; before ה in מַהוּיֹת (cf. § 28 b and § 63 q. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מַהוּיֹת is merely due to the analogy of לַהוּיֹת); similarly Is 14³ before ך; but in 1 S 23²³, 2 S 18¹⁶ מַה־רֶּךָ is to be read, according to § 22 s.

- c 2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99 c) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewâ* (but see below, and § 103 e), viz.:

בְּ [poet. בְּמוֹ] *in, at, with*.

לְ [poet. לְמוֹ] *towards, (belonging) to, for, Lat. ad*.

כְּ [poet. כְּמוֹ] *like, as, according to* (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

- d With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(a) The *Šewâ mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ā*, according to f)²; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šewâ*: before *Šewâ simplex*

¹ König, *Einführung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 ff.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

² Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

in the form of an *i*, attenuated from *ä*: before a *Haṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Haṭeph*, e. g. לְפֵרִי for fruit, בְּאַרְיָא as a lion, בְּעֵנִי *bō'eni*, in affliction (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 b, and the infinitives with לְ § 63 i): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 c, e. g. לְיִהוּדָה for לְיָ. When the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Šewā* and *Haṭeph Šeghōl* regularly coalesce in *Šērē*, e. g. בְּאֱלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאֵלִי; so with suffixes וְאֱלֹהֵיוּ, &c. (once also in the sing. לְאֱלֹהָיו Hb 1¹¹); also regularly לְאָמַר to say, for לְאָמַר, see § 23 d.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the *h* is almost always dropped, *e* and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 n.

(c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and disyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames f* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ä*, cf. § 26 e, § 28 a), but only in the following cases:

(aa) לְ before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לְתַתּוּ to give, לְרִיזוּ to judge, לְבֹזוּ to plunder, לְגַזּוּ to shear, לְהַגּוּ to keep a festival, לְלָרֶתֶת to bring forth, לְלָלֶת to go, לְלָקַחַת to take, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115 e), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְיָצֵאת Ex 19¹, לְשִׁבְתָּ Gn 16³, and so always לְבֵאתָ Nu 13²¹, &c. (in such cases as לְתַתְּחָרֵב Ex 5²¹ the *ä* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs וְעָ, the לְ is retained even in close connexion; cf. Ez 21^{20.25}, 22³);

(bb) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּזֹנֶה (so also in 1 S 21¹⁰; not בְּזֹנֶה), גִּ (לְזֹנֶה, לְזֹנֶה, לְזֹנָת, לְזֹנָת, in close connexion, however, לְזֹנָת Gn 2²³; לְזֹנָת Gn 45²³); לְזֹנָתָא as these; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, כְּכֶם, (כְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, פְּהֶם (כְּהֶם), see § 103 e;

(cc) לְ before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as *h* לְפֶה פֶה mouth to mouth, 2 K 10²¹, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם between waters and waters, Gn 16⁶; לְטָרַח for a trouble, Is 1¹⁴, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Dt 17⁸ also shows that the punctuation לְ is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in Is 28^{10.13} the לְ is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

(dd) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost *i* as adverbs, e. g. לְעֶד to eternity, לְרַב in multitude, לְבִטְחָא in security, לְנֶצַח to eternity, but לְנֶצַח נְצַחִים to all eternity, Is 34¹⁰. Cf. also לְנַפְשָׁם for the dead, Lv 19²⁸, Nu 5², 9¹⁰.

(d) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בְּמָה; in pause and *k* before א as in בְּמָה by what? (before a following relative clause, as in Ec 3²², בְּמָה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, 4th ed., on Is 2²²); בְּמָה how much? but also בְּמָה 1 K 22¹⁸, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the pause. The *Šeghōl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ä*, while the *m* is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ä* of the prefixes.

When לְ (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 f, g, the form *l* לְמָה (Jb 7²⁰ לְמָה, 1 S 15⁴ לְמָה, all *Mil'el*, and hence the *ä* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) for what? why? Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 S 28¹⁵, 2 S 14³¹, Jer 15¹⁸, before ה; 2 S 2²²,

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22³³ אֹתְכֶם before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex 29⁵⁶ אֹתְכֶם), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָנוּ, אֹתְכֶם. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos 23¹⁶; for אֹתָם, five times אֹתְהֶם (Gn 32¹, Ex 18²⁰, &c.), and in Ez 23⁴⁵ אֹתְהֶם; for אֹתָהּ (Gn 19⁸, &c. [13 times]), אֹתָן (only found in Ez 16⁶⁴; Ex 35²⁶ אֹתָנָה; Ez 34²¹ אֹתָנָה), and אֹתָהּ Ez 23⁴⁷.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֹתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant 2⁷, &c., אֹתְכֶם is used instead.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַע, עָמִי, עָמְךָ [1 S 12²⁶ עָמְכָה], in *pause* עָמַע; 2nd fem. עָמְךָ, עָמִי) is united with the suffixes נוּ, כֶּם, and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mém* to be distinctly audible: עָמְנוּ, עָמְכֶם, עָמְהֶם (so in Nu 22¹², Dt 29¹⁶, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמַע is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמְדִי (probably from original עָנְדִי; cf. Arab. *inda*, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תַּחְתָּנִי *d* 2 S 22^{37.40.48} (for which ψ 18^{37.40.48} תַּחְתָּי), תַּחְתָּנָה Gn 2²¹ and בְּעֵרְנִי ψ 139¹¹ (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁוֹנֵנִי).¹

2. When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there *c* appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to אֶ is appended the syllable מוּ (see below, *k*), and אֶ and אֶ take at least a full vowel, אֶ and אֶ (§ 102 *d, f*).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (*a*) in the pausal forms אֶךָ, אֶלְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶמְךָ (not *bēkhā*, &c.); (*b*) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.) and in אֶנֶּנִּי, אֶנֶּנִּי, &c. (not *bēnū*, &c.).

(a) אֶ with Pronominal Suffixes. *f*

Sing.

Plur.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. אֶלִּי <i>to me.</i></p> | <p>אֶלָּנוּ <i>to us.</i></p> |
| <p>2. { <i>m.</i> אֶלְךָ (אֶלְכָה), in <i>pause</i> אֶלְךָ } <i>to thee.</i></p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">{ <i>f.</i> אֶלְךָ }</p> | <p>אֶלְכֶם } <i>to you.</i></p> <p>[אֶלְכֶנָּה²]</p> |
| <p>3. { <i>m.</i> אֶלָּו <i>to him.</i></p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">{ <i>f.</i> אֶלְהָא <i>to her.</i></p> | <p>אֶלְהֶם, אֶלְהֶמָּה, poet. אֶלְמוֹ } <i>to them.</i></p> <p>[53 times]³</p> <p>אֶלְהֶן, אֶלְהֶנָּה⁴</p> |

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

² אֶלְכֶנָּה does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13¹⁸ אֶלְכֶנָּה.

g $\ddot{\text{q}}$ takes suffixes in the same manner: $\ddot{\text{q}}$, $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (Ex 7²⁹, 2 S 22³⁰, ψ 141⁸ $\ddot{\text{q}}$, as in Gn 27³⁷, 2 S 18²², Is 3⁶ $\ddot{\text{q}}$ [for 2nd fem. $\ddot{\text{q}}$ the *Kethibh* $\ddot{\text{q}}$ occurs in 2 K 4², Ct 2¹³, cf. § 91 e)], $\ddot{\text{q}}$, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (especially in the later books) and $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (only in Ex 30⁴, 36¹, Hb 1¹⁶; $\ddot{\text{q}}$ only in Jer 14¹⁶), the form $\ddot{\text{q}}$ is also used; and for the feminine, besides $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (three times), $\ddot{\text{q}}$ is found fifteen times, and $\ddot{\text{q}}$ only in 1 S 31⁷, Is 38¹⁶, Ez 42¹⁴.—According to the Masora, $\ddot{\text{q}}$ is found fifteen times for $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (as conversely in 1 S 2¹⁶, 20² $\ddot{\text{q}}$ for $\ddot{\text{q}}$), e. g. Ex 21⁸, 1 S 2³, Is 9², ψ 100³ (and, as has been conjectured, also Jb 41⁴); cf. Delitzsch on ψ 100³.—In Nu 32⁴², Zc 5¹¹, Ru 2¹⁴, the Masora requires $\ddot{\text{q}}$ instead of $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58 g, § 91 e).

h (b) $\ddot{\text{q}}$ with Pronominal Suffixes.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | $\ddot{\text{q}}$ as I. | $\ddot{\text{q}}$ as we. |
| 2. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \ddot{\text{q}} \\ f. \dots \end{array} \right\}$ as thou. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \ddot{\text{q}}, \ddot{\text{q}}, \text{rarely } \ddot{\text{q}} \\ \dots \end{array} \right\}$ as ye. |
| 3. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \ddot{\text{q}} \\ f. \ddot{\text{q}} \end{array} \right\}$ as he. as she. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \ddot{\text{q}}, [\ddot{\text{q}}, \ddot{\text{q}}], \ddot{\text{q}} \\ [\ddot{\text{q}}], \ddot{\text{q}} \end{array} \right\}$ as they. |

⁸ The question whether $\ddot{\text{q}}$ can also stand for the sing. $\ddot{\text{q}}$, which Rödiger and recently W. Diehl (*Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . des Hebr.*, p. 20 f.) and P. Haupt (*SBOT.* on Pr 23²⁰, a contraction of *la-humû*) have altogether denied, must be answered in the affirmative unless we conclude with Diehl and Haupt that all the instances concerned are due to corruptions of the text. It is true that in such places as Gn 9^{26.27}, Dt 33², Is 30⁵, ψ 73¹⁰ (all in or immediately before the principal pause; in Dt 33² with *Zaqeph qa'on* at least) $\ddot{\text{q}}$ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53⁸ for $\ddot{\text{q}}$ we should read with the LXX $\ddot{\text{q}}$. On the other hand, in Is 44¹⁵ its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct— $\ddot{\text{q}}$ ψ 11⁷ and $\ddot{\text{q}}$ Jb 27²³, as well as $\ddot{\text{q}}$, three times, Jb 20²³, 27²³ (beside $\ddot{\text{q}}$), and especially Jb 22². In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= $\ddot{\text{q}}$, $\ddot{\text{q}}$, $\ddot{\text{q}}$).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in $\ddot{\text{q}}$ see § 91 l.

⁴ The form $\ddot{\text{q}}$ in Ru 1¹³ is Aramaic (= therefore).

⁵ The use of $\ddot{\text{q}}$ here for $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (cf. above, d) might be due to euphonic reasons.— $\ddot{\text{q}}$ (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, Ex 15¹¹.

(c) מִן with Pronominal Suffixes.

i

| Sing. | Plur. |
|--|--|
| 1. מִפָּנָי, poet. מִנִּי [4 times], in pause also מִנֵּי [6 times] from me. | מִפָּנָנוּ from us. |
| 2. { m. מִמֶּךָ, in pause } from thee. f. מִמֶּיךָ } | { מִמְּכֶם } from you. מִמְּיָךְ } |
| 3. { m. מִמֶּנּוּ, Jb 4 ¹² in pause } from him. or מִנֵּהוּ: see below } | { מִמֵּהֶם [twice], Jb 11 ²⁰ מִמֵּהֶם } from them. מִמֵּהֶן [7 times] } |
| f. מִמֶּנָּה from her. | מִמֵּהָ [7 times] |

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

The form מִמֶּךָ, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17¹⁵ (in pause), מִמֵּהָ only in Jer 36³² (in pause); מִמֵּהוּ (Baer following Qimḥi מִמֵּהוּ) only in Ez 18¹⁴. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For מִמֶּיךָ as ye, Qimḥi requires מִמֵּיךָ (invariably or only in Jb 16⁴?); in Jos 1¹⁵, Ju 8², Ezr 4² Baer gives מִמֶּיךָ.

With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֶּנּוּ from me is usually explained as arising, by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מִנּוּמִנִי, just as מִמֶּנּוּ from him, from מִנּוּמִנְהוּ, identical in form with מִפָּנָנוּ¹ from us, from מִנּוּמִנְנוּ, while מִמֶּנָּה from her, goes back to מִנּוּמִנְהָ. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that מִמֶּנּוּ, &c., have arisen from מִמֶּנְנִי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of תַּחֲתָנֶיךָ, עוֹרְנֵי, אֵינֵנִי, &c.—The bracketed form מִמֵּהוּ, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes מִמֵּהוּ, occurs only in ψ 68²⁴, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (מִן = portion). The expression מִן־הוּא (for מִמֶּנּוּ?) Is 18^{2.7} is very strange.—מִמֵּהָ occurs only in Jer 10², Ec 12¹² (Jb 11²⁰ מִמֵּהֶם); מִמֵּהוּ (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מִמֵּהוּ) only in Ez 16^{47.52}.

¹ The Babylonian Masora writes מִמֶּנּוּ (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

n 3. Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124 *a*), and are, therefore, joined with the pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91 *g*). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אַל־, עַד־, עַל־ with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה אָלִי (אַלִי), עָדִי, עָלִי (contracted to אָלִי, אַלִי, &c.).¹

o Without suffixes these prepositions are—

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

אַל־,² poet. [4 times in Job] also אָלִי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינֶךָ, &c. (Gn 16⁵ בֵּינֶיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינָיו, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qerê* for בֵּינוֹ, which is found e. g. in Gn 30³⁶). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינֹת.

סָבִיב (circuit) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. סָבִיבֶיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. סָבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43¹⁷ סָבִיב אֹתָהּ is a corruption of סָבִיבֹתֶיהָ; [in 1 K 6⁵ אֶת סָבִיב also is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַד־ (*continuation, duration, from* עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עָדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32¹² עָדֵיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9¹⁸ for עַד־הֵם read עָדֵיהֶם.

עַל־ *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עֶלְיָ *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עָלַי [40 times, and 2 *Qerê*].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחַתִּי, &c.; cf. above, *d*.

¹ The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 101 ff.; *Nachrichten der G. g. G.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA*. 1884, p. 280 f. According to Barth, *ZDMG*. xlii. p. 348 ff., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 ff., תַּחַתֶּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלֶיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לְפָנַי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תַּחַתֶּיךָ, אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

² On the use of this particle see § 119 *g*.

With Suffixes.

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

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their *a* relations one to another. They may be either—

(a) Original pronouns, e. g. the demonstrative בִּי *that, because, for*.

(b) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions; so perhaps אֲשֶׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (properly a demonstrative), but in many cases stands simply for בִּי; also אֵל־ (nothing), *that not*; פֶּן *that not* (the Greek μή of prohibition), &c. To these may be added the adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e. g. בְּתוֹרָם

¹ As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gn 26²⁸) distinguishes between the two forms: בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ means *between us and you*, whereas בֵּינֵנוּ (Jos 22^{25.27.28} before וּבֵינֵיכֶם) means *between us on the one side*.

² The poetical form אֵלֵיהֶם only in ψ 2⁵; עָלֵיהֶם, on which see note 3 on *f*, 12 times [viz. Dt 32²³, ψ 5¹², 55¹⁶, 64⁹, Jb 6¹⁶, 20²³, 21^{17.22}, 27²³, 29²², 30^{2.5}].

(in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִטְּרָם is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e. g. אֲחַפְּי added to this, that = much more), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

- b (c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or וְ together form one single conjunction, e. g. אֲשֶׁר אֵלֶּיךָ because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כְּאֲשֶׁר according as (with כִּי); וְעַל כֵּן אֲשֶׁר and אֲשֶׁר עַל כֵּן in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because. Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e. g. עַל-אֲשֶׁר (for אֲשֶׁר עַל) although, Jb 16¹⁷.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as one substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

- c 2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus אוּ or, אִם if (also or before the second member of a double question), אֲפֹ also, וְ and, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally ו, as still before *Haṭeph Pathah* and—with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect; cf. § 49 f) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes 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. וְחִכֶּם and be thou wise, וְעַבְדֶּיךָ and servants, וְעוֹזוֹ and strength, וְאָכַל and eat thou, וְחִלִּי and sickness. On וְאֵלֶיךָ and וְאֵלֶיךָ &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֵרְנִי, &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעַל Jb 4², cf. § 28 b.

- e (c) Before words with simple *Šewā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under f), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū* (cf. § 26 a), e. g. וְכָל and to all, so also (except in the case under g) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וְכָל. On the cases in which simple *Šewā* has become a *Haṭeph* after וְ copulative (e. g. וְהָבָה Gn 2²²), cf. § 10 g.

- f (d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וְ according to § 24 b, as וְיָהּ and let him be. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw copulative* before forms with initial *Šewā* from הָיָה to be and חָיָה to live (e. g. וְהָיָה Jos 8⁴, וְחָיָה Gn 20⁷), cf. § 63 q.

- g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like בְּ, כִּי, לְ (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְכָל 2 K 22³⁰), e. g. וְחָיָה Ex 21¹² (on the other hand, in verse 20

וּמְתַנּוּ is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 K 7⁴ וּמְתַנּוּ שָׁם; and וּמְתַנּוּ; Ru 3³ וּמְתַנּוּ; ψ 10¹⁵ וּמְתַנּוּ; 1 S 9⁴ וּמְתַנּוּ; 2 S 13²⁶ וּמְתַנּוּ; Ez 47⁹ וּמְתַנּוּ; cf. also (with *Tiphtha*) Gn 33¹⁸, 2 S 15¹². The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וּ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Wāw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. וְהוּ וְהוּ Gn 1², וְהוּ וְהוּ Gn 8²² (see also the previous examples); Gn 13¹⁴ (thrice); Ex 25³ וְהוּ וְהוּ; ψ 96⁷ וְהוּ וְהוּ; Gn 7¹⁸ וְהוּ וְהוּ; 1 K 21¹⁰ וְהוּ וְהוּ; Est 1⁸ וְהוּ וְהוּ at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87⁵ וְהוּ וְהוּ in spite of the *D'hi* with the second וְהוּ, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words פָּחַד פָּחַת וּפָחַת Is 24¹⁷. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וּ occurs before a conjunctive accent (and, when farther removed from the principal pause, even with the smaller disjunctives, in spite of a following tone-syllable), e. g. צֵאן וְעָבַד Gn 32⁶; cf. Gn 31⁴⁰, Lv 7²³, Dt 2²¹, and among the examples given above, Gn 7¹⁸ and ψ 76⁷. (Exceptions: וּקְרָמָה Gn 13¹⁴, where evidently the וּ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וּוּיָה Jos 15⁵⁵, וּעֵתָר 19⁷, וּבְטָן 19²⁵, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וּ (not ו) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וּוּה, וּוּת, וּגַם, וּלֹא (to be distinguished from וְלֹא *if not*, with *Zaqer h gadol*, 2 K 5¹⁷), and others.

§ 105. Interjections.

1. Among the interjections some (as in all languages) are simply *a* natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gestures, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e. g. אָהָה (Ez 30² אָהָה), אָהָה *aha!* אָהָה *aha!* (cf. this אָהָה also in אָהָה and אָהָה *utinam!*), אָהָה Ex 32³¹, &c. (Gn 50¹⁷ אָהָה) *ah!* (from אָהָה and גָּאָה), otherwise written אָהָה 2 K 20³, Jn 1¹⁴, ψ 106⁴; also הָהָה (in pause הָהָה, even in the plural הָהָה *hold your peace!* Neh 8¹¹) *hush!* הוּיָה (Am 5¹⁶ הוּיָה) *ha! woe!* אוּיָה (ψ 120⁵), אוּיָה (in אוּיָה Ec 4¹⁰; אוּיָה 10¹⁶) *woe!*

2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and *b* become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הוּ (הוּ) or הוּהָה *behold!* (prop. *here*); הוּהָה *behold!* (prop. imperative); הוּהָה, plur. הוּהָה (prop. *give*, imperative of הוּהָה; as to the tone, cf. § 69 o), *come*, the Latin *age, agite!* לְהוּהָה (also לְהוּהָה) (prop. *go*, imperative of הוּהָה) with the same meaning¹; הוּהָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*)

¹ הוּהָה (Dt 1⁸), הוּהָה and לְהוּהָה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

יָ (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָּ *pray!*¹ used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.²

¹ נָּ serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (a) after the *imperative*, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 d; (b) with the *imperfect*, either in the cohortative (§ 108 b) or jussive (§ 109 b); (c) once with *perfect*, Gn 40¹⁴; (d) after various particles: נָּ-הִנֵּה *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions לָּ and וְ: נָּ-לָּ *ne quaeso* and נָּ-אִם *if now*, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, *if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12¹³ נָּ stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read נָּ-לָּ.— In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18^{3,4}, 19^{7,8,19}, and 50¹⁷.

² Against the usual view which regards נָּ as a hortatory particle (= *up!* *come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִבֵּה and הִבֵּה and the Ethiopic *nā'ā*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָּ as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָּ with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

THIRD PART

SYNTAX¹

CHAPTER I

THE PARTS OF SPEECH

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS.²

§ 106. Use of the Perfect.

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the *a* speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed under *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtson (for the title see note 2, and cf. further § 107 *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

1. To represent actions, events, or states, which, after a shorter *b*

¹ Recent works on Hebrew syntax are: A. B. Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, vol. ii, *Heb. Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1894; Ed. König, *Hist.-compar. Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, Lpz. 1897 (see above, § 3 *f*). Important contributions to Hebrew syntax are also contained in H. Reckendorf's work *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, 2 pts., Leiden, 1895, 1898, of which we have already made use in § 97 *a*. Cf. also the same author's very instructive discussions *Ueber syntakt. Forschung*, Munich, 1899.

² Cf. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47 *a*; also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtson, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled 'Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.' appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 ff. (Leiden, 1893). Cf. also Knudtson's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 ff. and vii. 33 ff.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(a) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18¹⁵ *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (אֲנִי לֹא צָחַקְתִּי); and *he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (אָמַרְתָּ צָחַקְתָּ); Gn 3¹¹ *וְהָאֵדָמָה לֵאמֹר מִי הָיִיר לְךָ* *who told thee . . . ?* Cf. 3^{13.14.17.22}. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66⁸ *מִי שָׁמַע פְּוֹאֵת* *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing ?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1⁵ *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos 1¹⁷, Ex 10¹⁴, Dt 32²¹, 1 K 2³⁸, Is 46^{4.11}, Jo 2², Ec 1⁹.

d (b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gn 4⁴ *and Abel, he also brought* (וְהָבִיא), &c.; Gn 7¹⁹ *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּבְרַח), &c.; Jb 1¹ *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz*, &c.; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18³⁰.

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of narration occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1¹; cf. Dn 2¹) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gn 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 (cf. above Gn 4⁴ and 7¹⁹). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111 a. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1 b). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112 pp-uu.

f (c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect),¹ e.g. 1 S 28³ *now Samuel was (long since) dead*² . . . and *Saul had put away* (הִסִּיר) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land*. Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9¹⁵, 25²¹, 2 S 18¹⁸.—Gn 20¹⁸ (*for the Lord had fast closed up, &c.*); 27³⁰, 31^{19.34}, Dt 2¹⁰; and in a negative statement, Gn 2⁵ *for the Lord God had not (up to that time) caused it to ruin, &c.* This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2² *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gn 7⁹,

¹ Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9².

² Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos, &c.*

19²⁷, &c.; 29¹⁰ *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (בַּיּוֹם שֶׁרָאָה יַעֲקֹב אֶת רָחֵל) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24¹⁵, 27³⁰, &c.; cf. § 164 b, with the note, and c.

2. To represent actions, events, or states, which, although completed *g* in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(a) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e. g. ψ 10¹¹ הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו הַסְתִּיר he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden); ψ 143⁶ פִּרְשֵׁתַי 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 states of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under *f*, by the imperfect.² Thus, יָדַעְתִּי I know (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Jb 9², 10¹³, לֹא יָדַעְתִּי I know not Gn 4⁹, &c.; on the other hand, e. g. in Gn 28¹⁶, Nu 22³⁴, the context requires *I knew not*; וְזָכַרְנוּ we remember Nu 11⁵; מִאֲנָה she refuseth Jb 6⁷; עָלְזָה it exulteth; וְשִׂמְחָתִי I rejoice 1 S 2¹; בִּקֶּשׂ he requireth Is 1¹²; קָנִיתִי I wait Gn 49¹⁸, ψ 130⁵ (parallel with הוֹחֵלֵתִי I delight ψ 40⁹ (mostly negative, Is 11¹¹, &c.); אֲהַבְתִּי I love Gn 27⁴; שָׂנְאֹתִי I hate ψ 31⁷; מֵאֲסֹתִי I despise Am 5²¹; תִּעַבְבוּנִי they abhor me Jb 30¹⁰; בִּטְחָתִי I trust ψ 25²; הִטֵּיתִי I put my trust ψ 31²; יָדָרְתִּי I am righteous Jb 34⁵; פָּקַדְתִּי I have decided to requite 1 S 15².—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גְּדֹלָתְךָ thou art great ψ 104¹; קְטַנְתִּי I am little Gn 32¹¹; גְּבוּהוּ they are high Is 55⁹; הִתְחַקּוּ they stand aloof Jb 30¹⁰; טָבוּ they are goodly Nu 24⁵; נְאוּי they are beautiful Is 52⁷; זָקַנְתִּי I am old Gn 18¹³; יָבֵשְׁתִי I am weary ψ 6⁷; שָׂבֵעְתִי I am full Is 1¹¹, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עָרַמְתִּי *h* Ex 10³ *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and refusest still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*), ψ 80⁵, Pr 1²² (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עָרַמְתָּהּ Ex 16²⁸, Hb 1².

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

¹ With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing state), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, p. 309, note 2), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

² Cf. *novi, odi, memini*; ὄϊδα, μέμνημαι, εἶοικα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα; in the New Testament, ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e. g. הִרְמַתִּי *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14²²; נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer 22⁵; הִעֲדֹתִי *I testify* Dt 8¹⁹; יִעֲצָתִי *I counsel* 2 S 17¹¹ (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); אָמַרְתִּי (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 S 19³⁰; *I declare* Jb 9²², 32¹⁰.

k (c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e. g. ψ 9¹¹ *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (לֹא-עָזַבְתָּ) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also ψ 10³, 119⁴⁰ and Gn 49¹¹ (בְּבָסִם).

l Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107 a). Thus, לֹא יָכַלְתִּי *I am not able* ψ 40¹³ and לֹא אֶכַּל Gn 31³⁵ 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 5¹², ψ 2^{1 f.}, Pr 1²², Jb 3¹⁷.

m 3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(a) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under i), e. g. Gn 23¹¹ *the field I give* (נָתַתִּי) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48²², 2 S 14²¹, 24²³, Jer 40⁴; in a threat, 1 S 2¹⁶, 2 S 5⁶ (unless, with Wellhausen, יִסְיֶרֶךָ is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1²⁹, 15¹⁸, 17²⁰, Ju 1².

n (b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e. g. Nu 17²⁷ אֲבָרְנוּ בְּלֵנֵנוּ אֲבָרְנוּ בְּלֵנֵנוּ *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30¹³, Is 6⁵ נִרְמִיתִי *I am undone*¹), Pr 4². Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18¹², Nu 17²⁸, 23¹⁰, Ju 9^{9,11}, Zc 4¹⁰ (?), Pr 22²⁰.² This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

¹ Cf. the similar use of ἄλλα (δέφθορας, Il. 15. 128) and *perii!* On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, p.

² In Gn 40¹⁴ a *perf. confidentiae* (after אֵין בָּי; but cf. § 163 d) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen (*but have me in thy remembrance, &c.*). Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a *precativae* perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21¹⁶, 22¹⁸, also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me*. Cf. Driver, *Tenses*³, p. 25 f. In Is 43⁹ either יִקְבְּצֵנוּ is *imperative* (see § 51 o) or we must read יִקְבְּצֵנוּ, corresponding to אֲסַפֵּנוּ which follows.

ports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e. g. Is 5¹³ *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (גָּלוּ); 9¹, 10²⁸, 11⁹ (after כִּי, as frequently elsewhere); 19⁷, Jb 5²⁰, 2 Ch 20³⁷. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

(c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as *O* existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e. g. Is 4⁴ וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים *when he has washed away* = *when he shall have washed away* (an *imperfect* follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107 x); Is 6¹¹ (after וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן, as in Gn 28¹⁵, Nu 32¹⁷; also 2 S 17¹³ after וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן, Gn 24¹⁹ after וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5² (וְיִלְכְּדוּ); Gn 43¹⁴ וַיִּבְרַח אֲנִי וְאֶתְּיָוָה וְאֶתְּיָוָה וְאֶתְּיָוָה *and I—if I am bereaved (orbis fuero), I am bereaved*, an expression of despairing resignation. Cf. Pr 23¹⁵, Est 4¹⁶.

4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past *p* is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive), e. g. Gn 31⁴² *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gn 43¹⁰, Ex 9¹⁵ שָׁלַחְתִּי *I had almost put forth, &c.*); Nu 22³³, Ju 13²³, 14¹⁸, 1 S 13³³ (הִכִּינִי); 2 K 13¹⁹; so frequently after קַמְעַט *easily, almost*, Gn 26¹⁰, Is 1⁹ (where קַמְעַט is probably to be connected with the word after it), ψ 73², 94¹⁷, 119⁸⁷, Pr 5¹⁴. Cf. also Jb 3¹⁹, 23¹⁰ (בְּהִנְיִי), Ru 1¹² (*if I should think, &c.*; cf. 2 K 7⁴); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 S 25³⁴.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Nu 14² לִי מָתוּנוּ *would that we had died . . . !* (לִי with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die!* 1 S 14³⁰). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gn 21⁷ מִי מֵיָלַל *who would have said . . . ? quis dixerit?* ψ 73¹¹.

§ 107. Use of the Imperfect.¹

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events, *a* or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

¹ Cf. the literature cited above, p. 309, note 2.

Knudtson (see above, Rem. on § 106 a), comparing the Ass.-Bab. usage, would prefer the term *present* rather than imperfect, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker.

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere of *past time*:

b (a) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period,¹ e.g. Gn 2⁶ *a mist went up continually* (יַעֲלֶה), 2²⁵, 37⁷, 48¹⁰, Ex 1¹², 8²⁰, 13²², 15^{6,12,14,15}, Nu 9^{15 f. 20 f.}, 23⁷, Ju 2¹, 5⁸, 1 S 3², 13^{17 f.}, 2 S 2²⁸, 23¹⁰, 1 K 3⁴, 7⁸, 2 I⁶, Is 1²¹, 6⁴ (אִפְלֵא), 17^{10 f.}, 5 I^{2 2}, Jer 13⁷, 36¹⁸, ψ 18^{7,14,17 ff. 38 ff.}, 24², 32^{4,5} (אִזְרִיעֶךָ), 47⁵, 68^{10,12}, 104^{6 ff.}, 106¹⁹, 107^{18,29}, 139¹³, Jb 3¹¹, 4^{12,15 f.}, 10^{10 f.}, 15^{7 f.}—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9¹⁵⁻²³ and § 112 e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive.²

C Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אֵין *then*, טָרָם *not yet*, בְּטָרָם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e.g. Ex 15¹ אֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל־מִשָּׁה *then sang Moses*, &c.; Nu 21¹⁷, Dt 4⁴¹, Jos 10¹², 1 K 3¹⁶, 8¹, ψ 126², Jb 38²¹. (The perfect is used after אֵין when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e.g. Gn 4²⁶ אֵין הוֹחַל *then began*, &c.; Gn 49⁴, Ex 15¹⁵, Jos 22³¹, Ju 5¹¹, ψ 89²⁰.)³ After טָרָם e.g. Gn 19⁴ יִשְׁכְּבוּ טָרָם *before they lay down*; Gn 2⁵, 24⁴⁵, 1 S 3^{8,7}, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24¹⁵ instead of the perf. בָּלָה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3⁷ [יָגֵלָה] an imperf. is co-ordinated with יָדַע). After בְּטָרָם (sometimes also simply טָרָם Ex 12³⁴, Jos 3¹), e.g. Jer 1⁵ הֵינָא בְּטָרָם *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27³³, 37¹⁸, 41⁵⁰, Ru 3¹⁴ (perhaps also in ψ 90² an imperf. was intended instead of יִלְדוּ; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3²; but note also Pr 8²⁵, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הַטְּבָעוּ, the predicate being separated from בְּטָרָם by הָרִים, as in ψ 90²). After עַד־ Jos 10¹³, ψ 73¹⁷ (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29³⁴; on the other

¹ Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5, יֵאנף כְּמִשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was angry with his land*. As Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 27, 1 a, remarks, this vivid realization of the accomplishment of the action is especially frequent in poetic and prophetic style.

² According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is 10¹³ *bis* (where, however, וְאַסִּיר might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 48⁹, 57¹⁷, ψ 18^{38 a}, also (according to § 49 c) in 2 S 1¹⁰ and Ez 16¹⁰. In some other cases י is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for י (imperf. consec.) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42⁶, 43²⁸ [contrasted with 42²⁵], 51^{2 bis}, 63^{8 ff.} and the note on § 53 p.

³ After אֵין *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24⁴¹, Ex 12⁴⁸, Mi 3⁴, Zp 3⁹, ψ 51²¹.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2²². As after אָז, so also after טָרַם, טָרַם, and עָרַד the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our future, e.g. 2 K 2⁹, Is 65²⁴, Jb 10²¹; after עָרַד e.g. Is 22¹⁴. The imperf. is used in the sense of our present after טָרַם in Ex 9³⁰, 10⁷.

2. Driver (*Tenses*³, p. 35 f.) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction *d* between the participle as expressing mere duration, and the imperfect as expressing progressive duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words וְנָהַר יְצֵא Gn 2¹⁰ represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but וַיִּפְרֹד, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way וַיִּעֲלֶה Gn 2⁶ represents new mists as constantly arising, and וַיִּמְלֵא Is 6⁴ 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 15¹² (after a perf. as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and וַיִּנְהַיֵּי Nu 23⁷ the leading on by stages, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were repeated in the past, either *c* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1⁵ thus did (וַיַּעַשׂ) Job continually (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4^{3f.}, 22^{6f.}, 23¹¹, 29^{7.9.12f.}, Gn 6⁴, 29², 30⁸, 42^{31.39} (I used to bear the loss of it), Ex 1¹², 19¹⁹, 33^{7f.} (וַיִּקַּח used to take every time), 40^{36f.}, Nu 9^{17f. 20f.}, 11^{5.9}, Ju 6⁴, 14¹⁰, 21²⁵, 1 S 1⁷, 2²², 9⁹, 13¹⁹, 18⁵, 27⁹, 2 S 1²², 12³, 13¹⁸, 1 K 5²⁵ (of tribute repeated year by year), 10⁵, 13³³, 14²⁸, 2 K 4⁸, 8²⁹, 13²⁰, 25¹⁴, Jer 36²³, ψ 42⁵, 44³, 78^{15.40}, 103⁷, Est 2¹⁴; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18¹⁰.

2. In the sphere of present time, again

(a) To express actions, events, or states, which are continued for a shorter or longer time,¹ e.g. Gn 37¹⁵ מַה תִּבְקֹשׁ what seekest thou? 19¹⁹ לֹא אֶחְזָק I cannot; 24⁵⁰, 31³⁵, Is 1¹³. Other examples are Gn 2¹⁰, 24³¹, 1 S 1⁸, 11⁵, 1 K 3⁷, ψ 2², and in the prophetic formula יְהוָה יֹאמֵר saith the Lord, Is 1^{11.18}, &c., cf. 40¹. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15²⁰ a wise son maketh a glad father; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4¹⁷ is mortal man just before God? In a negative sentence, Jb 4¹⁸, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which may be repeated at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are customarily repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, e), e.g. Dt 1⁴⁴ as bees do (are accustomed to

¹ It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between continued and repeated actions. Some of the examples given under *f* might equally be referred to *g*.

do); Gn 6²¹, 32³³, 43³², Ju 11⁴⁰, 1 S 2⁸, 5⁵, 20², 2 S 15³², Is 1²³, 3¹⁶, ψ 1³. So again (see *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23⁸ *a gift blindeth* (רָעָה), &c.; Gn 2²⁴, 22¹⁴, Is 32⁶, Am 3⁷, Mal 1⁶, Jb 2⁴, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49²⁷ *Benjamin is* יִטְרֶה אֶבְרָא *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יִמָּרֵךְ *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10⁹, 22¹⁴, &c.; לֹא יִעָשֶׂה כֵּן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence may not, shall not be, see *u*), Gn 29²⁶, 20⁹, 34⁷, 2 S 13¹².

h (c) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32³⁰ *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (אֲשַׁאל) *after my name?* 24³¹, 44⁷, Ex 5¹⁵, 2 S 16⁹. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 17² מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16⁸ (cf. 42⁷) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹאת *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 4¹ *they will not believe* (לֹא יִאֱמִינֻנִי) *me, nor hearken* (וְיִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (וְיֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6¹, 9⁵, &c.

k (b) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43⁷ *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמֵר)? 2¹⁹, 43²⁵, Ex 2⁴, 2 K 3²⁷ אֲשֶׁר יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13¹⁴, Jon 4⁵, Jb 3³, Ec 2³, ψ 78⁶ *that the generation to come might know*, יִלְדוּ בְּנִים *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4⁴, 6¹¹ (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132⁵, and עַד יִצְטַר *until*, Gn 29⁸, Nu 20¹⁷, &c.

m 4. Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

(a) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and *n* arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (cf. e. g. ψ 59¹⁷ with verse 18; 2 S 22^{5b} with ψ 18⁵⁰; Ju 19¹¹, &c.), of the imperative (Is 18³), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e. g. הִרְאָה *let it appear* Gn 1⁹, 41³⁴, Lv 19^{2,3}, 2 S 10¹² (and so frequently in verbs ה"ל; cf. § 109 a, note 2); Zc 9⁵ (הִתְחִיל); ψ 61⁷ (הִסִּיף); Pr 22¹⁷ (הִשְׁוִית); 23¹, Jb 6²³ (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10³⁰ *Keth.*; so probably also יִדְרֶה *let him judge!* ψ 72².—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which is asserted subsequently with reference to a fixed point of time in the past, e. g. Jb 10¹⁸ אֶנְנֶה *I ought to* [not *should* as A.V., R.V.] *have*, (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; cf. verse 19 הִתְחַיֶּה and אֶנְבֵּל Lv 10¹⁸, Nu 35²³. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e. g. Jb 9²⁹ אֶרְשָׁע *I am to be guilty*, 12⁴. Cp. Jb 9¹⁵, 19¹⁶; in a question, ψ 42¹⁰, 43².

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not happen. The imperfect with ל"א represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive¹ with א"ל (cf. § 109 c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while א"ל with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus ל"א with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנוֹב *thou shalt not steal* Ex 20¹⁵; cf. verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 ff. So ל"א with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Pr 16¹⁰.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after א"ל, does not, as a rule *p* (according to *n*, and § 109 a, note 2), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after א"ל of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs ל"ה (cf. § 109 a, note 2), but also from verbs ו"ע, to express a prohibition or negative wish, אֶל-תִּבְיט Gn 19¹⁷, אֶל-תִּסְדֹּר Jos 17, אֶל-נָא יִשְׂם 1 S 25²⁵. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) וְאֶל-נַמּוּת *that we die not*, 1 S 12⁹. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, אֶל-יִנּוּם *he will not slumber*,² ψ 121³; cf. Jer 46⁶, 2 Ch 14¹⁰.

¹ As stated in § 46 a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by א"ל 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 ל"א with the imperf., of that which was previously only a subjective conviction.

- q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 b), as אֲשֶׁר, Gn 11⁷ לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ (אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ) *that they may not understand*; Gn 21³⁰, 27^{4,19}, Ex 9¹⁴, &c.; אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר Nu 17⁵; לְמַעַן Dt 4¹, ψ 51⁶, 78⁶, and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר¹ Ex 12¹², *in order that*²; לְבַלְתִּי *that . . . not*, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴; also after אֲפֹרָה *that not, lest*, Gn 3²², 11⁴, 19¹⁵, &c.³; cf. also the instances introduced by לֹא in § 109 g.—In Lv 9⁶ such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 f) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1¹⁹ to the principal clause simply by י: *while they sought them food וַיִּשְׁבְּוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם to refresh their souls* (cf. also La 3²⁶, *it is good and let him hope, i. e. that he should hope*); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 27. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32⁸ בְּדַרְךְךָ יְיָ תֵלֶךְ *in the way which thou shouldst go*.
- r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the *potential* of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with *can, may, should*⁴). More particularly such imperfects are used—
- s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2¹⁶ *of every tree of the garden (אֶכֶל תֹּאכַל) thou mayest freely eat* (the opposite in verse 17); 3², 42³⁷, Lv 21^{3,22}, Jb 21³. In the 1st pers. ψ 5⁸, 22¹⁸ (*I may, or can, tell*); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5⁵.
- t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20⁹ מִי־יֹאמַר *quis dixerit?* Cf. Gn 17¹⁷, 18¹⁴, 31⁴³, 1 S 11¹², 2 K 5¹² הֲלֹא־אֶרְחֹץ בָּהֶם *may I not wash in them?* Is 33¹⁴, ψ 15¹, 24³, Ec 5⁵. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gn 39⁹ *how then can I . . .?* 44³⁴, Is 19¹¹, ψ 137⁴, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43⁷ הֲיָרִיעַ נִרְעָה *could we in any wise know . . .?* Cf. 2 S 3³³ (יָמוּתָה *was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . .?*), and so probably also Gn 34³¹ (*should he deal . . .?*). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—
- u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3¹¹, *who am I (כִּי אֵלֶיךָ) that I should (ought, could) go?* 16⁷, Nu 11¹², Ju 9²³, 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 K 8¹³, Is 29¹⁶, Jb 6¹¹, 21¹⁵, similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gn 38¹⁸, Ex 5².

¹ But אֲשֶׁר יַעַן in a causal sense (*because, since*), e. g. Ju 2²⁰ (as אֲשֶׁר Gn 34²⁷) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4²⁴ see above, § 74 g.

[² R. V. *because he shall not see.*]

³ In 2 K 2¹⁶ אֲפֹרָה occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c⁶, 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.

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11⁵, ψ 8⁵, 114⁵, the context shows that the ω imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e. g. Gn 20¹⁰, Ju 18²³, 2 S 7¹⁸, Is 22¹.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or ω should not happen, e. g. Gn 32¹³ לֹא יִסְפָּר מְרֹב which cannot be numbered for multitude; 20⁹ דְּעָשָׂה לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה that ought not to be done (cf. above, g); ψ 5⁵.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding ω to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23⁴ רָע לֹא אֵרָא . . . אֲנִי אֵלֵךְ . . . yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil; Jb 9²⁰ though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me. After a perfect in the protasis, e. g. Jb 23¹⁰. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e. g. Jb 5⁸ but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place); 3^{13,16}, 14^{14f.}, ψ 55¹³, Ru 1¹². However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Cf. § 109 h.

§ 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i. e. according to § 48 c, the 1st pers.¹ sing. or α plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending הַיֵּן,² represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

1. The cohortative standing alone, or co-ordinated with another β cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle אֲנִי:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e. g. Ex 3³ אֲנִי אֲסַרְהֶנָּה וְגַ' I will turn aside now, and see . . .! So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e. g. Gn 18²¹, 32²¹ (rarely so used after לֹא, Gn 21¹⁶ let me not look . . .! Jer 18¹⁸), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e. g. Is 5¹ I will sing³ . . .! 5⁶, 31⁸. Cf. also Gn 46³⁰ now let me die (I am willing to die),

¹ For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 d.

² But verbs הַיֵּן, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending הַיֵּן; cf. e. g. in Dt 32²⁰ אֲסַרְהֶנָּה after אֲסַרְהֶנָּה.

[³ R. V. let me sing.]

since I have seen thy face; and ψ 31⁸. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g. ψ 2³ $\text{בָּנֵינוּ בָּרֶקֶת}$ come! let us break asunder! &c., and Gn 11³.

c (b) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 22⁷ אֶעְבְּרָה may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)! Nu 20¹⁷ נִעְבְּרָה נָא may we be allowed to pass through! Jer 40¹⁵ let me go, I pray thee! &c.; 2 S 16⁹; so after לֹא 2 S 18¹⁴; after $\text{לֹא אֶל־אִבְנֹשֶׁתָּה}$ 2 S 24¹⁴, Jer 17¹⁸, ψ 25² let me not be ashamed; cf. ψ 31^{2,18}, 71¹; 69¹⁵. After אֶל־נָנָא Jon 1¹⁴.

d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (a) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative; ψ 9¹⁵ after לְמַעַן) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27⁴ bring it to me, וְאֹכְלָהָ that I may eat, prop. then will I eat; Gn 19⁵, 23⁴, 24⁶⁶, 27²⁵, 29²¹, 30^{25f.}, 42³⁴, 49¹, Dt 32¹, Ho 6¹, ψ 2⁸, 39¹⁴, Jb 10²⁰ *Qerê*; Is 5¹⁹ and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, $\text{וְנִרְעָה$ that we may know (it)! Gn 26²⁸, 1 S 27⁵. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18^{30,32}, Ju 6³⁹, and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22⁷, Is 40²⁵, 41²⁶, Am 8⁵.

e (b) In conditional sentences (with or without אִם) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16⁶ אִם־אֶרְבְּרָה should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, $\text{וְאִחֲזֶלְהָ$ and should I forbear, what am I eased? without אִם Jb 19¹⁸, 30²⁶ (where, however, וְאִחֲזֶלְהָ is probably intended); ψ 73¹⁶ (unless וְאִחֲזֶלְהָ should be read), 139^{8f.}. After the 3rd person, Jb 11¹⁷ though it be dark, &c. So perhaps also 2 S 22³⁸ $\text{אִם־רָדַפְתָּה$ if I determined to pursue, then . . . , but cf. ψ 18³⁸.

f (c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31^{7f.} if my step hath turned out of the way . . . , $\text{וְאִרְעָה$ then let me sow; cf. 16^{4f.} I also could speak as ye do, if . . . ! So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g. ψ 40⁶ else would I declare and speak of them; 51¹⁸ else would I (gladly) give it, i. e. if thou didst require it (cf. the precisely similar וְאִשָּׂא ψ 55¹³); Jb 6¹⁰. In the 1st plur. Jer 20¹⁰. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish $\text{כִּי־יִתְּנֵנִי, כִּי־יִתְּנֵנִי}$, e. g. Jer 9¹ oh, that I had . . . , וְאֶעְזְבָה then (i. e. if I had) should I (or would I) leave my people, &c.; Ju 9²⁹; without *Wāw* Is 27⁴, ψ 55⁷, Jb 23⁴ (cf. also verse 7).

g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a necessity) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38¹⁰ אֶלְכָּהָ ; Jer 3²⁵, 4^{19,21}, 6¹⁰, ψ 55^{3,18} (?); 57⁵, where, however, with Hupfeld, שָׁכַכְתָּ should be read; 77⁷, 88¹⁶, and in the 1st plur. Is 59¹⁰), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative form is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw* consec. of the imperfect (cf. § 49 e, as also ψ 66⁶ נִשְׂמְחָה שָׂם there did we rejoice¹; ψ 119¹⁶³ וְנִאֲתַעְבְּרָה; Pr 7⁷), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm.

2. The cohortative is strange after עָרַךְ ψ 73¹⁷ until I went . . . אֲבִינָה I considered their latter end; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider', &c. (but אֲבִינָה Pr 7⁷ is still dependent on the preceding ן); עָרַךְ אֲרָיִעָה Pr 12¹⁹ is at any rate to be explained in the same way (in Jer 49¹⁹, 50⁴⁴ we have כִּי־אֶ with a similar meaning), as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eyelashes (shall wink). On the other hand, in Ex 32⁵⁰ אֲכַפֵּר is to be read, with the Samaritan, instead of אֲכַפְּרָה after אֲנִי.

§ 109. Use of the Jussive.

As the cohortative is used in the 1st pers., so the jussive is especially *a* found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen (cf. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary imperfect,² § 48 f, g). More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The jussive standing alone, or co-ordinated with another jussive:

(a) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a *b* blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or pre-cative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of נָא. Examples: Gn 1³ אֹרֶךְ יְהִי אֹרֶךְ let there be light! Gn 1^{6.9.11}, &c. (the creative commands); Nu 6²⁶ the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace! cf. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gn 30³⁴ לִי יְהִי I would it might be; ψ 81⁹ אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי if thou wouldst hearken unto me! As a humble request, Gn 44³³ . . . וְהָעֶרֶךְ יַעֲלֶה . . . יִשָּׁב־נָא עִבְדְּךָ let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c., Gn 47⁴.

(b) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, *c* warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and a request. The prohibitive particle used before the jussive (according to § 107 o) is almost always אַל־ (in negative desires and requests frequently

¹ Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׂם is the use of the historic imperf. after אָז, § 107 c.

² With regard to verbs לָהֶה, it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108 a, note 2), e.g. אֲלִי־רָאָה Jb 3⁹ (but previously יִקֹּן let it look for!): especially in (Neh 2⁹) and immediately before the principal pause, Gn 1⁹ הִתְרַאָה; Ju 6³⁹ יִהְיֶה, but previously יִהְיֶה־נָא; Is 47⁹ הִתְרַאָה, previously הִתְנַל; ψ 109⁷. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning הִתְנַל, see § 75 h.

אֲלֹנֶיךָ); e.g. Ex 34³ אִישׁ אֲלֵיכֶם neither let any man be seen! Pr 3⁷ be not (אֲלֵתְהִי) wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15³¹ אֲלֵי־אֲמִיץ ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9²⁶ אֲלֵתִשְׁחֶת destroy not! 1 K 2²⁰, ψ 27⁹, 69¹⁸.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of אֵל with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (אֵל with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2⁶, Ez 48¹⁴), or (as in Gn 24⁸) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under *k*. Moreover, cf. יֹסֶף לֹא Jo 2² and from the same verb Gn 4¹² (unless it is to be referred to *h*) and Dt 13¹. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22¹⁹ for the ordinary imperfect (but see below, *i*). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently יֹסֶף, &c., should not be restored.—On לֹא־תַחֲוֹם עֵינֶיךָ, &c., Dt 7¹⁶, 13⁹, &c., Ez 5¹¹, &c., cf. § 72 *r*, according to which תַּחֲוֹם should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after לֹא 1 S 14³⁶ (וְלֹא־נִשְׁאַר) co-ordinated with two cohortatives, 2 S 17¹²; cf. Is 41²³ *Keth.* (וְנָרָא), i.e. וְנִרְאָה, after another cohortative); also (see above) לֹא אֶסֶף Dt 18¹⁶, Ho 9¹⁵, and even without לֹא Ez 5¹⁶.

e 2. אֲלֵ with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 *p*) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2⁹ (where, however, the text is very doubtful) וְאֲלֵתִשָּׂא לָהֶם and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; ψ 34⁶, 41³, 50³, 121³ (אֲלֵי־יָתֵן); Pr 3²⁵, Jb 5²² אֲלֵתִירָא neither needest thou be afraid; 20¹⁷, 40³².

f 2. The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(a) Depending¹ (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e.g. Gn 24⁵¹ take her and go, and let her be (וְיָתְהִי prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30³, 31³⁷, 38²⁴, Ex 8⁴, 9¹³, 10¹⁷, 14², Jos 4¹⁶, Ju 6³⁰, 1 S 5¹¹, 7³, 1 K 21¹⁰, ψ 144⁵, Pr 20²², Jb 14⁶. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7² (say) what is thy desire . . . , וְיִתְעַשׂ and it shall (i.e. in order that it may) be granted! 1 K 22²⁰, Is 19¹², Jb 38^{34f}. Depending on a cohortative, e.g. Gn 19²⁰ נָא אֲמַלְטָה נָא שָׂפָה oh, let me escape thither . . . וְיָתְהִי נַפְשִׁי that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, *g*), 1 K 13³³ whosoever would, he consecrated him . . . וְיִהְיֶה that he might be a priest (read בְּהֵן) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading וְיִהְיֶה is to be preferred.

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. Gn 20⁷, ψ 27¹⁴, &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35²¹ a negative final clause with לֹא־יִמָּוֵל is dependent on an ג imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of לֹא־יִמָּוֵל and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42², 1 K 14², 18⁴⁴; after a jussive, Ex 30²⁰, Neh 6⁹; after a perfect consec., Ex 28^{35,43}, 30¹², Nu 18⁵; after לֹא־יִמָּוֵל with an imperfect, Lv 10⁶, Nu 18³, Dt 17¹⁷ *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* ($\text{וְלֹא־יִסּוּר לְבָבוֹ}$) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20¹⁴, 2 S 21¹⁷, Jer 11²¹; after לֹא־יִמָּוֵל with jussive, Lv 10⁹, 11⁴³, 16², 2 S 13²⁵, Jer 25⁸, 37²⁰, 38^{24 f.}; after the asseverative דַּם־יִמָּוֵל with the impft., Gn 14²³; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10⁴ *with nails . . . they fasten it* (וְלֹא־יִמָּוֵל) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9⁷.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the h protasis or in the apodosis, cf. ψ 45¹² יִתְאָוֶה *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104²⁰ וְיִהְיֶה . . . $\text{תִּשְׁתַּח$ *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22⁴, Lv 15²⁴, Is 41²⁸, Ez 14⁷ (וְיִעַל), Jb 34²⁹; in the apodosis, Ex 7⁹ *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent*; Pr 9⁹ after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10¹⁶, 13⁵, 22²⁶. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4¹² (לֹא־תִסְמַךְ , but see above, d). In 2 K 6²⁷ אֶל־יִשְׁעַיִךְ (*if the Lord do not help thee, &c.*) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based z on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e. g. Nu 22¹⁹ (מִה־יִסְמַךְ , but cf. above, a); Jb 9³³ *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* (יִשֵּׁת), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23¹⁹ וַיִּכְבֹּד *that he should lie* is probably intended as a jussive); Ec 5¹⁴; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9¹¹ *who is the wise man*, וַיִּבֶן *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14¹⁰.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral k sense, for the ordinary imperfect form. and this occurs not alone in forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Dt 28^{21,36}, 32⁸, 1 K 8¹, Is 12¹, Mi 3⁴, 5⁸, ψ 11⁶, 18¹², 21² מִה־יִסְמַךְ (וְיִגִּיל), *Keth.* וְיִגִּיל , 25⁹, 47⁴, 90³, 91⁴, 107²³, Pr 15²⁵, Jb 13²⁷, 15³³, 18⁹, 20², 27²², 33¹¹, 36¹⁴, 38²⁴, Ec 12⁶ (verse 7 יִשְׁבַּח , but immediately afterwards תִּשְׁבַּח), Dn 8¹²,—but also in shortened forms, such as יִהְיֶה Gu 49¹⁷ (Sam. יִהְיֶה), Dt 28⁸, 1 S 10⁵, 2 S 5²⁴, Ho 6¹, 11⁴, Am 5¹⁴, Mi 1², Zp 2¹³, Zc 9⁵, ψ 72^{16 f.} (after other jussives), 104³¹, Jb 18¹², 20^{23,26,28}, 27⁸, 33²¹, 34³⁷, Ru 3⁴. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42⁶, 50², ψ 68¹⁵, Pr 23²⁵, Jb 24¹⁴, 29⁸, 40¹⁹), or actually *in* pause (Dt 32¹⁸, Jb 23^{9,11}, La 3⁵⁰), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 g), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms (cf. § 107 k and m-x).

§ 110. The Imperative.

Mayer Lambert, 'Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu,' in
REJ. 1897, p. 106 ff.

a 1. The imperative,¹ which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 K 18⁴⁴, Is 56¹, 65¹⁸) with other imperatives:

(*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12¹ *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10¹²) and requests, 2 K 5²², Is 5³; on the addition of אָז see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 2²² *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22¹⁵, Ju 10¹⁴, Is 47¹² (with אָז), Jer 7²¹, Ez 20³⁹, Am 4⁴, Jb 38^{3f.}, 40^{10ff.}, La 4²¹. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3¹⁵ (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8^{9f.}, 29⁹.

b (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18²³ after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21¹², 45¹¹.

c (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)² or promise, e.g. Is 65¹⁸ *but be ye glad*, &c. (i. e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37³⁰, ψ 110²; in a threat, Jer 2¹⁹. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54¹⁴ *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1²⁸, &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22¹², 2 K 5¹⁸, see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the imperative *Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42¹⁶ אֲנִי וְאֶחָיו וְאֶחָיו וְאֶחָיו and *ye shall be bound*; Dt 32⁵⁰, Is 49⁹ (Is 45²², see below, *f*).

d Rem. 1. The particle אָז *age!* (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12¹³, 24², sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16²⁶, 20¹⁰) or in ridicule (Is 47¹²).

e 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle אֲנִי Gn 23¹³ (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read אֲנִי for אֲנִי and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after אֲנִי, the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.

f 2. The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, serves to

¹ On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), cf. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

² Like the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e.g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or state will ensue as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(a) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e. g. Gn 42¹⁸ וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה וְיָחִי *this do, and live*, i. e. thus shall ye continue to live. Gn 17¹, 1 K 22¹², 2 K 5¹³, Is 36¹⁶, 45²² (וְהָיָשְׁעֵי), Jcr 6¹⁶, Am 5^{4,6}, ψ 37²⁷, Pr 3^{3f.}, 4⁴, 7², 13²⁰ *Keth.*, Jb 2⁹, 2 Ch 20²⁰; in Jer 25⁵, Jb 22²¹ נִזְּ is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e. g. Is 8⁹ רָעוּ עַמִּים וְחָתְרוּ (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; cf. verse 9 b.

Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative Is 8¹⁰, 55².

2. In Pr 20¹³ the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by *asyndeton*; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e. g. Dt 2²⁴ רָשׁ הַחֵלֶל (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הַחֵלֶל) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19⁶ הוֹאֵל־נָא וְלֵין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and on this kind of co-ordination in general, cf. § 120 d). But such imperatives as הֵן (לְכֹנֵה), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

(b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, frequently expresses also a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; cf. Gn 20⁷ *and he shall pray for thee, וְיָחִי and thou shalt live*; cf. Ex 14¹⁶, 2 K 5¹⁰, Jb 11⁶, ψ 128⁵ *the Lord bless thee . . . so that* (or *in order that*) *thou seest, &c.*; Ru 1⁹, 4¹¹; after a cohortative, Gn 12², 45¹⁸, Ex 3¹⁰ וְהוֹצֵאת *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex 18², 1 S 12¹⁷, 1 K 1¹²; Jer 35¹⁵ (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 S 21³ *wherewith shall I make atonement, וְיְבָרְכֵנִי that ye may bless, &c.*—In Nu 5¹⁹ the imperative without ! (in 32²³ with !) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd sing. masc. occurs in addressing feminine persons in Ju 4²⁰ *עֲמַר* (according to Qimḥi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עֲמַר should be read; but probably we should simply read עֲמַרְי with Moore), Mi 1¹⁸ and Zc 13⁷ (after עֲרִי); and in Is 23¹, the 2nd plur. masc. (On

the four forms of the 2nd fem. plur. imperative in Is 32¹¹, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 i). In Na 3¹⁵ the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 p on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

§ 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a** 1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49 a-g) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned 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* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 a, and especially § 112 a), e.g. Gn 3¹ *now the serpent was* (הִיָּה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4¹, 6^{9f.}, 10^{9f.}, 15¹⁹, 11^{12f. 27f.}, 14^{5f.}, 15^{1f.}, 16^{1f.}, 21^{1f.}, 24^{1f.}, 25^{19f.}, 36^{2f.}, 37².
- b** Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect² (viz. הָיָה *it came to pass*), e.g. Is 6¹ *in the year that king Uzziah died, I saw* (וַיֵּרָא), &c.; Gn 22⁴, 27³⁴, Ju 11¹⁶, 1 S 4^{19'}, 17⁶⁷, 21⁶, Ho 11¹: on the use of וַיְהִי to connect expressions of time, see below, g.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17⁶⁰ (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12⁷, 15³, &c., Dn 10¹¹, 15¹⁹; the *Perfect* after וַיְהִי and the subject, 2 Ch 7¹.
- c** 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gn 1⁶ *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וַיִּקְרָא לַחֹשֶׁךְ לַיְלָה) *Night*; verse 10, 2²⁰, 11³ and frequently.
- d** 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gn 28^{8f.} וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיִּרְא וַיֵּשֶׁב when Esau saw that . . . , he went, &c.; so also, frequently וַיֵּשֶׁב, &c., Gn 37²¹, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex 21⁰ (וַתֹּאמֶר) *for she said*; cf. 1 S 7¹². Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2²⁵ (וַיְהִי) *they were*; but Jos 4⁹, 1 K 8⁸ *they are*; Gn 36¹⁴ (וַתֵּלֶךְ), 36³² (וַיִּמְלֶךְ), 1 K 1⁴⁴.

¹ On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 b note.

² Cf. Is 45⁴, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36⁷, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely external connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32³¹ and (yet) *my life is preserved*; 2 S 3⁸ and yet thou *chargest me*; Jb 10⁸, 32³; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr 30²⁵ π.

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section *f* of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) and *it came to pass*, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn 4^{3,8}, 8⁶, 11², Ex 12²⁹, 13¹⁷, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7¹⁰, 15¹², 22¹, 27³⁰, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8¹³, 14^{1f.}, 40¹, Ex 12⁴¹, 16²², Nu 10¹¹, Dt 1³, 1 S 18³⁰, 2 K 8²¹, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41¹.

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיְהִי is especially common, *g* when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, *b*; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22¹ and *it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham*), the similar cases in Gn 19³⁴, 21²², 1 S 11¹¹, Ru 1¹. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by וַ or וְ with an infinitive (Gn 12¹⁴, 19^{17,29} 39¹³, 15^{18f.}, Ju 16²⁵) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106 *f*), e.g. Gn 15¹⁷, 24¹⁵, 27³⁰, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי when, Gn 26⁸, 27¹, Ju 16¹⁶, כַּאֲשֶׁר when, Gn 12¹¹, 20¹³, מֵאָז from the time that, Gn 39⁵; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 *u*), e.g. 2 K 13²¹ וַיְהִי הֵם קִבְּרִים אִישׁ and *it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . .*; Gn 42³⁵, 2 K 2¹¹ (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וְהִנֵּה); 1 S 7¹⁰, 2 S 13³⁰, 2 K 6^{6,26}, 19³⁷ (= Is 37³⁸).—In 1 S 10¹¹, 11¹¹, 2 S 2²³, 15² a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding וַיְהִי, introduces the apodosis either—(a) to whole sentences, or (b) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (a) 1 S 15²³ because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, וַיִּמְאַסְךָ he hath rejected thee (cf. Nu 14¹⁶, Is 48⁴, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9²¹; for (b) Gn 22²⁴ וַיְהִי וַיִּבְלֵגְנֵשׁוּ and (as to) his concubine . . . , וַיִּבְלַגְךָ she bare, &c.; Ex 38²⁴, Nu 14^{36f.}, 1 S 14¹⁹, 17²⁴, 2 S 4¹⁰, 19⁴¹ *Keeth.*, 21¹⁶, 1 K 9^{20f.}, 12¹⁷, 2 K 25²², Jer 6¹⁹, 28⁸, 33²⁴, 44²⁵.²—In 1 K 15¹³, 2 K 16¹⁴ the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by אֲתָּ.

¹ Exhaustive statistics of the use of וַיְהִי in its many and various connexions are given by König in *ZAW.* 1899, p. 260 ff.

² Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (*Omri*) the king of Israel, וַיַּעֲנוּ he oppressed Moab, &c.—The peculiar imperfect consecutive in Gn 30^{27b} (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: *I have observed and have come to the conclusion, the Lord hath blessed me, &c.*—In Gn 27³⁴ read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before בִּשְׂמֹעַ.

i 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a-h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

k (a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e. g. Gn 2¹, 23²⁰ וְגַם הַשָּׂדֶה וְגַם הַמְּצֹדֵת וְגַם הַמְּצֹדֵת וְגַם הַמְּצֹדֵת so (in this way) *the field became (legally) the property of Abraham, &c.*; 1 S 17⁵⁰, 31⁶.

l (b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e. g. Gn 39², Jb 2³ and *he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וְגַם הַמְּצֹדֵת וְגַם הַמְּצֹדֵת וְגַם הַמְּצֹדֵת so *that thou thus (as it now appears) groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65⁹ so *that they are afraid . . .*; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20¹⁷ וְהָיָה כִּי יָמָּוֶת אִמִּי so *that my mother should have been . . .* Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38⁹ וְיָמָּוֶת אִמִּי so *that he dies (must die)*.

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e. g. Is 51¹² *who art thou (i. e. art thou so helpless)*, וְהָיָה לְךָ אֵימָה that *thou art (must needs be) afraid?* ψ 144³ (cf. ψ 8⁵, where in a very similar context כִּי that is used with the imperfect); Gn 12¹⁹ (וְיָמָּוֶת אִמִּי); 31²⁷ וְיָמָּוֶת אִמִּי so *that I might have sent thee away*.

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

n (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 *a*, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

o (b) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

p (1) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

q Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the imperfect consecutive as an historic tense. The imperfect consecutive also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e. g. Gn 27¹, Nu 11²⁰, Dt 4³⁷, 1 S 8⁸, 1 K 2⁵, 11³³, 18¹³, &c.; also in Is 49⁷ וְיָבִיחַ לְךָ הַיָּם is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding וְיָבִיחַ לְךָ הַיָּם.—In Jb 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 Gn 26¹⁸, 28^{6 f.}, 31^{19,34} (*now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וְהָיָה וְהָיָה and had*

put them, &c.); Nu 14³⁶, 1 S 28³, 2 S 2²³, Is 39¹. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113 r, § 116 x, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

(2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or *r* their equivalents, which describe actions and states as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(a) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106 g, e. g. ψ 16⁹ *therefore my heart is glad* (שָׂמַח) and *my glory rejoiceth* (גִּילָה); Is 3¹⁶ (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as ψ 29¹⁰ בָּשָׁב (prop. he sat down, and has been enthroned ever since), ψ 41¹³.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences *S* frequently confirmed (see § 106 k), e. g. Jb 14² *he cometh up* (צָמַח) like a flower, and *is cut down* (נָחַץ); *he fleeth* (יָבַח) also as a shadow, וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד and *continueth not*; Jb 20¹⁵, 24^{2,11}, Is 40²⁴, Pr 11².

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways *t* described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e. g. Jb 14¹⁰ *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) and *becometh powerless* (שָׁחַת), &c., i. e. remains powerless; Jb 4⁵, Ho 8¹³, Hb 1^{9f.}, ψ 55¹⁸, 90³, Jb 5¹⁵, 7¹⁸, 11³ (*when thou mockest*), 12²⁵, 34²⁴, 37⁸ (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39¹⁵. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence, ψ 59¹⁶, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 S 2²⁹, ψ 42⁶ (וְהָיָה לְךָ) for which in verse 12 and in 43⁵ we have וְיָמַחְתָּהּ לְךָ and *why art thou disquieted?*

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present *u* continues or is being repeated, e. g. Nu 22¹¹, 1 S 2⁶, 2 S 19² *behold the king weepeth* (בֹּכֶה) and *mourneth* (לֹאֲבֵל) for Absalom; Am 5⁸, 9^{5f.}, Na 1⁴, ψ 34⁸, Pr 20²⁶, Jb 12^{22ff.}, but cf. e. g. Jb 12⁴ לֹאֲבָלָהּ קָרָא who called upon God, וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ and *he answered him*.

(ε) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is 51¹², ψ 144³ (see above, *m*); Jb 10²². So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (cf. § 114 r), Is 30¹², Jer 10¹³, ψ 92⁸, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(a) an *w* imperfect which refers to the future, ψ 49¹⁵, 94^{22f.};—(β) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106 n, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); cf. Is 5¹⁵ (parallel with a simple imperfect separated from *v*); 5¹⁶ (cf. 2^{11,17}, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5²⁵, 9^{6,10f.},

13^{15,17 ff.}, 22^{7 ff.}, Jo 2²³, Mi 2¹³, Ez 33^{4,6}, ψ 7¹³, 64^{8 ff.};—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4¹⁵.¹

x Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e. g. Jb 9¹⁶ וַיִּעֲנֵנִי וַיֹּאמֶר אִתִּי אִם־קָרָאתִי אִם־עָנֵתָ לִּי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . . ; ψ 139¹¹ וַאֲמַרְתִּי אִם־אֵלֵּם if I should say (previously, in verse 8 f., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is 48^{18 f.} an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by אִיִּנָּם (וְיִהְיֶה) *utinam* (וְיִהְיֶה) and it, or so that it were, equivalent to *then should it be*. Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20²⁷) and *m* (Gn 31²⁷), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring contingently.

§ 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

G. R. Berry, 'Waw consecutive with the perfect in Hebrew,' in *Bibl. Lit.*, xxii. (1903), pp. 60-69.

a 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (cf. § 49 a; on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49 h) to express actions, events, or states, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § 111 a, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent.

b Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect*, &c.), reaching afterwards in the *perfect* a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa.² The strict regularity of this

¹ Also in Jer 51²⁹ the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וַיִּהְיֶה־לְךָ Ho 8¹⁰ would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וַיְהִי, and Ewald reads וַיְהִי־לְךָ.—In Ez 28¹⁶ (cf. Jer 15^{6 f.}) וַיִּהְיֶה־לְךָ appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; cf. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 ff.

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* and *imperfect consecutive* cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the *perfect consecutive* originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the *imperfect consecutive* represents an action which

alternation belongs indeed rather to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e. g. Ez 14¹³, Am 5¹⁹, Ru 3³, four perfects in each case, Is 8⁷ five, Ex 6^{6f.} eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect*, § 111 c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e. g. Gn 12¹² when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say (וַיֹּאמְרוּ), This is his wife: and they will kill me (וַיִּהְיוּ אֵתִי) but thee they will save alive (וַיִּחַיֵּךְ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always *d* belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (a) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see *e*), (b) in loose connexion (see *x*) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or their equivalents (see *f*).

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves *e*

(a) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i. e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2⁶ וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶת־מִן מִן there went up a mist (again and again) from the earth, וַיִּשְׁקֵה וַיִּשְׁקֵה and watered (as it were, and ever watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2¹⁰ (וַיְהִי) and it became again every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29^{2f.} (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex 33⁷⁻¹¹ וַיִּקַּח he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּנָּח and to pitch it again every time without the camp; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34^{34f.}, Nu 9^{19,21} (among several simple imperfects), 10¹⁷, Ju 2¹⁹, 1 S 2¹⁹ וַיַּעֲשֶׂה

is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) *in past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.

she used to make . . . והעֲלֶתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year ; 27⁹ (וַיִּלְקַח), 1 K 14²⁸, 2 K 3²⁵, 12¹⁵ (in verses 16^{f.} imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6⁴ (וַיִּלְדֵּי), as a continuation of יבֹאֵי, Jb 31²⁹.¹

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39³ (Samaritan וקצצו), 1 S 5⁷ (? see § 112 rr), 7¹⁶, 2 S 15^{2,5}, 16¹³ and he threw stones at him, וַעֲפַר and cast dust continually ; 12^{16,31}, 2 K 6¹⁰, 12^{11 ff. 15}, Jer 37¹⁵, Jb 1⁵.

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 18²⁶, 4c^{31 f.}, 1 S 1⁴, 2 S 15^{1 f.}, 1 K 14²⁷ (cf. verse 28) ; 1 K 18⁴, 2 K 12¹⁰. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *dd*.

h (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37³ (וְעָשָׂה לוֹ), i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)² ; Gn 31⁷, Nu 11⁸, 1 S 16¹⁴, 2 K 3⁴, ψ 22⁶ ;³ in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26⁹ *who has ever*, &c. ; ψ 80¹³, Jb 1⁴, Ru 4⁷.

i (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1¹¹ עַל־רַדְּפוֹ because he did pursue his brother, וְשָׁחַת and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive) ; after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6¹³, 2 S 13¹⁹, Jer 23¹⁴.

k (ε) After a participle, Is 6³ (וְקָרָא), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֲמָרִים, verse 2) ; 1 S 2²², 2 S 17¹⁷.⁴

l (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47²² the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וְאָכְלוּ and did eat (year by year), &c. ; 1 K 4⁷.

m (b) To express *present* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time :

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2²⁴ therefore a man leaves (וְעוֹבֵד is accustomed to leave) . . . וְרִבֵּק and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave ; Is 5¹¹ (if וְהִיָּה is to be taken as a continuation

¹ Also in Ez 44¹² (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read וְשִׁרְתוּ and וְהִיָּהוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen : *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh . . .*

² Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 S 2¹⁹.

³ Am 4⁷ would also come under this head, if וְהִמְטִירָהּ is really intended, and the statement refers to the past ; מְנַעַתִּי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 m), and the passage would then come under s.

⁴ That וְהִלְכָהּ, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from וְלָבוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וְיִכְלָו ; on the other hand in verse 18 וְיָרָא and וְיִלְכָּו of actions which happened only once.

of וַיִּלְיָקִים); Is 28²⁸, Jer 12³, Ho 4³, 7⁷, ψ 90⁶, Jb 14⁹; also in dependent clauses, Lv 20¹⁸, Is 29^{8, 11^f}, Am 5¹⁹.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing *n* a contingent action, &c., e.g. Ex 21¹² מַכֶּה אִישׁ וְנָתַתּוּ (instead of מַכֶּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְנָתַתּוּ אִישׁ) if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex 21¹⁶, Is 29¹⁵, Am 6¹, Hb 2¹².

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer 7^{9^f} will ye steal, murder, and O commit adultery (simple infinitives absolute; cf. § 113 ee), וּבֹאֲתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; cf. below, u.

(c) To express future actions, &c., as the temporal or logical con-*p* sequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus—

(a) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e.g. Am 9^{3^f} מִשְׁעָם אֶחָפֵּשׂ וְלִקְחוּתֵימִים I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gn 4¹⁴, 40¹³, Ex 7³, 1 S 17³², 2 K 5¹¹, Jb 8^{6^f} (also with a change of subject, Gn 27¹², Ju 6¹⁶, &c.); and in interrogative sentences, Gn 39⁹, Ex 2⁷, 2 S 12¹⁸, 2 K 14¹⁰, Am 8³, ψ 41⁶; cf. also Ru 1¹¹; in sentences expressing a wish, 2 S 15⁴; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after ׀ Gn 32⁹, Ex 19⁵, 1 S 11¹¹, or כִּי Gn 37²⁶, or הֲוֹן Jer 3¹; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gn 12¹³, Nu 15⁴⁰, Is 28¹³; after אֲנִיִּךְ Dt 2²⁵, or כִּיִּךְ Gn 3²², 19¹⁹, 32¹², Is 6¹⁰, Am 5⁶; in temporal clauses, Is 32¹⁵, Jer 13¹⁶; and in relative clauses, Gn 24¹⁴, Ju 1¹², 1 S 17²⁸.

(β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or *q* optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gn 11^{4^f} וְהָיוּ . . . יְהִי מְאֹרֶת let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gn 24⁴, 28³, 31⁴⁴, 1 K 1², 22¹³, Ru 2⁷, 1 Ch 22¹¹; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, ψ 109¹⁰.

(γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, *r* e.g. 2 S 7⁵ וְאָמַרְתָּ לָהּ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c., and often, *perf. consec.* after לָהּ (as also the *perf. consec.* of אָמַר and דָּבַר very frequently follows other imperatives); Gn 6¹⁴, 8¹⁷, 27^{43^f}, 1 S 15^{3, 18}, 1 K 2³⁶, Jer 48²⁶.

(δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance *δ* (cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17²⁰ אֶתוּ וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is 2¹¹, 5¹⁴; on Am 4⁷ see above, note 3 on h; in an interrogative sentence, Ju 9⁹, 11¹³.

(e) After a participle, e.g. Gn 7⁴ מִמָּטָר and I will cause it to rain . . . וְיָמְחִיתִי and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer 21⁹; also with a different subject, Gn 24^{43^f} the

maiden which cometh forth (הַיְצִיאת) . . . , וְאִמְרָתִי אֵלֶיהָ to whom I shall say . . . , וְאִמְרָהּ and she (then) shall say, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הַיְהִי, e.g. Gn 6¹⁷^{f.}; with a different subject 1 K 20³⁶, Am 6¹⁴; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הַיְהִי (cf. § 140), Ex 3¹³ behold, I come (i.e. if I shall come) . . . , וְאִמְרָתִי לָהֶם and shall say unto them . . . , וְאִמְרוּ and they (then) shall say, &c.; 1 S 14^{8ff.}, Is 7¹⁴, 8⁷^{f.}, 39⁶.

u (z) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 t), e.g. Is 31⁵, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 dd and ee), e.g. Lv 2⁶, Dt 1¹⁶, Is 5⁵, Ez 23⁴⁶^{f.}.

v (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114 r), e.g. 1 S 10⁸ לְךָ יְהוָה וְהוֹדַעְתִּי לְךָ till I come unto thee (prop. until my coming) and show thee, &c.; Gn 18²⁵, 27⁴⁵, Ju 6¹⁸, Ez 39²⁷; cf. 1 K 2^{37,42}.

w Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14²⁴, where the idea of time precedes, until it be evening and until I be avenged, &c., and Is 5⁵, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד.

x 4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, d-v) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(a) To announce future events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e.g. Gn 41³⁰ וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הַיְהִי with a following substantive (1 S 9⁵), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under t), e.g. 1 S 2³¹ behold, the days come, וְגִדַּעְתִּי that I will cut off, &c.; Is 39⁶, Am 4², 8¹¹, 9¹³, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17⁴, Is 10²⁵, 29¹⁷, Jer 51³³, Ho 1⁴. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 6⁷ lo, this hath touched thy lips, וְקָרָא therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away, &c. (not copulative and it is taken away, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20¹¹, 26²², Ju 13³ (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8¹⁴. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex 6^{6ff.}. Also in Amos 5²⁶ וְנִשְׂאָתֶם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, rr.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y* by means of וְהָיָה¹ and *it shall come to pass* (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וַיְהִי, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9¹⁴, 12¹² (וְהָיָה כִּי = *if*, as in 46³³, Ex 1¹⁰, 22²⁶ and frequently), 1 K 18¹², Is 14^{3 f.}, Am 5⁹; or in the imperfect, Gn 4¹⁴, Is 2², 3²⁴, 4³, 7^{18, 21} ff. (cf. 29⁸); or in the jussive, Lv 14⁹. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5²⁷, Jer 42¹⁶ וְהָיָה (before הַחֶרֶב), and in Jer 42¹⁷ וַיְהִי (before בְּלִי אֲנִי וְנַשִּׁים).

2. The jussive form וַיְהִי occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה ≈ in 1 S 10⁵, 2 S 5²⁴ (1 Ch 14¹⁵), 1 K 14⁵, Ru 3⁴, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3⁴ (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14⁵ the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וַיְהִי. In the other passages וַיְהִי (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10⁵, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(*b*) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10¹⁹ *love ye therefore the aa stranger*; 1 S 6⁵, 24¹⁶, 1 K 2⁶ (in Gn 40¹⁴ the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of וְ). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn 45^{12 f.}, 1 K 2^{2 f.}, Ru 3^{3 f.}, 3⁹.—In Gn 17¹¹ the perfect consecutive (וְנִמְלְתֶם and *ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under *y*, the connexion may be made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46³³, 47²⁴, Ju 4²⁰. Cf. also Gn 24¹⁴, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence. *bb*

(*c*) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc* another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 29¹⁵ *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וְעַבְדְּתָנִי and *shouldest thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5⁵ (וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם) *will ye then make them rest?*; Nu 16¹⁰, 1 S 25¹¹, and (if it is *Mil'ra'*) ψ 50²¹ (וְהִחַרְשִׁתִּי).

(*d*) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd* the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1³ (וְעָלָה) of annual festival journeys; 13²¹ (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27⁹ (וְהָבָה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יָחִיָּה); 1 K 5⁷ (וּבְלִבְלֵי),

¹ On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see Künlg's statistics in *ZAW.* xix. 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9²⁵, Jer 25⁴, Ho 12¹¹, Dn 8⁴.—In Jb 1⁴⁴ a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6¹⁷ a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 h), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

cc Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on y and bb) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn 30^{41f.} (but in verse 42^a, where the verb is separated from the Wāw by an insertion, we find וְהָיָה לָהֶם לְעֵשׂוֹרָה he used not to put them in, according to § 107 e); Gn 38⁹, Ex 17¹¹, 33^{7ff.} (see above, e), Nu 21⁹, Ju 6³, 19³⁰, 1 S 16²³ (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15⁵; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Ju 2¹⁹, 2 S 14²⁶.—In Ju 12^{5f.} וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13²² by וְהָיָה with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

ff 5. Further, the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or their equivalents) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus—

(a) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences ¹ (§ 159 g, o, s):

(a) After דִּם with the imperfect, e. g. 2 K 7^{4b} וְנָמְתוּ וְנָתַתְּנוּ אִם יָמִיתוּ אֵתְּנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (יָמִיתוּ) which immediately precedes; Gn 18²⁶, 24^{8,41}, 32⁹, Nu 30¹⁵, Ju 4²⁰, 1 S 1¹¹, 20⁶, 1 K 3¹⁴, Na 3¹², Ec 4¹¹.

gg (β) After דִּם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5²⁷, 2 K 5²⁰, 7^{4a}, Is 4^{4f.}; as precative apodosis after אִם־דִּם with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33¹⁰; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after דִּם with a perfect, Gn 38⁹, Nu 21⁹, Ju 6³, Jb 7⁴; after דִּם with imperfect, Gn 31⁸.

hh (γ) After וְ (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gn 12¹², Ex 18¹⁶, Ju 13¹⁷, Is 58⁷, Ez 14¹³.² Frequentative with reference to the past, after וְ with frequentative perfect, Ju 2¹⁸, Jb 7^{13f.}

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, under y, bb, ee.

² In 1 S 24¹⁹ 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, וְיָצֵא should be read for וְיָצֵי.

(δ) After אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect, Gn 44⁹ וְנָתַתְּ . . . אֹתוֹ . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אֹתוֹ *with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die*; with the perfect, Ex 21¹³ and if a man lie not in wait, &c.; Ju 1¹².

(ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e. g. Gn 44²⁹ וְיִקְחֶתֶם גַּם-אֶת-זֶה . . . וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם . . . וְיִקְחֶתֶם *and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.*; cf. Gn 33¹³, 42³⁸, 44^{4,22}, 47³⁰, Nu 30¹², Ru 2⁹, and probably also Ez 39²⁸.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e. g. 1 S 17^{34f.} . . . וּבָא הַלֵּוֹי . . . וַיֵּצֵא אֹתוֹ *and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.*; Ex 33¹⁰, Nu 10^{17ff.}, 1 K 18¹⁰, Jer 20⁹ (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֹא with an imperfect¹).

Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ez 14¹⁴ on account of הַפֶּה; 33⁴ on account of הָמוֹ.—In 1 S 14⁵² 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 וַיִּשְׁלַח suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15². Conversely, in 1 S 21⁶ (וַיִּשְׁמַר) perhaps a mere mistake for (וַיִּמָּר), 17^{35b} an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

(ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; *mm* thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gn 17¹⁴ וְנִכְרְתָהּ וְג' . . . וְעָרַל זָכָר *and the uncircumcised male (in case such an one be found), he shall be cut off, &c.*; cf. Gn 30³², Ex 12¹⁵, 2 S 14¹⁰, Is 6¹³, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 S 7¹⁴; in a wider sense also Ex 4²¹, 9¹⁹, 12⁴⁴, Is 9⁴, 56⁵.

(b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; *nn* thus e. g. after כִּי with the perfect, Is 3^{16f.}; after אֲשֶׁר with perfect, 1 K 20²⁸; after יִקָּב with perfect, Nu 14²⁴; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e. g. ψ 25¹¹ וְסִלַּחְתָּ . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמִי *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*; Is 37²⁹ after עֲלֵךְ with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal *oo* clauses or their equivalents, e. g. 1 S 2¹⁵ וּבָא . . . בְּתָרְם יִקְטְרוּ אֶת-הַחֶלֶב *before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came (used to come), &c.*, hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex 1¹⁹; also after participial clauses (§ 116 w), e. g. 1 S 2^{13f.} וּבָא . . . כָּל-אִישׁ וּבָח וּבָח *when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came,*

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. Gn 44²⁹ (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye have taken this one also, then ye have thereby brought me down to Sheol.

&c. (so Ju 19³⁰, 2 S 20¹²), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3⁶, Ex 32³⁴ (after וַיִּזְכֹּר with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44³¹, Ju 16², Jos 6¹⁰, 1 S 1²², 16²³ (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15⁵, see above, *ee*); 1 S 20¹⁸, 2 S 14²⁶, 15¹⁰, Is 18⁵; moreover, Ex 17⁴, Is 10²⁵, 29¹⁷, 37²⁶; even after single disconnected words, e. g. Ex 16⁶ $\text{וַיָּרֶב עֶרְבָּךְ וַיִּרְעַמְךָ}$ at *even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know*; cf. verse 7, Lv 7¹⁶, 1 K 13³¹, Pr 24²⁷.

pp 6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt.¹ In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. (We are not of course concerned here with the cases—usually occurring in dependent clauses—in which a 2nd pers. *perf.* with Wāw copulative is simply co-ordinate with what precedes, as in Gn 28⁶, and probably Nu 21¹⁵, Dt 33².)

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with $\dot{\text{y}}$ as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 71 b), is certainly to be traced in: *Qoheleth*, and sporadically in other very late books,² perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 K 12³² וַיִּזְכֹּר ; 2 K 11¹ *Keth.* וַיִּזְכֹּר ; 14¹⁴ וַיִּזְכֹּר (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25²⁴, the word is wanting); 2 K 23⁴ וַיִּזְכֹּר , &c.; verse 10 וַיִּזְכֹּר , &c.; verse 12 וַיִּזְכֹּר , &c.; verse 15 וַיִּזְכֹּר , &c.³ Cf. also Ez 37^{2,7,10}.

qq (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40⁶ (read with the LXX and Vulgate

¹ Mayer Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 55, is probably right in pointing some of these forms as *infin. abs.* instead of *perfects*.

² In the whole of *Qoheleth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1¹⁷ and 4¹⁻⁷. Several of the perfects with $\dot{\text{y}}$ can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1¹³, 2^{5,9,11,13,15}, 5¹⁸, compared with 6²; but this is impossible in such passages as 9¹⁴ ff. In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with $\dot{\text{y}}$, in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

³ Stade in *ZAW.* v. 291 ff. and in *Ausgewählte akad. Reden*, Giessen, 1899, p. 194 ff. and appendix p. 199, discusses, in connexion with 2 K 12¹², a number of critically questionable perfects with $\dot{\text{y}}$. He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23⁴ from וַיִּזְכֹּר to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with $\dot{\text{y}}$ never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23⁵ וַיִּזְכֹּר , verse 8 וַיִּזְכֹּר , and verse 14 וַיִּזְכֹּר .

וְאָמַר); Jer 38²⁸, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40³ וְהָיָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Ju 7¹³ וְנִפְלְ הָאֱהָלִים is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3¹³ read, with Klostermann, the 2nd *sing. masc.* instead of וְהִגְדַּרְתִּי; in 1 K 21¹² וְהִשְׁכִּיבוּ is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

Of other questionable instances, (a) the following, at any rate, may also be explained as frequentatives, Gn 21²⁵, 49²³, Ex 36³⁸, 38²⁸, 39³, 1 S 5⁷, 17²⁰, 24¹¹ (but even so וְאָמַרוּ would be expected); 2 K 23¹², Is 28²⁶ (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5²⁶ (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, *x*); ψ 26³, Ez 8³⁰.

(B) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented by the perfect with וְ (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with וְ), in Gn 15⁶, 34⁵, Nu 21²⁰, Jos 9¹², 22^{3b}, Is 22¹⁴, Jer 3⁹. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15³⁻¹¹, 16²⁻⁸ (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17⁹, 18²⁰), 18¹²⁻²¹, 19^{11-14.22.26-29.34}, are without doubt rightly explained by Bennett (*SBOT*, Joshua, p. 23) as originally containing the directions either of God to Joshua or of Joshua to the people; cf. the evident trace of this in 15^{4b}. A redactor transformed the directions into a description but left the *perfects consec.*, which are to be explained as in *aa*. In the same way וְהָיָה Ex 36²⁹ is most simply explained as repeated from 26²⁵.

(γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of *tt* expression: Ex 36^{29f}, Ju 3²³, 16¹⁸ (read וַיַּעֲלֶיךָ), 1 S 4¹⁹, 17⁸⁸, 2 S 16⁵, 19^{18f}. (read וַיַּעֲבֶרְךָ and וַיַּעֲבֶרְךָ), 1 K 3¹¹ (where וְשָׁאַלְתָּ is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13³, 20²¹; 2 K 14⁷ (where, with Stade, וְאֶת־הַסֶּלַע תִּפְשֵׁ should be read); 14¹⁴, 18⁴ (where, at any rate, וְשִׁבְרָה might be taken as a frequentative, but not וְכָרַת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with וְהִסִּיר (הוּא הִסִּיר); 18⁹⁶, 21¹⁵, 24¹⁴, Jer 37¹⁵ (where וְהִכָּה, but not וְנָתַתִּי, might be frequentative); Ez 9⁷ (omit וַיִּצְאָה with Stade, and read וְהִכָּה); 20²² (וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי *Mil'el* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7⁴ (וְאָבְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16¹².

Finally, in 1 S 10¹², 10⁹, 17⁴⁸, 25²⁰, 2 S 6¹⁶, 2 K 3¹⁵, Jer 37¹¹, Am 7² וְהָיָה is to be *uu* read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gn 38⁵ וְהָיָה with the LXX.

B. THE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

§ 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Lpz. 1889; F. Prätorius, 'Ueber die sogen. Infin. absol. des Hebr.' in *ZDMG*. 1902, pp. 546 ff.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize *a* the idea of the verb *in the abstract*, i.e. it speaks of an action (or state) without any regard to the agent or to the circumstances of time and mood under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense,

¹ Or does וְנָעַל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13¹⁸ also וְנָעַל follows an imperfect consecutive.

may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive,¹ see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition.

b Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute:—

(a) As subject, Pr 25²⁷ אֲכַל דְּבַשׁ הַרְבוֹת לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10⁵, Jb 6²⁵, Ec 4¹⁷; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is 58^{5f.}, Zc 14¹².

c (b) As predicate, Is 32¹⁷ *and the effect of righteousness (is) הַשְׁקֵט וְנִטְחַח quietness (prop. to find rest) and confidence.*

d (c) As object, Is 1¹⁷ לִמְדוּ הַיֵּטִב *learn to do well*; Is 7¹⁵, Pr 15¹², Jb 9¹⁸; according to the sense also Jer 9²³ 23¹⁴, as well as Is 5⁵ (הַסֵּר and פְּרִיץ virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in עֲשֵׂה); Is 22¹³, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הִנֵּה, and 59³ (six infinitives governed by יִרְעֵנוּם in verse 12); Dt 28⁵⁶ is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,² also Is 42²⁴, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9⁴, Jb 13³ 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 57²⁰, Jer 49²³), so also in La 3⁴⁵ where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

e (d) As genitive, Is 14²³ בְּמַטְאֵיָהּ הַשְׁמֵר *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4⁴ בְּעֵר בְּרוּחַ; cf. further, Pr 1³, 21¹⁶. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions³ (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by ׀ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e. g. 1 S 22¹³ . . . בְּתַחֲדָּ לֹא לָחֵם . . . וְשָׂאוֹל לוֹ בְּאַלְהֵיִם *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36³; 1 S 25^{26, 33} (after מָן); after לְ Ex 32⁸, Jer 7¹⁸, 44¹⁷.

f (e) Governing an accusative of the object, e. g. Is 22¹³ הָרַג בְּקֹר וְשָׁחַט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20³, 23³⁰, Dt 5¹², Is 37¹⁹, Ez 23³⁰, and of the examples in *a-d*, Dt 28⁵⁶, Is 5⁵, 58^{6f.}, Pr 25²⁷, &c.; followed by a preposition, e. g. Is 7¹⁵ בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15¹² (הוֹבִיחַ לוֹ).

g If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on *a*), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֶת (את), e. g. Jer 9²⁸ וְיָדוּעַ אֶתִּי *and knoweth me*; Ez 36³.

¹ The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

² Perhaps הִצַּג according to § 53 *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הִצַּג.

³ וְאֶחָרִי שָׂתָה 1 S 1⁹ is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative *l* of the object, mentioned in *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*¹ in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or state has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e.g. Jer 22¹⁹ *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, וְהִשְׁלָךְ אֶחָיִב וְהִשְׁלָךְ* a drawing and casting forth, i. e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gn 21¹⁶ (וְהִרְחֵק) a removing, i. e. distant; cf. Ex 33⁷, Jos 3¹⁶); Gn 30³², Ex 30³⁶, Nu 6^{5,23}, 15⁵⁵ (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3¹⁷, 1 S 3¹² (וְכִלְיָהּ) a beginning and ending, i. e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8², Is 7¹¹ (וְהַעֲמִיק and הַגְבִּיהַּ, prop. a making deep . . ., and a making high, i. e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57¹⁷ (וְהִתְחַיֵּר in hiding, sc. my face); Jer 3¹⁵ (וְהִשְׁכִּיל וְהִשְׁכִּיל) with knowledge and understanding); Hb 3¹³ (עָרוֹת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7³, ψ 35¹⁶ (וְהִרְקֵ, to define more precisely קָרְעֵי verse 15); Jb 15³.²

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *z* be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or circumstance), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e. g. Is 20² *and he did so וַיֵּלֶךְ עָרוֹם וְיָחָף* walking naked and barefoot, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is 30¹⁴ *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 הִרְבָּה (cf. § 75 *ff*) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e. g. Dt 13¹⁶); in Dt 9²¹, 27⁸ it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon 4⁹ it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הִשְׁכֵּם *mane faciendo*, i. e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 S 17¹⁶ joined with the infinitive absolute וְהָעֵרֵב a denominative from עָרַב *evening (morning and evening, i. e. early and late)*, elsewhere (with the exception of Pr 27¹⁴) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e. g. Jer 11⁷ *for I earnestly protested (וְהָעֵרֵב) unto your fathers . . . וְהָעֵרֵב הִשְׁכֵּם וְהָעֵרֵב rising early and protesting, i. e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25³, 26⁸ (where וְהָעֵרֵב should be omitted before 'ה); Jer 29¹⁹, 32³³, 2 Ch 16¹⁵.*

¹ 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.

² Also in 2 K 21¹³ for וְהָפַךְ מְחָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann מְחָה וְהָפַךְ; similarly, with Stade, וְקָשָׁה in Ju 4²⁴; וְחָזַק in Jer 23¹⁴, and on Is 31⁵ cf. *t*.

l 3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to *define more accurately* or to *strengthen the idea of the verb*.¹

III These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117 p, i. e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e. g. Ex 22²² אִם יֶעֱעַק יֶעֱעַק אֵלַי if it actually happens that *he cries to me*, with Gn 27³⁴ (as it were, *he cried*, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish —

n (a) The infinitive absolute used *before* the verb to *strengthen* the verbal idea, i. e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e. g. Gn 2¹⁷ מוֹת תָּמוּת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18^{10, 18}, 22¹⁷, 28²², 1 S 9⁶ (cometh surely to pass); 24²¹, Am 5⁵, 7¹⁷, Hb 2³, Zc 11¹⁷; with the infinitive strengthened by אָזַּךְ Gn 44²⁸ (but 27³⁰ and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.); Gn 43³ בָּנִי הָעָר הָעָר he did solemnly protest unto us; 1 S 20⁶ נִשְׂאֵל נִשְׂאֵל David earnestly asked leave of me; Jos 17¹³, Ju 1²³ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ and did not utterly drive them out; especially typical instances are Am 9⁸ I will destroy it from off the face of the earth וְגַ' אֶשְׁמֵר אֶשְׁמֵר saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.; Jer 30¹¹ and will in no wise leave thee unpunished; cf. further Gn 20¹⁸, 1 K 3²⁶, Jo 1⁷, Jb 13⁵.

O The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20⁶. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, n, on Gn 43³, 1 S 20⁶; also Gn 3¹⁶, 26²⁸, 32¹⁷, 1 S 14²⁸, 20³. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 a), as in Gn 15¹³, 43^{7, 20}, Ju 9⁸, 1 S 10¹⁶, 23¹⁰, 2 S 1⁶, 20¹⁸.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. . . im Hebr.*, Lpz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam . . . planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finiter und infiniter Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

dition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex 15²⁶ *if thou wilt diligently hearken, &c.*, Ex 19⁵, 21⁵, 22^{3, 11^f, 16²²} (see above, m); 23²², Nu 21², Ju 16¹¹, 1 S 11¹, 12²⁵; after לִי 1 S 14³⁰.

The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. p 2 S 24²⁴ *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנִי אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּנֶה) *it of thee, &c.* (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15¹³ *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31³⁰ (thou art indeed gone =) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. *esto*), *because thou sore longedst, &c.*; ψ 118^{13, 15}, 126⁶ (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, r—comes after the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 216^f. אֲכַלְתָּ חֵלֶב אֲכַלְתָּ *thou mayest freely eat, but, &c.* (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2³⁰ *I said indeed . . .*, 14⁴³.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and q especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e.g. Gn 37⁸ הֲמִלְכָהּ יִמְלֹךְ אֲנִי *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37¹⁰, 43⁷, Ju 11²⁵, 1 S 2²⁷, 2 S 19⁴³, Jer 3¹, 13¹², Ez 28⁹, Am 3⁵, Zc 7⁵; but cf. also Gn 24⁵ *must I needs bring again?*

(b) The infinitive absolute after the verb, sometimes (as in n) to r intensify¹ the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e.g. Nu 11¹⁵, Jb 13¹⁷, 21², 37² שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22¹⁰; after participles, e.g. Is 22¹⁷, also elsewhere, e.g. Nu 23¹¹, 24¹⁰ *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24¹⁰, 2 K 5¹¹, Dn 11¹⁰, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of ׀ Gn 31¹⁵, 46⁴, Nu 16¹³); sometimes to express the long continuance of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6⁹ שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6²⁹; after a participle, Jer 23¹⁷; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19⁹, Nu 11³².

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e.g. 1 S 6¹² הֲלֹכִי הֲלֹכִי וְנָעוּ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6^{13b} *Qerê*); Gn 8⁷ *it went forth to and fro*²; Is 19²² *smiting and* (i. e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2²⁶ (see above, m).

Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6^{13a} and 2 S 13¹⁹ [but Stade's וְעָוָה is

¹ In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands after the verb, but in Syriac before the verb.

² Also in Ez 1¹⁴ for the distorted form רָצוּן רָצוּן reads simply רָצוּן רָצוּן.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31⁵ referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהִצִּיל and וְהִמְלִיט, or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19²³, 2 S 16³³) or participle (2 S 16⁵); cf. also *u.*

- 76 2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb הִלֵּךְ *to go*, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (*to go, to walk*, as in the examples given above, Jos 6^{9,13}, 1 S 6¹², 2 S 3¹⁶, 13¹⁹; cf. also, Is 3¹⁶, where both infinitives stand *before* the verb, and ψ 126⁶, where הִלֹּךְ precedes), but also in cases where הִלֵּךְ in the sense of *to go on, to continue*, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, *t*) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8³ וַיֵּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הַלְוָה וְשׁוּב . . . *continually*; Gn 8⁵, 12⁹, Ju 14⁹, 2 K 2¹¹; with a participle following, Jer 41⁶ (unless we read וְנִבְּרָה, as in 2 S 3¹⁶); with an adjective following, Gen 26¹³, Ju 4²⁴, 1 S 14¹⁹, 2 S 5¹⁰ (1 Ch 11⁹), 2 S 18²⁵.¹

On the other hand, in 1 S 17⁴¹ the participle הֹלֵךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הֹלֵךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 19¹⁹, 1 S 2²⁶, 2 S 3¹, 15¹², Est 9⁴, 2 Ch 17¹²) or participle (1 S 17¹⁵, Jon 1¹¹, Pr 4¹⁸, Ec 1⁶).

- 77 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,² e.g. Ex 5²⁵ וְהִצִּיל לֹא-הָעֵלְתָּ *neither hast thou delivered at all*, Ju 15¹³, Jer 13¹², 30¹¹; cf. Mi 1¹⁰ (אֵל). Exceptions are Gn 3⁴ (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2¹⁷ is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9⁸, ψ 49⁸.
- 78 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the *same* conjugation may be connected (Gn 28²² Pi'el; 17¹³, Ex 22³, Ez 14³ Niph'al; Gn 40¹⁵ Pu'al; Ho 4¹⁸ Hiph'il; Ez 16⁴ Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Pi'el and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 S 20¹⁸) that of Qal as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20¹⁸ (with Pi'el; but in Gn 37³³, 44²⁸ טָרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52 *e*); 46⁴ (with Hiph'il); Ex 19¹³, 21²⁰, 2 S 23⁷, Is 40³⁰, Jer 10⁵, Jb 6² (with Niph'al); Is 24¹⁹ (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67 *o*), and so always מוֹת יוּמָת *he shall surely be put to death*. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lv 19²⁰, 2 K 3²³ Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the *infin. Niph.* in both places, הַפְּרָה and הַהֲרִיב); 1 S 2¹⁶ (Pi'el for Hiph'il, unless יִקְטְרוּן is to be read); Ez 16⁴ (Hoph'al for Pu'al).³ Finally, the infinitive absolute may

¹ Cf. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

² Cf. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes לֹא et אֵל . . .* (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 ff.).

³ In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem of like sound occurs; but in Is 28²⁸ אָרוּשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for רוּשׁ, and in Jer 8¹³, according to § 72 *aa*, we should read אֶסְפָּם, and in Zp 1² אֶקֶף. Barth, *Nom.-bildung*, § 49 *b*, sees in אָרוּשׁ and אֶסְפָּם infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to 'qām[ā] the Aram. infin. 'Aph'el of קָיַם; but there is no more evidence for a Hiph. of רוּשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אָרִישׁ.

equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem.¹ In Is 20¹⁴ the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite *x* verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73 *d*), in Nu 23²⁵ (גַּם קָב); cf. Ru 2¹⁸ (גַּם שָׁל); Jer 50³⁴ (רִיב יְרִיב); Pr 23¹ (בִּין תִּבְיִן). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51 *k* and note.—Cf. also 2 K 3²⁴ וַיִּבְאוּ בָא וְהַבֹּת (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in ψ 50²¹, Neh 1⁷ (חָבַל), all in rapid style; *after* the verb, Jos 7⁷, unless הֶעֱבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute sometimes appears as a *substitute y* for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea (see *z*), or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later books especially it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dn 9⁵ (cf. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law*, וְסוּר and *have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect Ex 36⁷ (?), 1 S 2²³, Is 37¹⁹, Jer 14⁵, 19¹³, Hag 1⁶ (four infinitives), Zc 3⁴ (but read with Wellhausen, after the LXX, וְהִלְבֵּשׁוּ אֹתוֹ), 7⁵, Ec 8⁹, 9¹¹, Est 3¹³, 9^{6,16,18}, 12^{6ff.}, Neh 9^{8,13}, 1 Ch 5²⁰, 2 Ch 28¹⁹; ² after the perfect consecutive, Zc 12¹⁰; after the perfect frequentative 1 K 9²⁵ (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lv 25¹⁴, Nu 30³, Jer 32⁴⁴ (three infinitives), 36²³, 1 Ch 21²⁴; after a cohortative, Jos 9²⁰; after the imperfect consecutive, Gn 41⁴³ (as a continuation of וַיִּרְבֵּב); Ex 8¹¹, Ju 7¹⁹, Jer 37²¹, Neh 8⁸, 1 Ch 16³⁶, 2 Ch 7³; with אִם or after the jussive, Dt 14²¹, Est 2³, 6⁹; after the imperative, Is 37^{30b}, Am 4^{4f.}; after the participle, Hb 2¹⁵ (strengthened by אִם, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est 8⁸.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa* of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive

¹ On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117 *p, q*.

² In Ez 7¹⁴ a perfect appears to be continued by means of an infinitive construct; but the text is quite corrupt; Cornill reads תִּקְוֶה תִּקְוֶה הִכְיִנוּ הֵבֵן.

absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.¹:—

- bb* (a) For an emphatic imperative,² e. g. שָׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), observe Dt 5¹²; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) remember, Ex 13³, 20⁸ (the full form occurs in Dt 6¹⁷ תִּשְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן; 7¹⁸ וְזָכַר תִּזְכְּרוּ); Lv 2⁶, Nu 4², 25¹⁷, Dt 1¹⁶, 2 K 5¹⁰, Is 38⁵, Jer 2², followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1¹³, 2 K 3¹⁶, Is 7⁴, 14³¹ (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2² three imperatives follow). But הִיטֵיטָא 142⁵ may be only an incorrect spelling of הִיטֵטָא imperative.³
- cc* (β) For the jussive, Lv 6⁷, Nu 6⁵, 2 K 11¹⁵, Ez 23⁴⁶; cf. also Pr 17¹² (let it rather meet).
- dd* (γ) For the cohortative, Is 22^{13b} אָכֹל וְשָׂתוּ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21³¹, 23^{30,46}; perhaps also Jer 31² (הִלִּינִי).⁴
- ee* (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e. g. 2 K 4⁴³ ye shall eat and leave thereof; 19²⁹ (Is 37³⁰), 2 Ch 31¹⁰; also in indignant questions, Jb 40² shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty? ⁵ (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3¹ and thinkest thou to return again to me? Jer 7^{9ff.} (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 o).
- ff* (ε) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e. g. Hos 4² swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery (in these they are busied); 10⁴ (after a *perfect*); Is 21⁵, 59⁴, Jer 8¹⁵, 14¹⁹, Jb 15³⁵; cf. further Jer 32³³, Ec 4².—In Ez 23³⁰, Pr 12⁷, 15²², and 25⁴, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

¹ Cf. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser* . . . , *se méfier des voleurs*!

² Prätorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qātōl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'ālī*. It thus appears that the infin. *qātōl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

³ In Ez 21³¹, for the infinitives construct הָסִיר, הָרִים, הַשְׁפִּיל (beside הַנְּבִיָּה) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הִסַר, &c. The K^{ethibh} probably intends הִסִיר, &c.

⁴ In 2 S 3¹⁸ the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but הוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22³⁰ (2 Ch 18²⁹), which was formerly included under this head (I will disguise myself and go into the battle), read אֶתְחַפֵּשׂ וְאָבֹא.

⁵ In Jb 34¹⁸ in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הִאָמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הַאָמַר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e. g. Lv 6⁷, Nu 15³⁵, Dt 15², ψ 17⁵, Pr 17¹², Jb 40², Ec 4², Est 9¹. So, probably, also in Gn 17¹⁰, Ex 12⁴³, although here כָּל־יֹכֵר according to § 121 a might also be taken as an object with a passive verb; cf. Est 3¹³. In 1 S 25^{26,33} the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, e.

§ 114. The Infinitive Construct.

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also *a* represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45 a), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (cf. § 113 a). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus,

(a) As the nominative of the subject, e. g. Gn 2¹⁸ לֹא־טוֹב הָיְיֹוֹת לְבַדּוֹ הָאָדָם, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30¹⁵, 1 S 23²⁰, Is 7¹³, Pr 17²⁶, 25^{7,24} (but cf. 21⁹ לֹא־שָׁבַח לְטוֹב in the same statement); ψ 32⁹ prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18²³, Jer 2¹⁷.

(b) As genitive, e. g. Ec 3⁴ עַת קָפֹד וְעַת רְקוֹד a *time of mourning* *b* and a *time of dancing*; Gn 2¹⁷, 29⁷, Neh 12⁴⁶, 2 Ch 24¹⁴. This equally includes, according to § 101 a, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, d) [and Driver, *Tenses*, § 206].

(c) As accusative of the object, e. g. 1 K 3⁷ לֹא אֲדַע יְצֵאת וְבֵאת I *know c* *not the going out or the coming in* (*I know not how to go out and come in*); Gn 21⁶, 31²⁸, Nu 20²¹, Is 1¹⁴, 37²⁸ (even with יָאת), Jer 6¹⁵, Jb 15²² (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 f); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11⁹.

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d* ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Nu 35¹⁹ בְּפָנֵעוֹ־בּוֹ in *his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27⁴⁵ (עַד־שׁוֹב); Is 30¹² יַעַן כִּזְאֲסָם because *ye despise*; Jer 2³⁵ עַל־אָמַרְךָ because *thou sayest*; Gn 27¹ and *his eyes were dim מִרְאֵת* from seeing, i. e. so that he could not see.

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with וְ or וְ to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with יַעַן or עַל־ is resolved into a causal clause), especially after וְיָהִי (see the

examples, § 111 g), e.g. 1 S 2²⁷ בְּהֵיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24³⁰ וַיְהִי כִּי רָאָתָה אֶת-הַיָּנֹם . . . וּבִשְׁמָעוֹ וַיִּגַּע . . . 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.¹ Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i. e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113 h, and the Latin gerund in -ndo) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e.g. Gn 11⁵ and the Lord came down, לְרִאֲתָא אֶת-הָעִיר to see the city; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12¹⁰ and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְאִשָּׁה לְהָיְיֹת לָךְ לְאִשָּׁה to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28⁴, Jer 38²⁶ (לְמֹת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42³, 47⁴, Nu 22²⁰, Jos 2³, 1 S 16² with בּוֹא; Ju 15¹⁰, 1 S 17²⁵ with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה to be, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) he was in the act of, he was about to (as it were, he set himself), he was ready, to do something, or (b) he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (a) Gn 15¹² וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא and when the sun was going down (just about to set); 2 Ch 26⁵ וַיְהִי לְרַרֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים and he set himself to seek God (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38²⁰, יהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעֲנִי the Lord is ready to save me; 1 S 14²¹ (?), Jer 51⁴⁹, ψ 25¹⁴ (et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis); Pr 18²⁴ (?), 19⁸ לְמַצָּא consecuturus

¹ Cf. § 45 g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכָתֵב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to בְּכָתֵב, בְּכָתֵב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24⁶⁸ לְפָנֹת עָרֵב at the eventide (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23¹², Ex 14²⁷, Ju 19²⁶; 2 S 18²⁹ when Joab sent the king's servant.

est, unless we simply read יִמְצָא with the LXX)¹; 20²⁵, Ec 3¹⁵ לְהִיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר לְהִיּוֹת quod futurum est; 2 Ch 11²², 12¹² (in a negative statement); in a question, Est 7⁸ (will he even . . .?). Cf. also 1 S 4¹⁹.

Of (b) Jos 2⁵ וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסָגוֹר and the gate was to be shut (had to be shut); k Is 37²⁶, ψ 109¹³.² Mostly with the omission of הִיָּה, e.g. 2 K 4¹³ מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ וְג' what is to be done for thee? (הֵיִשׁ לְךָ בְּרִי-לְךָ) wouldst thou be (lit. is it to be) spoken for to the king, &c.? 2 K 13¹⁹ לְהַבּוֹת הִיָּה it was to smite equivalent to thou shouldst have smitten; Is 5⁴, ψ 32⁹, 68¹⁹ (?), Jb 30⁶ (habilandum est iis), 1 Ch 9²⁵, 10¹⁸, 22⁵, 2 Ch 8¹³ (?), 11²², 19², 36¹⁹ (?), Ho 9¹³, Hb 1¹⁷. In a question 2 Ch 19²; after לָא 1 Ch 5¹, 15²; after אֵין 1 Ch 23²⁶, 2 Ch 5¹¹ and frequently.

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with ל depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18¹¹ וְעָלִי לָתֶת לְךָ וְג' it was upon me, i. e. it would have been my duty to give thee, &c.³; cf. Mi 3¹ (2 Ch 13⁵) it is not for you to (i. e. are ye not bound to)?⁴ with a negative, 2 Ch 26¹⁸ לֹא לְךָ וְג' it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests; also אֵין לְ with an infinitive expresses it is not permitted (nefas est), may not, e.g. Est 4² לֹא לְבֹא אֵין לְ for none might enter; 8⁸, 1 Ch 15²; אֵין לְ with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to it is not feasible, not possible, e.g. in ψ 40⁶, Ec 3¹⁴, 2 Ch 5¹¹.⁶—With either meaning לָא can be used instead of אֵין, e.g. Am 6¹⁰ לֹא לְהוֹבִיר לָא nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord: but Ju 1¹⁹ for it was not possible to drive out, &c., perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in Jos 17¹² לֹא יִכְלֶה לְהַ; 1 Ch 15².

¹ P. Haupt (*SBOT.*, Proverbs, p. 52, lines 10 ff.; *Critical Notes on Esther*, p. 170, on 7⁸) considers it possible that here and in Pr 2⁸, 6²⁴, 7⁵, 16³⁰, 30¹⁴, as well as in 14³⁵, 17²¹ before a noun, the ל is a survival of the emphatic ל with an imperf., which is especially common in Arabic. In that case לְמִצָּא must be read לְמִצָּא, i. e. לְמִצָּא. But all the above instances can be taken as infinitives with ל without difficulty.

² Somewhat different are the cases where הִיָּה with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies to become something, i. e. to meet with a particular fate, as Nu 24²² (cf. Is 5⁵, 6¹³) לְבָעַר לְבָעַר for wasting, for which elsewhere frequently לְשָׂמָה and the like; probably also לְבָלֹת ψ 49¹⁵ is to be explained in this way, the הִיָּה being omitted.

³ 2 S 4¹⁰ (cui dandum erat mihi) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

⁴ But in 1 S 23²⁰ after וְלָנֹהַ and our part shall be the infinitive without ל stands as the subject of the sentence.

⁵ Quite different of course are such cases as Is 37³ וְכַח אֵין לְלָרֶה and there is not strength to bring forth; cf. Nu 20⁵, Ru 4⁴.

⁶ In 2 S 14¹⁹ אֵשׁ (= וְשׁ it is, there is) is used in a similar sense after אֵם, the negative particle of asseveration, of a truth it is not possible to turn to the right hand or to the left.

m 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with לְ is used as the object¹ of a governing verb, hence, again, for the direction which an action takes. The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with לְ and an infinitive are: הֵחֵל (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Dt 2^{25,31}, Jos 3⁷), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף יָסַף (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without לְ, as Gn 4¹², 8^{10,12}, 37⁵, 1 S 3⁸, Jb 27¹, &c.; חָרַל to cease from, to desist; כָּלָה to complete, to make an end of; חָמַם to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gn 12¹¹; מָהֵר to hasten (with an infinitive without לְ Ex 2¹⁸); אָבָה to be willing (with an infinitive without לְ Is 28¹², 30⁹, Jb 39⁹); חָפֵין to will, to desire; מָאָן to refuse (to be unwilling); בִּקֵּשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Gn 24⁵⁰, 37⁴, Ex 2⁹, 18²³, Nu 22³⁸, Jb 4²); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up to some one, to cause, or permit him to do something, e.g. Gn 20⁹, ψ 16¹¹ (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9¹⁸, see § 113 d), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Jb 3⁸ הֵעֵתִידִם עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָנָה to wait, expect (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5² and he waited for it to bring forth grapes).

n We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (cf. § 53 f), as הִנְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁפִּיל to make (it) low, 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 לְ ψ 33³, but 1 S 16¹⁷, in the same combination, with לְ); הִשְׁכִּיחַ to do anything early (ψ 127², along with its opposite יָאַחַר to do something late, with an infinitive without לְ); הִרְבֶּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26¹⁵),² &c.

¹ This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the לְ may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, c). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with לְ; thus לֹא אָבָו שְׁמָעֵ לְ Is 28¹² is equivalent to they desired not obeying (לֹא אָבָו לְשָׁמַעֵ also with the infin. abs. in Is 42²⁴; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבָו לְשָׁמַעֵ Ez 20⁹ rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with לְ, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

² In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e.g. Gn 27²⁰ how is it that thou hast found it so quickly? (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31²⁷ wherefore didst thou flee secretly? So frequently with הִרְבֶּה (=often, abundantly), Ex 36⁵, 1 S 1¹², 2 K 21⁶, Is 55⁷, Am 4⁴, ψ 78³⁸, &c.; with שׁוּב (=again), Dt 30⁹, 1 K 13¹⁷, Ho 11⁹, Ezr 9¹⁴; cf. also 2 S 19⁴, Jer 1², Jn 4², and the analogous instances in § 120 g; also 2 K 2¹ thou hast asked a hard thing.

4. Finally, the infinitive with ל is very frequently used in a much looser *O* connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in *-do*; cf. *f*) must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12¹⁷ $\text{לְשׂאֵל לְכֶם מֶלֶךְ}$ *in asking you a king*; 14³³, 19⁵, 20³⁶, Gn 3²², 18¹⁹, 34^{7,15}, Ex 23², Lv 5^{4,22,26}, 8¹⁵, Nu 14³⁶, 2 S 3¹⁰, 1 K 2^{3 f.}, 14⁸, Jer 44^{7 f.}, ψ 63³, 78¹⁸, 101⁸, 103²⁰, 104^{14 f.}, 111⁶, Pr 2⁸, 8³⁴, 18⁶, Neh 13¹⁸. Sometimes the infinitive with ל is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12⁸ *as the roes upon the mountains* לְמַהֵר (as regards hastening) *in swiftness*; Gn 2³, 2 S 14²⁵ (לְהַלֵּל); Is 21¹ (לְחַלּוֹף); Jo 2²⁶, Pr 2², 26² 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*).¹

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later books—the infin. *P* constr. with ל appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113 z), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident that the infinitive with 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 32²⁹ (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i. e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25³¹ (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 e); ψ 104²¹,² Jb 34⁸, Ec 9¹, Neh 8¹³, 2 Ch 7¹⁷.—In Lv 10^{10 f.} $\text{וְלִהְיֶיךָ יָדְךָ יָבֵשׁ}$ might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 b (= this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30⁹ וְלִשְׂבוֹב depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמֵם . On the other hand, in 1 S 8¹² it is sufficient to explain *and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands* (sc. he will take them). In Is 44²⁸ translate *and he (Cyrus) shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem, &c.*

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented *Q* by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2⁴ *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth*, בְּהִבָּרְאָם *when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Ju 6¹⁸ עַד-בָּאֵי וְג' *until*

¹ לְאמֹר is very often so used after וַיְדַבֵּר in the Priestly document (Gn 8¹⁵, 17³, &c., and numberless times in the legal parts of Exod., Lev., and Num.)—a pleonasm which is not surprising considering the admittedly prolix and formal style of the document.

² When Delitzsch on ψ 104²¹, referring to Hb 1¹⁷, 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 applicable to this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with ל follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under *h*, where the infinitive with ל without *Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniugatio periphrastica*.

I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c. Cf. 1 S 18¹⁹ (= *when she should have been given*); 2 K 2¹, Ho 7¹.

7^r Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above under *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb *we* regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לָ), Jer 9¹² *because they have forsaken* (עַל־עֲוֹנָם) *my law* . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and *have not obeyed my voice*; Gn 39¹⁰, 1 S 24¹², Am 1⁸; without לָ Jb 28²⁵ (perf. after לְ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 *i* and *v*) Am 1¹¹ וְגַלְרָרְפוּ וגו' *because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27⁴⁵, Ju 6¹⁸, 1 S 10⁸, 2 K 18³² [Is 36¹⁷], always after עַד־בָּאִי until *I come*); by a simple imperfect, e. g. Pr 1²⁷ (after בְּ) ; Is 30²⁶ (after בַּיּוֹם in the *day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5²⁴ (after בְּ), 10², 13⁹, 14²⁵, 45¹, 49⁵, 1 S 2⁸, Pr 2⁸, 5², 8²¹ (always after לְ) ¹; by an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Gn 39¹⁸ and *it came to pass*, וַאֲקִרָא קוֹלִי וְאָרְפָא as *I lifted up my voice and cried, that* . . . ; 1 K 10⁹, Jb 38¹³ (after לְ) ¹; 1 K 18¹⁸, Is 38⁹, Jb 38^{7.9 ff.} (after בְּ) ; Is 30¹², Jer 7¹³, Ez 34⁸ (after עַל־).

8^s 2. The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בְּלֹא, which has come to be used as a preposition, *without*, Nu 35²³, Pr 19²), but by בְּלֹאִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לְ prefixed (but also Nu 14¹⁶ (מִבְּלֹאִי), e. g. Gn 3¹¹ לֹא־בָלַעְמֵנוּ לֶבְלֹאִי *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4¹⁵ *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23¹⁰ is לְ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32⁹ (if the text be right) בְּלֹא negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

§ 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.

a 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 *a*), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal noun* is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs² *the accusative of the object*, e. g. Nu 9¹⁵ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֶת־הַפְּשָׁן *on the day the*

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.

² For examples of the accus. of the object with a pass. infin., see § 121 *c*.

tabernacle was reared up; 1 S 19¹ אֶת־דָּוִד לְהַמִּית that they should slay David; Gn 14¹⁷, 19²⁹, Ex 38²⁷, 1 K 12¹⁵, 15⁴; with a negative, e. g. Lv 26¹⁵ לְבַלְלִי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי so that ye will not do all my commandments; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e. g. Dt 29¹² לְמַעַן לְהָקִים אֶתְךָ that he may establish thee; Gn 25²⁶, Jer 24⁷; with a verbal suffix, e. g. Ex 2¹⁴ לְהַרְגֵנִי to kill me; Jer 38²⁶ לְבַלְלִי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי that he would not cause me to return (on the suffix, cf. c). In Is 49⁶ the object even precedes the infinitive with לְ; on this order cf. the note on § 114 r.— If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e. g. Gn 41³⁹ אֶת־כָּל־זוֹאת הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אֶתְךָ forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this; Dt 21¹⁶.

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples) by the *nota accusativi* אֶת, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e. g. Pr 21¹⁵ עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט to do judgement. Against regarding it as a genitive, which is in itself possible (the doing, the executing of judgement), is the fact (a) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (b) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as אֶת־רָאָה (פְּרָוִיךְ) Gn 48¹¹ (cf. ψ 101³, Pr 16¹⁶), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qames without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i. e. with real genitives; cf. § 33 c), this Qames necessarily becomes *Ṣ'wā*; e. g. Gn 18²⁵ לְהַמִּית צַדִּיק to slay the righteous (never as לְהַמִּית; cf., on the other hand, above, הַשִּׁיבֵנִי); 2 K 21⁸, Ez 44³⁰. Similarly in such cases as Is 3¹³ (ψ 50⁴) 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 58⁹ (שְׁלַחַּךְ שְׁלַחַּח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of C הוֹצִיאָהוּ Jer 39¹⁴) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples cf. also 1 S 5¹⁰, 27¹, 28⁹, Ru 2¹⁰, 1 Ch 12¹⁷, &c.) and plural; e. g. לְהַשְׁמִיךְנָּ to destroy us, Dt 1²⁷ (immediately after אֲתַנְּנוּ, so that נָּ is doubtless a verbal not a noun-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמְתִּינָּ Nu 16¹³, Ju 13²³ (after הִפִּינָּ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e. g. Gn 25²⁶ אֶתֶם בְּלִדְתָם prop. in the bearing them; לְרַעַת אֲתִי to know me, Jer 24⁷) or in the form of a noun-suffix (as genitive of the object). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e. g. 1 S 20³³ לְהַבְתִּחוּ (prop. for his smiting) to smite him, not, as the form might also mean, in order that he might smite; cf. 1 K 20³⁵; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Nu 22²⁵; of the 3rd plur. Jos 10²⁰, 2 S 21², &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְתִּיךָ Jer 40¹⁴, cf. Mi 6¹³, and even נִדְבַלְךָ to magnify thee, Jos 3⁷, must certainly be regarded as nominal not verbal suffixes. The connexion of the noun-suffix, as genitive of the object, with the infinitive,

was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases, as Gn 37⁴ לֹא יִבְלֶי דְבָרוֹ לְשָׁלֹם they could not speak to him peaceably, cf. Zc 3¹ לְשֹׁטְנִי to be an adversary to him, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22¹³ לְתַתִּי to give me leave [Dt 25⁷ לֹא אֶבְי אֶבְיָהּ he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me; 1 Ch 4¹⁰ לְבִלְתִּי 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 11⁹ דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the Lord) the knowledge of the Lord; לִירָאָה אֹתִי to fear me, Dt 4¹⁰, 5²⁶, 10¹²; an accusative follows לְאַהֲבָה Dt 10^{12,15}, Is 56⁶ (cf. also 1 K 10⁹, Ho 3¹); לְהַנְפִיף Is 30²⁸; אֲתָנִי Dt 1²⁷; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix מ (cf. § 45 e), Nu 10², Is 13¹⁹, Am 4¹¹, Ez 17⁹. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e. g. Gn 2⁹, Jer 22¹⁶, or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5⁴, &c., 28^{4,6}, 29^{19 f}, 30¹⁵, 38⁵, 2 S 3¹¹, Is 29¹³.

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 also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see *f*); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a nominative, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see *g*) very probably in many other instances.

f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 1²⁷ בְּשִׂנְאָת יְהוָה אֲתָנִי prop. in the Lord's hating us; cf. 7⁸, Gn 19¹⁶, 1 K 10⁹, Is 13¹⁹, 47⁹, Ho 3¹, Am 4¹¹. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17¹ and there was no water לְשִׁתַּת הָעָם for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16¹⁶ (בְּלִדַת הָגֵר); Gn 16³, Ex 19¹, Nu 20^{3,4}, 33³⁸, 1 K 6¹, ψ 133¹, 2 Ch 7³, &c.

g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a nominative, are Jb 34²² לְהִפְתָּר שָׁם בְּעֵלֵי אֹן that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34¹⁵, Nu 35⁶, Dt 19³, Ju 9², 2 S 24¹³, ψ 76¹⁰, and below, *i*. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic *Qames* (cf. *b* above), e. g. 2 S 19²⁰ לְשׂוֹם הַפְּלֹקָה אֶל־לִבִּי,

¹ In Gn 24³⁰ the subject of בְּרָאת is wanting (but בְּשָׂמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בְּרָאתוֹ, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30a should come before verse 29b. In Gn 19²⁹, 25²⁶, Ex 9¹⁶, 13²¹, 1 S 18¹⁹, Jer 41⁶, ψ 42⁴ the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לְשׂוֹם according to § 102 f. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative is again (see above, b) probable, since in such forms as הַנִּחִי Dt 25¹⁹, Is 14⁹, הַמִּיר ψ 46³, &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הַנִּחִי Ez 24¹³, הַקִּימוֹ Jer 23²⁰, &c., we should expect הַנִּחִי, הַמִּיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings,¹ 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, קוֹם, &c.

3. When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the *h* infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e. g. Gn 39¹⁸ בְּהִרְיָמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13²¹, and the examples, Gn 5⁴, &c., enumerated above, under *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 1²⁷, &c.; see above, *d* and *f*.

On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the *i* nominative in such cases as Is 10¹⁵ אֶת־מְרִימֵי שִׁבְטֵי בְּהִנְיֹה as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מְרִימֵי cf. § 124 *k*), not בְּהִנְיֹה, as would be expected (see *g* above), if שִׁבְטֵי were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14¹³, Jb 33¹⁷. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5¹, 13¹⁰, Jos 14⁷, 1 K 13⁴, 2 K 23¹⁰, Is 32⁷. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see *g* above), e. g. in Jer 21¹.

Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, *k* and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is 20¹ כְּרָנֶנּוּ אֹתוֹ בְּשִׁלְחָה when *Sargon sent him*; Gn 4¹⁵, Jos 14¹¹, 2 S 18²⁹, Is 5²⁴, ψ 56¹, Pr 25⁸. In Nu 24²³ the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

§ 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle *a* place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

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.).

and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or state), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external *actions*.

b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a state implying action (or effected by external action) and mere passivity, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the purely stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāfāl* (אָפֵּל, אָפֵּל, &c.) or *qāfāl* (אָפֵּל, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal אָפֵּל to hate, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *e*), nevertheless forms a participle active אָפֵּל, and participle passive אָפֵּל (cf. the feminine אָפֵּל).—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 28¹¹ אָפֵּל לְעֵי שִׁפְהָ *men of stammering lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand אָפֵּל לְעֵי בְּלֵהָ Jer 20⁷, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also ψ 9¹⁸ (אָפֵּל) with 50²² (אָפֵּל).

c On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 d. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6¹⁷, 2 Ch 17¹¹—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, d and e), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

d 2. The period of time indicated by (a) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus אָפֵּל may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11⁹), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article אָפֵּל regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4²²); אָפֵּל *coming, come* Gn 18¹¹, &c., *venturus* 1 S 23¹, &c.; אָפֵּל *falling*, but also *fallen*, Ju 3²⁵, 1 S 5³, and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is 30¹³, Am 9¹¹). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27³³, 43¹⁸ (אָפֵּל *that was returned*; cf. Ezr 6²¹, &c., אָפֵּל *which were come again* from the captivity); Gn 35³, Ex 11⁵, Zc 12¹, ψ 137⁷, Pr 8⁹, Jb 12⁴ (אָפֵּל), and see *m* below. For future participles see Gn 41²⁵, 1 K 18⁹, Is 5⁵, Jon 1³, &c., probably also אָפֵּל Gn 19¹⁴. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after אָפֵּל) see *p* below.

e (b) Of the passive participles, that of Qal (e.g. אָפֵּל *scriptus*) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niph'al*, sometimes to

a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נֹרָא *metuendus*, to be feared, ψ 76⁸, &c.; נְחָמֵר *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gn 3⁶, ψ 19¹¹, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* ψ 102¹⁹; נוֹלָר, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיּוֹלֵד Ju 13⁸) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K 13², ψ 22³²; גַּעְרָן *terribilis* ψ 89⁸; נִתְעַב *abominable* Jb 15¹⁶; נְחָשֵׁב *aestimandus* Is 2²²; הַנֵּאֱכָלָהּ *that may be eaten* (an animal) Lv 11⁴⁷. In *Pu'al* מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, worthy to be praised* ψ 18⁴. In *Hoph'al*, 2 S 20²¹ מְשֻׁלָּף; 2 K 11² הַמְּוֹמְתִים; Is 12⁵ *Qerê* מוֹרְעֵת.¹

3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, *f* possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 S 18²⁹ אוֹיֵב אֶת־דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42²⁹; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂינִי *that made me* Jb 31¹⁵; מִי רֵאֵנוּ *who seeth us?* Is 29¹⁵ (in Is 47¹⁰ רֵאֵנִי is abnormal); רָדִים *ruling them* ψ 68²⁸, sometimes also with the article, e. g. ψ 18³³ הַמְאַוְרְנִי *that girdeth me* (LXX ὁ καταίων με); Dt 8¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 13^{6,11}, 20¹, 2 S 1²⁴, Is 9¹² (where, however, Cheyne omits the article), 63¹¹, ψ 81¹¹, 103⁴, Dn 11⁶; followed by a preposition, e. g. 1 K 9²³ בָּעַם הָרְדִים *which bare rule over the people*; 2 K 20⁵ לֵךְ רַפֵּא הִנְנִי *behold, I will heal thee.*²

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 ff., shows that the participle when construed as a *verb* expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a *noun* (see *g*) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qatēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Dt 34⁹ רֵיחַ חֲכָמָה מְלֵא *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5⁵ הַפֶּזַח רֵשַׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the *g* same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89 *a*; and cf. § 128 *x*), e. g. ψ 5¹² אֲהַבֵּי שְׁמִי *that love thy name*; cf. ψ 19^{8f.}; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gn 22¹² and often אֱלֹהִים יָרָא *one fearing*

¹ Such examples as נֹרָא, נְחָמֵר, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired, or praised* at all times is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable, or praiseworthy*, and therefore also *to be feared, &c.*

² On the other hand, in Is. 11⁹ as the waters לְמַי מְכַסִּים *covering the sea*, the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 135, 7 *Obs.*]. Cf. Hab. 2¹⁴.

God; Hb 2¹⁵; with an infinitive, ψ 127²; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gn 4¹⁴ כָּל־מֵצְאֵי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf. עֹשֵׂי *my maker*); 12³ מְבַרְכֶיךָ *that bless thee*, מְקַלְלֶיךָ *that curseth thee* (but read either מְבַרְכֶיךָ , or מְבַרְכֶיךָ in the preceding clause); 27²⁹, 1 S 2³⁰, Is 63¹³, ψ 18⁴⁹. In Jer 33²² read $\text{מְשַׁרְתִּים אֹתִי}$.¹

h. Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles בָּא *iniens* and יֵצֵא *egrediens*, since the verbs בּוֹא and יֵצֵא , in the sense of *ingredi, egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gn 23^{10,18} $\text{שָׁעַר עִירוֹ בָּאֵי}$ *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1⁴; after יֵצֵא , Gn 9¹⁰, 34²⁴, 46²⁶, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38¹⁸, and frequently, יֹרְדֵי־בוֹר *they that go down into the p~~h~~ (the grave)*; ψ 88⁶ שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32²⁴ (Mi 7¹⁷); 1 K 2⁷, 2 K 11^{5,7,9} *those that came in (or went out) on the sabbath*, Pr 2⁷, 1 Ch 5¹⁸, &c.; instead of the construction with מִן , e. g. Is 59²⁰ (*those who turn from transgression*), Mi 2⁸ (cf. § 72 p).

i. These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e. g. ψ 18^{40,49} קָמִי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15⁷, Dt 33¹¹, ψ 44⁶, Ex 32²⁵, Is 1²⁷ שָׁרְתֶיהָ *her converts*; ψ 53⁶ (הֶחֱרַף); Pr 2¹⁹ כָּל־בִּצְאֵיהָ *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29⁷ $\text{כָּל־צִבְיֶיהָ וּמְצֻדֹתֶיהָ}$ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for $\text{פְּלִי־הַצְּבָאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מִ}$); ψ 102⁹ even with a participle Po'al, מְהוֹלְלֵי *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen מְהוֹלְלֵי *who pierce me*.—In Is 1³⁰ as a *terebinth* $\text{עָלְתָּ נִבְלַת עָלְתָּ}$ *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether נִבְלַת עָלְתָּ is in the absolute state, and consequently עָלְתָּ in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עָלְתָּ as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14² (see k).

k. 4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative,² or may be connected

¹ When, as in Jb 40¹⁹, the participle with the noun-suffix הַעֲשֵׂוֹ *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 i), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33²² מְשַׁרְתִּי אֹתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מְשַׁרְתִּי in verse 21). In Am 4¹³ an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, $\text{עֹשֶׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה}$ *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2¹⁷ $\text{כִּבְעַת כִּזְלִבְךָ}$ is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (הוֹלֵךְ) should be read as in 6¹⁵. In Ez 27³⁴, the ancient versions read $\text{נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ עַתָּה}$ *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult עַת נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ . In 1 K 20⁴⁰ read עֹשֶׂה before וְהָנָה וְהָנָה .

² On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e. g. Ju 18¹¹, 1 S 2¹⁸, Ez 9² לְבוּשׁ בְּדָיִם *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלְבֵּשׁ הַבְּדָיִם; (even with a suffix בְּתַנְתִּי *rent as regards his coat* 2 S 15³²; with the participle following Ju 1⁷); but Ez 9¹¹ לְבוּשׁ הַבְּדָיִם *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13³¹ קָרַעִי בְּנָדָיִם *rent in respect of clothes*, equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (cf. Jer 41⁵); Nu 24⁴, Dt 25¹⁰, Is 3³, 33²⁴, Jo 1⁸, ψ 32¹ נִשְׁיִי־פָּשְׁעַי *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כִּסּוּי־הַחַטָּאָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14² נָלוֹז הַדְּרָכָיו *he that is perverse in his ways*.

Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the *cause*, e. g. in Is 1⁷ שָׂרְפוֹת אֵשׁ *burnt with fire*; cf. Gn 41⁶, Ex 28¹¹, Dt 32²⁴; before a genitive denoting the *author*, e. g. Gn 24³¹ בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but ψ 115¹⁵ לַיהוָה *see* § 121 *f*); cf. Is 53⁴, ψ 22⁷, Jb 14¹ (15¹⁴, 25⁴); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9¹⁸ קָרְאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i. e. those invited by her; cf. 7²⁶, ψ 37²².

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-*ll* clauses (which, according to § 140 *e*, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, *d*) be inferred from the context. Thus:

(a) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e. g. Ec 1⁴ נֶאֱבָד וְדוֹר הַלֵּךְ וְדוֹר הַלֵּךְ *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth abideth (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever*; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3⁵, 16⁸ (*I am fleeing*); 32¹², Ex 9¹⁷, 1 S 16¹³, 23¹, 2 K 7⁹, Is 1⁷; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100 *c* and § 105 *b*), e. g. Gn 16¹¹ הִנֵּה הַנֶּקֶד הָרָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27⁴²; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), cf. § 141 *e*, e. g. Gn 15², &c.

(b) To represent *past* actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-*o* clauses, e. g. Ex 20¹⁸ וַיִּכְלְהֶעָם רֵאִים אֶת־הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunders*, &c.; 1 K 1⁵; in negative statements, e. g. Gn 39^{23a}; sometimes in relative clauses, e. g. Gn 39^{23b}, Dt 3² (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e. g. Gn 32¹⁰ הָאִמֶּר *which saidst*; 12⁷, 16¹³, 35^{1.3}, 36³⁵, 48¹⁶, 2 S 15³¹, &c.); sometimes again (see *n*) in circumstantial clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e. g. Gn 19¹ *and the two angels came to Sodom* וַיֵּשֶׁב לוֹט *and* (i. e. *while*) Lot sat, &c.; 18^{1.8.16.22}, 25²⁶, Ju 13⁹, 2 Ch 22⁹; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה 37⁷, 41¹⁷. (On הַלֵּךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 *u*.)

(c) To announce *future* actions or events, e. g. 1 K 2², 2 K 4¹⁶ *at this season* p *when the time cometh round*, בֵּן אֶת־הַבְּקֵת *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gu 7⁴, 15¹⁴, 17¹⁹, 19¹³, Hag 2⁶ (but in Is 23¹⁵, where, after הָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

struction cf. below, § 117 *cc*, &c., and § 121 *c, d*. So also Neh 4¹² is to be understood, *and the builders were girded every one with his sword on his side, and building*.

וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, with Qimḥi, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 f); or in relative clauses, Gn 41²⁵, Is 5⁵ *what I am doing*, i. e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37³⁰; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנְנִי, הִנְךָ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e. g. Gn 6¹⁷, 15³, 20³, 24^{13f.}, 48²¹, 50⁶, Ex 3¹³, 8²⁵, 9³, 34¹⁰, Jos 2¹⁸, Ju 7¹⁷, 9³³, 1 S 3¹¹, 2 K 7², Is 3¹, 7¹⁴, 17¹, Jer 30¹⁰, Zc 2¹³, 3⁸; with a participle passive, 2 S 20²¹: cf. also § 112 t.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e. g. Gn 37⁷) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by שׁוּ (est, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (non est) with a suffix, e. g. Ju 6³⁶ אִם-אֵיֶשֶׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt save; Gn 43⁵ אִם-אֵיֶנְךָ מְשַׁלַּח if thou wilt not send; 1 S 19¹¹.—In such cases as Is 14²⁷ יָדוֹ הִנְטוּיָהּ is his, the stretched out hand is his, הִנְטוּיָהּ is not, like נְטוּיָהּ in 9^{11.16}, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2¹¹, 45¹², Is 66⁹, Ez 20²⁹, Zc 7⁶ (cf. § 126 k), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7², Dt 3²¹, 4³, &c., 1 S 4¹⁶, where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12⁸ and 21¹¹ even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

r 2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the past, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יִהְיֶה (or the jussive יִהְיֶה, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the future, e. g. Jb 1¹⁴ הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרְשׂוֹת the oxen (cows) were plowing; Gn 37², 39²², Ex 3¹, Dt 9²⁴, Ju 1⁷, 1 S 2¹¹, 2 S 3⁶; the same occurs with a passive participle, e. g. Jos 5⁵, Zc 3³; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e. g. in Is 2²; the jussive in Gn 1⁶, ψ 109¹²;¹ and יוּהַי with a participle in Ju 16²¹, Neh 1⁴.

s 3. The personal pronoun which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26³, ψ 16⁸, Jb 9³²) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e. g. Gn 24³⁰, 37¹⁵, 38²⁴, 41¹, 1 S 10¹¹, 15¹², Is 29⁸ (the participle always after הִנֵּה); cf., moreover, Gn 32⁷, Dt 33³, 1 S 17²⁵, 20¹, Is 33⁵, 40¹⁹, ψ 22²⁹, 33⁵, 55²⁰, Jb 12^{17.19} π., 25², 26⁷.—הוּא is omitted in Lv 18²⁸; הִנְפֹהֵה in Is 32¹², Ez 8¹², Neh 9³; in a relative clause, Gn 39²², Is 24².—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2¹⁰; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20¹⁶ (where, however, for the participle וְנִכְחַתְּ the 2nd fem. perf. וְנִכְחַתְּ is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1⁵ (?), Zc 9¹², Mal 2¹⁶; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 2²⁴ (if the text be right), 6³, Ez 13⁷ (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e. g. Is 21¹¹ אֵלַי קֹרֵא there is one calling unto me (= one calleth; § 144 d); cf. Is 30²⁴, 33⁴.—So with participles in the plur., e. g. Ex 5¹⁶ אֲמָרִים sc. the taskmasters; Jer 38²³ (in 33⁵ the text is corrupt), Ez 13⁷ (?), 36¹³, 37¹¹ (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

¹ A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בְּרוּךְ blessed be . . . Gn 9²⁶, &c.; אָרוּר cursed art thou . . . 3¹⁴, &c.

4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by וְ); e. g. Jb 1¹⁶ f. כָּא וְהָיָה מְרַבֵּר וְהָיָה כֵּן *he was yet speaking, and (= when) another came, &c.*¹; cf. Gn 29⁹, 1 S 9^{11, 27}, 2c³⁶, 1 K 14¹⁷ *she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died*; 2 K 2²³, 4⁵, Dn 9²⁰ f.; also in Ju 19²², 1 S 9¹⁴, 17²³, 1 K 1⁴², Jb 1¹⁸ f., in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהָיָה. — On the other hand, in 1 K 1¹⁴ the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending.² Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וַיְהִי (cf. § 111 g), and the apodosis by וְהִנֵּה, Gn 42³⁵, 2 K 2¹¹, 13²¹; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 S 7¹⁰, 2 K 10³⁷ (Is 37³⁸).

Participles active, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and also *participles passive*, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e. g. Gn 38²⁵ וְהָיָה שְׁלֹחָהּ וְהָיָה מוֹצֵאתָּהּ *she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; cf. Gn 50²⁴. [See further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166-169.]

5. Different from the examples treated in u and v are the instances in which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a *compound noun-clause*, see § 143 c) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e. g. Gn 9⁶ שִׁפְךָ דַּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּקוּ *shedding man's blood, i. e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; Ex 21¹², ψ 75⁴, Pr 17¹⁴, Jb 41¹⁸; so especially if כֹּל- precedes the participle, Gn 4¹⁵, 1 S 3¹¹ (2 K 21¹²), 2 S 5⁸ (*whosoever smiteth*), 1 Ch 11⁶. The apodosis is very often introduced by וְ (wāw apodosis), e. g. Ex 12¹⁵ (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35³⁰; 1 S 2¹³ בְּלֹא־אִישׁ זָבַח וְהָיָה *when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, &c.*; 2 S 14¹⁰ (participle with article); 22⁴¹ (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with ψ 18⁴¹); 2 S 23³ f., Pr 23²⁴ *K^eth.*; 29⁹. — As in the instances discussed under u, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וַיְהִי, cf. 1 S 10¹¹, 11¹¹, 2 S 2²³ כֹּל-הַבָּא וַיְהִי *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c. [or by וַיְהִי, frequentative, Ju 19³⁰].* — On the other hand, וְהִנְשַׁבְּרָתָּהּ Dn 8²² is a mere catchword (equivalent to *and as for that which was broken*) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute הִלְלוּ cf. § 113 u.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like the infinitival constructions according to § 114 r) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without וְ, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus,

¹ The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e. g. וַיְהִי כִּי בְרַבְרוֹ). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when. . .* As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

² At the same time the preceding עוֹר *still* shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event *contemporaneous* with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112 t, where הִנֵּה refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

continued by means of a perfect, Is 14¹⁷ שָׁם תִּבְלַל בְּמִדְבָּר וְעָרָיו הָרִים that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof¹; 43⁷, Ez 22³, ψ 136¹³ π., Pr 2¹⁷; by a perfect without Wāw, Gn 49¹¹; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 5²³, 46⁶, Pr 7⁸, Jb 12^{17, 19} π., 24²¹; by an imperfect without Wāw, e. g. 1 S 2⁸, Is 5⁸, Pr 2¹⁴, 19²⁶; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27³³, 35³, 1 S 2⁶, Jer 13¹⁰ (after several participles), ψ 18³³, 136^{10f}.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

§ 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.

L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906.

a 1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb.² In the absence of case-endings,³ this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֵת (את), before suffixes also אֵת, אֹת)⁴ prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

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 הִפְיִן (to have pleasure, usually with בְּ) to desire, מָלֵא (to be full of something, also transitive) to fill, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as בָּכָה to weep (generally with עַל־, אֶל־ or לְ), but also to bewail with an accusative; יָשָׁב to dwell (usually with בְּ), but also to inhabit with an accusative (cf. further, under *u*).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בָּוֵא intrare, also aggredi, יָצָא egredi (cf. § 116 h above), שָׁב redire, Is 5⁸, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בָּוֵא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בָּוֵא אֶל־ in prose).

³ On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in *a*, cf. § 90 c.

⁴ אֵת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and את (with a tone-long ē, אֵת only in Jb 41²⁶), אֹת or אֹת before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 b: the underlying form *āth* was obscured in Hebrew to *ōth*, shortened to *āth* before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֵת, whence finally the secondary form את with the tone), Phoenician אית i. e. probably *iyāth* (for the Phoenician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 f.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed *t*, Arabic, before suffixes, 'iyyā, Aram. יֵת, יֵת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence*, *substance*, *self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֹת, Syriac 'ūtā, Arabic 'āyat, a sign, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse*, *autós*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֵת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, c), e. g. Gn 4¹ and she bare אֵת הַתַּיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ Cain; 6¹⁰, 1¹ God created אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ the heaven and the earth (but 2⁴ אֵת הָאָרֶץ וְהַשָּׁמַיִם); 1²⁵ and God made אֵת-תְּחִית הַאָּרֶץ the beast of the earth; 2²⁴.

Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex 15²⁻¹⁸, Dt 32, Ju 5, 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 q) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the תּא would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed before the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.¹ Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by תּא with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under e can be assigned for it; cf. Giesebrecht in ZAW. 1881, p. 258 ff., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כָּל־אֲשֶׁר-צָוָהוּ יְהוָה Gn 6²² in the *Priestly Code*, beside אֲתוּ אֱלֹהִים 7⁵ in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

2. As accusatives determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by כָּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כָּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn 1²¹⁻³⁰, 8²¹, Dt 2²⁴, 2 K 25⁹. כָּל-אֲתֵּיבֵל is used absolutely in Gn 9³, cf. 39²³; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֲתֵּיבֵל-מִי *quem?* e. g. Is 6⁸, 37²³, &c., but never אֲתֵּיבֵל-מִי *quid?* So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 16³, or *id quod*, Gn 9²⁴, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2¹⁰, 1 S 24¹⁹, where אֲתֵּיבֵל is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֲתֵּיבֵל stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 h is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26⁵, Jos 24^{14, 15}, Is 41⁷ (to distinguish the object from the subject); 5c⁴ (with the first of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13²⁰, 43¹⁰, Pr 13²¹ (where the צְרִיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13²⁵

of תּא on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτόν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֲתֵּיבֵל הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (cf. *αὐτὴν Χρυσήδα*, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם τὸν οὐρανόν. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18²⁴ in his *Rainbow Bible*, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

¹ Thus, in Dt 33, תּא occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of תּא in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read **וְאִם** for **וְאִתָּ**); also Ec 7⁷ may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

d On the other hand **אֵת** occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24⁶ **בְּנֶה** is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4¹¹ **אִישׁ צְדִיק** refers to Ishbo-sheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6¹⁶ **עֶשְׂרִים אַמָּה** refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21²⁸ (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the **אֵת** is used in order to avoid the combination **אִישׁ שׂוֹר** (as in Nu 21⁹ to avoid the cacophony **אִישׁ הַנֶּחֱשׁ אִישׁ** ?); in Lv 7⁸ and 20¹⁰ the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16¹⁵ **אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהֶם** probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 S 9³ **מִהַנְּעָרִים אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים** may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21³⁰ we should read **אֶת־שֵׁבַע הַבְּכֹשֶׁת** with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2¹ translate with Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, **אֶת־בֵּת־לֵוִי** *the daughter of Levi*; in Ex 28⁹ read **הַשֵּׁהָם** with the Samaritan; in Lv 20¹⁴ **אֶת־אִשָּׁה** is probably a scribal error due to **וְאֶת־אִמָּה**; in 1 S 26²⁰ read **נַפְשִׁי** with the LXX for **אֶחָד**; in 2 S 5²⁴ read **הַצְעֲרָה** as in 1 Ch 14¹⁵; in 2 S 15¹⁶ the **אֵת** is incorrectly inserted from 20³, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18¹⁸ read **הַמְצַבֶּת**, or omit both **אֵת** and **אִשָּׁר** with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12³¹ omit **אֵת**; in 2 K 23²⁰ probably **אֶת־עַצְמוֹתָם** is to be read; in 2 K 25⁹ the text is corrupt. In Ez 16³² **אֶת־זָרִים** might refer to *the strangers in question*; but see Smend on the passage.

e 3. The pronominal object *must* be represented by **אֵת** with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22³³ **וְאֶתְכָה הֲרַנִּיתִי** *I had slain thee and saved her alive*; Gn 7¹, Lv 22²⁸, 1 S 8⁷, Is 43²², 57¹¹, Jer 4^{17, 22}, 7¹⁹; (b) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with **וְ** follows, e.g. 2 S 15²⁵ **וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ** *and he will show me it*; Ex 17³ **לְהַמִּית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בְּנֵי** *to kill us and our children*; Nu 16³², 1 S 5¹¹, 2 S 14¹⁶ (but cf. also Dt 11⁶, 15¹⁶, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5¹⁰); (c) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 a note; (d) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41³⁹, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 4¹⁵ **לְבַלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ** *lest one should smite him*, &c., where **לְבַלְתִּי הַכּוֹתוֹ** might also mean *lest he should smite*.

f 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (**שָׁמַע**) and *dicendi*, e.g. Gn 9²², &c., **וַיִּגַּד** *and he told (it)*; also after **נָתַן** *to give*, Gn 18⁷, 24⁴¹, &c., **לָקַח** *to take*, **הָבִיא** *to bring*, **שָׁם** *to lay*, Gn 9²³, &c., **מָצָא** *to find*, Gn 31³³, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12¹⁹, 24⁵¹ (after **לָקַח**).—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37¹⁷ **שָׁמַעְתִּי אִמְרֵיהֶם** *I heard them saying*; perhaps, however, we should read **שָׁמַעְתִּים** with the Samaritan.

g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

¹ According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 *t*) we should translate, *I heard men who said, &c.*

(an elliptical expression); thus e.g. כָּרַת 1 S 20¹⁶, &c. (see the Lexicon) stands for כָּרַת כְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָטַר *to keep* (sc. אַף *anger*) equivalent to *to be resentful*, ψ 103⁹, &c.; so also שָׁמַר Jer 3⁵ (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא for קוֹל נָשָׂא *to lift up the voice*, Is 3⁷; לָּ for נָשָׂא לָּ *to take away any one's sin* (to forgive), Gn 18^{24, 26}, Is 2⁹; שָׁלַח for יָד *to reach after something*, 2 S 6⁶, ψ 18¹⁷.

6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or state in which the object is perceived, e.g. Nu 11¹⁰ וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה וַיִּבְכֶּה אֶת־הָעָם *and Moses heard the people weeping*; Gn 7¹ אַתָּה רָאִיתִי צְדִיקָה *thee have I seen righteous*. Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה *to see*, e.g. Gn 1⁴ and God saw the light, that it was good; Gn 6², 12¹⁴, 13¹⁰, 49¹⁵, Ex 2², ψ 25¹⁹, Pr 23³¹, Jb 22¹², Ec 2²⁴, S¹⁷; so with יָדַע *to know*, Ex 32²², 2 S 3²⁶, 17⁸ (with two objects); 1 K 5¹⁷.

7. In certain instances אַת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize *i* a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantial meaning of the אַת, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אַת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אַת generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna¹ (see above, § 3 a) אַתּוּ and אַתְּהּ are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אַת is not *k* the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אַת with, cf. § 103 b), e.g. Is 57¹⁵, 1 S 17³⁴ וַאֲתֵּי־הַדָּבָר *and that, with a bear*; אַתְּ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanting); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121 c) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos 22¹⁷ and Neh 9³², see below, z. In Ez 43¹⁷ קָבִיב אַתּוֹת *about* governs like a verb, being followed by אַתּוֹת.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in *l* the accusative (Ez 14²², Zc 8¹⁷; but Hag 2^{5a}, מִמְצָרִים, must be omitted, with the LXX, as a later addition), or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Nu 3²⁶ (the verbal idea contained in וּמִשְׁמֶרֶת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos 17¹¹ וַיְהִי לָּ implies *it was given up* or *they gave him*; 1 S 26¹⁶ *see where* is equivalent to *search now for*; in 2 S 11²⁵ אֶל־יָרַע בְּעֵינַיִךְ is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*²; Jer 36⁸³ *and he had the brazier before him*; in Ec 4³ a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אַתְּ אֶשֶׁר. On Jos 22¹⁷, Neh 9³², see below, aa.—Aposiopesis occurs in Dt 11² *for not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zc 7⁷, where either שְׁמַעְתֶּם or תַּשְׁמְעוּ (תַּעֲשׂוּ) is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages³ there still remain the *m*

¹ Cf. Weiss, משפט לשון המשנה (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

² So also in 1 S 20¹³ the Qal (יִטַּב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

³ Thus 1 S 26¹⁶, where וַיֵּא is to be read for וַאֲת; 1 K 11²⁵, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 K 6⁶ the אַת is probably

following examples, in which תָּא in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3⁴⁶, 5¹⁰, 35⁶, Ju 20^{44,46}, Ez 17²¹, 20¹⁶, 35¹⁰, 44³, Neh 9^{19,34}, Dn 9¹³, 2 Ch 31¹⁷.—In Ez 47¹⁷⁻¹⁹ (cf. also 43⁷) it is simplest to emend וְאֵת for תָּא , according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have *ταῦτα* only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than תָּא ; consequently in all these passages תָּא must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43⁷ *ἐώρακας*), and 47^{17 ff.} as equivalent to *thou shalt have as a border, &c.*

ll 8. Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic¹ and very commonly in Aramaic.² Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with לְאֵפֶי La 4⁵, אֶפֶי Nu 10²⁵, וְאֶפֶי 145¹⁴ (but cf. 146⁸), צָרַר Nu 25¹⁸, וְהַשְׁיִיא and שָׁטַח Jb 12²³; before the participle Is 11⁹.—To introduce an object preceding the finite verb לְ is employed in Jb 5² (cf. also Dn 11³¹); also after אָהַב Lv 19^{18,34}; הָאָרֶץ לְ ψ 129³; הַבְּרִיל Ezr 8²⁴, 2 Ch 25¹⁰; הַבֵּינִי Jb 9¹¹; בְּרַךְ 1 Ch 29²⁰ (immediately before with an accusative); הִנֵּלָה 1 Ch 5²⁶; דָּרַשׁ Ezr 6²¹, 1 Ch 22¹⁹, 2 Ch 17¹³; הַחַיָּה Gn 45⁷, where, however, read פְּלִיטָה with the LXX for לְפִלִּיטָה and take לְכֶם as a *dativus commodi*; הִלֵּל 1 Ch 16³⁶, 2 Ch 5¹³; הִרְג 2 S 3³⁰, ψ 135¹¹ (verse 10 with accusative), 136^{19 f.}; חָבַשׁ (*to bind up*) Is 61¹ (Ez 34⁴ before the verb); יָדַע ψ 69⁶; כָּבַד ψ 86⁹; לָקַח Jer 40², 2 Ch 23¹; הַמְלִיךְ and מִשָּׁח 1 Ch 29²²; נִהַל 2 Ch 28¹⁵; סָמַן ψ 145¹⁴; עוֹב 1 Ch 16³⁷; הַעֲלָה Ez 26³; בָּתַח ψ 116¹⁶; רָדַף Jb 19²⁸; הִצְדִּיק Is 53¹¹; שָׁכַר 2 Ch 24¹² (previously accusatives); שִׁים 1 S 22⁷ (but probably וְגַלְכֶם is to be read); הִשְׁיִב (*in the connexion, לְ*) 2 Ch 10⁶ (but verse 9 and 1 K 12⁹ with an accusative); שָׁחַת Nu 32¹⁵, 1 S 23¹⁰; שָׁחַת ψ 73¹⁸; $\text{שָׁחַ$ Ezr 8¹⁶, 2 Ch 2¹², 17⁷; שָׁמַר 1 Ch 29¹⁸, 2 Ch 5¹¹.

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 14¹⁷ $\text{וְאֶסְרִיו לְאֶפְתַּח בְּיָתָהּ}$ *his prisoners he let not loose nor sent them back to their home*. On this *constructio praegnans* in general, see § 119 ff.

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

derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of נָפַל . In Jer 23³⁸ instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (*is, do ye ask?*) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמְשָׂא *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10²² $\text{וְאַתֶּם מְרֵאִיהֶם וְאַתֶּם}$ is unintelligible; in 37¹⁹ read with Hitzig אַל־ for אֵת ; in Hag 2¹⁷ for אַתֶּם read with the LXX שִׁבְכֶם [or אַיִנְכֶם ; for the אַל cf. 2 K 6¹¹, Jer 15¹, Ez 36⁹].

¹ Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

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

of a noun derived from the same stem,¹ e.g. ψ 14⁵ פָּחַדוּ בְּפָחַד they feared a fear (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15²⁷; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1⁸ יְרוּשָׁלַם יְרִיטָהּ הַטָּאָה הַטָּאָה Jerusalem hath sinned a sin; with a double accusative (see below, *cc*), e.g. 1 K 1¹² נָא עֲצֵה נָא עֲצֵה let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel; 1 K 1¹².²

Rem. (a) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man!*³ Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gn 27³⁴ וַיִּצְעַק צָעָקָה נְדִלָּה וַיִּמְרָה עַד־מָאוֹד he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry; cf. the Greek *νοσείν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Matt. 2¹⁰); *magnam rugnare rugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.*

Examples of an internal object after the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22⁵, 2 S 12¹⁶, Is 24²², 35², 42¹⁷, Ez 25¹⁵, 26¹⁵, 27³⁵, Mic 4⁹, Zc 1², Pr 21²⁶; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27³³, Ex 32³¹, Ju 15⁸, 2 S 13³⁶, 1 K 1⁴⁰ (cf. Jon 4⁶, 1 Ch 29⁹); Is 21⁷, 45¹⁷, Jon 1¹⁰, Zc 1¹⁴, 8^{2a}, Dn 11³; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12¹⁷, 2 S 13¹⁵; cf. also Is 14⁶, Jon 4¹.—An internal object without an attribute before the verb: Is 24¹⁶, Jer 46⁵, Hb 3⁹, Jb 27¹²; with an attribute before the verb: Jer 14¹⁷, Zc 1¹⁵ (cf. also Gn 30⁸, Jer 22¹⁹, 30¹⁴, ψ 139²²). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Zc 8².

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 1¹¹, 9¹⁴, 11³, 37⁷, Ez 18², ψ 144⁶, probably also Mi 2⁴, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30³⁷, Nu 25¹¹, 2 K 4¹³, 13¹⁴, Is 45¹⁷, La 3⁵⁸,⁴ and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22¹⁶; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2¹⁶, Is 5¹², 62⁵, Zc 3⁷; cf. also Ex 3⁹. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any s external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under *p*, which also,

¹ On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113 *w*.

² Cf. *βουλὰς βουλεύειν*, Iliad x. 147.

³ The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the Qorān usually explain such cases by adding *and what . . .!* see § 125 *b*.

⁴ Also in ψ 13⁴ *lest I sleep the sleep of death*, הַפְּוֹת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַפְּוֹת (cf. Jer 51³⁹), as צָרְקוֹת Is 33¹⁵ for צָרְקוֹת הַרְרָה. On the similar use of הַלֵּךְ תָּמִים in ψ 15², see § 118 *n*.

according to *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144 l.

t Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּזְעַק קוֹל-גָּדוֹל and I cried a loud voice, i. e. with a loud voice, Ez 11¹³, 2 S 15²³ (after the proper object, Dt 5¹⁹, 1 K 8⁵⁵); ψ 109² they have spoken unto me לְשׁוֹן טְשָׁקֶר a tongue of deceit, i. e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10⁴ he becometh poor כְּהִרְמִיָּה עֵשָׂה dealing a slack hand, i. e. who dealeth with a slack hand; cf. the German *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice, *eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen*, to smite a trusty sword, *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates (i. e. to skate), and our to write a good hand, to play ball, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שְׂפָתַי רִנְּנוּת יְהוָה לְפִי my mouth shall praise with joyful lips, ψ 63⁶; cf. ψ 12⁹, where a *casus instrumenti* with בְּ follows the accusative.

u 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see *a*, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; cf. e. g. רִיב to strive, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is 1¹⁷, &c.; elsewhere with לְ of the person for whom one strives); יָבֵל absolutely to be able, with an accusative to prevail over any one; הִיָּצַח to be inclined and רָצָה to have pleasure (usually with בְּ), with an accusative to wish for some one or something; תְּשַׁכַּב cubare, then in the sense of *concupiscere*, originally joined with עִם cum, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to *comprimere (feminam)*, &c. So in 2 S 13¹⁴, &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֶת is intended, e. g. אֶתְּהָא for אֶתְּהָא; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

U Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally transitive, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear intransitive.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 לְ to put on (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, *y*.

¹ Thus e. g. עָנָה to reply to (*ἀμείβεσθαι τινα*), to answer any one; צִוָּה to command (*iubere aliquem*); זָכַר to remember; קָוָה (also with לְ) to wait for any one (to expect any one); בָּשַׂר to bring glad tidings to any one (see the Lexicon); נָאֵף and נָאָף to commit adultery (*adulterare matronam*); עָבַר to serve (*colere*); עָרַב to become surety for . . . , and many others.

2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident γ when even reflexive conjugations (*Niph'al*, *Hithpa'el*, &c.) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 2); e.g. נִבְּא to prophesy, Jer 25¹³; נִסַּב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19²²; נִלָּחַם to fight, ψ 109³ (where, however, the *Qal* וַיִּלְחַמְהוּנִי should be read; cf. ψ 35¹); also הִתְנַלַּח to shave (something) for oneself, Num 6¹⁹; הִתְנַחַל to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is 14²; הִתְנַצַּל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37¹⁸; הִתְנַצַּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33⁶; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; הִתְבּוֹנֵן to consider something, Jb 37¹⁴; הִתְפַּרֵּק to break something off from oneself, Ex 32³. In Gn 34⁹ after הִתְחַתְּנוּ make ye marriages, read אֶתְּנוּ instead of אֶתְּנוּ. Cf. § 54 f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of α a verb (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by ל) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e.g. Zc 7⁶ הַצּוּם צִמְתָּנִי אֲנִי did ye fast at all unto me, even to me? as though to say, have ye be-fasted me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Jb 31¹⁸ גִּדְּלֵנִי בְּאָב he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father; cf. Is 27⁴, 65⁵, Jer 31³, and in Aramaic Dn 5⁶; but אֶרְיִן הֶגְנֵב נִתְּתָנִי Jos 15¹⁹ is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving, see ff. In 1 S 2²⁵ read וּפְלָלוּ in Is 44²¹, instead of the *Niph'al*, read וַתִּנְשָׁנִי; in Ez 29³ either עֲשִׂיתִיו is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יִאֲרִי) with Smend; in ψ 42⁵ אֶרְדָּה or אֶרְדֶּם; in ψ 55²³ (where König takes יִהְיֶה as he has given it to thee) we must certainly assume a substantive יָהּ (= fate?).

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to v above, are regarded as γ transitive, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—

(a) Verba induendi and exuendi, as לָבַשׁ to put on, פָּשַׁט to put off a garment, עָדָה to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also מְשֻׁבָּצִים זָהָב enclosed in gold, Ex 28²⁰). Also in poetic expressions such as ψ 65¹⁴ לְבָשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf. ψ 109²⁹; 104² (עָטָה); 65^{14b} (עָטָה), &c.¹

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as מָלָא, to be full of something, Ex 8¹⁷; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אָת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6¹⁸; with a personal object, Ex 15⁹ my lust shall be satisfied upon them; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e.g. Is 1¹⁵ your hands מָלְאוּ דָמִים are full of blood, cf. Is 22²; so also the *Niph.* נִמְלָא to fill oneself with something, e.g. Gn 6¹¹, Ex 1⁷ (where the object is connected by אֵת); Is 27¹, 6⁴, Pr 3¹⁰; נִרְעָה to be fructified with, Nu 5²⁸; נִשְׂרַץ to swarm with, Gn 1^{20.21} Ex 7²⁸; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַע) to be full of, Is 1¹¹, Jo 2¹⁹, Pr 12¹¹; גָּבַר to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Jb 21⁷; פָּרַץ to overflow with something, Pr 3¹⁰ (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (cf. in Greek $\pi\rho\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ ὑδωρ, δάκρυα στάζειν), e.g. La 3⁴⁸ פָּלְגֵי מַיִם הִרְדּוּ עֵינַי mine eye runneth

¹ From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex 30²⁰ יִרְחֲצוּ מַיִם they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בַּמַּיִם.

down (with) rivers of water; 1¹⁶, Jer 9¹⁷, 13¹⁷, ψ 119¹³⁶; so also הִלָּךְ to run over with, to flow with, Jo 4¹⁸; נוּל to gush out with, Jer 9¹⁷; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Ju 5⁴, Jo 4^{18a}; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex 9⁹; שָׁטַף to overflow, but also (transitively) to overflow with, probably in Is 10²²; נֹבַח to bud with, Pr 10³¹; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with, Jer 5²⁸; יָצָא to go forth with, Am 5³.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5⁶, where it is said of a vineyard וְעֵלָה תִּשְׁמֵר וְשִׁית but it shall come up (it shall be overgrown) with briars and thorns; cf. Pr 24³¹, and still more boldly, Is 34¹³.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר to be in want of, to lack, Gn 18²⁸; שָׁכַל to be decreed of (as though it were to lose), Gn 27⁴⁵.—In Jos 22¹⁷ even הַמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. was there too little for us . . . ?) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9³².

bb (c) Several verbs of dwelling; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing at which or with which any one tarries; thus Gn 4²⁰, ψ 22⁴ after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 g; Ju 5¹⁷, Is 33¹⁴ after גִּוַר; ψ 57⁵ after שָׁכַב; ψ 68⁷, Pr 8¹², Is 33¹⁶ with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as ψ 5⁵, 120⁵ after גִּוַר, Gn 30²⁰ after וּבָלַח, ψ 68¹⁹ with שָׁכַן.

cc 5. Two accusatives (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(a) The causative conjugations (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e. g. פָּלַל Gn 47¹², &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above a and u, and also y, z), e. g. Ex 33¹⁸ נָא אֶת־כְּבוֹדִי מֵאֵת־יְהוָה show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹרִיעַ to cause some one to know something; ψ 18³³; לָמַד docere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41⁴² וַיִּלְבֹּשׂ אֹתוֹ וַיַּשְׂשׂוּ אֵת בְּגָדָיו and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37²³ (both accusatives after הִפְשִׁיט introduced by אֶת); so with כִּילָא to fill, to fill up with something, Gn 21¹⁹, 26¹⁵, Ex 28³; אָזַר to gird some one with something, ψ 18³³; עָטַר to crown, ψ 8⁶, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something, ψ 8⁶; הֵאָכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16³²; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19^{32a}.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָגַר Ex 29⁹, צָפָה Ex 26²⁹, &c., טָחַח Ez 13^{10a}, עָטַר ψ 5¹³; cf. also אָבַן Jos 7²⁵, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (וָרַע Jud 9⁴⁵, Is 17¹⁰, 30²³), planting (Is 5²), anointing (ψ 45⁸) with anything.

ff (b) Expressions of giving, thus נָתַן Jos 15¹⁹ where the accusative of the thing precedes; endowing, וָבַר Gn 30²⁰; and its opposite taking away, as קָבַע Pr 22²³; בָּרַךְ to bless some one with something, Gn 49²⁵, Dt 15¹⁴; to give graciously, ψ 127⁵; חָנַן Gn 33⁵; to sustain (i. e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything,

e. g. Gn 27³⁷, ψ 51¹⁴ (קָמַף); Ju 19⁵ (סָעַר); *to do something to one*, גָּמַל Gn 50^{15,17}, 1 S 24¹⁸; cf. also קָרַם *to come to meet any one with something*, ψ 21⁴, שָׁלַם *to repay some one with something* (with two accusatives, ψ 35¹², Pr 13²¹), and for the accusative of the person cf. εὔ, *κακῶς πράττειν τινά*. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as *they hunt every man his brother with a net*, Mi 7²; *to shoot at one with arrows*, ψ 64⁸ (though this is against the accents); Pr 13²⁴ *seeks him early* (with) *discipline*, i. e. *chastises him betimes*, &c.

(γ) Expressions of *asking* some one for something, *desiring* something from some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14²⁶, ψ 137³); *answering* any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6⁵, &c.); cf. in the other conjugations הָשִׁיב הַבֵּר prop. *verbum reddere*, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12⁶, &c., also in the sense of *announcing*; sometimes also הַגִּיד *to declare* something to some one, Jb 26⁴, &c., for (הַגִּיד לְ); צָוָה *to enjoin a person* something, Ex 34³², Dt 1¹⁸, 32⁴⁶, Jer 7²⁸.

(δ) Expressions which mean *to make, to form, to build* something out of something; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e. g. Gn 2⁷ וַיַּצַּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן-הָאָרֶץ *and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground*; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7¹⁵; further Ex 38³ כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת *all the vessels thereof made he of brass* (for another explanation of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת [into brass], linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, ii with *kk*); cf. Ex 25^{18,28}, 26^{1,14,29}, 27¹, 36⁶, 1 K 7²⁷; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25²⁹, 29², Dt 27⁶ אֲבָנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבְּחִי יְהוָה *of unhewn stones shall thou build the altar of the Lord*.

(c) Verbs which express *making, preparing, forming* into anything, along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e. g. Gn 27⁹ אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטְעָמִים *I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat*; cf. Gn 6^{14,16}, Ex 26^{1b}, 30²⁵, 32⁴, Is 44¹⁵, Ho 8⁴, 1 K 18³² וַיִּבְנֶה וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *and he built the stones (into) an altar*; cf. 10¹². So also אָפָה, with two accusatives, *to bake* something into something, Ex 12³⁹, Lv 24⁵; שָׂם (prop. *to set up* for something, cf. Gn 27³⁷, 28¹⁸, ψ 39⁹, and similarly הָרִים Gn 31⁴⁵) *to change* into something, Jos 8²⁸, Is 50², 51¹⁰, Mi 1⁷, 4¹³; with two accusatives of the person (*to appoint, promote* any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3⁷; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17⁵, and שִׁית 1 K 11³⁴; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ *to*, § 119 *t*; also שִׂית *to make a thing so and so* (Is 5⁶, 26¹; with a personal object, ψ 21⁷, 191⁹); הִחְשִׁיךְ *to make dark*, Am 5⁸. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28² וַיִּקְרְעוּהָ שָׁנִים עָשָׂר 1 K 11³⁰ אֶבֶן יָצִיק יָצִיק יָצִיק יָצִיק *a stone they smelt into brass*; 1 K 11³⁰ עָשָׂר יָצִיק יָצִיק יָצִיק יָצִיק *and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces*; cf. Is 37²⁶, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁאִיחַ *to lay waste*.

¹ Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21¹³ כִּי תִשְׂיֵתָמוּ שֵׁכְמִם *for thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i. e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me*; similarly ψ 18⁴¹ (2 S 22⁴¹, Ex 23²⁷) וְאֵיבֵי נִתְתָּה לִּי עֲרֹף; *thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back*; cf. Jer 18¹⁷.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַעַתְּ to know something to be something, Ec 7²⁵; רָאָהַתְּ to see, find to be, Gn 7¹; כִּבְשָׁתְּ to esteem one to be something, Is 53⁴, elsewhere always construed with לְ or פְ), cf. *h*.

kk Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *hh*; thus it is possible, e. g. in 1 K 18³², by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִבְּנֵי אֲבָנִים as the nearer object and אֲבָנֵי הַבְּנֵי as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27⁶. 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 20²⁵ *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) תִּבְנֵיהֶן as *hewn stones*, cf. also Gn 1²⁷. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18³² the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27⁶ the case is reversed.

ll (*d*) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,¹ e. g. פָּסַעַתְּ לִי for thou hast smitten all mine enemies יָדְךָ (as to) the cheek bone, equivalent to upon the cheek bone; cf. Gn 37²¹ let us not smite him שָׁפַעְתְּ in the life, i. e. let us not kill him; Dt 22²⁶, 2 S 3²⁷; also with שָׁנֵי Gn 3¹⁵; with רַעַךְ Jer 2¹⁶; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33¹¹ (with רַעַךְ).

§ 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.

a 1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place*, *time*, *measure*, *cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

b Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (תָּא) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

¹ Analogous to this is the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος in Greek epic poetry, e. g. ποῦν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ἰδόντων.

the *casus loci* a termination (הַ־) is employed, in which (according to § 90 c) the old accusative ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition.

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the *c* accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e.g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. d loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,¹ 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 *f* (sometimes also in those under *g*) or the preposition אֶל-³ especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or בְּ, usually, to express being *at* a place.

Examples of (a): נֵצַח הַשָּׂדֶה let us go out into the field, 1 S 20¹¹; cf. Gn 27⁸, 31⁴, *f* Jb 29⁷; לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20⁵⁶; cf. Gn 10¹¹, 13⁹, 24²⁷, 26²³, 31²¹, Ex 4⁹, 17¹⁰, Ju 12⁶, 2 K 11¹⁹, Na 1⁸ (?), ψ 134²; with לָקַח Nu 23¹⁴; with נָתַן Jos 6²⁴; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 S 5⁸), 1 K 2²⁶, Is 23¹², Jer 2¹⁰, 20⁶, 32⁵; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggredi*, equivalent to בּוֹא עָלַי, cf. § 117 a, note 2) the *personal aim* also is poetically added in the accusative, Ez 32¹¹, 38¹¹, Pr 10²⁴, 28²², Jb 15²¹, 20²²; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (cf. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Nu 10³⁶ (where שָׁבִיב can hardly be transitive); Ju 11²⁹, 1 S 13²⁰ (where, however, אֶל- has probably fallen out after יִשְׂרָאֵל; so Strack).—Finally, cf. also the use of אֵשֶׁר for שָׁמָּה . . . אֵשֶׁר *whither*, Nu 13²⁷.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e.g. Gn 12¹⁵.

Examples of (b): Gn 38¹¹ remain a widow בֵּית אָבִיךָ in thy father's house; cf. *g* Gn 24²³, 1 S 17¹⁵, 2 S 2³², Is 3⁶, Hos 12⁵, Mi 6¹⁰, 2 Ch 33²⁰; בֵּית הַתֶּחֶם in the tent door, Gn 18^{1.10}, 19¹¹, and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 S 2²⁹, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. 1 K 8³², Is 16², 28⁷, 2 Ch 33²⁰) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with בְּ (which is not rare even with בֵּית and תֶּחֶם) for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בְּבֵ and בְּפֵ; cf., moreover, Gn 2¹⁴, 4¹⁶, Ex 18⁶, Lv 6⁸ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחַתָּה

¹ So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e.g. Iliad i. 317 *κνίση δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκεν*: in Latin, e.g. *rus ire, Roman proficisci*.

² Hence e.g. in 1 S 9²⁶ the Masora requires הַיְנָה instead of the *Kth* הַיָּנָה.

³ So in Ju 19¹⁸ for אֶת-בֵּית ' the better reading is אֶל-בְּ.

Ex 29¹³, &c.); Dt 1^{2,19}, 1 2 S 17²⁶, 1 K 7⁸, Pr 8³, 9¹⁴. On Is 1³⁰ see § 116 i; on **לְשׁוֹב**, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117 bb. On the other hand, in Dt 6³, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before **לְעָרְוֶיךָ**.

h Examples of (c): Gn 7²⁰ *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gn 31²³, 41⁴⁰ **רַק בְּכִסֵּא הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶנְדָּל מִמֶּנִּי** *only in the throne will I be greater than thou*; Dt 1¹⁹ *we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Jb 29³. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16¹⁶ (*according to the number of your persons, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפָּר is used*); 1 S 6⁴ (with the *accus. preceding*); 6¹⁸, 2 S 21²⁰, Jb 1⁵.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14²⁶.

i 3. The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time* (*accus. temporis*), (a) in answer to the question *when?* e.g. הַיּוֹם *the day*, i.e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i.e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב *at evening*, לַיְלָה *nocturn*, בֹּקֶר *in the morning, early*, ψ 5⁴, &c., וְצַהֲרָיִם *at noonday*, ψ 91⁶; יוֹם אֶחָד *on one and the same day*, Gn 27⁴⁵; וְשָׁנָא *in sleep*, ψ 127²; בְּתֹרֶת הַחֲלוֹת קִצְרֵי שְׁעָרִים (*Q'erê 'bêt*) *at the beginning of barley harvest*, 2 S 21⁹; in stating a date, Gn 11¹⁰, 14⁴ *in the thirteenth year*.

h (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 3¹⁴, &c., כָּל-יְמֵיךָ *all the days of thy life*; 7⁴ *forty days and forty nights*; 7²¹, 14⁴, 15¹³, 21³⁴, 29¹⁸, Ex 20⁹ (*for six days*); 23¹⁵, 31¹⁷; עוֹלָמִים *for ever*, 1 K 8¹³; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13⁷ אֵת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים *throughout the seven days* in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14¹⁷, Dt 9²⁵.

l 4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e.g. Is 7²⁵ *thou shalt not come thither* יִרְאַת שָׁמִיר *for fear of briars*.

m 5. Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in, with, as, in the form or manner of . . ., according to, in relation to, with regard to*. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

n (a) Adjectives expressing *state*, placed *after* the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e.g. Is 20² *walking* עָרוֹם וְיָהָף *naked and barefoot*; cf. verse 3, 8²¹, Gn 15², 33¹⁸ (שִׁלִּים), Ju 8⁴, Mi 1⁸, ψ 107⁵ (but in 15² הַתְּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = *he that walketh in uprightness*; cf. § 117 r, note); Jb 30²³. After an accusative, e.g. Dt 15¹⁸; to specify some mental state, e.g. Gn 37³⁵ (אֲבֵל).—Before the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2¹⁶, Jb 1²¹, Ec 5¹⁴; Lv 20²⁰, Jb 19²⁵, 27¹⁹, 31²⁶

¹ In ψ 21² הַדֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (*on the way*), but as an *accus. of respect* (*with regard to the way*); see below, m.

(unless יקר be a substantive); Ru 1²¹ (מְלֵאָה parallel with the adverb רִיקָם).

In Mi 2⁷ the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e. g. Jb 24¹⁰ עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ naked, i. e. in the condition of one naked, they go about; cf. verse 7 and 12¹⁷. In Is 20⁴ the singular occurs after a plural object, and in Is 47⁵ the masc. after the 2nd sing. fem. imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either after the verb, Nu 16²⁷, Jer 2²⁷, 43², ψ 7³, Jb 24⁵, 2⁹ Ct 2⁸, or before it, Gn 49¹¹, Is 57¹⁹, Ez 36³⁵, ψ 56², 92¹⁴, Pr 20¹⁴; cf. also the substantival use of the participles נִוְרָאוֹת in a fearful manner (ψ 139⁴) and נִפְלְאוֹת in a wonderful manner, Jb 37⁵, Dn 8²⁴.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מִתְהַלֵּךְ Gn 3⁸ (cf. also בָּאָה I K 14⁹), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13²⁰, I K 7⁷ and Hb 2¹⁰ the explicative Wāw (equivalent to and that too) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69⁴ for מְיַחַל read מְיַחֵל.—On I K 11⁸, 2 K 10⁶, 19², Hag 1⁴, cf. the note on § 131 h.

(c) Substantives¹ in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external state, e. g. Mi 2³ וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוּמָה neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שְׂחוֹחַ Is 60¹⁴); Lv 6⁹ (accus. before the verb = as unleavened cakes), Dt 2⁹, 4¹¹, Ju 5²¹, Is 57², Pr 7¹⁰, Jb 31²⁶, La 1⁹; as stating the position of a disease, I K 15²³ he was diseased אֶת־רַגְלָיו in his feet (2 Ch 16¹² בְּרַגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 l and § 121 d (d); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e. g. Nu 32¹⁴, Jos 9² פָּה אֶחָד with one accord, I K 22¹³; cf. Ex 24⁸, Zp 3⁹, I S 15³², 2 S 23³, Is 41³ (unless שְׁלֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in n); Jer 31⁷, Ho 12¹⁵, 14⁵, ψ 56³, 58², 75³, Pr 31⁹, Jb 16⁹, La 1⁹; Lv 19¹⁶, &c., in the expression הֲלִיךְ רָכִיל to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also אֲנָשִׁים unawares, Gn 34²⁵, Ez 30⁹; מְיַשְׂרִים uprightly, ψ 58², 75³ (in both places before the verb); as stating the age, e. g. I S 2³³ (if the text be right) יָמוֹתֵי אַנְשִׁים they shall die as men, i. e. in the prime of life; cf. I S 2¹⁸ (נָעַר), Is 65²⁰, and Gn 15¹⁶; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4²⁷, I S 13¹⁷, 2 K 5², Jer 31⁸ [in Jer 13¹⁹ שְׁלֹמִים wholly (?) is corrupt; read שְׁלֵמָה נְלִיָּת with LXX for ש' הַנְּלִיָּת]; as stating the consequence of the action, Lv 15¹³, &c.

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e. g. Is 21⁸ וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה and he cried as a lion; cf. ψ 22¹⁴, Is 22¹⁸ כְּדוֹר like a ball; Is 24²², Zc 2⁸, ψ 11¹ (unless צִפּוֹר be vocative); 58^{9b} (unless the force of the preceding שׁ is carried on, as in ψ 90⁴); ψ 144¹², Jb 24⁵ פְּרָאִים, before the verb); 41⁷ shut up together as with a close seal.²

6. To the expressions describing a state belong finally those nouns s which are introduced by the comparative particle בְּ,³ since the בְּ is to

¹ Cf. above, § 100 c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113 h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

² It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurtata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle בְּ, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

³ On the use of בְּ as a prefix, cf. § 102 c.

be regarded as originally a substantive¹ in the sense of *amount, kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that כִּי is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the כִּי . From this, which is the proper meaning of the כִּי , may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.² Thus the comparison may refer to—

t (a) The place, e.g. Is. 5¹⁷ כִּי־בָרָם after the manner of, i. e. as in their pasture; 23¹⁵ as (it is said) in the song of the harlot; 28²¹, 29⁷ כִּי־לֹלֵם as in a dream.

u (b) The time, especially in the combination כִּי־יּוֹם after the manner of the day, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9⁸, Ho 2⁵; כִּי־יָמַי as in the days of . . . , Is 51⁹, Ho 2¹⁷, 9⁹, 12¹⁰, Am 9¹¹; cf. moreover, Lv 22¹⁸, Ju 20³⁹, Is 17⁶, Jb 5¹⁴, 29², and the expressions $\text{כִּי־יּוֹם כִּי־יּוֹם}$ as day by day = as in the former days, 1 S 18¹⁰; $\text{כִּי־פָעַם כִּי־פָעַם}$ as at other times, 1 S 3¹⁰, &c. and $\text{כִּי־שָׁנָה כִּי־שָׁנָה}$ as in former years, 2 K 17⁴; cf. § 123 c. Of a different character is the use of כִּי as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18¹⁰ כִּי־עַתָּה at this time (not about the time), when it lives again, i. e. at the end of a year; כִּי־מָחָר to-morrow at this time; cf. Is 23⁵, and the frequent connexion of כִּי with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12¹⁴, 27³⁴, Ex 9²⁹, &c.

v (c) The person, e.g. Gn 34³¹ should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?

w (d) The thing, e.g. Is 10¹⁴, ψ 33⁷, Jb 28⁵ כִּי־אֵשׁ as a fire, i. e. as it were by fire (cf. Is 1²⁵ כִּי־בַבַּר as with lye); Jb 29²³ כִּי־מָטָר as for the rain (they waited for me); Jb 38¹⁴ (as in a garment); 38³⁰ כִּי־אֶבֶן as to stone (the waters are solidified in freezing).

x Rem. According to the earlier grammarians, כִּי is sometimes used pleonastically, i. e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14³⁵ as it were, i. e. something like), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7² for he was $\text{כִּי־אִישׁ אֱמֻנָה}$ a faithful man; cf. 1 S 20³ כִּי־פָשַׁע , La 1²⁰ כִּי־פְּנוֹת . 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 כִּי with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus $\text{כִּי־אִישׁ אֱמֻנָה}$ in Neh 7² means simply of the nature of a faithful man, i. e. as only a faithful man can be; cf. Nu 11¹, Is 1⁷, 13⁶, Ho 4⁴, 5¹⁰, Ob 11, Jb 24¹⁴, 27⁷, La 1²⁰, 2⁴; also כִּי־מְעַט in such passages as ψ 105¹² *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is 1⁹ *only just, a very small . . .*

¹ Schwabe (כִּי nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) contests this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer and is certainly indisputable). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places כִּי as a preposition on the same footing as כִּי and כִּי , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem כָּוַן as well as with כִּי and כִּי . The above view of כִּי as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On כִּי in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

² It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note 2 on r) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is 1²⁶ כִּי־אֵשׁנָה and כִּי־תִתְחַלֵּף , Lv 26³⁷ (כִּי־מַפְּנִי) are to be explained from the fact that here the

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* *b* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which either precede or follow the action. In the former case מִן, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אַחֲרַיִם occurs before other prepositions of place; cf. e. g. Am 7¹⁵ *the Lord took me מֵאַחֲרַיִם הַצֹּאֵן from behind the flock*; 2 K 9¹⁸ *turn thee אַחֲרַיִם לְאַחֲרַיִם to behind me, i. e. turn thee behind me*; מֵעִם, מֵאֵת *from being with . . .*, as in French *de chez, d'après quelqu'un.*¹ For further examples, see *c*.

Rem. 1. We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense *C* either those *substantives* which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לְפָנַי *before*, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן *on account of* (but e. g. מִלְּפָנַי *from before*, Gn 4¹⁶, &c., is such a compound); nor *adverbs*, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מִחוּץ *without*, מִתַּחַת *in the sense of below*,² מֵעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply *one word* before the מִן was prefixed. We find also מֵעַל Is 59¹⁸, 63⁷, ψ 119¹⁴, and 2 Ch 32¹⁹; cf. Driver on 1 S 14¹⁴ (פָּנֵי הַצֵּי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

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*, cf. e. g. Is 6⁶.

² Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת *from under*, in such examples as Pr 22²⁷, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן was *originally* by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place *from beneath* which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן, however, has become so much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common adverbs as מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e. g. in מִלְּבַד, מִבְּלִיעָרִי

above (so also in Gn 27⁸⁹, 49²⁵, not from above). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. לְמִחוּץ לְ outside as regards . . ., i. e. outside of something, in 1 K 21¹³ even after a transitive verb of motion; לְמִתַּחַת לְ below as regards . . ., i. e. under something (cf. לְעַד-מִתַּחַת לְ until they came under . . ., 1 S 7¹¹), לְמַעַל לְ over something, &c.; לְבַד לְ prop. in separation; לְבַד מִן- in separation from, i. e. apart from, besides. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26⁵ מִתַּחַת מִן- beneath the waters; Neh 3²⁸ (מַעַל-).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—
 (a) With מִן-, in מֵאַחֲרַי, מֵאַחֲרֵי (see above) from behind something; מֵאֵת and מֵעִם from with (see above); מֵבֵינַי or מֵבֵינֹת from between something (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49¹⁰); מִלְפָּנַי from before (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lv 5⁸, &c.; מֵעַל- from upon, i. e. off from; מִתַּחַת away from under (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

e (b) With אֶל-, in אֶל-אַחֲרַי, אֶל-אַחֲרֵי to behind, אֶל-בֵּינֹת to between; אֶל-מִבֵּית לְ forth between 2 K 11¹⁵; אֶל-מִחוּץ לְ forth without, i. e. out in front of, Nu 5³; אֶל-תַּחַת down under.¹—In Jb 5⁵ the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל-מִצְּנִיָּם (he goes thither and takes it) out of the thorns, i. e. he taketh it even out of the thorns, but the text is hardly correct.

f 3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions.²

g (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 41¹² *they*

without, cf. also such examples as מִבְּלֵי, מִמּוּל, מִפְּנֵי, מִשָּׁם (there), &c. Since a מִן- is not usually repeated after מִלְבַּד, it appears as if מִלְבַּד by a transposition of the מִן- stood for the usual לְבַד מִן-. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְבַּד has a purely adverbial meaning = taken by itself, like מִלְמַעְלָה מִמּוּעַל (Syriac *men le'el*) above (adv.), as distinguished from מֵעַל-לְ or מֵעַל לְ (Syriac *le'el men*), over, upon something.—Also לְמִן- from . . . onward is not for מִן-, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque* in *usque a*, *usque ad*, *usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

¹ Also in 1 S 21⁵ אֶל-תַּחַת לְ by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of coming into, contained in the preceding אֵיךְ.

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 ff., and especially A. Noordtzijs, *Het hebreusche voorzetsel אל*, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל- and עַל-.

found him אֶל-מַיִם רַבִּים by the great waters; cf. Dt 16⁶, 1 K 13²⁰, and a still more remarkable instance in 8³⁰ אֶל-מְקוֹם שְׁבִתְךָ אֶל-הַשְּׂמִימִים. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16⁶ but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς for ἐν, the Latin in potestatem, in amicitium ditioemque esse, manere (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.

(b) בְּ. Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time (with the infinitive, a simultaneous action, &c.), or else the idea of fastening on something, close connexion with something (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e.g. the advice or command of some one בְּדַבַּר פ', בְּעֵצַת פ', or in a comparison, as in Gn 1²⁶ בְּעִלְמֵנו כְּדַמּוֹתֵנו in our image, after our likeness; cf. 1²⁷, 5¹⁻³), or finally the idea of relying or depending upon . . ., or even of merely striking or touching something.

The use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of among (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7² יֵשֶׁר בְּאָדָם אֵין there is none upright among men; in the sense of consisting of, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7²¹ and all flesh died . . . in (= consisting of) fowl, &c. 8¹⁷, 9¹⁰, Ho 4³. Also after ideas of appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being, in the sense of as, in the capacity of (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), consisting of . . ., tanquam, the בְּ essentialia of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek ἐν, the Latin in,² and the French en, e.g. Ex 6³ I appeared unto Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי as El Shaddai; Jb 23¹³ וְהוּא בְּאָחֵר but he is (manifests himself as) one, i.e. he remains always the same; Dt 26⁵, 28⁶² בְּמִתֵּי מְעוֹת in the condition of being few, cf. 10²² to the number of seventy; Is 40¹⁰, ψ 39⁷.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18⁴ (ψ 35², 146⁵) בְּעֻזִּי as my help; Dt 26¹⁴ being unclean; Is 28¹⁶ in Sion (i.e. I make Sion a foundation); Ez 20⁴¹ as a sweet savour; Pr 3²⁶, perhaps also Ex 3² in (i.e. as) a flame of fire; Is 66¹⁵ with (i.e. like) fire; ψ 31²², 37²⁰ (102⁴). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54⁶ is especially instructive, since אֲדָנִי בְּכַמְבִּי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as belonging to the קַמְבִּים, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i.e. the Lord is one who upholds my soul; so also ψ 99⁶, 118⁷, Ju 11³⁵ [the plur. as in § 124 g-i].³—Cf. Gesenius, *Theos. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 f., and Delitzsch on ψ 35².

(2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote touching, striking, reaching to (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by at, on, &c., and in German generally by compounds with an, e.g. anfassen = בְּ אָחַז, anrühren = בְּ נָנַע, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting authority (מָשַׁל, מָלַךְ), נָגַשׁ, 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.

¹ Cf. 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, *Laf. Stilistik*, § 123⁴. On the Hebrew בְּ essentialia, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

³ Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26⁴, ψ 55¹⁹, where בְּ is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68⁵ בְּיָה שְׁמוֹ Jah is his name, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT. Isaiah*, p. 173, on Is 26⁴.

בָּ קָרָא to call on some one, בָּ נִשְׁבַּע *iurare per aliquem*, בָּ שָׁאַל to enquire of some one. Again; בָּ רָאָה to look upon, בָּ שָׁמַע to hearken to (but cf. also *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence בָּ רָאָה to see his desire on any one or anything; cf. however, Gn 21¹⁶ let me not look upon the death of the child; 1 S 6¹⁹ because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord.

Closely related to this is the use of בָּ:

- l** (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a mental act, e. g. בָּ הֵאֱמִין to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בָּ הִטָּח to have confidence in . . . ; בָּ שָׂמַח to rejoice in or at something, &c.; בָּ דִּבֶּר to speak of (about) some one or something, Dt 6⁷, 1 S 19^{3 f.}, &c.
- m** (4) The idea of an action as extending to something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation in something, underlies the same the partitive use of בָּ, e. g. בָּ אָכַל to share in eating something, Ex 12^{43 f.}, Lv 22¹¹; also simply to eat, to taste of something, Ju 13¹⁶, Jb 21²⁵; so also בָּ לָחַם to eat of, and בָּ שָׁתָה¹ to drink of something, Pr 9⁵; בָּ שָׁמַע to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26¹⁴; בָּ מָצְאָה they found remaining of her only. . . , 2 K 9³⁵; בָּ נָשָׂא to bear a share of something, Nu 11¹⁷, Ez 18²⁰, Jb 7¹³. Cf. also בָּ הִלֵּךְ to give a share of something, Jb 39¹⁷; בָּ בָּנָה to do building to, Neh 4⁴.
- n** (5) With the idea of touching, striking against anything is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity near, and further that of association with something; cf. Gn 9⁴ בָּנִפְשׁוֹ with the life thereof; 15¹⁴, 32¹¹ בָּמִקְלִי with my staff. Sometimes בָּ combined with a verb of motion (to come with something), expresses the idea of bringing, e. g. Ju 15¹ Samson visited his wife with a kid, i. e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23⁵, ψ 66¹⁸, 1 Ch 15^{19 f.}, 16⁶.
- o** (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see *n*), is developed, finally, the instrumental use of בָּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something with which one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4¹⁴ בְּעֵבֶט they smite with the rod; Is 10²⁴; ψ 18³⁰ בְּךָ by thee (so also 44⁶, parallel with בְּשִׁמְךָ); Is 10³⁴, Ho 1⁷, 12¹⁴; cf. also בָּ עָבַד to labour by means of some one, i. e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1⁴, &c. On בָּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 f.
- p** A variety of the בָּ instrumenti is בָּ pretii (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23⁹, 29¹⁹ (בְּרִחַל); 30¹⁶, 33¹⁹, 34¹⁶ (בְּזֹאת on this condition); 37²⁸; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18²⁸ בָּ for the sake of; 1 S 3¹³.
- q** Rem. The use of בָּ instrumenti to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44²⁰ and thou coveredst over us בְּעֵלְמוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16¹⁰ בְּפִיהֶם עָלִי פָּעְרוּ they have opened wide their mouth against me (prop. have made an opening with their mouth); cp. ψ 22⁸, Ex 7²⁰ he lifted up בְּמִטָּה the rod; Lv 16⁴ הִגֵּר and צָנָה followed by בָּ; Jos 8¹⁶, La 1¹⁷. Analogous to some English expressions we find both to gnash the teeth, ψ 35¹⁶, and to gnash with the teeth, Jb 16⁹; to wink the eye, Pr 10¹⁰, and to wink with the eye, Pr 6¹³; shake the head, ψ 22⁸, and to shake with the head, Jer 18¹⁶, Jb 16⁴.—In all these instances

¹ To be distinguished from בָּ שָׁתָה = to drink from (a cup, &c., Gn 44⁵, Am 6⁶), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5²). Cf. also ἐν ποτηρίοις (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνειν (3 Ezr 3⁶), venenum in auro bibitur, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French boire dans une tasse.

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 complement.

An instructive example of this is נָתַן קוֹל *vocem emittere, to utter a voice*, also to *thunder*, while in נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ ψ 467 (68³⁴, Jer 12⁸), נָתַן has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i. e. mightily).

(c) לְ ¹ to, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied *relations* of an action or state with regard to a person or thing. On the use of 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. לְעֶרְבֹךָ *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of לְ properly belong to the government of the verb :

- (1) As a *nota dativi*² to introduce the remoter object; also S
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*, e. g. Ez 37¹¹) 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 form.³ By far the most frequent use of this לְ is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e. g. לֵךְ-לֵךְ *go, get thee away*, Gn 12¹, 22², Dt 2¹⁵ (also in the feminine, Ct 2^{10,13}); לֵךְ וְנָטָה *turn thee aside*, 2 S 22¹; $\text{לָכֶם$ *take your journey*, Dt 1⁷; לָכֶם עָבְרוּ *pass ye over*; $\text{לָכֶם בְּרַח-לָכֶם}$ *flee (to save thyself)*, Gn 27⁴³; עֲלִי-לָכֶם *get thee up*, Is 40⁹; לָכֶם פְּנוּ *turn you*, Dt 1⁴⁰; לָכֶם שׁוּבוּ *return ye*, Dt 5²⁷; לָכֶם קוּמִי *rise up*, Ct 2¹⁰; לָכֶם שְׁבוּ *abide ye*, Gn 22⁵; לָכֶם הִרְלָה *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35²¹ (in the plural, Is 22²); לָכֶם הִבּוּ *take you*, Dt 1¹³, Jos 18⁴, Ju 20⁷, 2 S 16²⁰, and so almost regularly לָכֶם הִשְׁמַרְוּ (see above, § 51 n) *cave tibi!* and לָכֶם הִשְׁמַרוּ *take heed to yourselves*; $\text{לָכֶם דְּמָה לָּךְ}$ *be thou like*, Ct 2¹⁷ (cf. verse 9), 8¹⁴, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 K 17³, 1 S 22⁵; after an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Is 36⁹ $\text{לָךְ וַהֲבַטְחָ לָּךְ}$ *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e. g. $\text{לָהּ וַתִּשְׁבֹּב לָהּ}$ *and sat her down*, Gn 21¹⁶, cf. 22⁵, Ex 18²⁷, ψ 120⁶, 123⁴, Jb 6¹⁹; even after a participle, Ho 8⁹.—In the 1st person plural, Ez 37¹¹.
- (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, *t* appointing to something, esteeming as something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117 ii, a second *accusative* may also be used.
- (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *u* with regard to . . . (§ 143 e); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gn 20¹³; 1 K 10²³, cf.

¹ Cf. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

² Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Spanish *á*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by לְ , cf. § 117 n.

³ Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet, but me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

Is 36⁹; even before the verb, Jer 9².—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8¹ *write upon it . . .* (the words) מְהָרָה שָׁלַל וְנָוִי (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37¹⁶.

ו (d) מִן, originally (according to § 101 a) *separation*,¹ represents both the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from something*, and that of *motion away from something*, hence also *descent, origin from a place*, Am 1¹.

ט (1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among . . . , e numero*, e. g. Gn 3¹ *subtil as none other of the beasts, &c.*; cf. 3¹⁴, Dt 33²⁴, 1 S 15³³, Ju 5²⁴ (so especially after the idea of choosing out of² a larger class, 1 S 2²⁸; cf. Ex 19⁵, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Is 22³ מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶפְרַיִם *without the bow* (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48⁴⁵ מִכֹּחַ *without strength*; Ho 6⁶, as the first half-verse shows, *not more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3⁶, ψ 52⁵, Jb 11¹⁵, 19²⁶, 21⁹, also such examples as Nu 15²⁴ *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Pr 20³.

י Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing to any one*, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15²⁸ *he hath rejected thee מִמְּלִכְךָ away from (being) king*, instead of 'מְהִיּוֹת מ' (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15¹³, Is 17¹ מְעִיר *so that it is no longer a city*; Jer 17¹⁶, Jb 28¹¹ *he bindeth the streams מִבְּכִי that they trickle not*; Gn 16², 23⁶ מִקְבֹּר *that thou shouldst not bury thy dead*; Is 24¹⁰.

י The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27¹ *his eyes were dim יָרְאוֹת away from seeing*, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is 7⁸ *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces מִעַם that it be not a people* (just as in Is 23¹, Jer 48^{2,42}, ψ 83⁵); Lv 26¹³, Is 5⁶, 49¹⁵, 54⁹, Ezr 2⁶² (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, f)³; on מִבְּלִי and מֵאִין *without*, cf. § 152 y.

¹ Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibellehebreiskan*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep. min*, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

² All the *partitive* uses of מִן also come most naturally under this idea of separation out of a larger class. Thus מִן is used in the sense of *some, something, and even one*, in such expressions as *and he slew . . . also מִשְׁטְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (divers) of the princes of Israel*, 2 Ch 21⁴; מִבְּלִי Lv 4²; 1 K 18⁵; מִדַּם הַפָּר *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex 29¹², &c.; Jb 27⁶ *my heart doth not reproach me מִמִּי for any*, i. e. for one, *of my days*; 38¹² מִיָּמַי *one of thy days*, i. e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1⁶; cf. also 1 S 14⁴⁵, 25²⁸). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אֶחָד is equivalent to *ullus*; e. g. Lv 4² *and shall do מִאֶחַת מֵהֵנָּה any one of these things*; 5¹³, Dt 15⁷, Ez 18³⁰; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 t), 1 S 14⁴⁵ (2 S 14¹¹, 1 K 1⁵²) מִשְׁעַרְתּוֹ רֵאשִׁיתוֹ *not one hair of his head*.—מִן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7²² *of all that was*, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gn 6² (= *whomsoever they chose*).

³ On the use of מִן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from . . .*, cf. below, § 133 a; on מִן as expressing the

(2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מִן after \approx such ideas as *to take away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (cf. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ ἀπό, *custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e. g. Is 33¹⁵. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מִן *on account of, in consequence of* (cf. *our that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e. g. מִרְב for *multitude*, 1 K 8⁵.

(e) עַל ¹. The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon* $\alpha\alpha$ ($\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$)² and *over* ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of עַל after ideas of *commanding, commissioning* (פָּקַד עַל), &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c., is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of *to lie, rest, lean, rely, press upon* something; cf. also, for the last, such examples as Is 1¹⁴, Jb 7²⁰, 23², and especially 2 S 18¹¹ עָלַי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of עַל after ideas bb of *covering, protecting, guarding* בָּקַשׁ עַל , גָּנַן עַל ; also the combinations רַחַם עַל *to have compassion upon . . .*, חָמוּס עַל , חָמַל עַל *to spare some one*, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also נִלְחַם עַל Ju 9¹⁷ = *to fight for* some one, i. e. in his defence.

(3) Moreover עַל is used after verbs of *standing* and *going*, to express cc a towering *over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by, with, before, near*), e. g. Gn 41¹, &c., *Pharaoh . . . stood על-הַיָּאָר* *by the Nile* (above the water level; cf. ψ 1³), and so especially עָמַד עַל in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Ze 4¹⁴ (cf. Is 6², where מִמַּעַל לְ is used for עַל); הִתְיַצַּב עַל *to present oneself by command before* some one, Jb 1⁶, &c. Cf. also עַל-יָדַי , עַל-יָד (Jb 1¹⁴) *near, at (on) the side of* some one or something.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on to* dd something, *at* something) there arise finally all the various constructions with עַל in the sense of *towards, against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailant endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to *overpower* him; cf. especially קוּם עַל *to rise up over, i. e. against* some one, then with a transference of

distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e. g. ψ 73²⁰ מִתְקַיֵּין *after awaking* (cf. $\xi\acute{\gamma}$ ἀπίστων, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gn 38²⁴, Ho 6², and very frequently מִכִּיּוֹן *from the end of, i. e. after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of מִן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

¹ Cf. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al (על)*, Halle, 1882.

² Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, עַל also implies *in addition to* something, cf. Gn 28⁹ (31⁶⁰); 30⁴⁰, 32¹² (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Dt 22⁶. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e. g. Jb 10⁷ *although thou knowest*, prop. *in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, נִלְחָם עַל־ to fight against . . . , עָלָה עַל־ to encamp against . . . , נֶאֱסַף עַל־ to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4¹¹; cf. ψ 2²), &c. ; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. חָשַׁב רָעָה עַל־ to imagine evil against any one, &c.

ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

ff Various examples of this *constructio praeagnans* have been already noticed above in *x* and *y* under מִן; for מִן cf. also ψ 22²² וַיִּמְקַרְנֵי רַמִּים עִנְיָהֶנִּי וַיְצַלֵּנִי אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל and thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen (in Is 38¹⁷, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit*, read חֲשַׁבְתָּ with the LXX); Gn 25²³, 2 S 18¹⁹, Jb 28¹²; cf. also וְנָה מִן־ ψ 73²⁷ to go a whoring from any one i.e. to be unfaithful to him; 1 S 18²² = to depart wickedly from God; חָרַשׁ מִן־ ψ 28¹ to be silent from one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 13¹³ [; so with מֵעַל Jb 30^{17,30}].

gg Pregnant constructions with אַחֲרַי: Nu 14²⁴ equivalent to וַיִּמְלֵא לְלֶבְתָּ אַחֲרַי and he made full to walk i.e. walked fully after me; in 1 S 13⁷ read with the LXX וַיִּרְדּוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו they trembled, i.e. went trembling away from him; with אֶל־ Gn 43³³ וַיִּתְּמָה אֶל־ to turn in astonishment to some one (cf. Is 13⁸); וַיִּשְׁאַל־ Is 11¹⁰, &c., to turn inquiringly to some one; וַיִּחַרְשׁ אֶל־ Is 41¹ to turn in silence to some one; וַיִּתְרַד אֶל־ Gn 42²⁸ to turn trembling to some one (cf. וַיָּבֹאוּ לִקְרַאתָּא to come trembling to meet, 1 S 21² [also with שָׂמַח, הֵרִיץ, וְשָׂמַח and other verbs, Ju 14⁵, 15¹⁴, 19⁸; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41⁷, ψ 7⁷, 2 Ch 32¹; with בְּ־ ψ 55¹⁹ he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace, exactly like ψ 118⁵; with לְ־ ψ 74⁷ they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground; cf. 89⁴⁰.

hh 5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member; ¹ e.g. בְּ־ Is 40¹⁹, 48¹⁴ he shall perform his pleasure בְּבַבְלֹן on Babylon, and his arm shall be בְּשַׁבְדֵימָם (for בְּשַׁבְדֵימָם) on the Chaldeans; Jb 15³; לְ־ Is 28⁶, 42²² (but probably לְ־ has fallen out after another לְ־), Ez 39⁴, Jb 34¹⁰ (perhaps also Gn 45⁸; מִשְׁלֵל may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 ii); מִן־ Is 48⁹; מִן־ Is 58¹³, ψ 141⁹ (unless וַיִּמְקַשׁוּת is to be read); עַד־ Is 15⁸; תַּחַת־ Is 61⁷.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. אֶל־הֵנָּם in vain, Ez 6¹⁰; אַחֲרַי־כֵּן after this; בְּ־כֵּן (Ec 8¹⁰, Est 4¹⁶) then, on this condition; לְ־כֵּן and עַל־כֵּן therefore; עַד־כֵּן hitherto.

¹ Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 z.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*
Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.

1. When a *relative* verb (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *a* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without לְ), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 *n*, note 2.

(a) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 *c*, and the numerous examples given in § 114 *m*; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 *d*.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33¹ פָּהֲתָמָךְ שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form, § 67 *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler, i. e. to spoil*; Jer 22³⁰ לֹא יִצְלַח . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting, i. e. so as to sit, &c.*; Jon 1⁶ *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i. e. that thou sleepest; ¹ by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3² *now his eyes had begun being dim, i. e. to wax dim* (unless we read לְבָהוֹת = בְּהוֹת, cf. § 114 *m*); by a substantive, Gn 9²⁰ *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲרָמָה).

(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 42²¹ יְהוָה הִפְיִן . . . יַגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify, &c.*; Jb 30²⁸, 32²² לֹא יִרְעֵתִי אֲכֵנָה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20¹⁹ (where for תִּרְרָר we should read with the LXX תִּפְקֵר); after an imperfect, ψ 88¹¹, 102¹⁴, Jb 19⁹, 24¹⁴; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16⁸; after a participle, Is 5^{11 a}.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9⁶ *this is the thing which the Lord commanded (that) ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִיָּה in La 1¹⁰; after the imperfect, Is 47¹ (5) *כי לא תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד יִקְרָאוּ לְךָ for thou shalt no more continue (that) they call thee, i. e. thou shalt no longer be called, &c.*; Ho 1⁶ *לא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם I will no longer continue (and) have mercy, i. e. I will no more have mercy*; Is 5², Pr 23³⁵.—Nu 22⁶ *peradventure I shall prevail (that) we may smite them, and (that) I may drive them out of the land* (אֹיְבֵי may, however, be a scribal error for נֹכַח, due to the preceding אֹיְבֵי, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

¹ In יִרְעֵ מִנְּגִין 1 S 16¹⁶, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יִרְעֵ לְנִינִן and the simple מִנְּגִין.

² This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e. g. the Peshittá, Luke 18¹³); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *rolo hac oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were*; *I thought he would go*.

2 S 21⁴.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in Ia 1¹⁰; but the explanation of כִּי־בָּנָה as a relative clause is preferable.

d 2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in a-c), the co-ordination of the complementary verbal idea in the finite verb (cf. above, c) frequently occurs, either—

(a) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, e) by means of וְ (ו, וּ).¹ As a rule, here also (see above, a) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially שָׁבַע , וּסָפַר ,² הוֹסִיף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e. g. Gn 26¹⁸ $\text{וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר}$ and he returned and digged, i. e. he digged again; 2 K 1^{11.13}; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6¹³; with הוֹסִיף , e. g. Gn 25¹ and Abraham added and took a wife, i. e. again took a wife; Gn 38⁵ and frequently; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Jb 6⁹; in the imperative (cf. § 110 h), Ju 1⁶ $\text{הוֹאִל־נָא וְלִי־יְהִי־שָׁלוֹם}$ be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night (cf. the English *he was persuaded and remained, for to remain*); 2 S 7²⁹; with מָהַר Gn 24^{18.20}, &c.; with הִפְרָה Ct 2³.

e Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 d), e. g. Dt 31¹² $\text{וְלִמְדוּ וְיִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה}$ may learn, and fear the Lord, i. e. to fear the Lord; Is 1¹⁹, Ho 2¹¹, Est 8⁶, Dn 9^{25b}; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23³ (*O that I knew how I might find him*); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7⁷, Ec 4^{1.7}; jussive and imperative, Jb 17¹⁰; cf., finally, Gn 47⁶ $\text{וְאִם־יָדַעְתָּ וְיִשָּׁבְכֶם}$ and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c., i. e. that there are among them.

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e. g. Gn 42²⁵ *then Joseph commanded and they filled*³ (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . .; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50²); a further command is then added by means of וְ and the infinitive; Ex 36⁶; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30²⁷ *I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me, &c.*, i. e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (b) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached *without the copula*⁴ in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110 h) the imperatives קָבְמִי (קָבְמָה) קָבְמִי ,

¹ Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

² Of a different kind are the cases in which וְיִסָּפַר with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11²⁵ *they prophesied and added not, sc. to prophesy, i. e. but they did so no more*; Dt 5¹⁹, Jb 27¹⁹ (reading וְיִסָּפַר וְלֹא־יִסָּפַר).

³ Cf. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

⁴ 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 15⁹, Jb 29⁸, &c.

&c.) and לָךְ (לָכֵּה, לָכֵּי, &c.) are exceedingly common with the sense of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e. g. קוּם הִתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gn 13¹⁷, 19¹⁵, 27⁴³; in the plural, Gn 19¹⁴; Ex 19²⁴ לֵךְ הָרַר *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3⁹; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9¹⁰ לָכֵה גִלְגָּה *come, let us go*; Gn 31⁴⁴ and frequently.—Also with שׁוּב (a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zc 8¹⁵; in the imperfect, Mi 7¹⁹, ψ 7¹³, 59⁷, 71²⁰; in the jussive, Jb 10¹⁶; in the cohortative, Gn 30³¹; in the imperative, Jos 5², 1 S 3⁵ *lie down again*; הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Dt 1⁵, Ho 5¹¹; in the imperative, Jb 6²⁸; הִרְבָּה = *much*, 1 S 2³ אַל-תִּרְבּוּ תִרְבְּרוּ *do not multiply and talk*, i. e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, ψ 51⁴; הֵחֵל, Dt 2²⁴ רַשׁ הֵחֵל *begin, possess*; יָכַל, La 4¹⁴ בְּלֹא יִגְעוּ *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; מְהֵרָה = *quickly*, in the perfect, ψ 106¹³; in the imperative, Gn 19²², Ju 9⁴⁸, Est 6¹⁰.—Other examples are: Ho 9⁹ הֵעֵמִיק = *deeply, radically*; Zp 3⁷ הַשְּׂבִים = *early* (even in the participle, Ho 6⁴, 13³); Is 29⁴ נִשְׁפַּל = *low*, cf. Jer 13¹⁸; Jos 3¹⁶ תָּמַם = *wholly*; ψ 112⁹ פָּזַר = *plentifully*.

Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more *h* vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (cf. e. g. Is 5², Ho 1⁶, 9⁹ with Gn 25¹, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הִלֵּךְ Gn 30³¹, Dt 1⁵, 2²⁴, Jos 3¹⁶, 1 S 3⁵) cf. also Neh 3²⁰, 1 Ch 13². For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is 53¹¹ יִרְאֶה יִשְׁבַּע *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer 4⁵ מָלֵא קְרָא *cry, fill*, i. e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

§ 121. Construction of Passive Verbs.

Blake, 'The internal passive in Semitic,' *JAOS*. xxii.

1. Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the *α* proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of some other nearer definition; cf. § 117 *a, p, u*) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e. g. Gn 35¹⁹ וַתָּמַת רַחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is also used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Dt 21³⁴, Is 16¹⁰, Ez 16³⁴ (with a dative added, 2 S 17¹⁶, Is 53⁵, La 5⁵), or, more frequently, with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative,¹ e. g. Gn 27⁴² וַיִּגְדַּר לְרִבְקָה אֶת-דְּבָרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i. e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 S 21¹¹, 1 K 18¹³.

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

b Other examples are: after Niph., Gn 4¹⁸ וַיֵּלֶד לְחַנוּךְ אֶת־עֵינָר and unto Enoch was born Irad (cf. Nu 26⁶⁰, and after an infinitive, Gn 21⁵); Gn 17⁵, 21⁸ (after an infinitive); 29²⁷ (unless וְנִתְּנָה is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21²⁸, 25²⁸, Lv 6¹³, Nu 7¹⁰ (after an infinitive); 26⁵⁵ (cf. verse 53); Dt 20⁸ (where, however, for יָמִים the Hiph. יָמִים should be read, according to 1²⁸); Jos 7¹⁵, Is 16¹⁰; with the object preceding, Ex 13⁷, Lv 2⁸, 19²⁰, Nu 16²⁸, Dan 9²⁴.¹—Also after Pu'al, Jer 50²⁰; before Pu'al, Is 14⁸ (אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבַרְתָּ = which they have caused to be served by thee); Jb 22⁹; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46²², where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יִלְרָה for יִלְרֵ; the Samaritan in Gn 35²⁶ and 46²⁷ also reads יִלְרָה, and this (or יִלְרֵ) should certainly be read instead of יִלְרָה in 2 S 21²².—After Hoph., Ex 10⁸, 27⁷, Lv 10¹⁸, 16²⁷, Nu 32⁵, 1 K 2²¹, Pr 16³³, Jb 30¹⁵; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40²⁰, Ez 16^{4f.}, 27⁷; before Hoph., Is 17¹, 21², Ho 10⁸, Zc 13⁶; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lv 13^{55f.}

c 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (§ 117 *cc*) retain in the passive construction at least *one* accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה which I will show thee (Gn 12¹) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרָאָה (Ex 25⁴⁰) which thou hast been shown, i. e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26³⁰ (but in Lv 13⁴⁹ with an accusative of the person); Jb 7³. In ψ 22¹⁵ מְדַבֵּק מִלְּקוֹחַי depends on an assumed transitive הִדְבִּיק governing two accusatives (= my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws); also in Is 1²⁰, הָרֵב תֹּאכְלוּ ye shall be devoured with the sword, הָרֵב is not an *accus. instrumenti*, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.²

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117 *cc*), ψ 80¹¹, כָּסוּ הַרִים צֶלֶה the mountains were covered with the shadow of it (the vine); Pr 19²³. So also some of the examples in § 116 *k* of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18¹¹, 1 S 21⁸, 17⁵, 1 K 22¹⁰,

naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a *concealed agent* is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (cf. § 144 *g*) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

¹ In 2 K 18³⁰ יִנָּתֵן is to be read or אֶת־ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36¹⁵.

² In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, under *c*, this would become in the passive, *the sword* (nom.) *shall be made to devour you* (acc.). Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, *to cause one to devour the sword* (remoter object), i. e. to give him over to it.

It would then be simplest to read הִאֲכִילוּ.

Ez 9^{2,3};¹ with the accusative preceding, Neh 4¹².—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex 1⁷, Is 38¹⁰ (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is 40²⁰.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117 ii) with the passive, Is 6¹¹, Zc 14⁴, Jb 28²; with the accusative preceding, Is 24¹², Mi 3¹² (Jer 26¹⁸), Jb 15⁷, 22¹⁶.² Also in Ez 40¹⁷ and 46²³, the accusative preceding עָשִׂי (in 41¹⁸ following it) can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עָשִׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117 U), Gn 17¹¹, 14²⁴, Ju 1⁷ (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 S 15³² (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of *ē* a *verbum implendi* in Nu 14²¹; instead, however, of the *Niph.* וַיִּמְלֵא the *Qal* (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in ψ 72¹⁹, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gn 25²¹ וַיִּתְּרָ לֹו יְהוָה the Lord let himself be intreated by him; cf. Lv 26²³, ψ 73¹⁰ and the blessing בְּרוּךְ הוּא לְיְהוָה blessed be he of the Lord Ru 2²⁰; cf. Gn 14¹⁹, Ju 17^{2b}, 1 S 15¹³; also in the plural, 1 S 23²¹ (2 S 2⁵, ψ 115¹⁵).—Before the verb, Pr 14²⁰ and frequently; less commonly by מִן (called מִן־ of origin = *coming from*), e. g. Gn 9¹¹; before the verb, ψ 37²³, Jb 24¹; by בְּ (instrumenti) [rarely, König § 106], Gn 9⁶ בְּאָרְםְ by man; Nu 36², Is 14^{3b} [but ? = *wherewith it was worked* (§ 52 e) with thee; cf. Dt 21³, König § 106; and see עָבַד in the Lexicon], Ho 14⁴, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116 l.

II. Syntax of the Noun.

§ 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun.

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 ff., and 1896, p. 61 ff. H. Rosenberg, 'Zum Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1905, p. 325 ff. (supplementing Albrecht's work by a treatment of the gender of many nouns in the Mishna); and his 'Notizen aus der tannaitischen Literatur...' *ZAW.* 1908, p. 144 ff.

1. According to § 80 a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *a* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate ^{the} he

¹ Analogous to הַלְבָּשׁ הַבְּרִים who was clothed in linen, Ez 9³, would be הַנֹּתֵר הַזֶּה אֶת־הַמֶּמֶן הַזֶּה 2 Ch 31¹⁰; but we must certainly read there וַנֹּתֵר with the LXX.—Still less can ψ 87³ be so explained, נִכְבְּרוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שָׁלוּחַ 1 K 14⁶ may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with something*, so that, like צִוָּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

² In reality וַיִּרְם Ex 16^{20,26} (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which הוֹלָעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80 *b* and § 87 *i*) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87 *p*), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; cf. § 87 *r*. The employment of these special endings is most natural when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e. g. אח brother, אחות sister; עלם a young man, עלמה a young woman, maid; פרו iuvencus, פרה iuvenca; עגל vitulus, עגלה vitula. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, *p*, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not obliged to use the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see *b*), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see *h*).

b 2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine ending, (*a*) by the employment of words of different stems for the masculine and feminine; (*b*) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (*c*) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

c Examples of (*a*) are: אב father, אם mother; איל ram, רחל ewe; תיש he-goat, יעו she-goat; חמור he-ass, אתון she-ass; אריה lion, לביא lioness. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e. g. עבד male slave, man-servant, אמה or שפחה female slave, maid; חתן bridegroom, כלה bride.

d Of (*b*): גמל camel. Plur. גמלים construed as masculine, Gn 24⁶³; as feminine, Gn 32¹⁶; בקר collect. oxen, Ex 21²⁷, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33¹³, Jb 1¹⁴ as feminine. In Jer 2²⁴ the construction of פרה wild ass, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek δ, ἡ παῖς δ, ἡ βοῦς.

e Of (*c*): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. δ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν, and the German der Löwe, der Adler, &c., but die Katze, die Taube, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. אלה ox (ψ 144¹⁴ even referring to cows when pregnant), דב bear, Ho 13⁸ דוב שבול (a bear that is bereaved of her whelps; cf., however, 2 K 2²⁴, Is 11⁷), זאב wolf, כלב dog, all masculine; but ארנקת hare, יונה dove, חסידה stork, דבורה bee, נמלה ant, &c., feminine.

f Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, חמור ass, 2 S 19²⁷ אתון; איל hart, ψ 42² אילה. In Gn 23³⁵ מת a dead body, refers more especially to the body of a woman; אמן a master workman, in Pr 8³⁰ refers to wisdom (חכמה feminine, cf. Plin. 2, 1 natura omnium artifex; and our

use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*¹ spouse, also for fem. *Gemahlin*, &c.).

2. Of words denoting persons נָעָר נַאִיס, according to the formerly common *g* opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 n). The use of the plural נְעָרִים in Jb 1¹⁹ and Ru 2²¹ in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e. g. אֲתָם Gn 1²⁷ and אֲתָם 3²¹) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.²

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,³ although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending:⁴

(a) Names of *countries* and *towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers⁵ and nurses of the inhabitants; e. g. אֲשׁוּר Assyria, אֲדָם Idumaea, צֵר Tyre; cf. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל daughter of Babylon, בַּת צִיּוֹן daughter of Zion, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e. g. Am 5⁵ בֵּית אֵל, הַגְּלִיל, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded² as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine (the national name almost always being used also as the personal name of the supposed ancestor of the people); thus יְהוֹרָה masc. Is 3⁸, &c., *Julæi*; but

¹ So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zawg* (conjug) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; 'arūs for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (*at*). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *hāmūl*, *bātin* (gravida), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אִמָּן, at least in Nu 11¹² (Is 49²³?), probably means *nurse* (for אֲמָן 2 S 4⁴, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

² The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e. g. *el-abacāni*, the two fathers, i. e. *parentes*) *taghlib* or *the making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Cf. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

³ The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful . . . ; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, . . . subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZAW.* 1896, p. 120 f.).

⁴ When, on the other hand, words with a feminine-ending, such as קֶשֶׁת a bow (stem קִישׁ), עֵת time (see the Lexicon), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ת of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

⁵ Cf. a city and a mother (אֵם) in Israel, 2 S 20¹⁹. In the same way אֵם (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phœnician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητροπόλις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149²; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23¹⁵, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e. g. Jos 15⁴⁵ ff., &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, o. g. Ez 16²³, Ia 1¹, &c.

Is 7⁶, fem., *Judaea*; אָרָם masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20²⁰; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49¹⁷. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (just as we say *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יהוּדָה La 1³; cf. Gn 41⁸, Ex 10⁷, 12³³, 1 S 17²¹, 2 S 8², 24⁹, Is 7², 21², 42¹¹, Jer 50¹⁰, Jb 1¹⁵. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e. g. Is 50¹, 54¹ ^π, and the use of the expressions בֵּית בָּבֶל Is 47¹ ^π, בֵּית צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

k (b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, תְּהוֹמֹת *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, בְּבַר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תֵּימָן *the south*.

l In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e. g. אֶרֶץ and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), גַּיָּא (גַּי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2¹⁵, unless לְעֵבְרָה &c., is to be read), הַיְכָל *palace, temple*, חֲצֵר *court*, פְּרָדִים *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,¹ &c.; also מְקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18²⁴ (referring to Sodom), Jb 20⁹, and 2 S 17¹² *Kēthibh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 f.).

m (c) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

n Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יֵתֶד *tent-peg*, בַּד *bucket*, כּוּס *cup*, נַעַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אָרוֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאָרוֹן, *the oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89).—Also אָזֶן *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבַּע *finger* (and so probably בֵּהֶן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יְמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בְּרִיחַ *knee*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, כַּתֵּף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כַּנֶּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוּעַת *arm* (masc. Is 17⁵, &c.), לְשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22¹⁶, Pr 26²⁸, &c.), עֵינַי *eye* (masc. Zc 3⁹, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29²⁷).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 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also *masc.*, ψ 19⁶, 104¹⁹); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'ēsât*)

¹ מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

² אֶף *nose*, נִיד *sinew*, זָנַב *tail*, חֶה *palate*, כֶּבֶד *liver*, לֵב *heart*, רֵחִים *intestines*, מַעֵים *bowels*, רֵאשׁ *head*, צְוּאָר *neck*, עוֹר *skin*, עֶרְפָּא *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, שֵׁבֶט *forehead*, שֵׁבֶט *shoulder*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20¹⁷, are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצֶם *bone* is common.

fire (rarely masc.); *נְהָר* brightness, *אֶבֶן* a stone, as a rule also *רוּחַ* wind, spirit; *נְפֶשׁ* breath, soul; also *אוֹר* light in Jer 13¹⁶, Jb 36³², and others.

4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as *f* feminine in Hebrew (see above, *h*), are usually indicated by the feminine form, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see *r* and *s*):

(a) Abstracts¹ (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same stem, as *נִקְמָה* vengeance, as well as *נָקַם* עֲזָרָה help, as well as *עָזַר*, e. g. *אֲמוּנָה* firmness, faithfulness, *גְּבוּרָה* strength, *גְּדוּלָה* greatness, *מְלֵאָה* fullness, *מְשָׁלָה* dominion, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantivally in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e. g. *נְכוּנָה* steadfastness, *ψ* 5¹⁰, *טוֹבָה* goodness, *רָעָה* evil, Gn 50²⁰, *נִקְלָה* a light thing (i. e. a trifling thing), Jer 6¹⁴; so especially in the plural, e. g. *גְּדוּלוֹת* great things, *ψ* 12⁴; *הַנְּהָרְסוֹת* the ruined places, Ez 36³⁶, along with *הַיְשָׁמָה* that which was desolate, *טְבוֹת* kindnesses, 2 K 25²⁸, *נְכוּחֹת* uprightness, honesty, Is 26¹⁰, *נְעִימוֹת* *amoena*, *ψ* 16¹¹ (but in versé 6 in the same sense *נְעִימִים* wonderful things, Ex 34¹⁰ and frequently, *קָשׁוֹת* hard things, roughly, Gn 42⁷⁻³⁰ (but cf. also *רִיקִים* vain things, Pr 12¹¹, 28¹⁹). Cf. moreover, the very frequent use of *זֹאת*, *הִיא* (as well as *זֶה* and *הוּא*), Ju 14⁴, *ψ* 118²³, &c., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also *הִנֵּה* equivalent to *illa*, Is 51¹⁹): also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is 7⁷ *לֹא תִקַּם וְלֹא תֵהְיֶה* it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass; cf. Jer 10⁷; so too the suffixes Gn 15⁶, Ex 10¹¹, Jb 38¹⁸, referring back to a whole statement.²

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract *f* ideas treated above, under *g*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have *קְהָלָת* Ec 1¹, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt that which takes part in or speaks in a religious assembly, hence LXX *ἐκκλησιαστής*, i. e. *concionator, preacher*; the proper names *סִפְרָת* Ezr 2⁵⁵, Neh 7⁵⁷, and *פְּכָרָת* Ezr 2⁵⁷, Neh 7⁵⁹, and the foreign word *פָּחָה* viceroy; in the plural *כְּנוֹת* 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 Ec 7²⁷ instead of *אִמְרָה* the words should rather be divided as *הַקְּ*; cf. 12⁵).

¹ Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 111 ff.

² While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the feminine in Hebrew as being used for the neuter (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in neuters, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual feminines. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the feminines of adjectives and participles (which would be neuter in Latin, &c.) by supplying a feminine substantive.

³ This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic; cf. e. g. in Arabic *ḥalīfa* (fem. from *ḥalīf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muhammad), and *'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.*

S Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form,¹ 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); יוֹשְׁבֵי (that which inhabits) i. e. the population, Is 12⁶, Mi 11¹ f.; אֲנִיבָת (prop. that which is hostile) the enemy, Mi 7^{8,10} (cf. Mi 4⁶ f. the halting, cast off, driven away, i. e. those who halt, &c.); דָּלָה (the abject) the poorest sort; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of cattle, beasts; דְּגָה a shoal of fish, Gn 12⁶ (but in Jon 2² as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. t, for דָּג a fish, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נֶבֶלָה dead body, Is 26¹⁹, &c. (construed as masculine), for a heap of dead bodies.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת daughter, in בַּת בְּבֶלֶת (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי my countrymen, see above, i.

t (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i. e. to indicate a single example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; cf. אֶנְי a fleet (1 K 9²⁶), אֶנְיָה a single ship (Jon 1³ ff.); צִיד hunting, game, צִידָה Gn 27³ K^{eth.} (צִיד Q^{eré}) a piece of venison; שֵׁעַר hair (coll.), שֵׁעֶרָה a single hair (Ju 20¹⁶; in the plural, ψ 40¹³, 65⁵); שִׁיר a poem, frequently collective, שִׁירָה a single song; so probably also הַיַּיִנָּה a fig (the corresponding masculine *tin* is collective in Arabic); שִׁשְׁנָה a lily (also שִׁשְׁנָה); לִבְנָה a brick (Arab. *libina*, but *libin* collective), &c.

u (e) The feminine is also used for things without life (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to organic things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; cf. יָרֵךְ side (of the body), thigh, יֵרֵכָה or יֵרֵכָה back part, border (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה forehead, מִצְחָה greaves. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 o.

U Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e. g. Is 3¹ מְשִׁעֵנָה וּמְשִׁעֵנָה stay and staff, i. e. every kind of support (unless we omit verse 1^b as a gloss and take staff as = staff-bearer, official; the list of officials begins in verse 2); cf. Is 16⁶, Pr 8¹³. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43⁶, 49²², 60⁴ (sons and daughters); 49²³, Ec 2⁶.

§ 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 Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, the cavalry (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., the camel corps.

Thus **בָּקָר** *cattle, oxen*¹ (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21³⁷ **חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר** *five head of cattle*), but **שׂוֹר** *an ox*; **צֹאן** *small cattle, i. e. sheep and goats* (*μῆλα*), cf. Jb 1³ **שִׁבְעַת אֲלֵפֵי צֹאן** *seven thousand sheep*; but **שׂוֹה** *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: **וְיִז** (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, **טָרַף** (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; **רִנָּה** *fresh green herb, i. e. young plants*, **יָרֵק** *green, i. e. vegetation in general*; **עוֹף** *birds, fowl*; **רֶכֶב** *chariots or cavalcade*, **רִמָּה** *worms*, **רִמָּשׁ** *creeping things* (of small creatures), **שֹׂרֵץ** *swarming things*.

(b) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve *b* as *nomina unitatis*; thus, **אָדָם** (never in plur.) means both *man* (*homo*) and *men* (*homines*); **אִישׁ** *a man* (*vir*) and *men* (*viri*); **אִשָּׁה** *woman* and *women* (Ju 21¹⁶, 1 S 21⁶); **אַרְבֵּה** *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; **נַפְשׁוֹת** *soul and souls* (persons); **מַטְּלָה** *staff* and *staves* (Gn 30³⁷); **עוֹט** *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; **עֵלֶה** *a leaf* and *foliage*; **עֵשֶׂב** *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; **עֵץ** *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); **פְּרִי** *fruit* and *fruits*; **שִׁיחַ** *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like **עֶבֶד** *man-servant*, **שִׁפְחָה** *maid-servant*, **חֲמֹר** *ass*, **שׂוֹר** *ox* (cf. Gn 32⁶).—On the singular (especially of gentile names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12² **הַסִּיד**, Pr 11¹⁴ **יֹעִיץ**) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 l. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 l.

(c) The feminine ending; see § 122 s.

(d) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of *c* words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed:

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as **יּוֹם יּוֹם** Gn 39¹⁰, &c., *day by day, every day*; **שָׁנָה שָׁנָה** Dt 14²²; **אִישׁ אִישׁ** *every man*, Ex 36⁴; with **וְ** before each, as **בְּבֹקֶר בְּבֹקֶר** Ex 16²¹ *every morning* (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24⁸), for which the distributive **לְ** is also used, **לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר** 1 Ch 9²⁷, and with *one plural* **לְבֹקְרִים** ψ 73¹⁴, **לְרִנָּעִים** Jb 7¹⁸ parallel with **לְרִנָּעִים** *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with **וְ** before the second word only, e.g. **יּוֹם בְּיוֹם** *day by day*, 1 Ch 12²²; **שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה** *year by year*, Dt 15²⁰, 1 S 17 (but in verse 3 **בְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם** Nu 24¹, Ju 16²⁰, 20³⁰^f, 1 S 3¹⁰ *as at other times*). Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, **אִישׁ וְאִישׁ** ψ 87⁵, or **אִישׁ וְאִישׁ** Est 1⁸; **דּוֹר וְדוֹר** *all generations*, Dt 32⁷; **יּוֹם וְיוֹם** Est 3⁴; cf. Est 8⁹,

¹ The plural form **בְּבֹקְרִים** from **בֹּקֶר** is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10⁸⁷ (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even **צֹאֲנֵינוּ** *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has **צֹאֲנָנוּ**), and 2 Ch 4³. In Am 6¹² read, with Hitzig, **בְּבֹקֶר יֵם**.

Ezr 10¹⁴, 1 Ch 26¹³ and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the copulative with the second word is especially common in Ch and Est, and therefore belongs to the later language; Driver, *Introd.*⁶, p. 538, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of ψ 45¹⁸ only in very late passages) with a pleonastic כֹּל- preceding, ψ 145¹³, Est 2¹¹, 9²⁸, 2 Ch 11¹², &c.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly distributive sense¹ (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under c) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Nu 14³⁴ *forty days* יוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם לְשָׁנָה *counting for every day a year*; cf. Ez 24⁶, Ex 28³⁴ (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַדְּךָ *apart*, לְבַדְּךָ עָרָר עָרָר *every drove by itself*, Gn 32¹⁷; cf. Zc 12¹². Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 q), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24⁸, Nu 13², 31⁴) or three (Nu 7¹¹, 17²¹), but even of six (Ex 26³) or seven (Ex 25³³, 26^{19.21.25}); in Ex 25³⁵ five words even three times repeated.²

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superlative quality; e. g. 2 K 25¹⁶ *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 2²⁷ בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ *only along by the high way*; cf. Nu 3⁸, 8¹⁶ *they are given, given to him*, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3¹⁶ גִּבְיִים גִּבְיִים *nothing but trenches*; Gn 14¹⁰ בְּאֵרֹת חֶמֶר בְּאֵרֹת חֶמֶר *all asphalt-pits*.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5²² *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex 5¹⁰ (*countless heaps*), and Jo 4¹⁴ (*countless multitudes*); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex 23³⁰ *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133 k.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express of more than one kind; thus Dt 25¹³ (Pr 20¹⁰) וְאֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *a weight and a weight*, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*); ψ 12³ בְּלֵב וְבְלֵב *with two kinds of heart*, i. e. *with a double-dealing heart*; cf. the opposite בְּלֵב לֵב 1 Ch 12³³.

§ 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form.³

a 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (a) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of *local extension*), or (b) a more or less intensive focusing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (*abstract plurals*, usually rendered in English by forms in *-hood*, *-ness*, *-ship*). A variety of the plurals described under (b), in which the secondary idea of *intensity* or of an *internal*

¹ Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6^{39 f.} *συνπόσια συνπόσια, πρασιαί πρασιαί* (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, betweise*).

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 Ez 16⁶, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1²⁰, it is a mere *ditlography*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

³ Cf. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 ff.

multiplication of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (c) the pluralis excellentiae or pluralis maiestatis.

Examples of (a): Plurals of local extension to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface-plural*), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88 d) *heaven* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights of heaven*, Is 33¹⁶, Jb 16¹⁹; elsewhere מְרוֹם); יַמִּים *water*; יָם (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side turned towards any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרָיִם *the back*, Ex 26¹², 33²³, &c., צְוֹאֲרַיִם *neck, nape of the neck*¹; also מְרִאשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מְרַגְלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֵבְרַיִם *place on the other side* (of a river); מְעַמְקַיִם *depth*, מְרַחְקַיִם (also מְרַחֵק) *distance*, מְשַׁבְּבַיִם *bed*, Gn 49⁴ (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מְשַׁבְּנַיִם ψ 46⁵, and מִישְׁבְּנוֹת 43³, 84², 132⁵, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶהְלִים *encampment*, in passages like 1 S 4¹⁰). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the plurals of amplification treated under d-f. So perhaps יַצְעַיִם *bed* (ψ 63⁷, Jb 17¹³; but Gn 49⁴, ψ 132³, &c., in the singular); probably, however, יַצְעַיִם (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows.

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of time in עוֹלָמַיִם *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Jb 17¹ לִי קְבָרִים *graves are* (ready) *for me*, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were the *graveyard*) is my portion, Jb 21³², 2 Ch 16¹⁴; cf. 2 K 22²⁰.

Of (b): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular form (*gʹtūlim, qittūlim, &c.*), may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the conditions or qualities inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single acts of which an action is composed. Cf. for the first class, בְּחַיִּים and בְּחַיִּוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעוּרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, כְּלוּמוֹת *bridal state*; מְנוּרַיִם *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרַיִם *fleshliness* (only in Pr 14³⁰), חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); שִׁבּוּלִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עוֹעֵי *perverseness*.

There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify² the idea of the stem (plural of amplification), as אֹנִיּוֹת *might*, Is 40²⁶; אֲמוּנִים (as well as אֲמוּנָה) and אֲמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֵׁרִי (according to § 93 l, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; כְּוִשְׁרוֹת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68⁷; בִּינוֹת Is 27¹¹ and תְּבוּנוֹת Is 40¹⁴, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֵצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32²⁸; הַעֵיִם Jb 37¹⁶ and דַּעוֹת

¹ Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στήρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ πράχyla, *praecordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, cf. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103 n. סִפְרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סִפְרָה) 1 K 21⁸ π., 2 K 10¹, 19¹⁴ (Is 37¹⁴; referred to afterwards by the singular suffix); Is 39¹, Jer 29²⁵, 32¹⁴ (after being folded, previously סִפְרָה).

² Cf. A. Ember, 'The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew,' *AJSL*. 1905, p. 195 ff.

1 S 2⁹ (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּפִחוֹת Jb 12⁶ and מִבְּטָחִים Is 32¹⁸ (full) *confidence*; בְּרִכּוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21⁷; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41⁴; הַגּוֹת ψ 51¹⁰ (very) *wickedness*; הַמּוֹדוֹת Dn 9²³ (greatly) *beloved*; הַחַמּוֹת ψ 76¹¹, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; תַּרְפוֹת Dn 12² (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26¹⁸, &c.; מְרֵאוֹת Gn 46² (an important) *vision*; מִישְׁרִים מִישְׁרִים *uprightness*; תַּהֲפֻכוֹת *perversity*; נִקְמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11³⁶, &c.; מַחְשְׁפֵים and תְּשֻׁבֵים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים a (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים *nobility*; שְׁמָנִים Is 28¹ *fatness*; צַחְצָחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִמְתָּקִים *sweetness*; מִחֲמָדִים *preciousness*; שְׂשׁוּעִים *delight*; עֲנָנִים and תַּעֲנִנִים *pleasure*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*; מְנוּחַת ψ 23² *rest, refreshment*; מְהוֹמַת Am 3⁹ *tumult*. Probably also יְרִידַת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45¹; מְרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13²⁶; מְרֻמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38¹³; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33¹⁵, &c.; שְׂמָחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16¹¹. On the other hand, חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (Pr 1²⁰, &c.) can hardly be a plural (=the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86 l).

A further extension of this plural of amplification occurs according to P. Haupt's very probable suggestion (*SBOT. Proverbs*, p. 40, line 50, &c.) in אַרְיִים *the great river* (of the Nile, generally יַאֲרִי) Is 7¹⁸, 19⁶ (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30¹², ψ 78⁴⁴, but in Is 37²⁵, Ez 29³ the usual explanation, *arms or channels of the Nile*, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהַרוֹת ψ 24² of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137¹ of the *great river*, i.e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18¹ נַהְרֵי כּוּשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16¹³ מְלָכִים (acc. to P. Haupt=the *great king*) is very doubtful. In נְשִׂיאֵי Ez 19¹ the second *yôdh* is evidently due to dittography, since יִשְׂרָאֵל follows.

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in חֲנֻטִים *embalming*, כְּפָרִים *atonement*, מְלֵאִים (prop. *filling*, sc. of the hand) *ordination to the priesthood*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, שְׁלָמִים *retribution*, פְּתָחִים *engraving* (of a seal, &c.); אֲהָבִים *fornication*, זְנוּנִים *whoredom*, נֶאֱפִים *adultery*; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תְּחִנוּנִים *supplication*, נְדָרִים Jb 7⁴ (restless) *tossing to and fro*, פְּלֵאִים wonder La 1⁹, עֲלָלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also נְנִינּוֹת ψ 4¹, 6¹, &c., if it means the *playing on stringed instruments*, and שְׁלֹמֹנִים Is 1²³ *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number.¹

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 the secondary sense of an *intensification* of the original idea. It is thus closely related to the plurals of amplification, treated under *e*, which are mostly found in poetry.

¹ Mayer Lambert in *REJ.* xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *im*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

² The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רְבוּיֵי הַפְּחוֹת *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae*, *magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *ue* used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Macc. 10¹⁹, 11³¹); and the plural used by God in Gn 1²⁶, 11⁷, Is 6⁸ has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6⁸, cf. also Gn 3²²), or according to others, an indication of the *fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1²⁶); but it is best explained as a plural of *self-deliberation*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12¹², &c.). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i. e. as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one* God), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (cf. § 132 h), e. g. אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק ψ 7¹⁰, &c. Hence אֱלֹהִים may have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong הַ the plurals קְדוּשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12¹, Pr 9¹⁰, 30³ (cf. Jos 24¹⁹, and the Aram. עֲלִיוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dn 7^{18.22.25}); and probably הַרְפִּים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 S 19^{13.16} only *one* image is intended; in most other places a single image *may* be intended¹; in Zc 10² alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5⁷ גְּבוּהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲדָנִים, as well as the singular אֲדֹנָי, (lordship) *lord*, e. g. אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה *a cruel lord*, Is 19⁴; אֲדֹנָי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42³⁰, cf. Gn 32¹⁹; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדָנֶיךָ ψ 45¹², אֲדָנָיו, &c., also אֲדָנֵינוּ (except 1 S 16¹⁶); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָנִי.² So also בְּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e. g. בְּעָלָי Ex 21²⁹, Is 1⁸, &c.³

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in הַ the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשֵׂי *my Maker*, Jb 35¹⁰; עֹשֵׂיךָ Is 54⁵; עֹשֵׂיו ψ 149²; עֹשֵׂיהָ Is 22¹¹; נֹטְתֵיהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42⁶; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 ss.⁴—נֹגְשֵׂיוֹ Is 3¹² might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימוֹ *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10¹⁵ (but read probably מְרִימוֹ); שִׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10²⁶, 22²¹ (so Baer, but Ginsburg שִׁלְחָךְ), 25¹⁸ (in parallelism with אֲדָנָיו). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִימוֹ), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. o below.—For שִׁמְרֵיךְ ψ 121⁵ (*textus receptus*) and בּוֹרְאֵיךְ Ec 12¹ (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

¹ Even in Gn 31³⁴, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וַתִּשְׁמַעַם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20¹³, 35⁷, and § 145 i.

² On אֲדָנִי (for אֲדָנִי) as a name of God, cf. § 135 g.

³ Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Hâyel commonly speak of their ruler as *šiyûkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

⁴ בְּעָלָי, which in Is 54⁵ is in parallelism with עֹשֵׂיךָ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.

- l Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, cf. כֶּבֶד *fine dust*, אֲפֹרָה *ashes*, בֵּן *linen*, בְּרִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחָשֶׁת *brass*, חֶלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עָפָר *dust*, הָאָרֶץ *the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּרִים *linen garments*; כֶּסֶפִּים *silver pieces*, Gn 42^{25,35}; נְחָשֶׁתִּים (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֵצִים *ligna* (*timber for building or sticks for burning*); also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים particles of *alloy to be separated by smelting*, Is 1²⁶; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8²⁶, cf. Jb 28⁶ עֲפָרֹת זָהָב *dust of gold*.
- m (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חֲטָיִם *wheat in grain* (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֲטָה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בְּפִמִּים and בְּפִמָּת *spell*; עֲרִשִׁים and עֲרִשָׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעִירִים and שְׁעִירָה *barley*; also פְּשָׁתִים *linen*, פְּשֵׁת (to be inferred from פְּשָׁתִי) *flax*.
- n (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דְּמַיִם requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23²⁴ of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דְּמַיִם as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1¹⁶) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 9⁴). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דְּמַיִם also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), and especially of *bloodguiltiness*, Ex 22^{1f}, &c.
- o In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Dt 17⁵ אֶל-שַׁעֲרֵיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Zc 9⁹ בְּוֹ-אֲתָנוֹת (cf. Ct 2⁹); Ex 21²² יִלְדֶּיהָ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4¹⁰ (*if one of them fall*).—So probably also Gn 8⁴, 1 S 17⁴³, Dn 2¹, Neh 3^{8, 62}; but not Gn 19²⁹, since the same document (Gn 13¹²) makes Lot dwell in the cities of the Jordan valley; in Gn 21⁷ בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12⁷ instead of the unusual בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד in the cities of Gilead (formerly explained here as *in one of the cities of Gilead*) we should most probably read, with Moore (SBOT. Judges, p. 52), בְּעִירוֹ בְּמִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד in his city, in Mizpeh (in) Gilead.
- p 2. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—
- (a) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7^{2,9}; so also in compounds, e.g. בְּנֵי יַמִּינִי 1 S 22⁷, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יַמִּינִי *Benjamite*; but also
- q (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,¹ e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּלִים 1 Ch 7⁵;

¹ Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

שְׁנֵי־לֶחֶת אֲבָנִים, and in prison houses, Is 42²²; cf. Ex 34¹, &c., two tables of stone (but Ex 31¹⁸ לַחֶת אֶבֶן); Nu 13³², Dt 1²⁸, Jos 5², 6⁴, 2 K 14¹⁴, 25²³, Is 51⁹, Jer 41¹⁶, Ezr 3³, &c. עַמֵּי הָאָרֶצוֹת the people of the country; 2 Ch 26¹⁴; so perhaps בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים sons of God, ψ 29¹, 89⁷ (according to others sons of gods); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*;¹ e. g. בֵּית אָבוֹת Ex 6¹⁴, r Nu 1^{2.4}, &c., as plur. of בֵּית אָב father's house, family; בֵּית הַבָּמֹת the houses of the high places, 2 K 17²⁹ (also בְּתֵי הַבָּמֹת 23¹⁹); בֵּית עֲצָבֵיהֶם the houses of their idols, 1 S 31⁹, Ez 46²⁴; cf. also Ju 7²⁵ the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i. e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers *s* back to a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e. g. בְּיָמוֹ os (for ora) eorum, ψ 17¹⁰; יְמִינָם their right hand, ψ 144⁸ [so in the English RV.], for hands.

§ 125. *Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 466 ff.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a* or pronoun (see below, *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context. In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently also (according to § 33 c) by its union with a pronominal suffix (§ 127 a). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the determination can only be effected in *one* of the ways here mentioned; the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indefinite* by the addition of אֶחָד in the sense of our indefinite article; cf. Ex 16³³, Ju 9⁵³, 13², 1 S 1¹, 7^{9.12}, 1 K 13¹¹, 19⁴, 20¹³, 22⁹, 2 K 4¹, 8⁶, 12¹⁰, Ez 8⁸, Dn 8³, 10⁶ (in 8¹³ אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ i. e. *one*, viz. *a holy one*, is opposed to another).

It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes *c* occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indefiniteness for the sake of amplification*; e. g. Is 31⁸ and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי־חֶרֶב from a sword, i. e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); cf. Is 28² בֵּיךְ; 2 S 6² נָשִׁים; Ho 3¹ אִשָּׁה such a woman, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1;

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 482.

Am 6¹⁴ גֹּיִם; ψ בְּרִיעַ 7¹⁶; Pr 21¹² צָרִיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God; Jb 8¹⁰ מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15¹³ מְלִין *reproachful words*. Cf. on this point, § 117 q, note 3, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d 2. Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יהוה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, בְּנֵעַן, פָּרֹם do not admit of the article,¹ nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *gentilic* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126 e), and may even be followed by a genitive.

e Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries, and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל, אָדָם, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentilic names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews*, Gn 40¹⁵; הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning *the Philistines*, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4⁷, &c., הַפִּזָּה); so always בְּפִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגְּבֵעָה *the hill*, in the construct state גְּבַעַת שְׂאוּל, i. e. *the Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others; הַרְמָה *the height*; הָעֵי *the heap*; הַלְבָּנוֹן (prop. *the white mountain*) *the Lebanon*; הַיָּאֵר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*, cf. Am 8⁸ בְּיַאֲוֵר מִצְרַיִם *like the river of Egypt*; הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Mittheil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably *the drinking-place* [ירד, Arab. *warada*, meaning orig. *to go down to drink*]).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1¹ and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός (cf. § 126 e); also the sing. אֱלֹהֵי *God*, עֲלִיּוֹן *the Most High*, and שְׂדֵי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5¹ onwards (previously in 2⁷, &c., הָאָדָם *the first man*); שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21¹ (but Zc 3¹, Jb 1⁶, &c., הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary*); cf. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *the tent of revelation* (i. e. *the tabernacle*), always without the article.

g To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards

¹ Consequently, הַמְּנַשֶּׁה Dt 3¹³, Jos 1¹², &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination הַמְּנַשֶּׁה שִׁבְטֵי הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded *not* as a proper name but as a gentilic name (= *the tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29⁷ הַמְּנַשֶּׁה שֵׁשׁ is used, as in 10⁸ הַלֵּוִי שֵׁשׁ *the tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18¹ הַדָּנִי שֵׁשׁ *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13⁷ הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like gentilic names in '—) is even used adjectivally.

as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as שְׁאוֹל *Hades*, תְּבֵל *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1², &c.; but Is 63¹³, ψ 106⁹ בְּתַהֲמוֹת *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea.¹

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipse whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i. e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of יהוה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh (the God) of hosts*; the fuller form יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת 2 S 5¹⁰, &c., or יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת Am 3¹³, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original יהוה צְבָאוֹת; אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 59⁶, 80^{15.20}, 84⁹ is due to the mechanical substitution of אֱלֹהִים for יהוה affected in the 2nd and part of the 3rd book of the Psalms. So also in geographical names such as אֹרֶם נְהַרִים *Uram (the city) of the two rivers*; אֲרָם בֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה *Aram (the region) of the two rivers*; אֲבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה 2 S 20¹⁴, &c., to distinguish it from אֲבֵל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16⁴; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11¹, &c.; יֶרֶן יֶרֶחוֹ Nu 22¹, 26^{3.63}, &c.; on Ju 8³² cf. § 128 c; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60¹⁴; but in 1 S 1¹ for צוֹפִים read צוּפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6²) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, גִּבְעַת שְׂאוֹל), since e.g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense.

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate *i* pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5²⁹) or as predicate (e.g. יוֹם הַיּוֹם *this is the day*, Ju 4¹⁴; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Dt 1¹), or as object (e.g. אֶת-זוֹאת 2 S 13¹⁷), or as genitive (יוֹם מַחִיר 1 K 21²), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְזוֹאת Gn 2²³; בְּיוֹם 1 S 16⁸, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns הֵיא, הֵיאָה, הֵם, הֵמָּה when they *k* are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. הוּא הַדְּבָר *that is the thing*, Gn 41²⁸. They

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

are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126 *u*) with a determinate substantive, e. g. הַזֶּה הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֵלֶּה הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה *these men*; וּבַיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבַעֲתָ הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4¹. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself (cf. § 126 *y*).

§ 126. Determination by Means of the Article.

a 1. The article (הַ, הָ, הֵ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also *ὁ, ἡ, τὸ* in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138 *i*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

b (*a*) Cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100 *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19³⁴; הַפֶּעַם *this time*, Gn 2²⁵; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= in this year) Is 37³⁰, Jer 28¹⁶.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הִיא (הַיָּמָּה, הַיָּא) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. *ψ* 19¹⁰ *the judgements of the Lord are true . . . , verse 11 הַנְּחֻמָּיִם וְגו' prop. the more to be desired than gold, i. e. they are more to be desired, or even they, that are more to be desired,*¹ &c.; cf. Gn 49²¹, Is 40^{22 f.}, 44^{27 f.}, 46⁶, Am 2⁷, 5⁷, *ψ* 33¹⁵, 49⁷ (הַבְּמֹתִים in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); *ψ* 104³, Jb 6¹⁶, 28⁴, 30³, 41²⁵ and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e. g. Jb 5¹⁰ *who giveth (הַנֹּתֵן) rain, &c., and sendeth (וְשֵׁלַח), &c.*

C The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e. g. Dt 32⁴ הַצֵּיִר הַתָּמִים פֶּעֲלֹו i. e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect in his work* (i. e. *whose work is perfect*); cf. *ψ* 18³¹.

d 2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e. g. Gn 1³ *and God said, Let there be light: verse 4 and God saw the light (וַאֲתֵתְהָאוֹר)*; 1 K 3²⁴ *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9¹⁵. (In 2 S 12² therefore לְעֶשֶׂיךָ must be read.)

¹ On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in *ψ* 18³³, &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.

i (i) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29⁷ עוֹר הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33¹³, 40¹⁸, 41²⁶, Is 66⁸.

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 2¹¹ הוּא הַפֶּקֶב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42⁶, 45¹², Ex 9²⁷, Dt 3²¹, 8¹⁸, 11⁷, 1 S 4¹⁶, Is 14²⁷, Mal 3² (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10²⁰, where Winer, *Gram. des newest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains *οἱ λαλοῦντες* as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 q), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1⁵ הַרִים and הַנְּבֻעוֹת, 2 Ch 3¹⁷ מִיָּמִין and מִהַשְּׂמֹאל.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (a) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. *the righteous, the wicked man*, Ec 3¹⁷; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7²⁶; הָאֵיִבִּי *th. enemy*, i.e. *the enemies* (?) ψ 9⁷; הָאֲרֵבִי *the liar in wait*, i.e. *the liars in wait*; הַחֲלָיִין *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*; הַמְּאַפֵּף *the rearguard*; הַפּוֹשֵׁתִית *the spoiler*, 1 S 13¹⁷;¹ so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e.g. 2 S 17¹⁰ *as the courage of הַאֲרִיָּה the lion*. Especially also with gentile names, e.g. *the Canaanite*, Gn 13⁷ (cf. 15^{19f.}); so in English *the Russian, the Turk, &c.*, in Attic writers *ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος, &c.*

n (b) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire, &c.*), e.g. Gn 13² *and Abram was very rich* וְבָרָךְ וּבְכָרָה בַּמֶּקֶרֶת *in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jbs 11⁹ *and he burnt their chariots* בְּאֵשׁ *with fire*; cf. Gn 6¹⁴, 41⁴² (unless this means, *the chain* necessarily belonging to the official dress); Ex 2³, 31⁴ (35³²), Is 1²², &c. and בְּשֶׁמֶן *with oil*² very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29²,

¹ But in Ex 12²³ הַמֹּרֵס is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to q, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמֹּרֵס even in Ex 12²³ impersonally = *destruction*.

² In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בְּ, בַּ, בִּ) and might therefore be merely

&c., and also Dt 33²⁴, 2 S 1²¹, Is 1⁶, ψ 23⁵, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as האַפָּה Ex 16³⁶, &c.: החֶמֶר and הַבֵּת Ez 45¹¹; העֶמֶר Ex 16²²; בַּחֶבֶל 2 S 8².

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25⁵ (בְּצֹרֶךְ); Gn 19¹¹ and they smote the men . . . בַּפְּגָמִים with blindness; Am 4⁹, &c.; but in הַחֲטָיִף Is 60² the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וְעֶרְפָּל has no article.

(d) Comparisons, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in O English) individually but as a general term, e.g. Is 1¹⁸ white בְּשֹׁלֵג as snow, כֶּצֶמֶר as wool; red כְּתוֹלַע like crimson; Is 34⁴ and the heavens shall be rolled together כַּפִּיפָר as a scroll; cf. Nu 11¹², Ju 8¹⁸, 16⁹ as פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֹרֶת a string of tow is broken; 1 S 26²⁰, 1 K 14¹⁵, Is 10¹⁴, 24²⁰, 27¹⁰, 29⁸, 53⁶, Na 3¹⁵, ψ 33⁷, 49¹⁵; cf. also such examples as Gn 19²⁸, Ju 14⁶, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 a).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to *p* the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42³⁰, 1 K 10²⁷, Jo 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, Jer 23⁹, ψ 17¹²), e.g. Is 16³ כְּעוֹף נוֹדֵד קֵן מְשֻׁלַח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10¹⁴ בְּקֵן); 14¹⁹, 29⁵ כְּמִין עֵבֶר (but ψ 1⁴ כַּפִּיץ); Jer 2³⁰, Pr 27⁸, Jb 29²⁵, 30¹⁴.—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in כְּנָבוֹר Jb 16¹⁴ and seven other places (כְּנָבוֹר only in Is 42¹³), כְּאָב Jb 31¹⁸, כְּנָבֵר Jb 38³, 40⁷.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew¹ is the employment of the article to denote *q* a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

Thus Am 5¹⁹ as if a man did flee from a lion (הָאֲרִי, i.e. the particular lion *q* pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדָּב) met him, &c., cf. 3¹², 1 K 20³⁶ (John 10¹²); also Gn 8^{7f.}, 14¹³ הַפְּלִיט, i.e. one that had escaped, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24²⁶, 33²¹; cf. 2 S 15¹³); Gn 15^{1.11}, 18⁷ the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17¹⁷ (but הַנָּעַר Nu 11²⁷ is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19³⁰, unless בַּמְעָרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקוֹם Gn 28¹¹, according to Dillmann, upon the place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to the sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42²³, 46², 50²⁶, Ex 2¹⁵, 3², 4²⁰, 21²⁰ (2 S 23²¹), Lv 23⁴², 24¹⁰ (Samaritan יִשְׂרָאֵל without the article); Nu 17¹¹, 21^{6.9}, 25⁶, Dt 19⁵, Jos 2¹⁵, Ju 4¹⁸, 8²⁵, 13¹⁹, 16¹⁹, 19²⁹, 20¹⁶, 1 S 17³⁴, 19¹³, 21¹⁰, 2 S 17¹⁷, 1 K 6⁸, 13¹⁴ (? most

due to the masoretic punctuation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. The same is true of the examples under *n* and *o*.

¹ Cf., however, analogous examples in biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79 f, e.g. Dn 2¹⁴, 3², &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19⁹, Is 7¹⁴ (הַעֲלִמָהּ), i. e. *the particular maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 S 14, 6⁸, 19¹³]; Jb 9³¹.

- S So always to write in the book (or on the scroll, Nu 5²⁸, Jer 32¹⁰), 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 17¹⁴, 1 S 10²⁵, Jb 19²³. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of the *same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. *on a certain day*), 1 S 14, 14¹, 2 K 4⁸, 11¹⁸, Jb 16¹³. In Gn 39¹¹ even כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה.

- t The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under l) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הַעֲרָב, הַיּוֹנֶה Gn 87, הַצִּרְעָה Ex 23²⁸.

- u 5. When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e. g. Gn 10¹² הַגְּדֹלָה הָעִיר *the great city*; Dt 3²⁴ יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 a, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 S 25²⁵ אִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36¹⁸, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 11⁷ מַעֲשֵׂה הַגָּדֹל *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36⁹ עַבְדֵי אֲרָנִי הַקְּטַנִּים *the least of my master's servants*.

- v When several attributes (whether connected by *Wāw* or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10¹⁷ הָאֵל הַגָּבֹר הַהַיָּוִה הַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3³, Dt 1⁹, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective,¹

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

- w (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יוֹם,² e. g. Gn 1³¹ (cf. 2³, Ex 20¹⁰, &c.) הַיּוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day namely*

¹ The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as הַיּוֹם הַגָּדֹל הַחֲזָק 2 Ch 1¹⁰ the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הַיּוֹם הַגָּדֹל.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209; M. Lambert, *REJ.* 31, 279 f.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in *this* instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (cf. Dillmann on Gn 1³¹, Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 465, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 f., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 f.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

the sixth; but יום שְׁנִי a second day, Gn 1⁸; Ex 12¹⁵ מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן from the first day onward (not before Dn 10¹² and Neh 8¹⁸ is מִן-הַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is always found after בְּ, hence בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was בְּיוֹם, and that the article is only due to the Masora. In Ju 6²⁵ the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations as in particularizing the gates in Jer 38¹⁴, Ez 9², &c., Zc 14¹⁰, and courts in 1 K 7^{8,12}, &c., Ez 40²⁵; and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e.g. Dt 2²⁵, Ju 21¹⁹, 1 S 25¹⁰, Jer 27³, 46¹⁶ הָרֵב הַיּוֹנָה the sword which oppresses (?); Ez 14²², Zc 11² *Keth.* (the impenetrable forest?) Pr 26¹⁸, ψ 119²¹.

Of the other examples, Gn 21²⁹ (where, however, the Samaritan reads אֱלוֹהֵי הַכְּבָשׂוֹת, 41²⁶ (but cf. verse 4), Nu 11²⁵, Ju 16²⁷, 1 S 17¹⁷ may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gn 1²¹, 28^{9,10}, &c., the substantive is already determined by בְּלִי, and in 1 S 14²⁹ (דְּבַשׁ) by מְעֵט.—In 1 S 12²³, 2 S 12⁴, Is 7²⁰ (where, however, הַטְּבִירָה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בְּהָעֵר and Neh 9³⁵, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 S 16²³ (unless רִחַ אֱלֹהִים is to be read twice), Zc 4⁷ (where however אֶת הָהָר is probably meant), ψ 104¹⁸ (where a ה precedes הַרִים, hence probably a case of haplography), the omission of the article before אֵל, ר (?), and ה may be due to a regard for euphony (see z below). On the other hand, in 1 S 6¹⁸ (read הָאֲבָן הַנִּי, 17¹² הַזֶּה is a later addition), 19²² (cf. the LXX), Jer 17², 32¹⁴, 40⁸ *Keth.*, Ez 2³ (read גֹּי or omit גֹּיִם with Cornill), Mi 7¹¹, ψ 62⁴, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect. But in 2 K 20¹³, Jer 6²⁰, Ct 7¹⁰ acc. to D. H. Müller (*Anzeiger der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 19c2, no. x) הַטּוֹב is the genitive of a substantive, aromatic oil, sweet cane (in Jer 6²⁰ read וַיִּקְנֶה, like spiced wine. In Is 39² read בְּשִׁמּוֹן הַטּוֹב and in ψ 133² בְּשִׁמּוֹן הַטּוֹב.

(b) No article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined *y* either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (cf. also the Meša' inscription, l. 3, וְאֵת הַבְּמַת זֹאת *this high place*); as with הַזֶּה Gn 19³³ (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30¹⁶, 32²³, 1 S 19¹⁰; with הַיּוֹם Gn 38²¹; with וְזוֹ ψ 12⁸ (according to the Masora וְזוֹ is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 S 2²³, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading בְּלִי-עַם יְהוָה became בְּלִי-עַם אֱלֹהִים, and אֱלֹהִים was then corrupted to אֵלֶּה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos 2²⁰, Ju 6¹⁴, 1 K 10⁸, 2 K 1² and 8^{8f}, where חָלִי, as in Jer 10¹⁹, has arisen by contraction from חָלִי, or we should simply read חָלִי (in all these passages with וְ); Gn 24⁸ (with וְזֹאת); Ex 10⁴, 1 K 22²³, Jer 31²¹ (with אֵלֶּה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,¹ as צִדּוֹן רֵבָה Jos 11⁸, 19²⁸, חֲמַת רֵבָה Am 6². Other examples are Jos 16^{3,5}, 18¹³, 1 K 9¹⁷ (but in 1 Ch 7²⁴, 2 Ch 8⁵ with the article). In Gn 7¹¹, &c., הַהוֹם רֵבָה is also a case of this kind, הַהוֹם being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also אֵל עֲלִיוֹן the most high

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and אֱלֹהִים הַיְיָ the living God. In Ju 1¹⁵ נָלַח עָלֶיךָ and תַּחֲתִיתַי אֵן strange; Jos 15¹⁹ has עָלֶיךָ אֵן and תַּחֲתִיתַי אֵן.

~ Of the remaining examples Is 11⁹ explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לִים. In Ez 34¹², Hag. 1⁴ (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = וְהֵם סְבִיבֵי, ψ 143¹⁰, Ct 6¹²(?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37², 42¹⁹, 43¹⁴, ψ 18¹⁸, 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 16¹ before ע, Nu 14³⁷ before ר, 28⁴, Ez 10⁹ before א, 21¹⁹ before ח).¹ In 1 S 13^{17f.} (אָהָר) and 2 K 25¹⁶ (שָׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, x); in Is 65² the ל prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26¹⁵ בְּחֻצֵים and בְּאֲבָנִים are to be read, as in Jer 2²¹ בָּפֶן for הַבָּפֶן, in 22²⁶ אָרֶץ for הָאָרֶץ; in 2 S 6³ omit תַּרְשֵׁהָ, and in Ez 39²⁷ omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8¹³ and 11³¹.

aa 2. When, as in Mi 7¹² יוֹם הַיּוֹם in that day?, the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3¹², the demonstrative even precedes (תַּחֲתִיתַי הַיּוֹם = תַּחֲתִיתַי הַיּוֹם), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9¹² לַחֲמֵנוּ לַחֲמֵנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative הַזֶּה (= this our bread, &c.), as in verse 13 נֹאדוֹת is to אֵלֶיךָ, or they are complete sentences, this is our bread, &c. So also in Ex 32¹ מֹשֶׁה (= that [iste] Moses, &c.), and in ψ 48¹⁵ אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to הַזֶּה. On ψ 68⁸ and Is 23¹³ cf. § 136 d.

§ 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.

Brockelmann, Grundriss. i. 475.

a When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89 a, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33 c, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate—

(a) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125 a), e. g. יהוה דבר יהוה the word of the Lord.

(b) By having the article, e. g. איש המלחמה (prop. the man of the war) the soldier (but מלחמה איש Jos 17¹, a soldier); איש המלחמה

¹ The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הַיּוֹם and אֵלֶיךָ, see above, under y. Also in Is 23⁷ (is this your joyous...?) the article is omitted before עֲלֶיךָ probably only for euphony.

Nu 31⁴⁹, *the soldiers*; הַנְּבִיאִים *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28⁹ (but e. g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29¹³; דְּבַר־שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29¹²).

(c) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e. g. בְּיַת־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(d) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e. g. גֵּן־הַגָּדִיל *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10¹² four, and in 21¹⁷ even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כָּל (prop. a *b* substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כָּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i. e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e. g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole* (prop. the entirety of the) *earth*, כָּל־הָאָדָם *all men*;¹ Ex 18²², Nu 15¹³, Jer 4²⁹, and cases like Nu 4^{23,47}, 21⁸ where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כָּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e. g. כָּל־עֵץ *every* (kind of) *tree*, Gn 2⁹; cf. 4²², 24¹⁰, 1 Ch 29²; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Ju 19¹⁹; כָּל־יּוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7¹².

It is, however, to be observed—

(a) That the article may in this case also (see § 126 h) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e. g. כָּל־שִׁלְחָנוֹת *all (the) tables*, Is 28⁸. c

(b) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e. g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i. e. *every* (not every kind of) *living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i. e. *all men or all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7¹⁵ before a relative clause, and in Is 40⁶); 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 1⁵ *the whole head, the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head, &c.*, which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 9¹¹, 2 K 23³, Ez 29⁷ *all* (i. e. *the whole of*) *their shoulders . . . all (the whole of) their loins*; 36⁵.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e. g. Is 9⁸ הָעָם בְּלוֹ *the people, all of it*, i. e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2⁹), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e. g. Gn 16¹²),² see the Lexicon, pp. 481^b, 482^b.

2. Gentile names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names *d* (consisting of a nomen regens and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original

¹ כָּל־הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאִישׁ 2 S 15², *all men*, כָּל־הַבָּנִים Ex 1²² *all sons*, כָּל־הַבָּת *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

² In Ezr 10¹⁷ instead of כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים read simply בְּכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי (see § 86 h) a Benjamite; בְּנֵי־הַיְמִינִי Ju 3¹⁵, &c., the Benjamite; בֵּית־הַלְּחָמִי the Bethlehemite, 1 S 16¹, &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27¹² *Q^{er}* בֵּית־הַיְמִינִי); בֵּית־הַשְּׁמִשִּׁי the Beth-shemite, 1 S 6¹⁴; אֲבֵי־הָעֵזְרִי the Abiezrite, Ju 6¹¹, &c., cf. 1 K 16³⁴.

c 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16⁷, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21²⁵, where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 S 12³⁰ *the spoil found in the city*; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10⁹ הַגַּדְּתָה לַיהוָה a feast of the Lord (unless it is the spring festival), Dt 7²⁵, and frequently הוֹעֵבֶת יְהוָה an abomination unto the Lord; cf. also Gn 46³⁴, Dt 22¹⁹ a virgin of Israel; 1 S 4¹² a man of Benjamin; Pr 25¹, Ct 2¹, 3⁹; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14³⁴), 1 S 20²⁰ three arrows; 2 S 23¹¹ חֲלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה a plot of the ground (but see Gn 33¹⁹, Jos 24³²); Ju 13⁶, Jer 13⁴, 41¹⁶, Ct 11¹³ f, 5¹³, 7³, 8². On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121¹, שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of 'the pilgrimage-songs' (according to § 124 r), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20²⁴ בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם in all the place, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, in every place, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20¹³ also כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means in the whole place) is remarkable, since elsewhere every place is always (8 times) מְקוֹם.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under e, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(a) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a proper name, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 h, e.g. Nu 21¹⁴ אַרְנוֹן הַנְּחָלִים the valleys, namely the valleys of Arnon; 2 K 23¹⁷ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית־אֵל the altar, namely the altar of Bethel (i.e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ); הָאֵל הַבֵּית־אֵל the God of Beth-el¹ (equivalent to 'אל ב' (הָאֵל אֵל ב'), Gn 31¹³ (the LXX read בְּמִקְוֹם הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה אֵלַיךָ in the holy place); הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֹׁר the king of Assyria, Is 36¹⁶ (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18³¹), cf. Jos 13⁶, 2 K 25¹¹, Jer 38⁶, Ez 47¹⁵; in the vocative, Jer 48³², La 2¹³. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ Gn 24⁶⁷ is no doubt

¹ According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בית־אל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ הַחֲתָלוֹן Ez 47¹⁵ (for which, however, in 48¹ there is the correct reading הַדֶּרֶךְ הַחֲתָלוֹן) by the way to Hethlon; and in fact, Ez 47¹⁵ may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex 39²⁷ as an accusative of the material.

only a subsequent insertion; so also יִשְׂרָאֵל Jos 8^{33b} (cf. LXX), 2 S 20²³, 2 K 7¹³, הַמְּלָכָה 1 S 26²² after הַחַנִּית (simplified by the Masora to חַנִּית *Qéré*); עֲלִית אֲחָז 2 K 23¹², אֲשֶׁנּוּ Is 36⁸ (cf. 2 K 18²³), הַקֶּרֶשׁ Ez 46¹⁹ (unless the article with לִשְׂכּוֹת is to be omitted), also הַתְּמִיר Dn 8¹³, and עֵרֶד הַנְּבִיא 2 Ch 15⁸. In Ex 9¹⁸ read with the Samaritan לְמִיּוֹם; in 2 S 19²⁵ לָכֶת might possibly be taken in apposition to הַיּוֹם; in 2 K 10¹ restore אֶת־בְּנֵי, with the LXX and Lucian, before אֶהָאֵב; in 2 K 25¹⁹ omit the article, as in Jer 52²⁵, before סִפֵּר.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 K 23¹⁷ *the sepulchre is the* ^g *sepulchre of the man of God* (but most probably קֶבֶר has dropped out after הַקֶּבֶר) and ψ 123⁴ (cf., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by לְ).—In Jos 3¹⁴ הַבְּרִית (verse 17 בְּרִית יְהוָה) has been added to the original הָאָרְוֹן by a redactor; cf. similar syntactically impossible additions in verse 11 (also in 1 S 4³, &c., where the LXX still had simply יהוה הָאָרְוֹן); in הַיְתֵד Ju 16¹⁴ the Masora evidently combines two different readings הַיְתֵד and הָאָרְנָה; and similarly in Jer 25²⁶ (where הָאָרְנָה was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמְּלִיכּוֹת and מְמַלְכּוֹת הָאֵל are combined.—In Jos 8¹¹, 1 K 14²⁴, Jer 31⁴⁰, Ez 45¹⁶ the article, being usual after כֹּל־, has been mechanically added, and so also in 2 Ch 8¹⁶ after עֵרֶד; in 2 K 9⁴ the second הַפְּעֵר (instead of נַעַר) is occasioned by the first; in Ez 7⁷ מְהוֹמָה belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ez 8²⁹ the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Ch 15²⁷ the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed ^h by a definition of the material in *apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; cf. § 131), e. g. Zc 4¹⁰ הָאֵבֶן הַכְּבִילִי *the weight, the lead, i. e. the leaden weight*; Ex 39¹⁷, 2 K 16¹⁴ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while המסגרות המכנות in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, מסגרות המכנות and מסגרות מהמכנות. In Jer 32¹² also הַמְּקַנָּה (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to הַסִּפֵּר.

(b) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate ⁱ genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a *verbal* (i. e. *accusative*) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e. g. הַמְּבַרְחִי Is 9¹², *the one smiling him*; in Dt 8¹⁵, 13⁶ also הַ is a verbal suffix, but hardly the ה in הַעֲשֵׂנוּ for הַעֲשֵׂהוּ Job 40¹⁹, nor the ה־ in הַלְלֵנָה Dn 11⁶; § 116 g. For הַעֲרֹכֶךָ Lev 27²³, read עֲרֹכֶךָ as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples כִּנְבֻרְתָּהּ Is 24² (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with כִּ), לְמַעַנָּהּ Pr 16⁴, and בְּעֵרֵינוּ (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezr 10¹⁴, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in הָאֶהְלִי Jos 7²¹, הַחֲצִיּוֹ Jos 8³³ (previously חֲצִיּוֹ), הַהֲרֹאֲתִיהָ 2 K 15¹⁶ (dittography of the ה), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the הַ הַדְּבָרֵי Mi 2¹² is the copula belonging to the next word.

§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

a 1. The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* *nomen regens* can be immediately connected with a *nomen rectum*, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) *regens* must be added with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g. $\text{בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנֹתָיו}$ *the sons of David and his daughters* (not $\text{בְּנֵי וּבָנֹת דָוִד}$); cf. 1 K 8²⁸.¹ The language also prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*² *genitives* depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gn 14¹⁹, Nu 20⁵, 31⁵⁴ [1 Ch 13¹], 1 S 23⁷, 2 S 19⁶, Is 22⁵, ψ 5⁷, 8³),³ and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e. g. Gn 24³ $\text{אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8¹ the *regens* is five times repeated). A lengthened series of *genitives* may, however, be formed by a *nomen rectum* serving at the same time as *regens* to a *genitive* depending on it (cf. § 127 *a* [*d*]); e. g. Gn 47⁹ $\text{יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבוֹתַי}$ *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12²⁴, where there are three *genitives*, Is 10¹² four, and 21¹⁷ five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of *genitives* is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 *d*).

b Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 *a*), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which *genitives* are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed *genitives* following a *regens* which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 *f-h*. Compare, moreover :

c (*a*) *Genitives* after the absolute state, e. g. Is 28¹ $\text{נְיָאֵר־שְׁמָנִים הַלְוִיִּם יֵינִי}$ *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that נְיָאֵר־שְׁמָנִים forms *one* single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

¹ Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31¹⁶ $\text{מִבְּחַר וּמִזֶּבֶל־בְּנֹן}$; Pr 16¹¹.—In Is 11² *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, רֵעֵת may at any rate also be taken as an absolute *genitive*, so also סָפָר Dn 1⁴.

² In ψ 114¹ a second *genitive* is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

³ In almost all these instances the two (or three) *genitives* form one closely connected whole, as *heaven and earth*, *sons and daughters*.

genitive הַלְלוּמֵי הָאֵל then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15¹⁸ מִשְׁנֵה would be expected; in Jos 3¹¹ הַפְּרִיָה is a later addition; in Is 32¹³ (מְשֹׁשׁ), and ψ 68²² (שֹׁעַר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju 6²⁵ the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8³² (cf. 6²⁴) בְּעַפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקְבֹּר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit הָעֵבֶר אֲבֵי הָעֵבֶר as a gloss (from 6²⁴); in Is 63¹¹ מִטָּה is probably a gloss on יַמֵּי-עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4² לְאִישׁ-בִּשְׁתֶּן, according to the LXX, has dropped out before בָּן; in Ez 6¹¹ רְעוֹת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21⁶ the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מִזְבְּחֵי לְמִזְבְּחֵי); in 1 Ch 9¹³ the preposition לְ (after אֵל) has dropped out before מְלֹאכֶת (cf. 12²⁵).—Elsewhere (Dt 3⁵, 1 K 4¹³, 2 Ch 8⁵) 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 8⁵ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם is either in apposition to הוּא הָעָם or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lv 27^{3-5, 6}, where עֲרֶבְךָ אַחֲרַיִם might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; in Lv 5^{15, 25} the suffix may refer to Moses. In Lv 6³ בְּרִדּוֹ his garment, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מִדֵּי ?); Lv 26⁴², where בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וְנֹר could at most be explained as an ellipse for יַעֲקֹב בְּרִיתִי בְּרִיתִי, cf. § 125 h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אַבְרָהָם; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); equally strange is הַיּוֹם בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer 33²⁰, &c. On the other hand, אִם יִהְיֶה אִם הוּא Nu 12⁶ could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably נְבִיאֶךָ מִיְהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45⁷ בְּסִמְאֵךָ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read כְּאֱלֹהִים like God's throne): cf. § 141 d, note]. In Jer 52²⁰ two readings are probably combined, לְנֶחֱשָׁתָם without any addition, and לְנֶחֱשָׁת פֶּל-הַבָּלִים. In Nu 25¹² שְׁלֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On עֲרֶבְךָ וְזָמָה Ez 16²⁷, cf. § 131 r.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between כֹּל (the whole; cf. § 127 b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1⁹, Jb 27³ (עוֹד), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14³ (תִּצְאָה). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עוֹד כֹּל, &c.), and כֹּל is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e. g. 2 S 1⁹ *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i. e. my whole life; cf. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין non-existence is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152 o.

2. The dependence of the *nomen rectum* on the *nomen regens* by no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under g-i). Very frequently the *nomen*

¹ Halévy, *J. A.* xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֲרֶבְךָ.

rectum only adds a nearer definition of the nomen regens, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. epexegeticus* or *appositionis*,¹ see the examples under *k-q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

- g** (a) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e. g. בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ the king's house; דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.
- h** (b) An *objective genitive*, e. g. Ob¹⁰ מַחֲמַם אֲחִיקָה for the violence done to thy brother² (but in Ez 12¹⁹ מַחֲמַם is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20² מֶלֶךְ אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ the terror of a king; Gn 18²⁰ זַעַקַת סֹדֹם the cry concerning Sodom; Is 23⁵ צֹר שִׁמְעֵ צֹר the report of (about) Tyre, cf. 2 S 4⁴; Am 8¹⁰ יָחִיד יֶחֱבֵל the mourning for an only son; Dt 20¹⁴ שָׁלַל אֵיבִיבָה praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3¹⁴. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם the way of (i. e. to) the tree of life, Gn 3²⁴; cf. Pr 7²⁷, Jb 38²⁰; הַיָּם דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם the way of (by) the sea, Is 8²³; וּבְחַיִּי אֱלֹהִים the sacrifices of (i. e. pleasing to) God, ψ 51¹⁹; שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath of (i. e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 K 2⁴⁸; לְמוֹאֵל דְּבַרֵּי הַמּוֹאֵל the words of (i. e. addressed to) L., Pr 31¹.
- i** (c) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e. g. חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Ju 5²⁹; cf. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133 *h*, and also *r* below.
- k** Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus, genit. appositionis*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (d) Of the name, e. g. נְהַר פְּרָת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am 5².
- l** (e) Of the genus, e. g. Pr 15²⁰ (21²⁰) בְּסִיל אָדָם a fool of a man (= a foolish man); cf. Gn 16¹², Is 1⁴, 29¹⁹, Ho 13², Mi 5⁴, &c.
- m** (f) Of the species, e. g. אֲחֻזַּת קְבֹרָה a possession of a burying-place, i. e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23⁴, &c.; הַמְּאִי הַבְּבוּרוֹת the early figs, Jer 24²; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i. e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132³.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e. g. מְתֵי מִסְפָּר people of number, i. e. few in number, Gn 34³⁰, Dt 26⁵; cf. also Ez 47⁵⁻⁶ מַיִם הַיָּמִין waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming, i. e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם הַיָּמִין.
- o** (h) Of the material³ of which something consists, e. g. כֶּלִי חֲרֻשׁ a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5¹⁷; כְּסָף כֶּלִי vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); אֲרוֹן עֵץ an ark of wood, שֵׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל a rod of iron, ψ 2⁹; cf. Gn 3²¹, 6¹⁴, Ju 7¹³, &c.

¹ The latter term is preferred especially by König, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, p. 528 ff.

² Cf. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *iniuria* (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 30), *metus* (*hostium, Pompeii*, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, cf. *εὐνοία τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ*, 1 Cor. 1¹⁸.

³ In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אַרְזֵי מְעֵד made of cedar, a denominative from אֲרָז, and נְחֹשֶׁת brazen are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāfūl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בְּרֹזֶל *ferreus*.

(i) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e. g. Gn 17⁸ אֶחָזֶת עוֹלָם *an everlasting p*ossession; Pr 17⁸ *u* precious stone; cf. Nu 28⁶, Is 13⁸, 28⁴, ψ 23², 31⁸, Pr 5¹⁹, 14⁵, Jb 41¹⁹, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135 n. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially קָדֹשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדֹשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex 29²⁹), 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 29³¹, &c.; מַיִם קְדוֹשִׁים *holy water*, Nu 5¹⁷; קָדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh 8¹⁰^f, and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Dt 23¹⁵. So also the use of צַדִּיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Dt 4⁸; elsewhere the periphrasis with צַדִּיקָה or צִדְקָה is always used, e. g. מֵאֲנֵי צַדִּיק *just balances*, Lv 19³⁶.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the *Q* purpose for which something is intended, e. g. צֹאן מִבְּחָרָה *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 44²³; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֹמֹנִי *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is 53⁵; cf. 51¹⁷ (*the cup which causes staggering*), ψ 116¹³; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e. g. 1 S 16²⁰ יַיִן וְנֶאֱדָר לָהֶם *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֵשֶׂרָה is to be read for תְּחִמָּר); cf. Gn 21¹⁴, Pr 7²⁰, &c.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the *Ṭ* construct state before a partitive genitive; thus מְבַחֵר *choice, selection*, as in Gn 23⁸ מְבַחֵר קְבָרֵינוּ *the choice of our sepulchres*, i. e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex 15⁴, Is 22⁷, 37²⁴; other examples are, Is 1¹⁸ *the evil of your doings*, emphatically, for *your evil doings*; Is 17⁴, 37²⁴ (= *the tall cedars thereof*), ψ 139²², Jb 15²⁶.— This is the more common construction with the substantive כֹּל *entirety*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127 b; it is also frequent with מְעַט *a little, for few*, 1 S 17²⁸, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see *p* above) by means *S* of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בֹּעֵל *master, possessor*, בֶּן *son*, and their feminines and plurals (including מְתֵי *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

(a) Of אִישׁ, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex 4¹⁰ (but אִישׁ שִׁפְתָיִם Jb 11² *a man of lips*, i. e. *a boaster*); אִישׁ לָשׁוֹן = *a slanderer*, ψ 140¹²; אִישׁ דַּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Pr 24⁵; אִישׁ חֲמָה *a wrathful man*, Pr 15¹⁸; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 S 16⁷, ψ 5⁷; cf. further, 1 S 16¹⁸, 1 K 2²⁶, Is 53³, Pr 19⁶, 26²¹, 29¹, Ezr 8¹⁸; also אִשֶּׁת מְרִינִים *a contentious woman*, Pr 27¹⁵; in the plural, e. g. Gn 6⁴ אֲנָשֵׁי הַיָּדָע *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 47⁶, Is 41¹¹, Jb 34^{8,10} (אֲנָשֵׁי לֵבָב *men of understanding*); with מְתֵי, e. g. Is 5¹³ מְתֵי רָעֵב *famished men*; but read probably מְתֵי רָעֵב *weak with hunger*); ψ 26⁴, Jb 11¹¹, 22¹⁵.

(b) Of בֹּעֵל, &c.: בֹּעֵל שְׂעָר *hairy*, 2 K 1⁸; בֹּעֵל הַחֲלָמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gn 37¹⁹; 11 cf. Na 1², Pr 1¹⁷, 18⁹ (*a destroyer*), 22²⁴, 23² (*disposed to eat, greedy*), 24⁸; feminine

בַּעֲלַת-אוֹב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 S 28⁷; cf. Na 3⁴; in the plural, e. g. בַּעֲלֵי חֲצִים *archers*, Gn 49²³, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gn 14¹³; בַּעֲלֵי שְׂבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh 6¹⁸.

- U (c) Of בֶּן־חַיִל &c.: בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*, 1 K 15²; בֶּן־מְיֻשָּׁק *heir*, Gn 15²; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex 12⁵, &c.; בֶּן־מֵאָת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gn 21⁵; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 S 2c³¹ (Luther, 2 S 12⁵ *ein Kind des Todes*); cf. Dt 25² בֶּן־הַבֹּחַת *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e. g. בַּת־בְּלָעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 11⁶; frequently also בְּלָעַל, and even simply בְּלָעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *sceltestissimus*, 2 S 23⁶, Jb 34¹⁸. Plural masculine, e. g. בְּנֵי מְרִי *children of rebellion*, Nu 17²⁵. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e. g. Is 5¹ בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן *a fat*, i. e. a fruitful (hill); Jon 4¹⁰ בֶּן־לַיְלָה i. e. *grown in a night*; Jb 41²⁰ *son of the bow* (i. e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Jb 5⁷; La 3¹³; בְּנוֹת Ec 12⁴ *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים or בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים Gn 62⁴, Jb 1⁶, 2¹, 38⁷ (cf. also בְּנֵי אֱלִים ψ 29¹, 89⁷) properly means not *sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלִים ψ 29¹, 89⁷) properly means not *sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלִים 1 K 20³⁵ (singular in Am 7¹⁴) *persons belonging to the guild of prophets*; בֶּן־הַרְקָחִים Neh 3⁸ *one of the guild of apothecaries*, cf. 3³¹ where בֶּן־הַצְּרָפִים is to be read. Similarly בְּנֵי שְׁלֵשִׁים Gn 5c²³ are most probably not *great-grandsons* but *grandsons*, i. e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגֵּרְשֹׁנִי Nu 4^{27f}. *Gershonites*, בְּנֵי הַקֹּהֲתִים 2 Ch 20¹⁹, &c., *Kohathites*; בְּנֵי קָדִים *dwellers in the East*.

- 7U 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 o) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28⁴ צִיצַת נָבֵל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיץ נָבֵל *the fading flower*; cf. further, Is 22²⁴, Jer 22¹⁷ (?), 52¹³, ψ 73¹⁰, 74¹⁵ (but אֵיתָן may be a substantive), 78⁴⁹; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e. g. in Pr 21^{4b}, 6²⁴ (אֵיֶשֶׁת רַע), &c.. analogous to the New Testament phrase *ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Luke 16⁸, and the French *un homme de bien*.¹—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an exegetical genitive; cf. הִמָּן דְּמֵי הַנֶּם *blood shed without cause*, 1 K 2²¹; Pr 24²⁸, 26²; Ez 30¹⁶ (יוֹמָם).

- v 3. The exegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 f-l). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e. g. חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 K 15²³), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

¹ On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36² (2 K 18¹⁷), Zc 14⁴, Ec 8¹⁰, &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חֵיל Is 36² and גֵּיא Zc 14⁴ must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

(§ 116 *f* and *k*) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the material, e. g. Ex 3⁸, &c., זָבַת חֶלֶב יִרְבֵּשׁ a land flowing with milk and honey; or of the means, e. g. חָלַל־יָחֶרֶב slain with the sword, Is 22²; or the cause, Ct 2⁵ sick of love; or of the scope of the attribute,¹ e. g. Gn 39⁶ יָפֵה־הָאָר fair of form; cf. Gn 41^{2,4}, Ex 34⁶, Is 1⁴, Jer 32¹⁹, Na 1³, ψ 119¹, Jb 37¹⁶; or of the manner, e. g. ψ 59⁶ אֶן־בְּנֵי־אֵן־אֵן faithless ones of wickedness (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of *y* the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e. g. ψ 24⁴ נְקֵי כַפַּיִם clean as regards hands, &c.; 2 S 9³, Is 6⁵, Jb 17⁹; Is 19¹⁰ אֲנִי־נִפְשִׁי grieved in soul; 1 S 1¹⁰, Jb 3²⁰. Also such examples as Am 2¹⁶, Pr 19¹, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14², see § 116 *k*.

§ 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a nomen rectum dependent upon a nomen *a* regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 *r*, expresses, besides other ideas, like that of *belonging to*,² or by the addition of a relative clause (לְאִשְׁרֵי, see *h* below).

1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the *b* construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e. g. 1 S 14¹⁶ הַצִּפִּים לְשָׂאֵל the watchmen of Saul; ψ 37¹⁶, 2 Ch 28¹⁸ (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

(a) To prevent a nomen regens being determined by a following determinate *C* genitive, e. g. 1 S 16¹⁸ בֶּן־לֵישִׁי a son of Jesse (בֶּן־יִשְׁי would be, according to § 127 *a*, the son of Jesse); cf. Gn 14¹⁸, 36¹², 41¹², Nu 16²² (27¹⁶), 1 S 17⁸, 2 S 19²¹, ψ 122⁵. Hence, regularly מְנוּמֹר לְדָוִד (ψ 3¹, &c.) a psalm of David (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד of David is used alone elliptically in ψ 11¹, 14¹, &c. Such a case as מְנוּמֹר לְדָוִד (ψ 24¹, &c.) is not to

¹ Cf. the Latin *integer vitæ scelerisque purus; tristis animi*, &c.

² Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by לְ, and the other by מִן [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e. g. *la fille à Mr. N.* laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de . . .* of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but מְזֻמָּר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לְדָוִד (as it were, a poem of David, a psalm).

Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

d (b) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e. g. Ru 2³ חֶלְקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבִעֹז the portion of field belonging to Boaz (בִּעֹז שָׂדֶה would be the portion of the field of Boaz); 2 K 5⁹ at the house-door of Elisha. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e. g. 1 K 14¹⁹ עַל-סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel; 15²³, &c.; cf. also Jos 19⁵¹.

e (c) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e. g. Lv 18²⁰, where שִׁבְבֶתְךָ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15¹⁶ ff., &c., שִׁבְבֶת-זָרַע; Ju 3²⁸ the Jordan fords of Moab (יַרְדֵּן as a proper name cannot be used in the construct state); Ex 20⁵ upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; ועַל-רִבְעֵים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עַל-שְׁלֹשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאֵלִפַּיִם לְאַהֲבֵי.

f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8¹⁴ בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לְחָרָשׁ on the seven and twentieth day of the month; cf. 7¹¹, 16³ and frequently, or as in Hag 1¹ בְּשִׁנַּת שְׁתַּיִם לְדַרְיָוֶשׁ in the second year of Darius; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under b) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3¹⁸ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי on the third day of my giving birth (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בְּאַחַד לְחָדָשׁ on the first (day) of the month, Gn 8⁵ and frequently.

g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3² and his firstborn was Amnon לְאַחִינֹעַם of Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocation with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינֹעַם a son of Ahinoam); cf. 2 S 3^{3,5}, 1 K 14¹³, Am 5³ (unless לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on thus spake the Lord), and the remarks on מְזֻמָּר under c above.

h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of לְ אִשֶּׁר is used principally to state the possessor, e. g. Gn 29⁹ הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ her father's sheep (prop. the sheep which belonged to her father); Gn 47⁴ and frequently. So also (according to § 128 a) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gn 40⁵ הַמְּלֶכֶת וְהַבָּכֵר אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ Egypt (belonged) to the king of Egypt; or when a genitive (as in the examples under d above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4³); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Ct 1¹ שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה the Song of songs, of Solomon; 1 S 21⁸, 2 S 2⁸, 1 Ch 11¹⁰; cf. also Gn 41^{43,1}.

¹ In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שֶׁל = אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1⁶, 3⁷ שֶׁלִּי שֶׁלֹּמֹה) is used like the simple relative דִּי, דְּ in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89 a, primarily represents *a* only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially—

(1) Before prepositions,¹ particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before $\text{בְּ, שִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִּיר}$ *the joy in the harvest*, Is 9², 2 S 1²¹, ψ 136^{8f.}; in participles, Is 5¹¹, 9¹, 19⁸, ψ 84⁷, and especially often when בְּ with a suffix follows the participle, e. g. ψ 2¹² בְּלִחוּסַי בּו ; cf. Na 1⁷, Jer 8¹⁶ (ψ 24¹); ψ 64⁹ (unless רָאָה should be read); 98⁷.²—Before לְ , Ho 9⁶ (but read probably $\text{מִמְחַרֵי בְּמִסְפָּם}$); ψ 58⁵ (before לָמוֹ); Pr 24⁹, Jb 18², La 2¹⁸ (before לָךְ); 1 Ch 6⁵⁵, 23²⁸; in participles, Ez 38¹¹, Jb 24⁵; before לְ with an infinitive, Is 56¹⁰, and again before לְ with a suffix, Gn 24²¹, Is 30¹⁸, 64³;³—before אֶל־ , Is 14¹⁹, Ez 21¹⁷;—before אֶת־ (*with*), Is 8⁶;—before מִן , Gn 3²², Is 28⁹ (a participle); Jer 23²³, Ez 13², Ho 7⁵;—before עַל־ , Ju 5¹⁰;—before בְּלִי , Is 14⁶;—before the *nota accus.* את , Jer 33²²;—before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex 27¹³, Jer 1¹⁵.

(2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ez 26¹⁰; but הַקְּמַת Is 33⁶, גִּילַת 35², שִׁבְרַת 51²¹ may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (ו) ! הַ—.

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun אֲשֶׁר ; C so especially in the combination מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר , Gn 39²⁰, 40³, *the place where* (prop. of *that in which*) *Joseph was bound*; cf. § 138 g; or בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר Lv 4^{24,33}, 2 S 15²¹, 1 K 21¹⁹, Jer 22¹², Ez 21³⁵, Ho 2¹. We should expect הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר , בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר , as in Gn 35¹³, &c., *at the place which . . .*, cf. § 138; but אֲשֶׁר is treated as a nomen rectum instead of as an attribute.

¹ Cf. König, 'Die Ueberwucherung des St.-constr.-Gebrauchs im Semit.,' ZDMG. 53, 521 ff.

² In Ju 8¹¹ the article is even used before a construct state followed by בְּ , in order to determine the whole combination $\text{בְּבֵנוֹי בְּאֵהָלַיִם}$ *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; cf., however, the remarks in § 127 f-i on similar grammatical solecisms.

³ 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 26³³ (for which in Ez 1²⁷ merely בֵּית־לְ meaning simply *within*); מִיְמִין־לְ (2 K 23¹³, Ez 10³) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) *of*; מִצְפוֹן־לְ (Jos 8^{11,13}, &c., Ju 2⁹) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15²¹ and לְפָנַי מִן Neh 13⁴.

Cf. also מְיוֹם א' followed by a *perfect* in 1 S 29⁸, and מְיוֹם א' Lv 13⁴⁶, Nu 9¹⁸.¹

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in a sort of genitive relation, e. g. Ex 4¹³ בְּיַד הַשֵּׁלַח prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23³ מֵה־יֵרְאֵנִי דָבָר the *matter of that which he shall show me*, i. e. whatever he shall; Is 29¹ הָרְיַח הַזֶּה הָיָה הַעִיר the *city where David encamped*; Jer 48³⁶, ψ 16³ (if the text be right), 65⁵ (Pr 8³²), ψ 81⁶, Jb 18²¹ the *place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29¹⁶, La 1¹⁴ (if the text be right) *into the hands of those against whom I cannot stand.*² In Gn 39⁴ (פַּלְיֵשׁ-לוֹ) the פַּלְ- takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9⁴, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרַי followed by a *perfect*, Lv 25⁴³, 1 S 5⁹; בְּיוֹם ψ 102³ (before a noun-clause), Ex 6²⁸, Nu 3¹, Dt 4¹⁵, 2 S 22¹, ψ 18¹, 59¹⁷, 138³ (in every case before a following *perfect*), ψ 56¹⁰ (before an *imperfect*); מְיוֹם followed by the *perfect*, Jer 36²; כָּל-יְמֵי Lv 14⁴⁶, 1 S 25¹⁵, Jb 29² (מְיוֹם) *as in the days when . . .*³; cf. שָׁנוֹת and בְּיָמֹת before a *perfect*, ψ 90¹⁵; בְּעֵת before a *perfect*, Jer 6¹⁵ (cf. 49⁸, 50³¹); before an *imperfect*, Jb 6¹⁷; תְּחִלַּת before a *perfect*, Ho 1².

e (5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת בַּת-צִיּוֹן the *virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is 37²²; cf. 23¹², Jer 14¹⁷; also 1 S 28⁷ בַּעֲלַת-אֵיב a *woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21¹¹.—Gn 14¹⁰, Ju 19²² (but read probably אֲנָשִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13¹⁴, Ju 20¹³, 1 K 21¹⁰); 2 K 10⁶, 17¹³ Q^{eré}; Jer 46⁹, ψ 35¹⁶ (?), 78⁹, Jb 20¹⁷^b (unless נְהַרְי or נְהַלְי be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspenso*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is 37²², &c.; Jb 20¹⁷^a. Elsewhere (Dt 33¹⁹, ψ 68³⁴) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.⁴

¹ In Dt 23⁵ the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל-דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר by reason of the fact that, i. e. because); so also in 1 S 3¹³.

² Probably Gn 22⁴ is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30¹⁸, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יִכַּפֵּר בְּעַד כָּל-לִבְבוֹ הַכִּין the *good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God*. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.]

³ Cf. Na 2⁹ מְיוֹם הִיא, usually explained to mean *from the days that she hath been*, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

⁴ So also Is 28¹⁶ a *corner stone of the preciousness* (יְקִרְת) is a *substantive* not an *adjective* of a fixed foundation, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20¹⁹ the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119¹⁸⁸ read כָּל-בְּקִרְיָיִךְ.

(6) The numeral אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָדָּךְ in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e. g. Gn 3²², 48²², 1 S 9³, 2 S 17²², Is 27¹², Zc 11⁷.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

§ 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two substantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic 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 in Hebrew are:—

(a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e. g. אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה *a woman (who was) a widow*, 1 K 7¹⁴; נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה *a damsel (that is) a virgin*, Dt 22^{23, 28}, Ju 4⁴, 19¹, 21¹², 1 S 30¹⁷, 1 K 1²; cf. Gn 13⁸, 21²⁰ (where, however, נְשָׂא is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24⁵ (1 S 11¹⁵), 2 S 15¹⁶, 1 K 3¹⁶, 5²⁹ (but probably סִבָּל should be read instead of סִבָּל); Is 3²⁴ (unless נְעֻשָׁה is to be read), Jer 20¹. Perhaps also כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ *the priest (who is) the chief man*, 2 K 25¹⁸, &c.; others take כֹּהֵן as constr. st.—In 2 S 10⁷ read כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹר with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19⁹ for כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹר, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e. g. Jb 20²⁹ C (27¹³) רָשָׁע הֵלֵק־אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the portion of a man, (who is) a wicked man* (but רָשָׁע might also be an adjunct.); cf. Pr 6¹².—Lv 6¹³, 16⁴ (where, however, קִרְשׁ is probably a gloss); Pr 22²¹ אֱמָת אֱמָרִים *words (which are) truth*; (immediately after אֱמָת אֱמָרִי cf. 1 S 2¹³, Mi 1¹¹ (where, however, בְּנֵי־אֵת is most probably a gloss on עֲרִיבָה)); Zc 1¹³ (= *comfortable words*); ψ 45⁵ (?), 68¹⁷ (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60⁵ תִּרְעַלָּה יַיִן *wine which is staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering²; 1 K 22²⁷, 2 Ch 18²⁶ לַחֵיז לַיַּיִן (in

¹ On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, cf. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

² Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 K 22²⁷ *give him affliction to eat as bread, &c.*); cf. ψ 80⁶ and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *kk*. More-

Is 30²⁰ parallel with צַר לָהֶם) *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 K 5³ בָּקָר רְעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6⁷ *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִפִּסֵּעַ. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18⁶ (unless בְּנִדְתָהּ is to be read).—In 1 S 4¹ read 'עָבָן הָעֵץ, as in 5¹, 7¹².

- d (c) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28³⁶) or *thing* (form) and *material*,¹ or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e. g. 1 Ch 15¹⁹ בְּמִצְבְּלֵי הַתְּיָמִים *בְּחֹשֶׁת* with *cymbals* which were *brass*, i. e. of brass; cf. Ex 26²⁵, Dn 11⁸, 1 Ch 28^{15, 18} (?); Ex 28¹⁷ *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39¹⁰ has בָּנֵי אֲבִירֵי); cf. 2 Ch 4¹³, Lv 6³ (see, however, § 128 d); 2 K 7¹ סֵלֶת *a seah of fine flour*; cf. 2 K 7^{16, 18}, Gn 18⁶, Ex 16³³, Lv 5¹¹, Ru 2¹⁷, 1 K 16²⁴, 2 K 5²³ כֶּסֶף *two talents of silver*;² cf. 5¹⁷, Ex 39¹⁷, Ez 22¹⁸ (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30^{23f}.—A *period of time* and its *contents* are placed in apposition חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a month of days*, i. e. a month's time=for a whole month, Gn 29¹⁴, Nu 11^{20, 21}, cf. Dt 21¹³, 2 K 15¹³, and שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים *two years' time*, i. e. two full years, Gn 41¹, 2 S 13²³, 14²⁸, Jer 28^{3, 11}, Dn 10^{2f}.

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e. g. בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשָׁה *trias* sc. *fili*, § 97 a and § 134 b.

- e (d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e. g. Nu 9²⁰ מִסְפָּר יָמִים *days*, (a small) *number*, i. e. only a few days; מִשְׁנָה כְּסָף *money, repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43¹² (unless כְּסָף be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרַכְוִים *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47⁴ (also מַיִם מִתְּנִיִּים *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 c) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e. g. Neh 2¹² אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *men, a few*, i. e. some few men; 1 K 5⁹ תְּבִנְנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding, much-making*, i. e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with וַיִּתֵּן, as in 2 S 8⁸ with לָקַח.

over, having regard to הַרְבָּה יַיִן *spiced wine*, Ct 8², and עֵיִר פָּרָא *a wild ass's colt*, Jb 11¹² (in which passages יַיִן and עֵיִר must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in ψ 60⁵ to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יַיִן).

¹ Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 h.

² On the anomalous form כְּבָרִים (instead of כְּבָרִים; cf. כְּבָרִים immediately before), see § 88 b.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. *בְּהַר־שֵׁעִיר* *in their mountainous district, Seir* (perhaps only a later gloss), Gn 14⁶; *הָאָרֶץ פְּנֵעוֹן* *the land Canaan* (כנעון probably only a later gloss), Nu 34²; cf. Ezr 9¹, 1 Ch 5⁹ (see under *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130 e.

Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition *g* come first, e.g. *הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד שְׁלֹמֹה* *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently *הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד* as in 2 S 13³⁹, 1 K 2¹⁷, 12², 2 K 8²⁹, 9¹⁵, and in late Hebrew, Hag 1¹⁵ [cf. the Aramaic order מלכא דדרייש מלכא], and often in Chron.).—A chiasmus occurs in Is 45⁴, the name standing after the defining noun in the first part of the verse, and before it in the parallel clause.

2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֵת, אֶת-) or a preposition precedes the first *h* substantive, it *may* be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gn 4², 22², 24⁴, 47²⁹, Is 66²¹; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Dt 18¹, Jer 33¹⁸, 1 S 2¹⁴). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Ch 12¹³ *בְּיְרוּשָׁלַיִם הָעִיר* *in Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*¹

3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding *i* adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lv 13¹⁹ *בְּהָרֶת לְבָנָה אֲדַמָּהמַת* *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.

4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gn 9⁴ *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Ex 22³⁰, Dt 2²⁶, 1 S 7⁹, 2 K 3⁴ *an hundred thousand rams, the wool*, i.e. the wool of the rams; Jer 25¹⁵ *this cup of the wine, that is of fury* (but *הַחֶמֶת* is probably a gloss); Is 42²⁶ *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.—

(a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex 7¹¹; with regard to the vocative, cf. l § 126 f.

(b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex 2⁶ *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הִי *m* be a later gloss); Ex 35⁵, Lv 13^{57b}, 1 K 19²¹ (where, indeed, הַבֶּשֶׂר *n* appears to be a late gloss); 21¹³, 2 K 16¹⁵ *Kethib*, Jer 9¹⁴, 31², Ez 3²¹, Ec 2²¹ (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative).³

(c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ez 10³ *כִּבְאוֹ הָאִישׁ* *when he went in, the man*; 42¹⁴; *n* cf. Pr 13⁴ (?), Ez 3¹²; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Ec 4¹⁰ *וְהָאֶחָד לֹא הָאֶחָד* *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32³³, Jos 1² *לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* *to them, to the children of Israel*; Ju 21⁷, Jer 51⁵⁶,

¹ In 1 K 11⁸ participles after *לְכָל־נַשְׂיוֹ*, as in 2 K 10⁶ after *הָעִיר*, and in Hag 1⁴ after *בְּבִתְיֵיכֶם*, are used without the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118 p.

² But מֵיִם Gn 6¹⁷ (cf. 7⁶) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מַבּוּל.

³ For וַיִּשְׁנֶנּוּ 1 S 21¹⁴ either וַיִּשְׁנֶנּוּ is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also וַיִּלְכְּדוּ Pr 5²² has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 42⁵ (?), Dn 11¹¹, 1 Ch 4⁴², 2 Ch 26¹⁴.¹—Cf. finally, Ct 3⁷, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שָׁלֵל, as in Ez 9¹, where the genitive is expressed by לֵךְ.²

o Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e. g. Is 29²³ *when he (or rather) his children see*, &c. (but יִלְרֵוּ is clearly a gloss); cf. ψ 83¹²; in Jb 29³ read בְּהִלְלוּ (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בְּהִלּוּ.

p 5. Cases of apposition in a wider sense are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative*; on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118 *a* and *m*. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

q (a) Such phrases as מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף a double amount in money, Gn 43¹⁵; cf. Jer 17¹⁸; 1 S 17⁵ five thousand shekels in brass, but this might also be taken (as in *d*) shekels which were brass; certainly such cases as Jb 15³⁰ older than thy father in days, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. טוֹב מְאֹד very good, Gn 1³¹ (cf. also Ec 7¹⁶ מְאֹד הַרְבֵּה צְדִיקֵי הַרְבֵּה righteous over much), and the very frequent מְאֹד הַרְבֵּה prop. a much-making exceedingly, i. e. exceedingly great, Gn 15¹, 41⁴⁹, also Pr 23²⁹ חֲנָם חֲנָם פְּצָעִים תִּנָּם wounds without cause,³ perhaps also Gn 34²⁵ (בְּטַח).

r (b) A few examples, in which an exegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16²⁷ מְדַרְבֵּךְ וְזִמָּה of thy conduct in lewdness (but it is also possible to explain it (as in *c*) of thy conduct, which is lewdness); cf. Ez 24¹³, 2 S 22³³ חֵיל מְעוֹזֵי חַיִל my fortress in strength, i. e. my strong fortress (cf., however, ψ 18³³); Hb 3⁸, ψ 71⁷. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (cf. § 135 *n*) is strange, it is much more so in חוֹב הִבְלָתוֹ חוֹב Ez 18⁷, i. e. according to the context his pledge for a debt; Ezr 2⁶² בְּתַבְּתָם הַמְּתִיחַשִׁים, i. e. their register, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy (but perhaps הַמְּתִיחַ is in apposition to the suffix in בְּתַבְּתָם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 *d*) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26⁴²), and in Jer 33²⁰ with הַיּוֹם.⁴

¹ But in Is 17⁶ we should certainly divide the words differently and read בְּסַעְפֵי הַפְּרִיָה, in Jer 48⁴⁴ read אֶלְיָה for אֶלְיָה, and in Pr 14¹³ אֶחָרִית הַשְּׂמֻחָה; in Gn 2¹⁹ נִפְשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41²⁵ אֶל־דִּלְתוֹת הַהִיכָל a gloss on אֶל־יְהוֹן.

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. Ez 10³) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; cf. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81 *e* and § 88.

³ In ψ 69⁵ חֲנָם (like שְׁקֵר in a false way, falsely, ψ 35¹⁹ and 38²⁰) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 *q*.

⁴ But in Nu 25¹² שְׁלוֹם may also be explained, according to *c*, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33⁴ מוֹרֶשֶׁהָ, perhaps לְקַהֲלֵת מוֹרֶ is to be read), 33²⁷ (מְעַנָּה), Ju 7⁸ S (עֲרָה), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 31¹¹ עֹן פְּלִילִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עֹן פְּלִילִים and עֹן פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 80^{6,15} is due to the fact that in ψψ 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יהוה; on יהוה צְבָאוֹת cf. § 125 h. In ψ 59⁶, 80^{6,20}, and 84⁹ יהוה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת.¹

7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by *t* means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e. g. Gn 3⁶ and she gave also לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּה unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gn 9¹⁶ (that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

§ 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective.²

1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves *a* as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*, e. g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל a great man, אִשָּׁה יָפָה a beautiful woman. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128 a, the construct state and the genitive belonging to it are inseparably united, e. g. Est 8¹⁵ עֲטֹרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה a great crown of gold.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 u.

¹ Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded צְבָאוֹת already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

² On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, cf. above, § 127 h, and § 128 a, with the note; § 135 n and § 141 c (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 u (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 g. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e. g. אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. God; אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. the bull (in Jer 8¹⁶, &c., the horse); קַל swift = the runner (of the horse, Is 30¹⁶); לְבָנָה alba, i. e. luna; פְּרִיָּה (fructifera) a fruitful tree, Is 17⁶ (so פְּרִת Gn 49²²); רֹכֵץ a croucher, i. e. a crouching beast of prey, Gn 4⁷. Cf. also רֹגֵן (gravis, augustus) and נְשִׂיאַ (elatus?), i. e. a prince. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ὑγρή = the sea; merum for vinum, &c.

b Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10²⁰ עֲנִיָּה עֲנֹתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּה *answer her*, is to be read); cf. 23¹², 53¹¹ (a righteous man, my servant; but in 28²¹ זָרַר and נִבְרָרִי are predicates preceding the substantives); Jer 3^{6.10f.}, ψ 18⁴ *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 9^{2.12} (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16¹⁶, Neh 9²⁸ (in ψ 145⁷ רַב־בַּיִת is a *subst. regens*, in 89⁵¹ the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

c 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15¹⁶ (unless גָּדֹל should be read); 1 S 16⁷ (*the height of his stature*); in the plural, 1 S 17⁴⁰ הַלְּקֵי הָאֲבָנִים *smooth ones of (among) stones*, i. e. *smooth stones*; Is 35⁹, Ez 7²⁴, ψ 46⁵, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e. g. Is 29¹⁹ אֶתְּמוֹנֵי אֲדָם *the poor among men*, i. e. *poor men*; Jer 49²⁰, Zc 11⁷; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 g).

d 3. When two adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e. g. 1 K 19¹¹ רֵיחַ גְּרִלָּהּ *her perfume* (but read גְּרִילוֹ); 1 S 15⁹ (but cf. § 75 y); Jer 20⁹, ψ 63². A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 p and t.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 d), e. g. Neh 9¹³ חֲקִים וְמִצּוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer 34⁹, Zc 8⁵.

When three attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, cf. Zc 1⁸.

e 4. After feminines plural ending in יָם (§ 87 p) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under a) takes the ending וֹת, e. g. Is 10¹⁴ עֲבוֹת גַּיְצִים *forsaken eggs*; Gn 32¹⁶. For a strange exception see Jer 29¹⁷ (differently in 24²).

f 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—

(a) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e. g. ψ 18²⁸ (Pr 6¹⁷) רְמוֹת עֵינָיִם *haughty eyes*; Is 35³, Jb 4^{3f.}, cf. § 88 a.

g (b) *Collective* ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e. g. צֹאן *sheep* [with *fem. plur.*], Gn 30⁴³, 1 S 25¹⁸; עָם = *men*, 1 S 13¹⁵, Is 9¹; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 S 2¹⁴; גְּלוֹת = *the exiles*, Jer 28⁴; cf. also נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, Gn 46^{27.1}. Cf. similar phenomena in the connexion of collectives with plural predicates in § 145 c.

h (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e. g. ψ 7¹⁰ אֱלֹהִים צְרִיק; 2 K 19^{4.16} (= Is 37^{4.17}); Is 19⁴; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים² Dt 5²³, 1 S 17^{26.36}, Jer 10¹⁰, 23³⁶, perhaps also

¹ But it is impossible to take תְּמִימִים in Ez 46⁶ as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28¹¹, where *two* young bullocks are required.

² Cf. 1 S 28¹³, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a *spirit*) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S 19^{13.16}, a singular suffix refers back

Ex 20³ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos 24¹⁹ אֱלֹהִים קְדוּשִׁים (but cf. above, § 124 g-k). On the other hand, 1 S 4⁸ is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural predicate, see § 145 i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, see § 128 x; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116 f-l.

§ 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.)*

A. Wünsche, 'Der Komparativ im Hebr. im Lichte der arab. Gramm.,' in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1904, p. 398 ff.

1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or *a* superlative of the adjective.¹ In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִי), e. g. 1 S 9² נִבְהָה מִכָּל-הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); cf. Ju 14¹⁵ מַה-מָּדוּן טַרְדֵּיבֶשׂ וְמָה עוֹ מִצְאָרִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ez 28³, Am 6². Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gn 29¹⁹ *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her*, &c.; Ex 14¹², ψ 118^{8f.} ²

Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 S 10²³ וַיִּנְבְּהָה מִכָּל-הָעָם *and he was higher than any of the people*; Na 3⁸, Jb 7⁶. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119 v-z) the idea

to אֱלֹהֵי הַבַּיִת household god (but not so in Gn 31³⁴), as in ψ 46⁴ to the plural of amplification יַמַּי sea. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה ψ 78¹⁵ is to be regarded as an attribute of תְּהִמּוֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

¹ There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *elative*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אֶקְטֵל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אֶכְזֹר *daring, cruel*, אֶכְזֹב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶיִתֵן (contracted from 'aitan) *constantly flowing, perennis*. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più, plus*.

² In Ju 11²⁵ the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, *art thou so much better than Balak?* It would also be possible, however, to translate *art thou really better . . . ?*

of a separation, distinction or superiority of one person or thing from or over others.¹ This is evident in such cases as בָּחַר מִן to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e. g. Jb 7¹⁵, cf. Dt 14² (also מִן . . . יִתְרוֹן the excellence of . . . over . . . , Ec 2¹³); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37³ וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶהָב אֶת-יוֹסֵף מִכָּל-בָּנָיו now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29³⁰, 1 S 2²⁹, Ho 6⁶.²

- C 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of מִן after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is *too little* or *too much* in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e. g. Is 7¹³ הֲמַעַט מִמֶּם is it a small thing (i. e. too little) for you to . . . ? Jb 15¹¹; after an intransitive verb, e. g. Gn 32¹¹ I am too insignificant (קָטַנְתִּי) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions כָּבֵד מִן to be too heavy for one, Ex 18¹³, Nu 11¹⁴, ψ 38⁶; קָשָׁה מִן to be too hard for one, Dt 1¹⁷; מְעַט מִן to be too few for something, Ex 12⁴; גָּבַר מִן to be too strong for one, ψ 65⁴; עֲצָם מִן to be too mighty for one, Gn 26¹⁶; רַוּם מִן to be too high for one, ψ 61³; צָר מִן to be too narrow for one, Is 49¹⁰; קָצָר מִן to be too short for something, Is 50², and very frequently נִפְלְאָה מִן to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18¹⁴, Dt 17⁸, 30¹¹, Jer 37¹⁷, Pr 30¹⁸; in ψ 139⁶ פְּלִיאָה in the same sense is followed by מִן.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by מִן with an infinitive, e. g. 1 K 8⁶⁴ the brazen altar . . . was קָטַן מִהֵבִיל too little to receive (to be able to receive) the burnt offering, cf. Gn 4¹³, 36⁷ too great for them to dwell together; after verbs, e. g. Ex 12⁴, Is 28²⁰, ψ 40⁶. Finally, cf. רַב לָכֶם מִן, followed by the infinitive, it is enough (prop. too much) for you to . . . , meaning ye have . . . long enough, 1 K 12²⁸; cf. Ex 9²² and Ez 44⁶ (מִן followed by a substantive).³

d In all these instances מִן expresses either the removal of a thing from a person, or the severance of the person from some aim or object; cf. also the expression לֹא-יִבְצֵר מִהֶם כֵּל וגו' nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11⁶, Jb 42³.

- e 3. The attributive idea, on which מִן logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the מִן (see the analogous examples in § 119 ff), be supplied from the context, e. g. Is 10¹⁰ וּפְסִלֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַיִם whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.;⁴ Mi 7⁴ worse than a thorn hedge; ψ 62¹⁰ lighter than a breath; Jb 11¹⁷ clearer than the noonday; Ec 4¹⁷ better than, &c.

¹ Cf. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *egregius*, and the Homeric *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα*, Il. 4, 96; *ἐκ πασέων*, 18, 431.

² On the other hand, the phrase צָרַק מִן expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38²⁶ צָרַקָה מִמֶּנִּי means, she is in the right as against me; cf. ψ 139¹², Jb 4¹⁷, 32².—In Pr 17¹² rather (to meet with so and so) than . . . is expressed by וְאַל before the second member.

³ Cf. also 2 K 4³, where the idea of doing something too little is paraphrased by the Hiph. הִמְעִיט = do not too little, sc. לִשְׂאֵל in borrowing empty vessels.

⁴ With this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4⁶, מְעַט greater gladness than at the time, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1¹⁶, 19^{31,34}, 27¹⁵, 29^{16,18,26}.

3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, *f*) to *g* make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals; ¹ e. g. 1 S 9²¹ הַצְעֵרָה *the least*; 16¹¹ הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i. e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17¹⁴ David was הַקָּטָן *the youngest*, and the three great, i. e. elder, &c.; Gn 42¹³, 44², Ct 1⁸.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e. g. Gn 9²⁴ הַקָּטָן בְּנוֹ *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14¹⁵; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21¹⁷ הַקָּטָן בְּנֵי הַקָּטָן *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30²⁴ *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7⁴ טוֹבָם *their good one*, i. e. the best of them; Jon 3⁵ מִן־וְלָם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6¹³, 31³⁴.

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e. g. Dt 33¹⁹ *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5²⁹ *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14³⁰, 19¹¹, 23^{8f.}, 29¹⁹, Jer 49²⁰, Ez 28⁷, Zc 11⁷, ψ 45¹⁵, Jb 30⁶ (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41²²; probably also ψ 35¹⁶. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 c.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantivally (§ 128 w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is 22²⁴ כָּל־בְּלֵי־הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7¹⁰ see § 126 x.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the *i* construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex 26³³ קֹדֶשׁ־הַקֹּדְשִׁים *the most holy place*; Ct 1¹ שִׁיר־הַשִּׁירִים *the most excellent song*; cf. Gn 9²⁵ (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3³², Dt 10¹⁷ (ψ 136^{2,3})²; 1 K 8²⁷, Is 34¹⁰ (cf. Gal 1⁵, Rev 22⁵); Jer 3¹⁹, Ez 16⁷, 26⁷ (*king of kings, of Nebuchadrezzar*; cf. 1 Tim 6¹⁵, Rev 17¹⁴, 19¹⁶), and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95³); Ec 1². Similarly in Jer 6²⁸ two participles are combined, and in Ho 10¹⁵ 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־שַׁבְתּוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex 31¹⁵, &c.) or of the same meaning (e. g. הַשָּׁדָה־הַכֹּהֶלֶת *a thick darkness*, Ex 10²²).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *k* to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Ec 7²⁴ עֹמֵק עֹמֵק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2³, Pr 20¹⁴; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6³.—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7¹⁹, Nu 14⁷ (מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also מְאֹד מְאֹד Ex 17, &c.); Ez 42¹⁵.—On the other hand, in Dt 28⁴³ the repetition expresses

¹ Cf. also עֲלִיּוֹן *the one above*, i. e. the *Most High*.

² God of gods, and Lord of lords, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bēl bēlī* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

a continuous progress, *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Dt 2²⁷ (see § 123 e) and 16²⁰ (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23³⁰ מַעַט מַעַט *little by little, very gradually*.¹

- l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לְרֵר רֵר (Ex 3¹⁵) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17¹⁶, Jer 6¹⁴, 8¹¹ (*perfect peace*); Ez 21³² (עָנָה three times);² 35⁷, Na 1²; cf. also Ho 2^{21 f.} and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33¹⁰. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 22⁵, Ez 6¹⁴ (33^{28 f.}, 35³); 32¹⁵, Na 2¹¹, Zp 1¹⁵ (Jb 30³, 38²⁷).

§ 134. Syntax of the Numerals.

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893. E. König, 'Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.', *AJSL*. xviii. 129 ff.

- a 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives,³ may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either —

(a) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two men*; or

- b (b) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131 d), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *a triad, viz. sons*, i. e. three sons; שְׁנַיִם אֲנָשִׁים *two men*; or

- c (c) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e. g. בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gn 32¹⁵. Nu 7¹⁷, 28¹⁹. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.⁴

¹ Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6⁹, Is 29⁶, 30¹³; of different stems in Is 5²⁶ and Jo 4⁴. In Nu 12² the particles הִנֵּן וְכֵן appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

² Different in kind from the triple utterance of the same words in 2 S 18³³, Jer 7⁴ and 22²⁹, and the double exclamation in Jer 4¹⁹ and La 1¹⁶ (?).

³ Cf. § 97 a, where it is shown that the masculine is the original form of the numerals (used for both genders), and that the feminine was afterwards differentiated and used with masc. nouns, primarily in the second decade and then in the first as well.

⁴ From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55-66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, and in Jos 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after*; in the Priestly Code nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex 28¹⁰ the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת־שְׁמוֹת הַשָּׁשֶׁה; for the omission of the article before 'ש', cf. § 126 w,

Rem. In Lv 24²² אָחָר follows the construct state מְשֻׁפָּט, but here as in *d* Nu 15¹⁶ מְשֻׁפָּט should be read. In Gn 42¹⁹ אָחָר is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of you brethren*; but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Nu 31²⁸ אָחָר precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (= *one each*). —For מֵאָה־שָׁנָה (Gn 17¹⁷, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gn 17¹⁷, 23¹) מֵאֵת שָׁנָה (Gn 5⁵, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality*, i. e. *they two*, Gn 2²⁵, &c. (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ 1 S 20⁴²), cf. § 97 *i*.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the *e* plural,¹ with very few exceptions, such as Ex 16²² (where שְׁנֵי הָעֹמֶר = *the double of an omer*), 2 K 22¹, Ez 45¹, cf. 2 K 8¹⁷ and 25¹⁷ *Keth*. The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131 *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יוֹם, כֶּרֶם, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, עָרִים (but cf. also Ju 11⁵³), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e. g. אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits*, 2 Ch 3³¹; with the exception of 2 S 24²⁴, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further under *g*.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, with יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), טִבֵּט *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar* (Ex 24⁴), sometimes with אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old, ten pound*), e. g. Dt 1² אַחַר עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם (cf., however, such exceptions as Dt 1²⁸, Jos 4², &c.).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Nu 7^{87 f}, 1 Ch 4²⁷, 25⁵.

2. After מֵאָה (מֵאֵת) [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always אֶלֶף (מֵאֵת אֶלֶף) and אֶלֶף (אֶלֶפִים, אֶלֶפִי, אֶלֶפִים)] the substantives אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה (except in Ez 40²⁷), יוֹם, רִגְלִי, צֶמֶד (with the exception of Jos 7²¹, 2 S 14²⁶, &c.); cf., moreover, Gn 33¹⁹, 24⁶⁰ (אֶלֶפִי רִבְכָה), Est 1¹, Ju 21¹², Dt 7⁹, 1 K 5¹², 2 Ch 9¹⁵.—Examples of the plural after מֵאָה are Gn 26¹², 1 S 18²⁵, 2 S 16¹, 1 K 18⁴; after מֵאֵת Ex 38²⁷; after אַמּוֹת Ju 15⁴, 2 S 8⁴, 1 K 10¹⁷,

¹ On examples such as Gn 46²⁷ (נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם *two souls*), cf. § 132 *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

Ez 42¹⁷; after מֵאָתַיִם I S 25¹⁸, I K 7²⁰; after אֶלְפָּיִם I S 25², I K 3⁴, 5⁶, 2 K 3⁴, ψ 90⁴; after אֶלְפָּיִם I S 17⁶, Jb 42¹²; after אֶלְפָּיִם Mi 6⁷; after אֶלְפָּיִם Is 36⁸.— In Dn 12¹¹ the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

h 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5²⁰ שְׁנָה וְשֵׁשִׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים *two and sixty years* (שְׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁנָה וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים Dt 2¹⁴), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9²⁶, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in I K 6¹, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23¹, 25⁷⁻¹⁷ thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12⁴ חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים *five and seventy years*; Gn 23¹ מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעֵי שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn 5⁶ ff.

i Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, in Joshua 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) *before* the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13-24 *after* the units (see Herner, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added without ׀, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

k 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv 25^{10 f.}, Nu 16³⁵, Jos 4⁴, 2 S 23¹³) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 2¹¹ שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gn 14⁹ אַרְבָּע מַלְכֵי כְּנָעַן *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. I Ch 11^{20 f.}, and the determinate tens in Gn 18^{29, 31 f.}. A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e. g. Dt 19⁹ (but cf. also Gn 9¹⁹, 22²³, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (I Ch 25¹⁹, 27¹⁵) or before עָשָׂר (Jos 4⁴); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3⁴⁶.

l In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15¹⁴ אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֵנָק, where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18²⁸, Jos 6^{8, 22}, I S 17¹⁴, I K 11³¹, and the passages discussed above in § 126 x, Gn 21²⁹, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. I K 7^{27, 43 f.} עֶשְׂרֵה וְעֶשְׂרִים; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 z, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנַיִם 2 K 25¹⁶ after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28⁴, I S 13^{17 f.}, Jer 24², Ez 10⁹, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אַחַת I S 1² for הָאַחַת.

Such cases as *הַיָּמִים שֶׁבָּרַעַת* Ju 14¹⁷ (which is determined by a following *m* determinate genitive) are explained from § 127 b; 1 Ch 9²⁵ perhaps from § 126 q; in Is 30²⁶ probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 9²⁰ and 25³⁸ the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

3. Certain specifications of *measure, weight, or time*, are commonly omitted *n* after numerals, e. g. Gn 20¹⁶ *אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף* a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also before *זֶהָב* Gn 24²², 1 K 10¹⁶, Is 7²³, cf. *ψ* 119⁷². Moreover, Ru 3¹⁵ *שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרִים* six (ephahs) of barley; 1 S 10⁴ *שְׁתֵּי-לֶחֶם* two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread, cf. 17¹⁷ *לֶחֶם לָחֶם*; 2 S 16¹, where before *מֶיִן* a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26², &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez 40^{5,21}, 47⁸, Zc 5², 1 Ch 11²³, 2 Ch 4^{2 f.}) by the addition of *בְּאַמָּה* prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex 27¹¹ the Samaritan and LXX read *בְּאַמָּה* after *אָרְךָ*, and in 27¹⁵ *אָמָה* after *עֵשָׂרָה*.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed *o* by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e. g. Gn 7¹¹ *בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם* on the seventeenth day; Dt 1³ *בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה* in the fortieth year; cf. Gn 14⁵, 2 K 25²⁷, and, with repetition of *שָׁנָה* in a compound number, 1 K 6¹; such a cardinal occurs without *בְּ* (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118 k) in Gn 14⁴ (the Samaritan, however, has *ובשלש*); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under k), 1 K 19¹⁹.¹—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e. g. 1 K 16¹⁰ *בְּשִׁנַּת עָשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה* in the twenty and seventh year, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12¹⁸, Nu 33³⁸, Dt 15⁹. In this case, however, *שָׁנָה* is very frequently repeated, e. g. Gn 7¹¹, 2 K 13¹⁰; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25¹⁰.²

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very *p* frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. *בְּשִׁנַּת שְׁתַּיִם* 1 K 15²⁵; *בְּשִׁנַּת שְׁלֹשָׁה* 2 K 18¹, &c., cf. Dt 15⁹. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (*בְּרֵאשִׁי*, *בְּשֵׁנִי*, &c., up to *בְּעֶשְׂרִי*), but not the days of the month, e. g. *בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ* Gn 8⁵, &c., *בְּאַרְבָּעָה בְּחֹדֶשׁ* Zc 7¹; *בְּחֹמֶשֶׁת לַחֹדֶשׁ* Ez 1¹, &c., *בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ* 2 K 25⁸, *בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ* Lv 23³² (always, however, *בְּעֶשֶׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ* on the tenth day of the month). On the

¹ Somewhat different from this is Ex 19¹⁵ *בְּשִׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים* prop. *after three days*, i. e. on the third day (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10⁸ the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30¹³ *שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים קָדְמָי* 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 Lv 25¹⁰, 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 *בְּשִׁנַּת* in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128 k.

omission of יום in all these cases see under *n*; only in late passages is יום added, e. g. 2 Ch 29¹⁷ בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה עָרָבִים; Ezr 3⁶ מְיוֹם אֶחָד לְהָרֵשׁ.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנָה governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17⁶ בְּשָׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year*; 2 K 25¹ (in Jer 52⁴ בְּשָׁנָה), Jer 28¹ *K^eth.*, 32¹ *K^eth.*, 46², 51⁵⁹, Ezr 7⁸; בְּשָׁנָת; בְּשָׁנָה in such cases is again (see note 2 on *o*) to be explained according to § 128 *k*. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28¹, 32¹ requires in the *Q^eré* בְּשָׁנָה for בשנת.

q 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e. g. Gn 7^{9,15} שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 S 21²⁰ שֵׁשׁ שֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e. g. Jos 3¹² אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָאֵי לְאֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָאֵי *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13², 34¹⁸ (אֶחָד מֵן) as in Neh 11¹, *one out of every ten*; cf. § 123 *d*; or a periphrasis with לְ אֶחָד is used, Nu 17¹⁸, Dt 1²³, cf. Is 6² לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָרְמִיּוֹת, § 123 *c*), e. g. לְמֵאוֹת וְלְאַלְפִים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

r 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see under *o*) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פְּעַם; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40⁵; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lv 26^{21,24}, Pr 24¹⁶; cf. also אַחַת *once*, 2 K 6¹⁰, Jb 40⁵, for which in Jb 33¹⁴ בְּאַחַת along with שְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18²¹); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעֲתַיִם Gn 4¹⁵ (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30²⁶, ψ 127, 79¹²; אַרְבַּעֲתַיִם 2 S 12⁶;² or periphrastically by פְּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפְּעַם *this time*; cf. also בַּפְּעַם, with בְּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as פְּעַם אַחַת *once* (Neh 13²⁰ וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעַמִּים *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעַמִּים (for which in Ex 23¹⁴, Nu 22^{28,32} רְגָלִים *three times*; cf. Ez 41⁶ *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24³ *an hundred times*; Dt 1¹¹ *a thousand times*; 1 K 22¹⁶ עַד-בְּמָה פְּעַמִּים *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מַנִּים *ten times*, Gn 31^{7,14}, and רַבּוֹת עֲתִים *many times*, Neh 9²⁸.—In Gn 43³⁴, *five times* is expressed by הַמִּשׁ יָרוֹת (prop. *five hands*),³ and in Ex 16⁵ the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנָה עַל- (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22¹⁵, &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשָׁלִישִׁת *the third time*, 1 S 3⁹; פְּעַם הַמִּישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6⁵; בְּשִׁבְעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18⁴⁴, and בַּפְּעַם הַשִּׁי Jos 6¹⁶.

¹ But בְּאַחַת Nu 10⁴ is to be translated on *one* (trumpet).

² Probably also בְּכַפְלִים Jb 11⁶ (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold*.

³ But אַרְבַּע הַיָּרוֹת Gn 47²⁴ means *the (other) four parts*; cf. 2 K 11⁷, Neh 11¹.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the *S* same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e.g. Is 17⁶, *two or at the most three*), or a considerable number, e.g. Mi 5⁴. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of intensifying the lower by means of the higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by ׀, Dt 32³⁰, Jer 3¹⁴, Jb 33¹⁴, 40⁶ (without ׀, ψ 62¹²); *two* and *three*, Is 17⁶ (Sirac 23¹⁶, 26²⁸, 50²⁵), and without ׀, 2 K 9³², Ho 6², Am 4⁸; *three* and *four*, Jer 36²³, Am 1³⁻¹¹, Pr 30¹⁸, 21²⁹ (Sirac 26⁶), and without ׀, Pr 30¹⁵; *four* and *five*, without ׀, Is 17⁶; *six* and *seven*, Jb 5¹³, Pr 6¹⁶; *seven* and *eight*, Mi 5⁴, Ec 11²; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac 25⁷).

III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

§ 135. *The Personal Pronoun.*

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (cf. § 141 *a*) and the idiom mentioned under *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32 *b*, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gn 16⁵, 2 S 24¹⁷ אֲנִי i. e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 S 12²⁸, 17¹⁵ (after the verb), Ez 34¹⁵, ψ 2⁶;¹ but 1 S 10¹⁸, 2 S 12⁷, Is 45¹² אֲנִי אֲנִי *I and none else*; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I!* Ho 5¹⁴, &c.; אֲתָה Gn 15¹⁵, Ju 15¹⁸, 1 S 17⁵⁶ (as in 20⁸, 22¹⁸, Ex 18¹⁹, Dt 5²⁴, Ju 8²¹, after the imperative); 1 K 21⁷; אַתָּם Gn 9⁷, Ex 20¹⁹ (after the verb, Ju 15¹²); fem. Gn 31⁶; הִיא 1 S 22¹⁸; הִיא Gn 3²⁰, Ju 14³; הִיאָ Jer 5⁵.— Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb more on rhythmical grounds, i. e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113 *o*). Thus Gn 14²³, ψ 139², and most clearly in such passages as Gn 21²⁴, 47³⁰, Ex 8²⁴, Ju 6¹⁸, 11⁹, 1 S 12²⁰, 2 S 3¹³, 21⁶, 1 K 2¹⁸ (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gn 24⁴⁵, Ho 5³, 10¹¹, 12¹¹, ψ 39¹¹, 82⁶, Jb 5³.²

Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate *u* pronoun immediately *after* the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5⁵ perhaps

¹ Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e.g. Is 7¹⁴ אֲרֹנֵי הוּא *the Lord himself*; Est 9¹ הֵמָּה הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is 41⁴, 43^{10, 13}, 46⁴, 48¹² (always הוּא אֲנִי, ψ 102²⁸ אַתָּה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3¹⁹.—The position of הֵמָּה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Ch 5²², can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezr 5¹²).

² As early as the Mēša' inscription (line 21 ff.) אַנְךָ frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

a trace of popular language), e. g. 1 S 23²² (?), Ct 5⁵, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e. g. 1¹⁶, 2^{1.11.15}, 3^{17f}, and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5¹⁶.

C 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronominal of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e. g. Gn 3¹² *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (היא) gave me, &c.; 14²⁴ (הם); 15⁴, 24⁷, &c.; but הוא in Is 7¹⁴ after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.¹

d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronominal serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronominal can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronominal in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

e Examples of emphasis:—

(a) On a verbal suffix by means of אני (אני), Gn 27³⁴ בִּרְבִּנִי גַם־אֲנִי bless me, even me also (prop. *bless me, I also would be blessed*); Zc 7⁹; cf. also Ez 6³, 34^{11.20} הֲנִי אֲנִי; by אתה (אתה) Pr 22¹⁹ (but the text is most probably corrupt).—The separate pronominal precedes in Gn 24²⁷ (אֲנִי); 49⁸ (אתה, not *Judah, thou art he whom*, but *Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!*), and Ec 2¹⁵ גַּם־אֲנִי.

f (b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אני 2 S 19¹, Pr 23¹⁵; by אתה 1 K 21¹⁹ גַּם־אֶת־הַדָּמָדָּם־אֶתְּךָ thy blood, even thine; by הוא 2 S 17⁵, Jer 27⁷, Mi 7³; by אֲנַחְנוּ 1 S 20⁴², after שְׁנֵינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5² (?); by אֲתָם Nu 14³²; by הם ψ 38¹¹ (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 9⁷.—The separate pronominal precedes in Jb 21⁴ (אֲנִי); Gn 40¹⁶, Is 45¹², 1 Ch 28² (אֲנִי); Zc 9¹¹ (את); Jos 23⁹ (אֲתָם); Ez 33¹⁷ (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 89⁴⁸, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חָלַר (equivalent in sense to חָלַרְיָ, we should read אֲנִי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

g (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25²⁴ אֲנִי בִּי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1²⁶ אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35²¹ לֹא־עָלְיָךְ אֶתָּה not against thee; 1 S 19²³ גַּם־עָלָיו upon him also; Dt 5³ אֲנַחְנוּ בִּי אֲתָנוּ but with us, even us; Hag 1⁴ לְכֶם אֲתָם for you yourselves; Jer 25¹⁴ בְּכֶם גַּם־הֵמָּה.—The separate pronominal precedes in 1 S 12²³ לִי . . . אֲנִי; 1 K 1²⁰ עָלְיָךְ . . . אֶתָּה; Mi 5¹ מִמֶּךָ . . . אֶתָּה, and 2 Ch 28¹⁰ אֲתָם עִמָּכֶם.

h The same principle also explains Gn 4²⁶ לְשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא to Seth, to him also (not לְשֵׁת־לוֹ); cf. 10²¹, and Ex 35³⁴, Nu 4²².

¹ Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e. g. Gn 2¹⁷, 2 S 6²², 2 K 22¹⁸, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* את with suffix, e. g. 1 S 15⁹ (where וְנִמְאָסְתָּ is certainly to be read), Is 8¹³.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i* a preposition (or the *nota accus.* חָא) with a suffix may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,¹ as לְ to him, but also to himself, e. g. Ju 3¹⁶ and Ehud made לְ for himself a sword, cf. Gn 33¹⁷; so also הָ לְ sibi, Is 3⁹; אֵלָיו unto him, and Gn 8⁹ unto himself; אִתּוֹ with him, and Gn 22³ with himself; עִמָּהּ with her, and 1 S 1²⁴ with herself; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 s), Jb 12¹¹, 13¹.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative k* of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* חָא with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*²); thus, חָא se ipsos, Ex 5¹⁹, Jer 7¹⁹ in sharp antithesis to הָאֵתִי; Ez 34^{2,8,10}. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49²⁶ on בְּשָׂרָם and דָּמָם in the *l* sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91, p and q. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139 f.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33 c, expressed by *m* the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive),³ which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128 h) an *objective genitive*, e. g. הַמַּסִּי the wrong done against me, Gn 16⁵, Jer 51³⁵; cf. Gn 9², 18²¹, 27¹³ (2 S 16¹² *Keth.*); Gn 30²³, 39²¹ (cf. Ex 3²¹, &c.); 50⁴, Ex 20²⁰, 21³⁵, Ju 4⁹, 13¹² (מַעֲשֵׂהוֹ the treatment of him); Is 56⁷, Jer 9⁷, Na 3¹⁹, Pr 1²⁷, 24²², Jb 20²⁹, 23¹⁴, 34⁶. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20³ עֲזָרְךָ יְשַׁלַּחְךָ he will send thy help (help for thee), i. e. he will send thee help; Gn 30¹⁸, 39²¹, Ex 2⁹, Is 1²⁶ (and I will restore judges for thee); Ez 37¹⁵.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e. g. Gn 36⁶ and Esau took אֶת-נָשָׁיו וְאֶת-בָּנָיו וְאֶת-בָּתָּיו his wives and his sons and his daughters, &c.; 38¹⁸, &c. In 2 S 23⁵ the text is hardly correct.

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.

³ Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129 h, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e. g. Ru 2²¹ הַנְּעָרִים הַיְּשָׁרִים 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 S 17⁴⁰. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e. g. Ct 1⁶ כַּרְמִי נְעִלִי my vineyard, which belongs to me. Cf. Ct 3⁷, and the analogous pleonasm in 2 S 22² (but see ψ 152¹ and ψ 27²).

n 5. When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128 o and p), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e. g. הַר־קֹדֶשׁ prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, ψ 2⁶, &c.; עִיר קֹדֶשׁ *thy holy city*, Dn 9²⁴; אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף *his idols of silver*, Is 2²⁰, 30⁵², 31⁷;¹ cf. Dt 1⁴¹, Is 9³, 28⁴, 41¹¹, Ez 9¹¹, ψ 41¹⁰, 150¹, Jb 18⁷ אִינוֹ צַעְרֵי *his steps of strength*; 38⁶; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13³ (Zp 3¹¹) עֲלֵיוֹ נִגְאֲתֵי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e. g. דְּלֵי מִלְחָמָתוֹ Dt 1⁴¹ *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41¹²]; Is 56⁷ בַּיֵּת הַפְּלִיטִי *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

O Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 k, 144 a, 145 p, t, u) and which probably passed from the colloquial language² 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 11⁶, 25¹⁹, Ju 11³⁴;³ in the plural, Gn 31⁹, 32¹⁶, 41²³, Ex 12¹, 21⁷, Nu 27⁷ (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36⁶ (Samaritan אֲבֵיהֶם, but also בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); Ju 19²⁴, 21²², 1 S 6^{10b} (בְּנֵיהֶם); 9²⁰, Is 3¹⁶, Ez 23^{45 ff.} (alternating with הֵן); Am 4^{1f.} (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 1¹⁴, 39³ (הַבְּלִיָּהֶם in parallelism with בְּלִיָּהֶן); 42¹⁵, Ct 4², 6⁶, Ru 1^{8 ff.} (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1⁵, 8⁹. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22²⁵; in the plural, Ju 16³, Pr 6²¹, Jb 1¹⁵. But Gn 26^{15, 18}, 33¹³, Ex 2¹⁷, 1 S 6^{10a} are to be explained according to § 60 h. On הַיְמֹתָ as feminine, see § 32 n. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122 g.

p 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Nu 14⁴¹, Jos 1c¹³, Ju 14⁴) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15⁶, Nu 23¹⁹, 1 S 11², 1 K 11¹², Is 30⁸, Am 8¹⁰; cf. Gn 24¹⁴ (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42³⁶, 47²⁶, Ex 10¹¹ (אֵתָהּ *that*), Is 47⁷. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e. g. 2 K 3³

¹ On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44² הַכֶּסֶף נְבִיעַ *my cup, the silver cup*.

² According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91 a), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 ff., 54 ff., 67 f., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions. Such influence, however, is insufficient to explain the large number of instances of this weakening, occurring even in the earlier documents.

³ The Masora reckons six instances of כְּפָנָה, where כְּפָנָה would be expected (Ju 11³⁴, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25¹⁵ (?), Lv 6⁸, 7¹⁸, 27⁹, Jos 17⁷; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[but see Kittel; so 13^{2,6,11}; 10²⁶, but LXX מַצְבַּת], Jer 36²³, Jb 6²⁰ (if the text is correct), 39¹⁶ (read תִּתְקַמֵּם in v. 14), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is 35⁷, Ezr 11⁵. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e.g. in Gn 15¹³, Nu 16³, 1 S 2⁸, Zp 2⁷ [but read הָיָם]; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ez 33¹⁸, Jb 22²¹ (בָּהֶם *thereby*), Ez 18²⁶, 33¹⁹ (עָלֵיהֶם *on that account, thereby*).¹ But the suffix in נִתְּנוּ Dt 21¹⁰ refers to the collective idea contained in אֵיבָיִךְ; in Jon 1³ עֲמָהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנִיָּה. In Jos 2⁴ read וְהִצַּפְנָם; in Is 30⁸ (מִיָּהֶם), 38¹⁶, ψ 19⁵ (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun *ŷ* has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲרָנִי *my Lord*, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲרָנִים (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* to distinguish it from אֲרָנִי *my lords*, Gn 19²; but see note below), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gn 15², 18³, ψ 35²³), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to *the Lord*.² On אֲרָנִי as a *Qrê perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 c and § 102 m.

A similar loss of vitality in the suffix is generally assumed in יַחְדוֹ prop. *in ŷ* *his unitedness*, i.e. *he &c. together*, e.g. בְּלִיְהוֹם יַחְדוֹ Ex 19⁸; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי־יַחְדוֹ 1 K 3¹⁸ in reference to two women; Is 41¹, Jb 9³², Neh 6^{2,7}; after the 2nd person, Is 45²⁰, &c. But the supposed pronominal suffix is perhaps rather to be explained, with Brockelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 344 f., as an old adverbial ending, which survives in the Arabic adverbs in *u* and in Assyrian.—Cf. further בָּלָם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 K 22²⁸, Mi 1² (*hear, ye peoples, all of you*; cf. § 144 p), and even before the 2nd person, Jb 17¹⁰ (in 1 S 6⁴ read לָבָם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הִקְרַבְךָ Lv 27²³, cf. § 127 i.

¹ In 2 K 7¹⁰ for שְׁעָרַי (the LXX had שְׁעָרֵי) read שְׁעָרֵי.

² Cf. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A. D. onwards *the master*; so also in Syriac מַרִּי *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord*; in Italian *Madonna*, French *Madame, Notre Dame, Monsieur, Monseigneur*, &c. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the regular distinction between אֲרָנִי as a holy name, and אֲרָנִי as an ordinary appellative is merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman. *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אֲרָנִי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as entirely meaningless, since אֲרָנִי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲרָנִי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language about God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *bēi-ia, my lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲרָנִי and אֲרָנִי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדוֹן is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲרָנִי.

§ 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

a The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. וְזֹאת, plur. הַאֵלֶּה (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun הַזֶּה, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵמָּה, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32 b), *is, ea (id), or ille, &c., ii, eae or illi, &c.* The distinction between them in usage is that הַזֶּה (like *hic*, ὁδε) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הַזֶּה (like *is, ille*, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).¹

b Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32³, Ju 7⁴ of whom I say unto thee, *this* (זֶה) shall go with thee, he (הַזֶּה) shall go with thee (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 26³³, &c.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gn 15¹⁸, 26³²) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5³⁰, 7^{18.20 ff.}) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless הַזֶּה and הַאֵלֶּה are also found in certain common combinations where הַזֶּה and הֵמָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, plur. הַיָּמִים הַהֵלֵךְ, but הֵמָּה הַיָּמִים הַהֵם.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) הַזֶּה occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10²⁷, 21¹⁶, 1 K 22²⁷, Is 6¹⁰, &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, וְזֹאת is more common than הַזֶּה, as Is 5²⁵, 43⁹, &c., but הַזֶּה more common than הִיא.

c 2. Both הַזֶּה and הַזֶּה are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 38² מִי הוּא נֹכַח *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17^{55 f.}, Is 63¹, Jer 49¹⁹, ψ 24⁸, 25¹², &c; מַה הַיּוֹם *what now?* 1 S 10¹¹; *how now?* Gn 27²⁰; *why now?* Ju 16²⁴; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה הוּא Gn 3¹³, 12¹⁸, Ex 14⁵, Ju 15¹¹; לְמַה הַיּוֹם *wherefore now?* Gn 18¹³, 25²², 1 S 17²³, 2 S 12²³, &c.—So also מִי הוּא Is 50³, Jb 4^{7 ff.}; and still more emphatically מִי הוּא הַיּוֹם ψ 24¹⁰, Jer 30²¹.

d 3. הַזֶּה is likewise used as an enclitic (see c above): (a) *of place*, in such passages as Gn 27²¹ וְגַם הַאֵתָהּ הַזֶּה *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 S 2²⁰ *is it thou?* הִנֵּה הַזֶּה *behold, here*, 1 K 19⁵, Is 21⁹;² cf. also the strengthen-

¹ On הַזֶּה and הַזֶּה standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125 i. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126 u.

² On the other hand, it is very questionable whether הַזֶּה in ψ 104²⁵ (הַיָּם), Is 23¹³ (הַיָּם), Ju 5⁶, ψ 68⁹ (הַיָּם) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In ψ 104²⁵ הַיָּם may be in apposition to הַזֶּה; cf. § 126 aa, on Ex 32¹, and Zc 5⁷, where אֵשֶׁת אֶחָת is in apposition to וְזֹאת depending on הַנְּהַ, and also Ez 4c⁴⁵, where הַלְשָׁבֶה is in apposition to הַזֶּה; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23¹³, Ju 5⁶, 1 K 14¹⁴, and ψ 68⁹ might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43²⁶ (אֲנִי) 1 S 7²⁸, Is 37¹⁶, ψ 44⁵ (אֲתָה); and הֵם הֵלֵךְ these are, Gn 25¹⁶, 1 S 4⁸; (b) of time: הַנּוֹעַ now, 1 K 17²⁴; just now, 2 K 5²²; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e. g. Gn 27⁵⁶ הַנּוֹעַ הַשְּׁנַיִם twice, now; cf. 31⁸⁸, 2 S 14², Jb 1¹², 7⁸, 19³; separated from the numeral in Gn 31⁴¹ הַנּוֹעַ לִי elliptically for *this*, i. e. this present period, is to me, i. e. makes altogether, *twenty years*, &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

§ 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine *a* or feminine person (Ct 3⁶), or even to a plural, e. g. מִי אַתֶּם *who are ye?* Jos 9⁸; מִי-אֵלֶּה Gn 33⁵, Nu 22⁹ (more minutely, מִי וְמִי Ex 10⁸, i. e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e. g. מִי-שֶׁפֶּם *who are the Shechemites?* Ju 9²⁸, 13¹⁷, Gn 33⁸, Mi 1⁵; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 S 7¹⁸.—Another interrogative is אֵיזֶה *which, what?*; of persons only in Est 7⁵.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e. g. *b* מִי אֵת *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24²³, 1 S 17^{55, 56, 58}; מִי דָבָר *whose word?* Jer 44²⁸, 1 S 12³; in the accusative, אֶת-מִי *quoniam?* 1 S 28¹¹, Is 6⁸; with prepositions, e. g. בְּמִי 1 K 20¹⁴ (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gn 32¹⁸; מִי אֶחָד 1 S 24¹⁵.—Similarly מָה, מַה, מֶה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8⁹), or with prepositions, e. g. עַל-מָה *whereupon?* Is 1⁵, Jb 38⁶; *why?* Nu 22³², &c.; עַד-מָה *quousque?* ψ 74^{9, 1}.

Rem. Both מִי and מָה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely *c* relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e. g. Gn 39⁸ (but read מִאֲדָמָה with Samar. and LXX), 43²², Ex 32¹.—On the meaning of מִי and מָה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicumque*), e. g. Ex 32²⁶, Ju 7⁸, 1 S 20⁴, Is 50¹⁰ (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54¹⁵, Pr 9^{4, 16}, 2 Ch 36²³; even שָׂמְרוּ-מִי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, 2 S 18¹² (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מֶה (*whatever it be*) Jb 13¹³, 1 S 19³, 2 S 18^{22, 23}; cf. Nu 23⁹ מַה-יִרְאֵנִי וְדָבָר *and whatsoever he showeth me*. Cf. also מִי-אֶשֶׁר *whosoever* Ex 32³³, 2 S 20¹¹, and מִי-הָאִישׁ אֶשֶׁר *any man who* Dt 20^{5π},

corrupt. In Ju 5⁵ in fact סִינִי הִוא is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into ψ 68.

¹ A quite different use of מָה was pointed out (privately) by P. Haupt in Ct 5⁸ *will ye not tell him?* i. e. *I charge you that ye tell him*, and 7¹ = *look now at the Shulamite*, corresponding to the late Arabic *mā tarā, just see!* *mā taqūlu, say now!* It has long been recognized that מָה is used as a negative in Ct 8⁴.

Ju 10¹⁸. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of *מה* is the combination *מה־שׁי* that *which*, Ec 1⁹, 3¹⁵ (just like the Syriac *ܩܡܐ*); cf. Est 8¹, and *מה . . . ל* Pr 9¹³, *מה . . . לא* Neh 2¹², *nothing whatever*.—On *מה־אִי־מָה* *quicquam, anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb *in any way*, 1 S 21³, see the Lexicon.

§ 138. The Relative Pronoun.

Cf. Philippi, *Stat. constr.* (see heading of § 89), p. 71 f., and especially V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155 *b*) introduced by the indeclinable *אֲשֶׁר* (see § 36).¹ This is not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin, or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*,² but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*].³ Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as it (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e. g. Gn 24⁷ . . . הוּא יִשְׁלַח . . . הַיְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְנִי *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Gn 2² *and God finished אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה מְלֶאכֶתוֹ his work, istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

b Rem. 1. In the above examples *אֲשֶׁר* in Gn 24⁷ is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2² in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24⁷ the main idea (הוּא), to which *אֲשֶׁר* is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in

¹ The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of *אֲשֶׁר* as an original substantive, with the Arabic *'atar, trace*, Aram. *אתר* *place, trace*, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG*. xl. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, *אֲשֶׁר* is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 ff., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original *אֶשֶׁל*. According to Hommel (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 708 ff.) *אֲשֶׁר* is an original substantive, to be distinguished from *שׁי* and *שׁי* (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as *וְהוּא* and *וְהוּא* are also sometimes used, see below, *g* and *h*) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew *שׁי*, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic *שׁי* (see above, § 36 note) and the Hebrew *אֲשֶׁר* are developments.

² E. g. like Luther's use of *so*, in *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gn 35².

³ This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladi*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. *הַלְלוּהוּ*, *הַלְלוּהוּ*), and from the use of *וְהוּא* and *וְהוּא* as relatives.

לְקַחְתִּי, while in Gn 2² it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun¹ takes place especially when it (as in Gn 2²) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e.g. Gn 1⁷ לְרַקֵּעַ מִתַּחַת הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת הַרְקִיעַ the waters, those, under the firmament, &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gn 17¹² הוּא; 7² הִיא; 1 K 9²⁰ הִמָּה; Dt 20¹⁵ הִנֵּה; but cf. also הִיא אֲשֶׁר הוּא Gn 9³. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 K 22¹⁵, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Nu 10²⁹ *we are journeying unto the place*, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֵלָיו לָכֵם אֵתֵן לָכֵם that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you; cf. Nu 14⁴⁰, Ju 8¹⁵, 1 S 9^{17,23}, 24⁵, 1 K 8²⁹, Jer 32⁴³.

2. When the substantive, followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause, C expresses an idea of *place*, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם there, שָׁמָּה thither, מִשָּׁם thence, e.g. Gn 13³ עַד-הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלָה שָׁם unto the place, that one, his tent had been there, i.e. where his tent had been; cf. Gn 3²³ מִשָּׁם, Ex 21¹³ שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gn 35¹⁴, Nu 20¹³, Is 64¹⁰, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gn 30³⁸, Nu 13²⁷, 1 K 12², where שָׁמָּה would be expected.—When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 S 20³¹ for all the days, אֲשֶׁר בְּנִי-יֵשִׁי חַי those—the son of Jesse is living (in them); cf. Gn 45⁶, Dt 1⁴⁶, 9⁷, 1 K 11⁴²; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gn 45⁴ I am Joseph, אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֵתִי he—ye sold me, i.e. whom ye sold; Nu 22³⁰, Is 49²³; 41⁸ thou, Jacob, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ he—I have chosen thee; Jer 32¹⁹, Ec 10^{16f.}; Gn 15⁷ I am the Lord, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ he—I brought thee out, &c., Ex 20² (Dt 5⁶).

(2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but C itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who*, *he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c., or sometimes *of such a kind as* (*qualis*), cf. Ex 14^{13b}, and in a dependent relative clause Is 7¹⁷. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Nu 22⁶ יוֹאָר יוֹאָר אֲשֶׁר תֵּאָר אִישֶׁת—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i.e. he whom thou cursest, &c.; Ex 22⁸; אֲשֶׁר as object, Gn 44¹,

¹ The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gn 49³⁰, 50¹³, Jer 31³²) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

² The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר יְיָ אֵלַי this (is it)—it came as the word of the Lord to . . . , Jer 14¹, 46¹, 47¹, 49³⁴.

49¹, 1 S 16^{3ff.}, Mi 6¹ (אֵת אֲשֶׁר); and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is 52¹⁵, ψ 69⁵; אֲשֶׁר as genitive, Ez 23²⁸ *I will deliver thee בְּיַד אֲשֶׁר* into the hand of those—*thou hatest* (them); depending on a preposition, e.g. לְאֲשֶׁר Gn 44⁴, 2 K 10²²; בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 21¹⁷, הוּא אֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם in that (place)—*he is there*, i. e. *where he is*; cf. Ju 17⁸ and Ru 1¹⁶ אֶל-אֲשֶׁר whither; ¹ 1 K 18¹² עַל-אֲשֶׁר whither; מֵאֲשֶׁר Ex 5¹¹.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition,² e.g. Gn 44^{9f.} וְמָת . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמְצָא אֹתוֹ *he—it (the cup) is found with him,—shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in וְמָת cf. § 143 d). In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31⁸² עִם אֲשֶׁר הִמְצָא *with whomsoever thou findest*, where אֲשֶׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47¹² (and probably also 56⁴) בְּאֲשֶׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 37) by reference to 47¹⁵, as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . . , with those—thou hast laboured* (with them).

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אֲשֶׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אֲשֶׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, the demonstratives proper הוּא, זֶה, הֵוא (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 הוּא, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(a) הוּא in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104²⁶ לְוִיָּתָן הוּא וְהִיָּצַרְתָּ (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed* (him), i. e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is 42²⁴ (וְהוּא); in the accusative, Is 25⁹, ψ 74² (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; הוּא is used without it in ψ 132¹²); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23²² הוּא יִלְבֵּדְךָ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee*, i. e. *who begat thee*; ψ 17⁹ (וְהוּא).—In ψ 104⁸ אֶל-מְקוֹם הוּא יִסְדָּרְתָּ לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130 c), הוּא is in the genitive after the construct state מְקוֹם *to the place of that, thou hadst*

¹ In Zc 12¹⁰ also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֵי אֵת אֲשֶׁר, we should probably read אֶל-אֲשֶׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

² Such a strong ellipse as in Is 31⁶, where מְפֹנֵנוּ would be expected after הַעֲמִיקוּ, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

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

founded (it) for them; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48), ψ 78⁵⁴ (חַר הַחַיִּים) and Ex 15¹⁸ (עַם-וְיִזְרְאֵלֵת), 15¹⁶, Is 43²¹, ψ 9¹⁶, 10², 31⁵, 32⁸, 62¹², 142⁴, 143⁸ (all examples of וְיִזְרְאֵלֵת).

To introduce independent relative clauses וְיִזְרְאֵלֵת is used as a nominative in Jb 19¹⁹; as accusative, Jb 15¹⁷ and וְיִזְרְאֵלֵת Hb 11¹, ψ 68²⁹ (after a preposition, וְיִזְרְאֵלֵת Ex 13⁸; but the text is evidently corrupt).

(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 Ch 26²⁸ בְּלֹא הִקְדִּישׁ שְׂמוֹנָאֵל *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 1 Ch 29⁸ (where נִמְצָא can only be perfect *Niph'al*); 2 Ch 29³⁶, Ezr 10¹⁴. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10²⁴ *the chiefs of the men of war* הַיְהוֹלְכֵי אִתּוֹ *who went with him*; Ezr 8²⁵, 10¹⁷, 1 Ch 29¹⁷. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5¹³ (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדְּבָרִי). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9²⁴ *the thigh* וְהָעֵלְיָהּ *and that which was upon it* (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 1⁴ בְּהֵיכָן equivalent to בְּאִשְׁרֵי הַכֵּין *to the place, that he had prepared*.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9²⁴ (where וְהָעֵלְיָהּ should probably be read for וְהָעֵלְיָהּ) the ה is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18²¹, 46²⁷, Jb 2¹¹ הַבָּאָה; Is 51¹⁰ הַשָּׂמָה; Ez 26¹⁷ הַהֲלֵלָה Ru 1²², 2⁶ and 4³ הַשָּׂבָה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21⁸ הַנּוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11⁹, Dn 8¹ הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56⁸ הַנְּלִינָה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26¹⁷ הַהֲלֵלָה for הַמְהַלְלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵךְ, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנְּלִינָה.

§ 139. *Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.*

Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes *a* by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—

(a) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,¹ and even animals (Gn 15¹⁰), e.g. Gn 10⁵, feminine Ex 3²²; אִישׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12¹⁵. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis *C* before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיַּד אִישׁ Gn 9⁵, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיַּד אִתּוֹ אִישׁ *at the hand of the brother of every man*. But although the explanation seems to be

¹ As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44¹¹; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44¹³.

supported by Gn 42²⁶ and Nu 17¹⁷, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9⁵ *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings אִישׁ and כִּי־אִישׁ]; similarly 15¹⁰ *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Nu 17¹⁷ *every one, sc. his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41¹², 42²⁶ (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42³⁶, where אִישׁ־כִּסְפוֹ בְּשֵׁקוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12⁴, 28²¹, Nu 5¹⁰, 26⁵⁴, 2 K 23³⁶, and especially Zc 7¹⁰.¹

d (b) *Any one, some one*, e.g. Gn 13¹⁶, Ct 8⁷, with a negative *no one*; ² so after אֶל־ Ex 16^{19,29}; before לֹא Gn 23⁸ and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e.g. Lv 1² (cf. בְּאַחֵר הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16^{7,11}), נַפְשׁ *(soul) person*, Lv 2¹, 5¹, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) for *anything*, Gn 18¹⁴, or כֹּל־דָּבָר Lv 5², Nu 31²³. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֶל־ Gn 19⁸; after לֹא Ec 8⁵.—Cf. finally, מִי־אֶחָד *any one*, Dt 15⁷; *anything*, Ez 18¹⁰ (but in Lv 4², 5¹³ מִי־אֶחָת and the expressions noticed in § 144 e. The latter include also instances like Ez 18³² *I have no pleasure בְּמוֹת הַמֵּת in the death of him that dieth, i.e. of any man.*

c (c) In connexion with אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one, masc.* (as אִשָּׁה *one, fem.*, in connexion with אַחֻתָּהּ *her sister* or רֵעִיתָּהּ *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. Gn 13¹¹ *and they separated themselves אָחִיו מֵעַל אִישׁ the one from the other*; Ex 26³ *five curtains (יריעות fem.) shall be coupled together אֶל־אַחֻתָּהּ one to another.*

f 2. נַפְשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,⁴ both in the singular, Pr 19^{8,16}, 29²⁴, Jb 18⁴ (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37⁹, &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gn 18¹² (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.⁵

¹ Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9⁵ are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zc 7¹⁰ אֶל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ וְרַעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו, which in the light of 8¹⁷ וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ בְלִבְבְּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered 'and devise not the hurt of one another in your heart'. So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

² Cf. also אִין־אִישׁ Gn 39¹¹. 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 14²⁰, Is 6³; also הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 S 14⁶, or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47²¹ (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

⁴ On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135 a, i and k.

⁵ In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*ātman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גוּף *body*,

3. בְּעֵצָם *bone* (then metaphorically for *substance*) expresses the idea of *self*, *g* *selfsame*, *very same*, in reference to *things* (as נִפְּשֵׁי to persons, e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵצָם *in the selfsame day*, Gn 7¹³, cf. Jos 10²⁷, Ez 24²; כְּעֵצָם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהָר *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex 24¹⁰; בְּעֵצָם תָּמוּ *in the very fullness of his strength* (= *in the midst of his full strength*), Jb 21²³).

4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the *h* idea of *a few*, *some*;¹ thus יָמִים *a few days*, Gn 24⁵⁵, 40⁴ (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is 65²⁰, Dn 8²⁷ (on the other hand, Gn 27⁴⁴, 29²⁰ בְּיָמֵי אֲחָרָיִם; see § 96 under אֲחָרָיִם); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dn 11^{6,8}.

בְּרָם or עֵצָם *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth*, *hand*, &c.; cf. also the Middle High German *min lip*, *din lip*, for *ich*, *du*. However, נִפְּשֵׁי in such cases is never (not even in Is 46² נִפְּשֵׁם *they themselves*) a merely otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

¹ *Some* in reference to persons in Ex 16²⁰ is expressed by אֲנָשִׁים, and in Neh 5²⁻⁴ by אֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

CHAPTER II

THE SENTENCE

I. The Sentence in General.

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

- a* 1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יהוה מלכנו *the Lord is our king*, Is 33²²; וְאֲנָשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13¹³; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115⁵; see further, § 141.
- b* 2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *and God said*, Gn 1³; וַיִּבְרָא *and he divided*, 1⁷; see further, § 142.
- c* Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (י), and in almost all forms of the perfect by affirmatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.
- d* 3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. ψ 18³¹ הָאֵל תְּמִים דְּרָבּוֹ *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34⁸ שָׂכַם בְּנֵי שֵׁשׁוֹ בְּבָתְּכֶם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.
- e* 4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, a *state* or in short, a *being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses

with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 a of the 22nd to the 24th German editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, *a-d*, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142 a.

§ 141. *The Noun-clause.*

1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 a) may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יָצָא מֵעֵדֶן *and a river went out* (was going out) of *Eden*, Gn 2¹⁰.

(b) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 7⁴ אֲנֹכִי מִמָּטִיר I will cause it to rain; 14¹⁸ כֹּהֵן וְהוּא כֹהֵן *and he was priest*; 2²³ (זאת) before a feminine predicate, as אִיָּהּ before a plural in Ex 32⁴); מִי חָכָם *who is wise?* Ho 14¹⁰.—In 1 Ch 5² וּלְגִייר מִפָּנָיו *and of him one became a prince*, the subject is contained in כִּפְּנָיו.¹

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

(a) A substantive, e. g. Dt 14¹ וְגו' אֶתֶם וְגו' בְּנִים אֶתֶם *ye are children of the Lord your God*; Gn 42¹³. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e. g. Ez 41²² עֵץ וְקִירָתָיו עֵץ . . . הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *the altar (was) wood . . . , and the walls thereof (were) wood*, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gn 2¹² וְזָהָב הָאֶרֶץ הַהִיא טוֹב *and the gold of that land is good*; וְעַפְרוֹן יָשָׁב *now Ephron was sitting*, &c., Gn 23¹⁰.² Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; cf. *e* below.

(c) A numeral, e. g. Gn 42¹³ עֶשְׂרֵי עַבְדֵיךָ *the twelve (of us) are thy servants*.

¹ For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, ed. 8, p. 537, no. 27.

² Cf. the numerous examples in § 116 n-p.

(d) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 10¹² (היא), Ex 9²⁷ (אני), Gn 24⁶⁵ (כי), 1 K 9¹³ (מה).¹

(e) An adverb or (esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e. g. שם הַבְּדִלְיָה there is the bdellium, Gn 2¹²; הַיְבֵל where is Abel? 4⁹; לְעוֹלָם חֶסֶדוֹ his mercy endureth for ever, ψ 136¹¹; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ רִיכוּתוֹ riches are in his house, ψ 112³; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ we are his, ψ 100³ Q^{er}.

C Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; cf. § 128 o) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate,² since it represents something as identical with the subject (see above, b [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; cf. Ct 1¹⁰; ψ 25¹⁰ all the paths of the Lord are אֱמֶת וְחֶסֶד lovingkindness and truth (i. e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10¹⁰); Ez 38⁶, ψ 10⁵, 19¹⁰, 23⁵, 88¹⁹, Pr 3¹⁷,⁸ Jb 22¹², 23², 26¹⁸, Ru 3². Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 e), e. g. ψ 110³ thy people are נְדָבָת altogether willingness; Ct 5¹⁶, Dn 9²³.

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as regens of the predicate, e. g. Jb 6¹² אִם-בְּחַיִּים אֲבָנִים בְּחַיִּים is my strength the strength of stones? Pr 3¹⁷. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45⁹ myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments (i. e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1¹⁵ thine eyes are doves, i. e. dove's eyes (but פְּיוֹנִים);⁴ ψ 23⁵, 109⁴, Jb 8⁹, 12¹², Ct 2¹³. In prose, e. g. Ex 9³¹, Ezr 10¹³ הָעֵת נִשְׁפְּטִים the season is rain showers, i. e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34³⁰ וְאֲנִי מְתֵי מְסָפָר and I (with my family) am persons few in number. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gn 11¹, 12², Ex 17¹², Is 5¹², Jer 2²⁸, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29¹⁵ I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame, but in prose, Nu 10³¹ and thou shalt be to us כְּעֵינַיִם.

¹ 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.

² The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not pure noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הָיָה (e. g. Gn 1² and the earth was a waste and emptiness; cf. ψ 35⁶, Pr 8³⁰, Jb 3⁴) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29⁴ the voice of the Lord is with power, i. e. powerful.

³ שָׁלוֹם here, as in Jb 21⁹, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gn 43²⁷, 2 S 20⁹, ψ 120⁷, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjectivo.

⁴ As a rule, in such comparisons כִּי (which is then to be regarded as nominative) stands before the predicate, e. g. Is 63² wherefore are thy garments בְּנֵת בְּרִירֶךָ like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press? (prop. the like of one that treadeth, instar calcantis); Jer 50⁹. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw copulative* to a verbal-clause, or its equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (cf. § 107 d, as well as § 116 n and o), e.g. Gn 19¹ *and the two angels came to Sodom at even*, וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב *while Lot sat*, &c.; 18^{1.8.16.22}, 25²⁶, Ju 13⁹, 1 S 1⁹, 2 S 4⁷, 11⁴ (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gn 18¹²; with a substantival predicate, 18²⁷; with an adverbial predicate, 9²³. Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that וְ is equivalent to *whereas*, *whilst*, *although*, e.g. Gn 15², 18²⁷, 2c³, 48¹⁴ (*although he was the younger*); Ju 16¹⁵ *how canst thou say, I love thee*, וְלִבְךָ אֵין אִתִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 S 3³⁹, ψ 28³ *whilst mischief is in their hearts*. These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

3. As the examples given under *a* and *b* show, the syntactical relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind. To what period of time the statement applies must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 K 18²¹ יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9¹⁹; Is 31² גַּם־הוּא חָכֵם *yet he also is wise*; Gn 42¹¹; on the other hand, Gn 19¹ וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב *and (=while) Lot was sitting*; Ez 28¹⁵; Gn 7⁴ אֲנִי מְמַטֵּר *I am raining*, i. e. *I will rain*. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gn 27¹³ *upon me be thy curse*; Gn 11³, 20¹³, Ex 12². Cf. § 116 r, note.

Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה. The first of these will be a *compound* sentence, since the predicate to the main subject consists of an independent clause.

Examples of (*a*): Gn 41²⁶ *the seven good kine* שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים הֵנָּה *they are seven* / *years*; Dt 1¹⁷, 4²⁴; Ec 5¹⁸ זֶה מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים הִיא *this—it is a gift of God*; Nu 3²⁷ הֲאֵלֶּה הֵם; in a question, Gn 27³⁸. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person, and at the same time to connect it with the predicate which follows,¹ e.g. אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא Is 43²⁵ *I, even I, am he that blotteth out*, &c.; 51¹²; אֲתָה הוּא 2 S 7²⁸, Is 37¹⁶, ψ 44⁵, Neh 9^{6.7}; in an interrogative sentence, Jer 14²²;² in Jer 49¹³ הוּא *in a verbal-clause* strengthens אֲתָה.

¹ On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dn 2³⁸, Ezr 5¹¹, &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 δ αὐτός; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32³⁹ *see now* אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא *that I, even I, am he*; 1 Ch 21¹⁷.

i Of (b): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה, in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1² and the earth was (הָיְתָה) waste and emptiness, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; הָיְתָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3¹. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which הָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Ju 1⁷, Jb 1¹⁴ (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Nu 14³³, &c.; cf. § 116 r. However, especially in the latter case, הָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books¹ than in the earlier.

k Rem. On the employment of הָיָה existence, and אֵין non-existence, which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est*, and *non est*, cf. § 100 o, and the *Negative Sentences*, § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gn 24^{42,49}, 43⁴, &c.), see above, § 116 g, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

l 4. The natural arrangement of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i. e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,² or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gn 3¹⁹ אַתָּה עָפָר וָאֵדָם *dust thou art*; 4⁹, 12¹³ (my sister, not my wife); 20^{2,12}, 29¹⁴, Is 6^{3b}, Jb 5²⁴, 6¹²; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is 6^{3a}, 28²¹, Jer 10⁶; with a participle, Gn 30¹, 32¹²; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gn 24⁶⁵;³ with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gn 4⁹.

m Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatz,' ZAW. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gn 4¹³; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having, possessing*, e.g. Gn 18¹⁴, 29¹⁶, &c.; cf. also 26²⁰, 31^{16,43}).

n The predicate *may* precede: (a) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as

¹ According to Albrecht, ZAW. viii. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

² For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gn 4⁷) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

³ The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex 16^{7,8}.

that which is stated about him;’ (b) ‘in order not to be a mere appendage to a subject which consists of several words,’ e.g. 2 K 20¹⁹; (c) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 S 16⁴; finally (d) in a relative clause, when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gn 2¹¹ אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ; 1^{29f}.

§ 142. The Verbal-clause.

1. By § 140 f there is an essential distinction between verbal- α clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gn 7¹⁹, 1 S 18¹, 2 S 19¹²; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gn 3²³ (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, cf. Gn 2⁵, &c.¹ In the great majority of instances, however, the position of the subject at the beginning of a verbal-clause is to be explained from the fact that the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a *state*. Verbal-clauses of this kind approximate closely in character to noun-clauses, and not infrequently (viz. when the verbal form might just as well be read as a participle) it is doubtful whether the writer did not in fact intend a noun-clause.

The particular *state* represented in the verb may consist—

(a) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed above in § 106 f (1 S 25³, &c.); also Gn 6⁸ (not *Noah found grace*); 16¹, 18¹⁷, 20⁴, 24¹, 39¹ (and *Joseph in the meanwhile had been brought down to Egypt*); 4¹⁰, Ju 1¹⁶, 1 S 9¹⁵, 14²⁷, 25²¹, 1 K 1¹, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gn 2⁶ (see further, § 112 e), since when they serve to represent an action continuing for a long period in the past, and thus to some extent a *state*.

(b) Of a fact, contemporaneous with the principal events or continuing as the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with הָיָה (provided that הָיָה has not, as in Gn 1², 3¹, &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; cf. § 141 i, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116 r); as an example of the second class, cf. e.g. Gn 13¹² אַבְרָם יָשַׁב בְּאֶרֶץ-כְּנָעַן וְגוֹ *Abraham accordingly continued to dwell in the land of Canaan, but Lot dwell, &c.*

¹ This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e.g. Gn 32¹³ אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33³ אֲנִי *he himself*.

d Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with ׀ (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 *e*. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18¹⁸ *seeing that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24⁵⁶, 26²⁷, Is 29¹³, Jer 14¹⁵, ψ 50¹⁷, Jb 21²², and such examples as Gn 4^{2,4}, 29¹⁷, where by means of ׀ a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under *b* and *c* (1 S 28³, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by ׀, which then corresponds to the Greek δέ, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 *b*.

c 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of ׀ and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38²⁵ הָיָא מְצַנְתָּא וְהָיָא שְׁלֵחָה *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44^{3,4}, Ju 18³, 19¹¹, 2 S 20⁸; for other examples, see § 116 *u* (where it is pointed out, note 1, that the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a *noun*-clause, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.]

f 2. According to what has been remarked above, under *a*, the natural order of words within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141 *l*) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position.¹ Thus the order may be:—

(*a*) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gn 30⁴⁰, 37⁴, 1 S 15¹, 2 K 23¹⁹ and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn 3^{10,14,18}, 6¹⁶, 8¹⁷, 9¹³, Ex 18²³, Ju 14³, 1 S 18¹⁷, 20⁹, 2 I¹⁰, 2 K 22⁸, Pr 13⁵, &c.

(*b*) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21⁷, Nu 5²³, 1 S 15³³, 2 S 24¹⁶ (but הַמְלֵאךָ is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19¹³, ψ 34²², Jb 11¹⁹, &c.

(*c*) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3¹⁷, 11⁸, 13¹⁸, Ho 12¹¹, ψ 6¹⁰, 11⁵, Jb 29²⁵.²

¹ Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114 *r*, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

² This sequence occurs even in prose (Gn 17⁹, 23⁶, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetic and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater disjunctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dn 27¹⁰); cf.

(d) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 K 5¹³, Is 5¹⁷, 28¹⁷, ψ 51⁵, Pr 13¹⁶ (read בָּל).¹

(e) A substantival complement of the verb היה is placed first in Is 18⁵ יִפְתַּח יְהוָה נֶצֶחַ וַיִּבְסַר גַּמְלֵי וַיִּפְתַּח יְהוָה נֶצֶחַ and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

Rem. Of specifications compounded with a preposition those of *place* stand regularly after the verb, unless they are specially emphatic as e. g. Gn 19², 30¹⁶, 32⁵, Mi 5¹, Est 9¹²; in Gn 29²⁵ בְּרִחַל with בְּ pretii precedes for the sake of emphasis. Cf., however, in Gn 35¹³ the order *verb—specification of place—subject*.—The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e. g. in Gn 13¹⁵ (26³), 15³; even before the interrogative, Gn 27³⁷ (cf. Jer 22¹⁵ where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 S 20⁸, Jb 34³¹ where a prepositional specification precedes).—Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gn 1¹), בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, &c. (but not בְּרֵאשִׁית, nor the simple רֵאשִׁית, בְּתַחֲלָה, לְעוֹלָם), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.; so also certain adverbs of time, such as אָז, עַתָּה, whilst others like עוֹד, תָּמִיד regularly follow the verb.

§ 143. The Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence (§ 140 d) is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject² (which always precedes, see c) and

(a) An independent noun-clause, which (a) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e. g. Na 1³ יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה רִבְּוָה the Lord—in the storm is his way; 2 S 23⁶, ψ 18³¹, 104¹⁷, 125², Ec 2¹⁴; cf. also Gn 34²³, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e. g. Is 59²¹ וְאַנִּי זֶה אֲתִי אֲתֵם and as for me, this is my covenant with them, &c.; Gn 9⁹, 17⁴, Is 1⁷, 1 Ch 28²;³ with an interrogative noun-clause, Gn 37³⁰, Jb 21⁴, 38¹⁹:—or (β) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e. g. 1 S 20²³ and as touching the matter which, &c. . . behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever; Pr 27².

Gesenius, *Comm.* on Is 42²⁴, and Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 84. 1 b. The pure Aramaic usage of placing the *object* before the *infinitive* occurs in Hebrew in Lv 19⁹, 21²¹, Dt 28⁵⁶, 2 S 11¹⁹, Is 49⁶, 2 Ch 28¹⁰, 31⁷, 36¹⁹ (?).

¹ This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e. g. Gn 37¹⁶, 41⁹, 2 S 13⁴, &c., in interrogative sentences, e. g. 2 K 6²², Jer 7¹⁹; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

² In Gn 31⁴⁰ a verbal-clause (הָיִיתִי I was) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

³ In 1 Chr 28² (cf. also 22⁷ אֲנִי הָיִיתִי עִם-לְבָבִי אֲנִי might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to I myself had it in my mind), as e. g. Ez 33¹⁷ whereas their own way is not equal; cf. § 135 f.

b (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix,¹ e.g. Gn 9⁶ (cf. § 116 w); 17¹⁵ *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26¹⁵, 28¹³, 34³, Ex 30³⁷, 32¹, 1 S 2¹⁰, 2 K 10²⁹, Is 9¹, 11¹⁰, Ez 33², Ho 9¹¹, ψ 11⁴, 46⁵, 65⁴, 74¹⁷, Dn 1¹⁷; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24²⁷; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19¹⁷ *every one that mentions it (Judah) to it (Egypt), it (Egypt) is afraid*.

c Rem. i. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*²) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Na 1³ if it were הָיָה בְּסוֹפָהּ; cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13¹⁵, 21¹³, 35¹², 47²¹ (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps הָעֵבֶר); 1 S 25²⁹; a specification of place, Gn 2¹⁷, 2 K 22¹³, &c.; a substantive with הָ, 1 S 9²⁰, 2 S 6²³; cf. the examples in § 135 a.—In Nu 15²⁹ 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 6¹⁹, 33²⁴), cf. § 111 h; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex 4²¹, 12⁴⁴, Nu 23³, 1 S 25²⁷, 2 S 14¹⁰, Is 9⁴, 56^{6f.}), § 112 t and m; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 oo and § 116 w.—In Jb 15¹⁷ *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23¹², ψ 115⁷, the imperfect is separated by הָ from the *wāw apodosis*; in Jb 4⁶ as for *thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, 36⁶, Ec 5⁶, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 oo at the end, and Gn 40⁹, 2 S 15³⁴ הָיָה עַבְדִּי וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עַבְדִּי and *now* (so far as the present is concerned) *I will be thy servant*, Nu 12¹², Jer 4¹ (*me thou needest not fear*).

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by הָ (*in respect to*; cf. § 119 u) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18⁸ (unless the הָ here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 n); Is 32¹ (where, however, וְשָׂרִי should most probably be read); Ec 9⁴, 1 Ch 7¹, 24^{20ff.}, 2 Ch 7²¹. On the other hand, ψ 16³, 17⁴, 32⁶, 89¹⁹, 116⁹¹, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9⁴, and in כֹּלֵךְ Gn 9¹⁰, 23¹⁰, Ex 27^{3,19}, Ez 44⁹, &c., הָ is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lū, surely*; Assyrian *lū*; with כֹּל it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also הָ. הָ *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos 17¹⁶, Ezr 1¹¹, Assyrian *lū—lū*.

¹ Cf. the Mēša' 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.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a *a* specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of preformatives). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. וַיְרַעְפֵם Ez 23⁴⁹; וַעֲשִׂיתֶם Ru 1⁸; in the imperfect, Jo 2²², Ct 2⁷; in the imperative, Am 4¹, Zc 13⁷ (for other examples, see § 110 k). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 a and b.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 g; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 o, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 d, between subject and predicate, § 145 p, t, u.

2. The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially *b* in the masculine, e.g. וַיְהִי and *it came to pass*, וְהָיָה and *it shall come to pass*; הָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i. e. *he became angry*, Gn 4⁶, &c.; לוֹ וַיִּצָר lit. *and it became strait to him*, *he was distressed*, Gn 32⁸;¹ also in the feminine, e.g. וַתִּצָר 1 S 30⁶ (Ju 10⁹) וַתִּצָר לְרוּר; Ju 11³⁹, Jer 7³¹, Ez 12²⁵, Jb 15³² (unless הַמְיִרְתוּ in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1⁶ (רִכְזָה), 29⁶ (תִּפְקַד). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7⁷, 14²⁴, Jer 10⁷, Jb 4⁵, 18¹⁵ (in 2 K 24⁷ בָּל־אֲשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19⁵ אֲשֶׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17¹¹ וְהָיָה and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd C sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. אֵר it *becomes light*, 1 S 29¹⁰ (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44³); וַיֵּאֵר and *it became light*; so also יַחֲשֶׁה it *grows dark*, Jer 13¹⁶; but וַחֲשֶׁה Mi 3⁶; תִּעֲפֶה though *there be darkness*, Jb 11¹⁷; תִּמְטֵר it *rains*, Am 4⁷ (where, however, the context requires the reading אֲמַטֵּר); ψ 50³ נִשְׁעָרָה it *is tempestuous*.

¹ In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms חם *hot*, טוב *good, well*, מר *bitter*, צר *narrow*, רע *evil* (frequently joined by לוֹ, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on ψ 18⁷, as adjectives.

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. אָרָב *one* (sc. any one who named it, see the Rem.) called (or calls) it, Gn 11⁹, 16¹⁴, 19²², Ex 15²³; וְיִקְרָא Gn 35^{8,10}, 2 S 2¹⁶, Is 9⁵; וַיֹּאמֶר *one said*, Gn 48¹, 1 S 16⁴;² other examples are Gn 38²⁸ *one put out a hand*; Nu 23²¹, 1 K 22³⁸, Is 6¹⁰ לֹא וְרָפָא and *one heals them*; 8⁴ (וַיִּשָּׂא); 46⁷ (וַיַּעַק); Am 6¹², Mi 2⁴, Jb 27²³; by the 3rd singular feminine (הִיאֲרָאֵת) Nu 26⁵⁹.

e Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. קָרָא וְקָרָא. This view is supported by the fact that such a complement sometimes occurs, e. g. Is 16¹⁰ יִרְרֶף הַדֵּירָה *the treader treads out*, for *one treads out*; 28^{4,24} (doth one plow continually?); Dt 17⁶ (Ez 18³²), Dt 22⁸, 2 S 17⁹ (Ez 33⁴), Jer 9²³; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun, a sayer says, i. e. some one says*), e. g. Nu 6⁹, Am 9¹; cf. above, § 116 t, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16⁴.

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29² for out of that well וַיִּשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) watered the flocks; 26¹⁸, 35⁵, 41¹³, 49³¹, 1 K 1², Is 38¹⁶, Ho 12⁹, Jb 18¹⁸, 34²⁰, Est 2², Neh 2⁷.

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e. g. Gn 34²⁷. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 c); e. g. Jb 7³ wearisome nights מְנוּחָי have they allotted to me (equivalent to were allotted to me; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4¹⁹, 6², 18¹⁸, 19²⁶, 34²⁰, Ez 32²⁵, ψ 63¹¹, Pr 2²² (in parallelism with a passive); 9¹¹.

h (c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7²⁵ לֹא-תָבֹאוּ *one will* (or can) not come thither (prop. thou wilt . . .); Jer 23³⁷, Pr 19²⁵, 30²⁸ (unless the reading should be תִּתְפַּשׂ). Cf. also וְעַד-בֹּאֲךָ or simply בֹּאֲךָ (Gn 10^{19,30}, 13¹⁰ בֹּאֲךָ) prop. until thy coming, i. e. until one comes.

i (d) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38²³ and all thy wives and thy children מְוַצְיֵם (prop. are they bringing out =) they will bring out, &c.; cf. Is 32¹², Ez 13⁷, Neh 6¹⁰ (for some are coming to slay thee)

¹ In 1 S 9⁹ הָאִישׁ (prop. the man) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

² Elsewhere in such cases וַיִּשְׁמַר usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 S 23²²), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48¹, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 d, note. In Gn 48² for the extraordinary וַיִּגַּר the common form וַיִּגַּר is to be read; so in 50²⁶ for וַיִּשָּׂם (after a plural) either וַיִּשָּׂם or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21²¹ וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

and the passages discussed above, § 116 t.¹ In 1 K 5¹ the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e. g. Gn 4²⁶ לָקְרָא אֶת הַחַיִּים אָז הִוָּחַלְתָּ then (was it begun =) *he* began men to call upon, &c. (but read הָיָה הַחַיִּים *he* began).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, ^l is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence,² one of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or member by which the action in question is performed, and may be most often rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the manner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in common, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the same person as the personal subject.³ They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117 s, with which they are often confused.

(a) Examples where the subject denoting the *thing* precedes, מִקוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵי-הַיְהוָה, *m* קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵי אֶקְרָא *my voice—I cry unto the Lord*, i. e. *I cry aloud unto the Lord*, ψ 3⁵, 27⁷, 142²; בִּי-קוֹלֵי אֶמְצֵל *my mouth—I cried*, i. e. *I cried aloud*, ψ 66¹⁷ (cf. 17¹⁰); Is 26⁹ בְּנַפְשִׁי *with my soul*, i. e. *fervently*, and parallel with it אֶפְרָרְגְתִּי; but נַפְשִׁי ψ 57⁵ is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. *I*.

(b) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צִחְלֵי קוֹלֵךְ *cry—thy voice* (i. e. *aloud*), Is 10³⁰; so also after an imperative, ψ 17¹³ (חַרְבֵךְ); and verse 14 (יִרְךְ); 60⁷, 108⁷ (יִמְיִנְךְ); after a perfect, Hb 3¹⁵ (סִנְיִךְ); after a cohortative, ψ 108² (אֶפְרָרְגְוּ). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44³ יִרְךְ אֶתְהָהּ.⁴

Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a *tu* subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another

¹ That this form of expression also (see *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dn 4²², which exclude any idea of human agency. Cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2 e at the end, and in post.-bibl. Hebrew, e. g. *Pirqe Aboth* 2, 16; 3, 5, &c.

² Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in ψ 83¹⁹.

³ In Ex 6³ שָׁמְעוּ is subordinated to the following passive נִוָּרְעָתִי (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25^{26,33} יָדֵי, יָרְךְ are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹשִׁיעַ, according to § 113 *gg*. In ψ 69¹¹ read וְאֶבְכֶה וְאֶעֱנֶה for וְאֶבְכֶה.

⁴ In several of the above examples it might naturally be supposed that the subject denoting the thing (especially when it follows the verb) is to be explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i. e. as an accusative, analogous to the adverbial accusatives in § 118 *q*. But although it is true that the subject denoting the thing often defines more closely the manner in which the action is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, ψ 89², 109³⁰, Jb 19¹⁶, בִּי occurs with בְּ *instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

person; cf. e.g. Gn 40²² (41¹³), 41¹⁴, 43³⁴ (and he commanded to set before them, &c.); 46²⁹, 2 S 12⁹.

O 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24¹¹ after **וַתִּקַּח** either **עַל יַדִּי** has dropped out (through confusion with **עַל יַדִּי**) or we should read with the LXX **וַתִּקַּח**. In 2 S 13³⁹ (**וַתִּבְלֶה הָיָד**) the text is obviously corrupt.

P 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language¹ there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49⁴ (?), Is 31⁶ (?), 42²⁰, 52¹⁴, 61⁷, Mal 2¹⁵ (where, however, for **וַיִּבְנֶה** we should undoubtedly read **וַתִּבְנֶה**); ψ 22⁹ [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22¹⁶, 47⁸, 48¹, 54^{1,11}, Jer 22¹⁶, 49^{4,16}, Am 5^{6f.}, Mic 1² (= 1 K 22²⁸), Mal 3⁹, 2 K 9³¹; and after **הוּא** Is 5⁸, 29¹⁵, Jer 22¹³]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32¹⁵, Is 1²⁹ (but read probably **וַתִּמְדַּתְּ** for **וַתִּמְדַּתְּ**, which has caused the insertion of **וַתִּמְדַּתְּ**), 5⁸, Jer 29¹⁹, Jb 16⁷, cf. also Dt 32¹⁷. From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3¹ (in a relative clause). In Jb 13²⁸ the 3rd pers. **וְהוּא** is probably employed *δειακτικῶς* for the 1st.

§ 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. **זֶאת בְּרִיתִי** *this is my covenant*, Gn 17¹⁰). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see b-l below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) before the subject.

b 2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123 a), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123 b), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.

Examples:—

C (a) Of collectives proper (cf. § 132 g): (a) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30³⁸ **הַצֹּאן תִּבְרָאֵן** (cf. 30³⁹, 31⁸ and 33¹³); Ju 1^{22f.} **בְּיַת** representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4³ **גֹּיִם**; 2 K 25⁵ **חַיִּל** *army*; Pr 11²⁶ **לְאִים**

¹ In prose, Lv 2⁸; but **וַתִּקְרֶיבָהּ** here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26⁷, where there is a transition to direct narration.

the people; Nu 10³ בְּלִיְהוּדָה all the congregation (cf. 1 K 8⁵); 1 K 1⁴⁰, Is 9⁸, 25³, Am 1⁵ עַם; 1 S 17⁴⁷, Ezr 10¹² קְהָל assembly. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 i), e.g. 1 K 20²⁰ וַיִּנְסוּ אֲרָם and the Syrians fled; 1 S 4⁵.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8⁵ צֹאן וּבָקָר sheep and oxen, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 1¹⁴ הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרְשֹׁת הַרְשֹׁת the cattle (cows) were ploughing; 2 S 3¹ and 1 Ch 10⁶ בָּיִת = family (in 1 S 6¹³ בַּיִת שְׁמֵשׁ on the analogy of names of countries, is used for the inhabitants of Bethshemesh); Ho 11⁷, Ezr 4⁴ עַם; ψ 68¹¹ הַיְהִי herd [if correct, figuratively for people]; Is 26¹⁹ גְּבֻלָּה dead bodies; Is 27¹¹ קִצִּיר boughs; 1 S 4¹ יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(b) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (α) with the predicate preceding, Gn 34²⁴ וְזָכָר; Ju 9⁶⁵, 15¹⁰ אִישׁ; Is 16⁴ רֹמֵם the treader down.—(β) with the predicate following, Jb 8¹⁹ אֲהֵר = others; Ez 28³ סֵתוּם a secret; [ψ 9⁷, and even after וְהָ Jb 19¹⁹.]

(c) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (α) with the predicate preceding, 1 S 17⁴⁶ בְּלִיְהוּדָה וְיִדְעוּ that all the earth may know, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9²³, ψ 66¹, 96^{1,9}, &c.; Am 1⁸ שְׂאִירֵי רֵמְנָנְתְּ remnant; (ψ 33⁸ בְּלִיְהוּדָה).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41⁵⁷, 2 S 15²³, 1 K 10²⁴, Gn 48⁶ מוֹלָדָת issue; 1 S 2³³ כָּל-מַרְבִּית all the increase; Jb 30¹² חֲרָחָה rabble. In Hag 2⁷ read חֲמַרְת with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35¹¹, Ex 10²⁴, 14¹⁰, Dt 1³⁹, &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 c.

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially when the predicate precedes; see o below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex 1²⁰ וַיִּרְבֵּה הָעָם וַיִּעֲצְמוּ מְאֹד and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty; 33⁴.

3. On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning (§ 124 a) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124 g-i; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132 h), as אֱלֹהִים Gn 1^{1,3}, &c. (but see the Rem.), מֶלֶךְ master, Ex 21⁴ בְּעֵלִים master, owner, Ex 21²⁹; cf., moreover, פְּנִים with the singular, Jb 16¹⁶ *Keth.*, רַחֲמִים Pr 12¹⁰.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Ec 12⁹ קְהָלַת חָכָם הִיא הַיְהִי the preacher was wise.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים God with the plural of the predicate may be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19², 20¹⁰, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *E* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 g, note 2. So Gn 20¹³ (but in conversation with a heathen); 31⁵³, 35⁷, cf. also Jos 24¹⁹. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9¹⁸ compared with Ex 32^{4,8}, and 1 Ch 17²¹ compared with 2 S 7²³. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20¹³ in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77.

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate¹ (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 s); thus Jo 1²⁰ שָׂרָה תַעֲרַג בְּהֵמוֹת שָׂרָה *the beasts of the field long*; Jer 12⁴ (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12⁷; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24¹³, Is 34¹³, Jer 4¹⁴, 51²⁹, ψ 18³⁵, 37³¹, 73² *Keth.*, 103⁶ (unless הַמַּחֲרֵשׁ is to be read for תַּתְּחַדֵּשׁ), Jb 14¹⁹, 27²⁰; with the predicate following, Gn 49²² (בְּנֹת = *branches*); Dt 21⁷, 1 S 4¹⁵ (וְעֵינָיו קָמָה),² 2 S 10⁹, Is 59¹², Jer 2¹⁵ *Keth.*, 48⁴¹, 49²⁴, Pr 15²², 20¹⁸, Jb 41¹⁰.³

l 5. Moreover, the plural of persons (especially in the participle) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gn 27²⁹ (Nu 24⁹) אֲרָרְיָךְ אֶרְרֶךְ וּמְבַרְכְּיָךְ בָּרִיךְ *those that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them*; Ex 31¹⁴, Lv 17¹⁴ and 19⁸ (in both places the Samaritan has אֲכָלוּ); Is 3¹² unless נְשִׂיו is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 k; Pr 3^{18.36} (?), 18²¹ (?), 21^{27b}, 27¹⁶, 28^{1b}, 28¹⁶ *Keth.*

nn Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent⁴ use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal-suffixes* in Dt 21¹⁰, 28⁴⁸, Am 6¹⁰; and the *noun-suffixes* in Is 2⁸, 30²², Jer 31¹⁴, Ho 4⁸ (but since ו follows, נַפְשִׁי is undoubtedly a dittography for נַפְשֵׁי), Zc 14¹², ψ 5¹⁰ (where, however, בְּיָמֹו is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62⁵, 141¹⁰ (?), Jb 38³², Ec 10¹⁵ [but LXX הַהַכְטִיל]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2⁵⁰ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה-לִּי *which they made each one for himself* (according to others, *which they (the makers) made for him*); 5²⁶, 8²⁰, Jb 24⁵, in each case לִי; in Gn 2¹⁹ לוֹ refers to the collectives הֵיחָד and עוֹף; cf. further, Jos 24⁷, Is 5²³ מְאֹנָנִי אַחֲרַי (but read probably צַדִּיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1¹¹ לְכֶם עֲבָרִי לְכֶם [cf. Jer 13²⁰ *Keth.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

¹ Cf. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate τὰ πρόβατα βαίνει; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (properly collective forms).

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. Jo 1²⁰, ψ 37³¹, 103⁵.

³ In Pr 14¹ an abstract plural חַכְמוֹת (to be read thus with g¹, &c., instead of חַכְמוֹת) is construed with the singular; but cf. § 86 l, § 124 e, end.

⁴ In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*REJ.* xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally. [Cf. Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 362, on 16⁷.]

6. Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, *n* since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88 *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַיִם, Gn 29¹⁷ לְאֵה רְבוֹת and *Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 S 24³, Is 30²⁰, Jer 14⁶, Mi 7¹⁰, ψ 18²⁸, 38¹¹ (on the other hand, in 1 S 4¹⁵ the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mi 4¹¹ *before* it; on both constructions cf. *k* above); so also אָזְנוֹתַי *ears*, 2 Ch 6⁴⁰; יָדַיִם *hands*, Is 1¹⁵, Jb 10⁸, 20¹⁰ (in Ex 17¹² even with the plural masculine כַּבְּרַיִם; cf. *q*); שְׂפָתַיִם *lips*, 1 S 1¹³, Jb 27⁴; שְׂדָרַיִם *breasts*, Ho 9¹⁴.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting 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 indefinite.² Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is 2¹⁷ וְשָׁחַבְתָּ וְנִבְהַרְתָּ and *bowed down shall be the loftiness of man*; 9¹⁸, 14¹¹, 28¹⁸, 47¹¹; 1 S 25²⁷ (see note 1 below); 1 K 8^{31b}, 22³⁶, 2 K 3²⁶, Jer 51⁴⁶, Ec 7⁷; with a following plural masc., Is 13²² וְנָצְחוּ וְנִבְהַרְתָּ and *there shall cry wolves, &c.*; Ju 13¹⁷ *Keth.*, 20⁴⁶, 1 S 1², 4¹⁰, 2 S 24¹⁵, 1 K 13³³, Jer 51⁴⁸, ψ 124⁵, Est 9²³ (see note 1 below); Gn 1¹⁴ וְהָיָה שָׁמַרְתָּ לְמִנְיֹתָם *let there be lights*; with a following plural feminine, Dt 32³⁵, 1 K 11^{3a}, Is 8⁸, Jer 13¹⁸, Mi 2⁶, ψ 57²; before collectives and mixed subjects, e. g. Gn 12¹⁶, 13⁵, 30⁴³, 32⁶, &c.; before a following dual, Is 44¹⁸, ψ 73⁷ (where, however, with the LXX וְנִבְהַרְתָּ should be read).

Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Ju 21²¹, 1 K 11^{3b}), of animals (Gn 30³⁹ where however אֶצְלָא may refer specially to male animals) or of things (Lv 26³³, Jer 13¹⁶, Ho 14⁷, ψ 164, Jb 32⁴, Ct 6⁹), or before a dual (2 S 4¹, Zp 3¹⁶, 2 Ch 15⁷) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under *o*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf., for this is the only form concerned in the above examples (cf., however, Na 3¹¹ וְהָיָה אֶצְלָא instead of וְהָיָה אֶצְלָא); cf. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110 *k*.

2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a *q* copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; cf. Gn 5^{23a}, 35⁵,

¹ Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 S 25²⁷ (but וְהָיָה אֶצְלָא should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est 9²³ (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Jb 42¹⁵ 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.*

Dt 21³ (according to the accents); 22²³, Is 18⁵ **יְהִי נָצֶה גְמִל וּבִקָּר** and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

r (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. **יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ** 119¹³⁷ upright are thy judgements; cf. verse 155.¹—On the other hand, **רָעָה** in **יִשְׁרָעֶיךָ** **נֶאֱמָרְךָ** **רָעָה** thy servants are shepherds, Gn 47³, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for **רָעִי**.

S Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e.g. Gn 14¹⁴ **וַהֲרִי . . . יְהִי כְּאֹרֶת** (see *o* above); Nu 9⁵, Ez 14¹; cf. also Gn 30³⁹ (see *p* above).

t 2. The dislike mentioned in *p* above, of using the feminine form (cf., further, § 144 *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, under *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine (cf. the treatment of several attributes following a feminine substantive, § 132 *d*); thus in Is 14⁹ **הִנֵּהוּ**, and afterwards **עוֹרֵר** (but **עוֹרֵר** is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading **הַקִּים** for **הַקִּים**); 33⁹ **אָבֵל אֶרֶץ** **אֲמַלְלָהָ** mourneth, languisheth the land. Cf. Jer 4³⁰, Jb 1¹⁹, and the examples (§ 47 *k*) where only the first of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. has the affirmative *i*, Is 57⁸, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³² (**תְּהִיָּה** after **תִּשְׁתִּי**); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Na 3¹⁵, cf. § 110 *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lv 2¹, 5¹, 20⁶, where **נִפְשָׁה** person (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

u 3. The instances in which the gender or number of the following predicate appears to differ from that of the subject are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e.g. Gn 32⁹ read with the Samaritan **הָאֵחָת** instead of **הָאֵחָת**; **וְהָיָה** then follows correctly; 1 S 2²⁰ read with Wellhausen **שָׂאֵל**, according to 1²⁸, instead of **שָׂאֵל**; 1 S 16⁴ read **וַיֹּאמְרוּ**; Ez 18²⁹ instead of **יִתְבֵּן** read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20³⁸ for **יָבוֹא**,² and in Jb 6²⁰ for **בָּטַח**; in La 5¹⁰ read **נִכְמַר**, and cf. in general, § 7 *d*, note; 1 Ch 2⁴⁸ read **יִלְרָה**; in Jer 48¹⁵ also the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The anomalies in Is 49¹¹, Ho 14¹, Pr 1¹⁶ (after **רַנְּנִלְוִי**, **י** 11⁴ (after **עֵינַי**), 63⁴, Pr 5², 10²¹⁻³² 18⁶, 26²³, Jb 15⁶ (all after **שִׁפְתַיִם**), Pr 3² (after **מִצְוֹתַי**), **י** 102²⁸, Jb 16²² (after **שְׁנוֹתַי**), Dn 11⁴¹ (read **וְרַבִּית**), and perhaps Gn 20¹⁷ are also to be explained (see *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer 44¹⁹, Pr 26²³ the plur. masc. even of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gn 31⁸ **יְהִיָּה**, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.³—In Gn 4⁷ **רִבֵּן**

¹ This does not include such cases as Jb 24^{7,10}, where **עָרוֹם** is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 *n*.

² **יָבוֹא** probably an error for **יָבֹאוּ**. The Masora on Lv 11³⁴ reckons fourteen instances of **יָבֹאוּ**, where we should expect the plural.

³ So also the pronoun **הוּא** emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141 *h*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos 13¹⁴ **הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה** the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance; in number and gender, Lv 25³³ *Qéré*; Jer 10³.

is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gn 47²⁴ יְהִיָּה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28²², Ex 12⁴⁹, 28^{7,32}, Nu 9¹⁴, 15²⁹, Jer 50⁴⁶, Ec 27 (יְהִיָּה לִי as if the sentence began afresh, and *servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot* this possession also). In Jb 20²⁶ לֹא-נִפְחָה שֵׁשׁ־אֵשׁ may (unless שֵׁשׁ־אֵשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122 o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16⁸ and Hb 3¹⁷ the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂרָמוֹת (see *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87³, Pr 2¹⁰, 12²⁵, 29²⁵, Jb 87, 36¹⁸.

§ 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

1. When the subject is composed of a nomen regens (in the construct *a* state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the nomen regens, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.¹ Thus 1 S 2⁴ קִשְׁתַּת גִּבּוֹרִים חֲתִים the *bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex 26¹², Lv 13⁹, 1 K 1⁴¹ (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17¹⁶, Is 2¹¹, 21¹⁷, Zc 8¹⁰, Jb 15²⁰, 21²¹, 29¹⁰, 32⁷ (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38²¹; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10⁹, unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive *b* stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4¹⁰ the *voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. as *one crying*) . . . != *hark! thy brother's blood is crying, &c.*; Is 13⁴, 66⁶. In Is 52⁸ an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen!*; in Jer 10²² and Ct 2⁸ an independent noun-clause; in Is 40³ קוֹל קָרָא the *voice of one that crieth!* i.e. *hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6⁹ קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יקרא.

2. When the substantive כֹּל (כָּל-) *entirety* is used in connexion with a genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֹּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5⁵ וַיְהִיו כָּל-יְמֵי אָדָם and *all the days of Adam were*, &c. (in 5²³, 9²⁹ וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads ויהיו here also); Ex 15²⁰; with the predicate following, ψ 150⁶, &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17¹⁴ (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8²⁵, Is 64¹⁰, Pr 16², Na 3⁷. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12¹⁶ the agreement of the

¹ Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with כָּל־מְלָאכָה is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, כָּל־מְלָאכָה being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d 2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e. g. Gn 8²² *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁבְּתוּ); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 d), e. g. Gn 18¹¹ $\text{אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה וְקַיִם}$ *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28³², 1 K 1²¹.

e Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27⁹ $\text{וְקַטְרֹת יִשְׁמַח־לֵב}$ *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine יִשְׁמַח (as in Is 51³ with שִׁשְׁוֹן); on the other hand, in Ex 21⁴ (where הָאִשָּׁה are the subjects) it agrees with הָאִשָּׁה as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9⁴, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.¹

f (b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40¹, Jb 3⁵, &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9²³, 11²⁹, 21³², 24⁵⁰, 34²⁰, Ju 14⁵; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e. g. Gn 3⁸, 24⁴⁵ *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother*; 33⁷; before a masculine singular and a plural, e. g. Gn 7⁷ $\text{וַיָּבֹא לֵחַ וּבָנָיו}$ *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gn 8¹⁸ (where feminines plural also follow); 44¹⁴, Ex 15¹, 2 S 5²¹; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12².

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e. g. Gn 31¹⁴ $\text{וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה}$ *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e. g. Gn 24⁶¹; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12¹ $\text{וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן}$ *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5¹; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e. g. Gn 33⁷ (cf., on the other hand, ψ 75⁴ $\text{וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵיָהָ וְכָל־יִשְׁבְּתֵיהָ}$ *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8¹³.—In Jer 44²⁵ for $\text{וְנִשְׁיָכֶם וְאֶתֶם}$ read אֶתֶם with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21³², 24⁶¹, 31¹⁴, 33⁷, &c., and § 145 s.

¹ Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33² *he put . . . Leah and her children after*; אַחֲרֵיהֶם agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or α the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context.¹ Besides the instances enumerated in § 116 s (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152 u, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see *c* below).

Rem. Incomplete sentences are very common in Chronicles, but are mostly due to the bad condition of the text; cf. Driver, *Introd.*⁶, p. 537, no. 27. Thus in 2 Ch 11^{22b} restore הַשֵּׁב, with the LXX, before הַמְלִיכוֹת; in 35²¹ add אֲתִי, with the LXX, after הַיּוֹם and read פָּרַת for בָּיִת; in 2 Ch 19⁶ and 28²¹ the pronoun הוּא is wanted as subject, and in 30⁹ the predicate יָהִי; cf. also the unusual expressions in 1 Ch 9³³ (Ezr 3³), 1 Ch 15¹³ (*ye were not present?*), 2 Ch 15³, 16^{10,12} (b¹³), 18³.

2. The demonstrative particle הִנֵּה, הִנְיָ *en, ecce* may be used either β absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 b) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 28¹⁵ וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי עִמָּךְ *and, behold! I am with thee*; 37⁷, 48²¹, Ex 3¹³, 34¹⁰, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100 o. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100 p. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.² If הִנְיָ 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 הִנְיָ with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate.³ Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנְיָ takes the place of the

¹ This does not apply to such cases as Gn 33⁸, where an infinitive with לֵּ appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; cf. also Gn 26⁷, where הִיא must again be supplied after אֲשֶׁתִּי.

² On the same analogy any substantive following הִנְיָ 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 הִנְיָ were felt to be accusatives.

³ That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. מַת in חַת הַיָּמִים Gn 20⁸) cannot be taken as a second accusative (as it were *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

subject and copula (as Gn 18⁹ הִנֵּה בְּאֶהֱלֵךְ *behold she is in the tent*; 42²⁸), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to הִנֵּה with the suffix, as in the frequent use of הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּנִי *here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הִנֵּה (or הֵן Gn 11⁶, Jb 31³⁵), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22⁷ הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *here is the fire and the wood, &c.*; 12¹⁹ *behold thou hast thy wife!* Ex 24⁸; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7¹ וְהָיָה לְקֶשֶׁת וְגו' *and lo, it was the latter growth, &c.* By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9¹⁹, *lo, here am I!*

- C 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(a) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7²⁰ *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon!* (verse 18 without הָרֶבֶב); 2 S 20¹ and 2 Ch 10¹⁶ (cf. also 1 K 22³⁶) *every man to his tents, O Israel!* (i. e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent*); without אֵשׁ 1 K 12¹⁶; moreover, Is 1²³, 13⁴ (on the exclamatory קוֹל equivalent to *hark!* cf. § 146 b); 28¹⁰, 29¹⁶ (הִפְכֵּכְכֶם *O your perversity!* i. e. *how great it is!*); Jer 49¹⁶ (if תִּפְלַעַתְךָ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee!*); Jo 4¹⁴, Mal 1¹³ (הִנֵּה מִתְלַאֵף *behold what a weariness!*); Jb 22²⁹; perhaps also Gn 49⁴ פָּחוּ בַּפִּיִם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אָתָּה (*thou wast*).—(b) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4²⁰, cf. § 152 k; Jb 15²³ אֵינִי *where sc. is bread?*—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7¹⁸ (see above); 1 K 12¹⁶ (see above); 2 K 9²⁷ גַּם אִתּוֹ *him also!* explained immediately afterwards by הִכֵּהוּ *smite him!* Ho 5⁸ *after thee, Benjamin!* sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5¹⁴); ψ 6⁴, 90¹³, Hb 2⁶ עַד-מָתִי; ψ 74⁹ עַד-מָה.—On וְלֹא *and if not* (unless וְלִי is to be read), 2 S 13²⁶, 2 K 5¹⁷, see § 159 dd.

- d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections אָהֵה, אָוִי, הוֹי, הֵם; ¹ cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with לְ (cf. *vae tibi*) or לְ-אֵל or עַל-, e.g. אָוִי לָנוּ *woe unto us!* 1 S 4⁸, Is 6⁵; cf. also אָהֵה לַיּוֹם *alas for the day!* Jo 1¹; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (after הוֹי) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, אָהֵי הוֹי *alas, my brother!* 1 K 13³⁶,

¹ We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הֵם Ju 3¹⁹, Am 6⁹) stand quite disconnectedly (so always אָתָּא and הָאָתָּא).

Jer 22¹⁸; אַח הַטֵּמֵא הוּי גֹי חַטָּא *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1⁴, 5^{8.11.18.20.22} (*ah! they that . . .*).—For אַח cf. Hb 2²⁰, Zp 1⁷, Zc 2¹⁷.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *c* may perhaps occur in יְדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם ψ 115⁷, for יָדַיִם לָהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פִּה־לָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפִילִגְשׁוֹ Gn 22²⁴, and וְחַלְיוֹ Ec 5¹⁶ are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נִבְיָאֵיכֶם Nu 12⁶; cf. § 128 *d* above.

II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

§ 148. Exclamations.

The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations *a* of wonder or indignation = *O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהִי or וְאֵת according to § 136 *c*.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מָה Jb 31¹) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!*; in Jo 1¹⁸ by מָה.

Examples:—

מָה (or מָה־ with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27²⁰ (מָה־זֶה); 38²⁹, Nu 24⁵ (*how goodly are . . .!*); ψ 21², Ct 7²; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28¹⁷, ψ 8²; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6²⁰ (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer 22²³, Jb 26^{2f.}; indignantly, Gn 3¹³ מָה־זֵאת 4¹⁰, 20⁹, 31²⁶ *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26⁹, ψ 73¹⁹; in scornful exclamation, Is 14^{4.12}; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה, 2 S 1^{25.27}; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39⁹, 44⁸, ψ 11¹, 137⁴; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2⁴.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is 1²¹, La 1¹; with the imperfect, La 2¹, 4¹.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7¹⁸ מִי־אֵל כְּמוֹךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18²⁰; cf. 33¹¹, Is 7⁹, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 *ee*.

§ 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gn 22¹⁶) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulæ as חַי־יְהוָה,

חַי־נַפְשְׁךָ¹, חַי אֲנִי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2³⁰, 2 S 20²⁰, Jb 27⁵ after חָלִילָה לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

- b* Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it*; then naturally אִם־לֹא properly *if I do it not* equivalent to *I certainly will do it*. It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations, put into the mouth of God, as in Dt 1^{34 f.}, Is 14²⁴, 22¹⁴, Jer 22⁶, Ez 3⁶, 35⁶, ψ 95¹¹. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם־לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25²², where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְרוּךְ with the LXX for לְאִיבֵי רוּךְ.

Examples:—

- c* (a) The particles אִם and אִם־לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11¹¹ (see note on *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ אִם־אֵעֲשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14⁴⁵, 2 K 5¹⁶ (after חַי יְהוָה; in 1 S 14³⁹ and 29⁶ חַי־י is followed by a simple כִּי); Ct 2⁷, 3⁵ (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14²³, 21²³, 26²⁹; spoken by God, Dt 1^{34 f.}, 1 S 3¹⁴, ψ 95¹¹; similarly אִם־לֹא Gn 24^{37 f.}; spoken by God, Is 14²⁴, 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 22⁶; in Gn 31⁵² the negative oath introduced by אִם־אֲנִי אִם־אֶתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34¹⁰ the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם־לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הֲנִי.
- d* (b) אִם and אִם־לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3¹⁷ כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־תִּבְחַר מִפְּנֵי דָבָר וּנְיָ *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; cf. 1 S 25²². On the other hand, כִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14⁴⁴, 1 K 2²³ (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3³⁵ אִם כִּי; in 1 S 25³⁴ the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20¹³ the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.
- e* (c) אִם and אִם־לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5⁸ מִיָּנִי וְנֹרְאָה אִם־יֵרָאָה וְרִמָּה וּנְיָ *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is 22¹⁴, Jb 6²⁸ (in the middle of the sentence); after חָלִילָה חָלִילָה *absit*, 2 S 20²⁰; אִם־לֹא with the imperf. Is 5⁹, with the perfect, Jb 22²⁰.

¹ Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ 1 S 20³, 25²⁶ *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i.e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11¹¹ read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַי־יָיָ). On חַי and חַי־י in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93 *aa*, note.

§ 150. Interrogative Sentences.

H. G. Mitchell, 'The omission of the interrogative particle,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, Chicago, 1907, i, 113 ff.

1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special *a* interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently¹ the natural emphasis upon the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; cf. Gn 27²⁴ אָתָּה הוּא בְּנִי יַעֲשֹׂו *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18¹², Ex 33¹⁴ (פָּנֵי); 1 S 11¹² שָׂאוּל יִמְלֶךָ *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 S 22⁷, 2 S 16¹⁷, 18²⁹ לְעֶרְוֹתָיִם *is it well with the young man?* (but cf. note 1); 1 S 16⁴, 1 K 1²⁴, Is 28²⁸, Ho 4¹⁶, Zc 8⁸ (should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?); Pr 5¹⁶. So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by וְ, e. g. Jn 4¹¹ וְאֵינִי לֹא אֲחֻסָּם *and I should not have pity?* Ex 8²² *will they not stone us?* Ju 11²³, 14¹⁶, 1 S 20⁹, 24²⁰, 25¹¹, 2 S 11¹¹, 15²⁰, Is 37¹¹, 44^{19b}, Jer 25²⁹, 45⁵, 49¹², Ez 20³¹, Jb 2¹⁰, 10⁹; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with לֹא for הֲלֵא *nonne?*), 2 K 5²⁶ (but cf. note 1), La 3³³.²

Rem. The statement formerly made here that the interrogative particle is omitted especially before gutturals, cannot be maintained in view of Mitchell's statistics (op. cit. p. 123 f.). The supposed considerations of euphony are quite disproved by the 118 cases in which הֲ or הִ occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* 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 אִם³ (also אִם־וְ, less frequently אִם־וְ) *an?* in the second, e. g. 1 K 22¹⁵ . . . הֲנִלְכֶם־וְ

¹ Mitchell (op. cit.) restricts the number of instances to 39, of which he attributes 12 (or 17) to corruption of the text. Thus in Gn 27²⁴ he would read, with the Samaritan, הֲאָתָּה as in verse 21, in 1 S 16⁴ הֲשָׂאוּל, in 2 S 18²⁹ הֲשָׂאוּל as in verse 32; similarly he would read the interrogative particle in 2 K 5²⁶, Ez 11³, Jb 40²⁵, 41¹; 1 S 30⁸, 2 K 9¹⁹, Ez 11¹³, 17⁹.

² But in 1 S 27¹⁰ instead of אִם־לֹא (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either אִם־לֹא־כִי (עַל־כִּי) with the LXX, or better, אִם־אֵי (אֵי־הֵי) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23⁵ read הֲלֵא־חֲפָצִי הֲלֵא with Wellhausen.

³ Quite exceptional is the use of the particle אִם־נִי *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21⁹ אִם־נִי יֵשׁ־פֶּה *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading הֲיֵשׁ הֲיֵשׁ; but cf. the full discussion of the passage by König, *ZAW*. xviii. 239 ff.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with כֹּה *what?* such as כֹּה־כַּמּוֹ *how many?* כֹּה־לָּמָּה *why?* (see § 102 k), כֹּה־מָדּוּעַ *why?* (§ 99 e), or by אֵי־הֵי *where?* אֵי־הֵי, אֵי־כֹה *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

לָנָהְלָא אִם נָא shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אַיְ where? whither? אֵיְנָהּ whither, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הֵּ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 43⁷ אַח לָכֶם הֵּי הַיֵּשׁ לָכֶם is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? for הַיֵּשׁ cf. Gn 24¹³, 1 S 9¹¹; for הֵּי is it that? Jb 6²²; for הֵּי הֲכִי יֵשׁ is there yet? 2 S 9¹ (but in 2 S 23¹⁹ for הֵּי read הֵּנוּ with 1 Ch 11²⁵); for הֵּי הֲאִין is there not? 1 K 22⁷, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2³ hast thou considered (הֲשִׁמַּתָּ לְבָבְךָ) my servant Job? In other cases הֵּ (= num?) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14¹⁴ if a man die, הֲיִחַיֶּה shall he indeed live again? Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal,² e.g. 2 S 7⁵ בֵּית הַאֲמָה תְּבַנֶּה לִּי בֵּית הַאֲמָה shall thou build me an house? (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17⁴ לֹא אֲמָה וְנִי לֹא אֲמָה thou shalt not, &c.); Gn 4⁹ אֲחֵי אֲנִי אֲמַלְכֶם am I my brother's keeper? cf. 2 K 5⁷, and the two passages where הֵּ is used before the infinitive (constr. Jb 34¹³, absol. Jb 40²; on both, see § 113 *ee*, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 K 16³¹ for הֲנִקֵּל (after וַיְהִי) read הֲנִקֵּל.

c Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3¹¹ surely thou hast eaten; Gn 27³⁶ קָרָא הֲכִי קָרָא prop. is it so that one names? &c., i. e. of a truth he is rightly named Jacob; Gn 29¹⁵ verily thou art my brother; Dt 11³⁰, Ju 4⁶, 1 S 2²⁷ I did indeed, &c.; 20³⁷, 1 K 22³ ye know surely . . .; Mi 3¹, Jb 20⁴.—In 1 S 23¹⁹ (cf. ψ 54²) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא); in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9⁷ a concession is expressed by הֲלֹא I have, it is true, &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הֵיא בְּתוֹבָה Jos 10¹³ or הֲלֹא הֵיא בְּתוֹבִים equivalent to surely it is, they are written (the latter in 1 K 11⁴¹, 14²⁹, and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הֲנִה בְּתוֹבָה 2 S 1¹⁸, and הֲנִם בְּתוֹבִים 1 K 14¹⁹, 2 K 15¹¹, 2 Ch 27⁷, 32³².

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 S 2²² turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i. e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.; cf. 1 S 19¹⁷, and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25¹⁶; also Gn 27⁴⁵, Ex 32¹² (Jo 2¹⁷, ψ 79¹⁰, 115²); Ct 1⁷, Ec 5⁵, 7¹⁷, Dn 1¹⁰.

pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אַיְ, see the Lexicon.

¹ On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107 *t*; on the *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106 *n*.

² Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מָה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Ct 8⁴ מַה תַּעֲוִירוּ why should ye stir up? i. e. pray, stir not up; cf. also Jb 31¹; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by **אֵין** (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1²⁷, Is 29¹⁶, Jb 6¹², 39¹³.

(b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by **אֵין—וְ** (*utrum—an?*) *g* or sometimes by **אֵין—וְ**, e. g. Jo 1², Jb 21⁴ (even with **וְ** repeated after **אֵין** in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17¹⁷). In Jb 34¹⁷, 40^{8 f.} special emphasis is given to the first member by **הֲאֵין** prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by **וְאֵין** or in 2 K 6²⁷, Jb 16³, 38²⁸, 31³⁶ (Mal 1⁸ **וְאֵין**), in each case before **וְ**, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination **וְ אֵין**; cf. also Ju 18¹⁹, Ec 2¹⁹.

Double questions with (**אֵין**) **אֵין—וְ** need not always be mutually exclusive; *h* frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e. g. Gn 37⁸) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4¹⁷ *shall mortal man be just before God? or (אֵין) shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6^{5 f.}, 8³, 10^{4 f.}, 11^{2, 7}, 22³, Is 10¹⁵, Jer 5²⁹. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple **וְ**, e. g. Jb 13⁷, 15^{7 f.}, 38^{16 f.} 22.32.39; cf. also **וְ** 8⁵ after **וְהָ**; Jb 21^{17 f.} after **כִּפְהָ**; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8¹¹, 22⁴; after **וְהָ** **וְ** 144³.

(c) With regard to *indirect* questions² after verbs of inquiring, doubling, *i* examining,³ &c., simple questions of this kind take either **וְ** *whether*, Gn 8^{8, 4} or **אֵין** Gn 15⁵, 2 K 1², Ct 7¹³; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5¹; in 1 S 20¹⁰ the indirect question is introduced by **אֵין**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אֵין—וְ** Nu 13¹⁸ at the end (or **אֵין—אֵין—וְ** Gn 24²¹, 27²¹, 37³², Ex 16⁴), and **וְ—וְ** Nu 13¹⁸, which is followed by **אֵין—וְ**; also **אֵין—וְ** Ec 2¹⁹. The formula **אֵין יוֹדַע מִי** has an affirmative force, *who knows whether . . . not*, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4¹⁴.

In Jon 1^{7, 8} the relative pronouns **מִי** and **מִיֶּשֶׁר** owing to the following *h* **מִי** have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) **וְהָ** and **הֲוָה** (cf. § 136 c) immediately after the interrogative serve to *l* give vividness to the question; so also **אֵין** (for which **אֵין** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27³³ **הֲוָה אֵין** *who then is he?* Ju 9⁸⁸, Is 16¹², Jb 17¹⁵; **אֵין** *אֵין*

¹ **אֵין** occurs in Pr 27²⁴ after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **וְאֵין**. Not less irregular is **הֲלֵא** instead of **לֵא** **אֵין** in the second clause of Ju 14¹⁵, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Ju'ges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23¹¹ the second **וְ** introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17²³ and in the third clause of Jb 6¹³, **אֵין** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **הֲלֵא**, since **אֵין** from its use in oaths (see above, § 149 b) may simply mean *verily not*.

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). Cf. also § 137 c.

³ In Gn 43⁸ the **וְ** after **הֲיִרְדָּה** is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

⁴ Also in Ec 3²¹ we should read **הֲעֵלָה** and **הֲיִרְדָּה** (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . . ? However, אֲנִי may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33¹⁶, Is 22¹; also Ho 13¹⁰, since either אֲנִי is a dialectical form of אֲנִי, or אֲנִי should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27³⁷.¹

m (e) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is 5⁴ after מַדְרִיעַ *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i. e. wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is 50²; after הָ Nu 32⁸, Jer 8⁴, also Nu 16²² (read אֲנִי); after אֲלֵה Jos 22²⁰; after הָ Is 58³, 2 Ch 32⁴; after אֲלֵה Is 40²⁵.² But הָ Jb 4² and אֲלֵה 4²¹ are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24⁵⁸, 27²⁴, 29⁵, Ju 13¹¹), Gn 29⁶, 37^{32f}, 1 S 23¹¹, 26¹⁷, 1 K 21¹⁰, Jer 37¹⁷. (On אֲנִי *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10¹⁵, see § 159 *dd*.) As a negative answer the simple אֵל is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19², 1 K 3²², &c.; cf. § 152 c; and in Ju 4²⁰ the simple אֵל equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

§ 151. Desiderative Sentences.

a A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107 n), cohortative (§ 108, especially with אֲנִי § 108 c), jussive (§ 109; with אֲנִי § 109 b), imperative (§ 110 a), perfect consecutive (§ 112 aa) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116 r, note, and § 141 g) but also in the following ways:—

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses:³ especially sentences with מַי followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e. g. 2 S 15⁴ מַי־שִׁפְטֵנִי שִׁפְטָה *who maketh me judge?* i. e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20¹⁰, 2 S 23¹⁵. On the other hand, מַי with the perfect (Gn 21⁷, Nu 23¹⁰, 1 S 26⁹, Is 53¹, &c.) or participle (ψ 59⁸, Pr 24²², &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i. e. a denial, cf. § 150 d. Especially frequent is the use of מַי־יִתֵּן (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under b).—In Mal 1¹⁰ the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

¹ On the other hand, in Jb 9²⁴ and 24²⁵ אֲנִי is not prefixed to tho מַי, but appended to the conditional sentence.

² Cf. the analogous sentences after יֵשׁ because, Is 65¹², Jer 35¹⁷; after causal אֲנִי 1 S 26²⁸; after מַי Is 12¹; likewise after אֲנִי § 153 at the end; after אֲנִי Dt 8¹²⁻¹⁴, 25³, Jos 6¹⁸, 2 S 12²⁸.

³ The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e. g. in Nu 11⁴ *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i. e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

וְיִסְגֵּר דְּלַתִּים מִי גַם־בְּכֶם וְיִסְגֵּר would that one were among you and would shut the doors, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

Rem. Sometimes the original sense of מִי־יָתֵן is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9²⁹ מִי־יָתֵן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי who gives this people into my hand? equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! cf. ψ 55⁷. In these examples, however, מִי־יָתֵן is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, מִי־יָתֵן having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). Its construction is either—

(a) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Dt 28⁶⁷ would that it were even! . . . morning! Ju 9²⁹, ψ 14⁷ (53⁷), 55⁷; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Jb 11⁵; with two accusatives, Nu 11²⁹, Jer 8²³; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex 16³, 2 S 19¹ מִי־יָתֵן כּוֹתֵי אֲנִי תַחֲמִיד would that I had died for thee (for אֲנִי cf. § 135 f); of a participle, Jb 31³⁵; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Jb 29² (with a following כִּי; but מִי־יָתֵן Is 27⁴ and Jer 9¹ with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to מִי־יָתֵן לִי, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 f).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning מִי־יָתֵן is used with an adjective in Jb 14⁴ could a clean thing but come out of an unclean! i. e. *how can a clean thing come*, &c.; similarly in Jb 31³¹ who can find one that hath not been satisfied!

(b) With a following perfect, Jb 23³ (cf. § 120 e); with a perfect consecutive, *c* Dt 5²⁶ O that they had such an heart!

(c) With a following imperfect, Jb 6⁸, 13⁵, 14¹³; in Jb 19²³ the imperfect is *d* twice added with *Wāw* (cf. *a* above, on Mal. 1¹⁰).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, cf. § 108 f.

2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles אִם (ψ 81⁹, 95⁷, *e* 139¹⁹, Pr 24¹¹, 1 Ch 4¹⁰; always with a following imperfect) and לִי (for which in ψ 119⁵ we have אֶחָלִי, 2 K 5³ אֶחָלִי, from אַח ah! and לִי = לִי; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si! utinam*.¹ לִי is followed by the imperfect, Gn 17¹⁸, Jb 6²; by the jussive, Gn 30³⁴ (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (cf. § 106 p), Nu 14² לִי מָתַנּוּ would that we had died; 20³ and Jos 7⁷ (both times לִי); on the other hand, Is 48¹⁸ and 63¹⁹ (both times לִי) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On לִי with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gn 23¹³ cf. § 110 e. On the perfect after אִם פִּי Gn 40¹⁴, 2 K 5²⁰, cf. § 106 n, note 2.

¹ Cf. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Nu 22²⁹ *if there were* (לִי יֵשׁ) a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!

§ 152. Negative Sentences.

a 1. Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6²¹, where instead of the *Keth.* לוֹ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek οὐ, *not*, -*α* = μὴ (Jb 24²⁵ as a substantive), לוֹ (it is) *not*; וְעַד לֹא *not yet*, אֲפָס לֹא *not*, אֲפָסִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בִּלְאִי, בִּלְאִי, בִּלְאִי *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and לוֹ the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negated by לֹא (besides its use as negating single words¹), while לוֹ is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

b The conjunctions וְלֹא and וְלֹא־כִּי *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (less frequently לוֹא), like οὐ, οὐκ, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לֹא for הֲלֹא *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with בִּלְאִי, בִּלְאִי (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order בִּלְאִי . . . לֹא, e. g. Gn 3¹ הֲנֵן עֵץ מִכָּל עֵץ הַגָּן לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הַגָּן *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9¹¹, Ex 10¹⁶, 20¹⁰, Lv 7²³, Dt 8⁹, Jer 13⁷, 32¹⁷ בִּלְאִי־דָבָר . . . לֹא *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32²⁷); Pr 12²¹, 30³⁰

¹ Especially in compounds, e. g. לֹא־אֱלֹהִים lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32²¹; לֹא־אֱלֹהִים lit. *verse 17*, cf. Jer 5⁷, 2 Ch 13⁹; לֹא־עַם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Dt 32²¹; לֹא־דָבָר *a nothing*, Am 6¹³; לֹא־עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10¹⁵; לֹא־אִישׁ lit. *not-man*, *superhuman* (of God), Is 31⁸; לֹא־צְדָקָה lit. *unrighteousness*, Jer 22¹³, cf. Ez 22²⁹; לֹא־סִדְרִים *disorder*, Jb 10²²; לֹא־חַמָּה lit. *not-violence*, 16¹⁷; after לֹא־חַמָּה lit. *helplessness, insipientia*); cf. also Is 55² לֹא־שָׂבַעָה לֹא־יִשְׂבַּעָה *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44¹³, Jb 8¹¹, 15³², 1 Ch 12³³.—In Nu 20⁶ a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא.—Also לֹא is used with an infinitive, Nu 35²³; with an adjective, לֹא־חָכָם lit. *unwise*, Dt 32⁶, Ho 13¹³; לֹא־חָסִיד lit. *impious*, ψ 43¹; לֹא־עָזוֹם and לֹא־עָצוֹם *not strong*, Pr 30²⁵; לֹא־כֵן *unsuitably*, 2 K 7⁹; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65², Ez 20²⁶, &c.; לֹא־טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30¹⁷; with a participle, e. g. Jer 2² (unsown); 6⁸, Ez 4¹⁴, 22²⁴, Zp 2¹, 3⁵; the Masora, however, requires נִחְמָה in Is 54¹¹, נִעְזְבָה in 62¹², נִשְׁכָּה in Jer 6⁸, רַחֲמָה in Ho 1⁶, i. e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause = *she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54¹¹, Ho 1⁶, and especially 2²⁶) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81 *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see *u* below.

לֹא . . . מִפְּנֵי-כֹל and turneth *not* away for any; 2 Ch 32¹⁵; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12¹⁶ לֹא-יֵעָשֶׂה בְּלִי-מְלָאכָה לֹא-יֵעָשֶׂה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12⁴³, 15²⁶, 22²¹, Lv 16¹⁷, Jb 33¹³, Dn 11³⁷. The meaning is different when כֹּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e.g. Nu 23¹³ לֹא תִרְאֶה בְּלֹא לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see them all*, but only a part.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23⁸, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אִין-כֹּל *nothing at all*, see under *p*.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, *c* equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 10² (לֹא according to the context for נִסְוֹר &c.); 23¹¹, 42¹⁰, Hag 2¹², Jb 23⁶, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gn 19² (see above); Jos 5¹⁴, 1 K 3²².

2. The negation of noun-clauses by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e.g. Ez 36³²), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3³⁴ לֹא-אִסְרוּת יָדֵיךָ *thy hands were not bound*, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא; cf. ψ 74⁹, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֶתְנַנֵּנוּ, and Jb 12⁸. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא, Gn 20¹², Nu 35²³ (Dt 4⁴², 19⁴); 1 S 15²⁹, 2 S 21², Jer 4²², ψ 22⁷, Jb 28¹⁴, parallel with אִין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e.g. Ex 4¹⁰ לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אֲנֹכִי *I am not a man of words*; Am 5¹⁸.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gn 29⁷, Nu 23¹⁹, Is 22², 44¹⁹, Hag 1², ψ 22³, Jb 9³², 18¹⁷, 21⁹, 22¹⁶, 36²⁶ (with וְ of the apodosis); 41²; in Jb 9³³ even יֵשׁ לֹא *non est* is used instead of אִין.—In Pr 18⁵ לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20²⁶ (where a preceding noun-clause is negated by בְּלִיתִי) read לֹא טוֹהַר with the LXX, for לֹא טוֹהוֹר. On אִין לֹא for אִין לֹא in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is *e* separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22⁷, Ec 10¹⁰ before the object and verb; Nu 16²⁹ before the subject and verb; Dt 8⁹, 2 S 3³⁴, ψ 49¹⁸, 103¹⁰, Jb 13¹⁶, 34²³ before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32⁶ לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָּנִי are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 *v*.

(b) אִל- is used like *μή* and *ne* to express a *subjective* and *conditional* negation, *f* and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109 *c* and *e*) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On אִל- with the imperfect, see § 107 *p*; with the cohortative, see § 108 *c*; on 2 K 6²⁷, see § 109 *h*.

Rem. 1. אִל- (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound *g* word, as in Pr 12²⁸ אִל-מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אִל-מָוֶת. The instances in which אִל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like *μή* for *μη γένηται*), e.g. Ru 1¹³ אִל בְּנֹתַי *nay, my daughters*, and Gn 19¹⁸, 33¹⁰ (אִל-נָא), are also due (see under *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13²⁵ such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1²¹, Is 62², ψ 83² יהי is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2¹³, Am 5¹⁴, Pr 8¹⁰ the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17¹² from the preceding infinitive absolute.

h 2. אֵל, like אֵל, regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64⁸, Jer 10²⁴, 15¹⁵, ψ 6², 38² before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.¹

i (c) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf. שְׁנַיִם for שְׁנַיִם § 97 *d*) of אֵין non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of שׁ existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31²⁹ with Neh 5⁵. As שׁ (*he, she, it is, was, &c.*) includes the idea of *being* in all tenses, so אֵין includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence—

k (1) The absolute state אֵין, with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e.g. Is 37³ (2 K 19³) וְכַח אֵין לְלַדְּהָ and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2⁵ אֵין was not present; Ex 17⁷ אֵין אִם-אֵין or is he not? after הֲיִשׁ is he . . .? (cf. Nu 13²⁰); Lv 26³⁷, Nu 20⁵, Ju 4²⁰ (אֵין no). In 1 S 9⁴ and 10¹⁴ אֵין is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18¹⁰, Is 41¹⁷, 45²¹, 59¹¹, Mi 7², Pr 13⁴, 25¹⁴, Jb 3⁹ אֵין and let there be none, let none come! Ec 3¹⁵.—Cf. finally אֵין אִם-אֵין if it be not so, Gn 30¹, Ex 32³², Ju 9¹⁵, 2 K 2¹⁰.—Quite anomalous is אֵין Jb 35¹⁵ before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

l (2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negated. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26¹² וְאֵין מִקִּיָּן וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ וְאֵין רָאָה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ and there was not one seeing, &c., i.e. and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וְאֵין with a participle in subordinate circumstantial or descriptive clauses, such as Is 5²⁹ וְנִפְלִיט וְאֵין מַצִּיל and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i.e. without any one's delivering it; ψ 7³, &c.; Lv 26⁶ &c., וְאֵין מַחְרִיר and without any one's making you afraid; cf. § 141 *e*. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39²³, Nu 14⁴² אֵין הַיְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּכֶם the Lord is not among you; Gn 37²⁹ אֵין-יֹסֵף בְּבוֹר Joseph was not in the pit.

nn (3) When the subject which is to be negated is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין, according to § 100 *o*, e.g. אֵין-אֲנִי I am not, was not, shall not be; אֵין-אָנְךָ, fem. אֵין-אָנְךָ, thou art not, &c.; אֵין-אֲנִי, fem. אֵין-אֲנִי he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42¹³ he is (5²⁴ he was) no longer alive; אֵין-אֲנִי they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see *l*) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5¹⁰ אֵין-אֲנִי נָתַן I will not give; 8¹⁷, Dt 1³².

nn Rem. In Neh 4¹⁷ אֵין אֵין אֵין is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין-אֲנַחְנִי.—In Hag 2¹⁷ אֵין אֵין אֵין the pronominal complement of אֵין appears

¹ In Jer 51³ the pointing אֵל- occurs twice instead of אֵל, and is thus, in the opinion of the Masorètes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read אֵל.

to follow with the sign of the accusative;¹ but most probably we should read with the LXX אֲתֶכֶם for אֲשֶׁכֶם.

(4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not, O was not, &c.*) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e.g. בּוֹ Is 1⁶, לוֹ Lv 11^{10,12}, לָהּ Gn 11³⁰, גַּם ψ 14³, נָשׁ Ju 18¹⁰, Ex 12³⁰; but cf. also ψ 5¹⁰, 6⁶, 32², and אֵין used absolutely in Ex 22², 1 K 8⁹, Ru 4⁴.—Hence, finally, even the transposition of אֵין and its noun became possible, e.g. Gn 40⁸ and 41¹⁵ וַיִּתֵּן אֵין אֶתּוֹ *and an interpreter there is not of it*; Gn 47¹³, Ju 14⁶, 1 S 21², Is 1³⁰, Jer 30¹³, Hb 2¹⁹, Pr 5¹⁷ (וַיִּזְן = *neve sint*; cf. *k* above, on Jb 3⁹); 30²⁷.—In Gn 19³¹, Ex 5¹⁶ אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

Rem. 1. Like בַּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . בַּל (see *b* above) so also אֵין בַּל *p* expresses an *absolute* negation, e.g. Ec 1⁹ אֵין בַּל-חֲדָשׁ there is no new thing, &c.; 2 S 12³, Dn 1⁴ (cf. also אֵין מְאֹמָה there is nothing, 1 K 18⁴³, Ec 5¹³); as also אֵין . . . בַּל- Hb 2¹⁹; cf. אֵין מְאֹמָה Ju 14⁶.

2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵ occurring *q* in the two compounds אֵי כְבוֹד (as a proper name, 1 S 4²¹; Baer אֵי-כְבוֹד) and אֵי-נָקִי *not innocent*, Jb 22³⁰; but the proper name אֵי-תָמַר is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-בַל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵ is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

(*d*) אֵינִי *not yet*, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107 *c*), *q* with the imperfect, Gn 2⁵ אֵינִי . . . בַּל *none . . . yet*; see *b* and *p* above; Gn 19⁴, 24⁴⁵, Jos 2⁸, 1 S 3³; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex 10⁷ הֲיָדָעְתָּ אֵינִי הֲיָדָעְתָּ *knowest thou not yet?* Ex 9³⁰; but cf. Gn 24¹⁵, and בְּיָמֶיךָ with the perfect in ψ 90² (but see § 107 *c*), Pr 8²⁵.

(*e*) אֵין (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) *no longer*, including the verbal idea *S* of *existing*, cf. Dt 32³⁶, Is 45^{6,14}, 46⁹; used absolutely, Am 6¹⁰ in the question אֵין עוֹד אֵישׁ *is there none left? &c.*, 2 S 9³; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with אֵין paragogic (§ 90 *m*) אֵין אֵין Is 47^{8,10}, Zp 2¹⁵ אֵין אֵין *I am, and there is none else*.

(*f*) בַּל,² in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, *t* is used with the imperfect, e.g. Is 26¹⁴, 33^{20,23} (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Ho 7², ψ 49¹³, Pr 10³⁰ (but Is 14²¹ before the jussive, = אַל-); before an adjective, Pr 24²³; before a preposition, ψ 16², Pr 23⁷.

(*g*) בְּלִי with a perfect, Gn 31²⁰, Is 14⁶; with an imperfect, Jb 41¹⁸; to negative a participle, Ho 7⁸, ψ 19⁴; to negative an adjective, 2 S 1²¹.

(*h*) בְּלִי to negative an adjective, 1 S 20²⁶; on בְּלִי Ez 13³, see *x*; on

¹ According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, אֵין is also an accusative after אֵין.

² Evidently from בָּלָה *to waste away*, from which stem also בָּלִי and בָּלָה (whence בְּלִי § 90 *m*), originally substantives, are formed.

לְבַלְתִּי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 s; on לְבַלְתִּי as a conjunction, see *x* below.

On אִם as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 c above.

u Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e.g. 2 S 23⁴ לֹא בָקַר לֹא עֲבוֹת *a morning when there are not clouds, i. e. a cloudless morning*; cf. Jb 12²⁴, 26^{2b}, 38²⁶ (לֹא-אִישׁ) *where no man is, i. e. uninhabited*; 1 Ch 23^{30.32} לֹא בְנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e.g. Jb 24¹⁰ and אֵין e.g. ψ 88⁵ *I am as a man אֵין-אֵיל there is not help, i. e. like a helpless man*; Is 9⁶ אֵין-קֵץ *endless*; 47¹, Ho 7¹¹; אֵין-מִסְפָּר *countless*, Ct 6⁸, &c., but usually (ψ 104²⁵, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 e) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין-מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 e), e.g. Jb 30¹³ לֹא עוֹזֵר לָמוֹ *they for whom there is no helper, i. e. the helpless* (but probably עוֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29¹², and we should read עֲצָר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29¹² translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in ψ 72¹² וְאֵין-עַ' is used in the same sense); Hb 1¹⁴; with אֵין Is 45⁹ *thy work is that of a man who hath no hands*; Zc 9¹¹ *out of the waterless pit*.¹

U How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1⁶, ψ 72¹², Jb 29¹²; cf. also Is 59¹⁰, where בְּאֵין-עֵינַיִם is parallel with בְּעוֹרֵרִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e.g. Is 40²⁹ (= *and to the powerless*); Jb 26^{2a.3}, Neh 8¹⁰.

70 (i) לֵפָן *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32¹², &c. (cf. *δείδω μή, vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמְרוּ, הִשָּׁמְרוּ Gn 24⁶, 31²⁴, &c., *taking care*, 2 K 10²³, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which לֵפָן depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e.g. Gn 19¹⁹ *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), לֵפָן תִּהְיֶה בְּקִנְיֵי הָרָעָה *lest some evil overtake me*; Gn 26⁹, 38¹¹; also in Gn 44³⁴ from the rhetorical question *how shall I . . . ?* we must understand *I cannot*, governing לֵפָן. 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 לֵפָן is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e.g. Gn 11⁴, 19¹⁵, Nu 20¹⁸ (where לֵפָן *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15¹² after *swear unto me*; Pr 24¹⁸.—In Gn 32²² *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., לֵפָן is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26⁷, 31³¹, 42⁴ Ex 13¹⁷, 1 S 13¹⁹, 27¹¹, ψ 38¹⁷, in every case after כִּי אָמַרְתִּי, כִּי אָמַר, &c. = *I thought, &c., I must beware lest, &c.*

Rem. According to § 107 q, לֵפָן is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20⁶, 2 K 2¹⁶, see § 107 q, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10²³ לֵפָן יִשְׁפָּה *look lest there be here, &c.*

¹ In Pr 9¹³ (perhaps also 14⁷; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal-clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבַלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴ (in Jer 23¹⁴ \mathcal{U} read the infinitive שׁוּב for שָׁבוּ, in 27⁸ יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ez 13³ בְּלִתִּי רָאוּ is a relative clause governed by לְ = *according to things which they have not seen*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other *y* (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδέεις, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. Zp 2² (if the text is correct) לֹא-יָבוֹאוּ בְּתָרָם *before there shall (not) come*.¹ This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of אִין or בְּלִי with מִן *without* (§ 119 *y*), e. g. Is 5⁹ (6¹¹) מִיֵּשֶׁב מִבְּלִי יֵשֶׁב (for which in Jer 2¹⁵ מִבְּלִי יֵשֶׁב), *prop. without no inhabitant, i. e. so that no inhabitant is left there*. On the other hand, in Is 50² מִיֵּשֶׁב מִיֵּשֶׁב מִן the מִן is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex 14¹¹ הֲמִבְּלִי אֵינֶנּוּ *is it because there were no . . . ?* 2 K 1^{3.6.16}. In Ec 3¹¹ לֹא יִשְׁפָּר מִבְּלִי אִשְׁפָּר *except that (yet so that man cannot, &c.)*.

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to *z* a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e. g. 1 S 2³ *talk not so much arrogancy; let (not) boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex 28⁴³, Lv 19¹², 22^{9.15} ^f, Nu 16¹⁴, 23¹⁹, Dt 7²⁵, Is 23⁴, 28²⁷, 38¹⁸, 47¹⁴, Ez 16⁴⁷, ψ 9¹⁹, 13⁵, 35¹⁹, 38², 44¹⁹, 75⁶, Jb 28¹⁷ (*so לֹא לָמָּה לָמָּה why . . . not ?* in Jb 3¹¹ also affects the parallel clause).

§ 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אֵל, רַק *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 אֵל Gn 7²³, 34¹⁵; רַק Gn 6³, Am 3²; even אֵל הֲרַק אֵל *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12²; אֲנִי Gn 27³⁴, Jb 7¹¹; אֵל Dt 15¹⁷), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֵל, e. g. Nu 14⁹, 1 K 17¹³, Pr 17¹¹, Jb 13¹⁵, 14²², 16⁷, 23⁶; רַק Gn 20¹¹, 24⁸, ψ 32⁶, Pr 13¹⁰; אֲנִי Gn 27³³, 32²¹ (אֲנִי הֲגִיָּה), 44¹⁰; 1 S 22⁷, 28²⁰, Zc 9¹¹, Pr 17²⁶, 20¹¹; אֵל Jb 14³, 15⁴.—In Mal 1¹⁰ and Jb 2¹⁰ אֲנִי is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 *m*.

¹ In 1 K 10²¹ אֵין-אֵין goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to כִּי הֲפִקָּה.

§ 154. Sentences connected by Wāw.

- a *Wāw copulativum*¹ (!) serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104 d-g). Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which

¹ For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 ff. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gn 25³⁴, five perfects with וַיְהִי) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the connexion of single nouns by וַיְ (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(a) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12¹⁶ *wāw copulativum* six times, 24³⁵ seven times, 15^{19ff.} nine times, and in Jos 7²⁴ ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5³², 10¹, 11²⁶, 13², 14¹, 30³⁹, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2²⁶); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45⁹; cf. § 132 d. The formula הַמּוֹל שְׁלִשְׁמֵימָן yesterday (and) the day before yesterday, Ex 5⁸, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5²⁷ at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; Ex 15⁹, Dt 32¹⁵, 1 S 15⁶, Jer 4⁷, Am 5²¹, ψ 10¹⁰, 14¹, 45⁵, Jb 20¹⁹, 28⁴, 29⁸, Ct 2¹¹, 5⁶, &c.

(b) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also *explanatory* (like *isque, et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar, English to wit*), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4⁴ *and* (i.e. *namely*) of the fat thereof (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24¹², 25¹² (to wit two); 27¹⁴, 28²³, Ju 17⁸ (in וַיִּמְסַכֶּה; here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17⁸, Ez 3¹⁵, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17³⁴ *and that too with the bear*; 2 S 13²⁰, Is 57¹¹, Jer 17¹⁰, Am 3¹¹, 4¹⁰, Ze 9⁹, Pr 3¹², Neh 8¹³, 2 Ch 23¹⁰ (but in 1 S 28³ the ו before בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as מִן—וְעַד from . . . and even to . . . , Gn 13³, 14²³, 19^{4,11}, &c.—In 1 S 6¹¹ (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 1²³, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea, and*; in Is 32⁷ *even*.

וַיְ is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gn 3¹⁶ וְהָרְגָהּ; Is 2¹, ψ 18¹, perhaps also in Jb 10¹⁷ *yea, a whole host*; 2 Ch 16¹⁴.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41¹² *a seething pot וְאֵנְכֵן with burning rushes*; cf. Ex 10¹⁰ (with your little ones), 12⁸, Lv 1¹², Is 42⁵. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

וַיְ—וַיְ is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76⁷, Dn 1³, 8¹³. On וַיְ—וַיְ as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. § 162 b.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as אֲדַם *also, moreover*, summing up a number, e.g. אֲדַם—אֲדַם *both together*, Gn 27⁴⁵, Pr 17¹⁵; אֲדַם—אֲדַם *all together*; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gn 30⁸, 37⁷, 1 S 30⁸; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24¹² *see, yea see!* אֲדַם—אֲדַם or אֲדַם—אֲדַם Gn 24⁴⁴ = *both—and*; אֲדַם occurs three times in Gn 24²⁵ and 32²⁰; also אֲדַם, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also, in addition to this, even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44¹⁰, &c.; and אֲדַם—אֲדַם (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. אֲדַם וְאֲדַם *and even*, Lv 26⁴⁴; אֲדַם—אֲדַם *prop. add to this also that, equivalent to not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gn 17²¹, 19¹⁹, Lv 2¹², Jb 6²⁵, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of ׀ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141 e and § 142 d; introducing causal clauses, § 158 a; comparative clauses, § 161 a; final clauses, § 165 a; consecutive clauses, § 166 a. On *wāw apodosi*s, cf. § 143 d, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, cf. § 134 s.

Rem. Sometimes *wāw copulativum* joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially ׀ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2²² אֲשַׁלְּחֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אֲשַׁלְּחֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אֲשַׁלְּחֶיךָ ask now rather; Ez 18² for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְהִשִּׁיבוּ wherefore turn yourselves. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex 2²⁰, 2 S 18¹¹, 24³, 2 K 4^{14, 41}, 7¹³, 2 Ch 25⁹; cf. also Jos 7⁷ (וְלִי), ψ 2¹⁰, 4⁴, Is 8⁷. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow time for full expression; this is especially illustrated by Nu 12¹⁴, 20³ (וְלִי), 1 S 10¹², 15¹⁴, 22¹⁴, 28¹⁶, 2 S 18¹², 24³, 1 K 2²² (וְלִי), 2 K 1¹⁰, 7¹⁹ (cf. verse 2); Is 3¹⁴, Zc 2¹⁰, ψ 2⁶ (at the same time a circumstantial clause whereas I = and yet I have, &c.); cf. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיָמִי Nu 11²⁹, Ju 9²⁹; on the disconnected use of אֲשֶׁר and וְיִי cf. § 159 dd.

§ 155. Relative Clauses.

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix וְ', *ZATW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.¹

1. By § 138 a, e, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those *a* which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses.

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under *n*), *b* are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun וְשֵׁנָה; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by וְשֵׁנָה, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138 a and g-k. Very frequently, however, especially

¹ In this exhaustive article the author shows that between וְ (on the pronunciation see § 36) and וְשֵׁנָה there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that וְשֵׁנָה is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and וְ in those which are derived from the popular language or from Aramaic.

in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.¹

c The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by לְאִשְׁרָיִךְ , &c.; see § 138 f.

d In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*šila*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*šifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladī*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28⁴⁹ ($\text{גּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִשְׁמַע לְשׁוֹנְךָ}$) a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand; cf. Is 66¹³, and especially 1 S 3¹¹, the addition of אֲשֶׁר is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive,² a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue. On the other hand, in poetic style at least, אֲשֶׁר is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Ch 9²², 12²³, 29¹ (read prob. אֲשֶׁר for אֲחָר), 2 Ch 15¹¹; after כְּגַלְיָא 1 Ch 29³, 2 Ch 18²³, 30¹⁷, 31¹⁹, Ezr 1⁶, but also Gn 39⁴; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*⁸, p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18²⁰, Ju 8¹, 20¹⁵, 1 K 13¹² (= which way), so 2 K 3⁸, 2 Ch 18²³; Neh 13²³; after a pronominal subject, 1 S 6⁹. In Jer 52¹² for עַמְּךָ read עַמְּךָ with the LXX.

e 2. If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(a) Of a noun-clause, e.g. 2 S 20²¹ a man of the hill country of Ephraim שֵׁבַע שְׂמוֹ whose name was Sheba; Zc 6¹², Jb 1¹, 3¹⁵ with princes לְהֵם זָהָב that had gold; ψ 11⁴, Pr 22¹¹; when referring to a noun-suffix, e.g. ψ 49¹⁴ לְמוֹ לָמוֹ this is the way of them who have (self-)confidence.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38²⁶ $\text{עַל-אֲרָצֵיךָ לֹא-אִישׁ}$ on a land where no man is, see § 152 u, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15¹³ $\text{לֹא לָהֶם בְּאֲרָצֵךְ}$ in a land that belongs not to them; Dt 32¹⁷ ($\text{לְאִשְׁרָיִם לֹא אֱלֹהִים}$); Hb 1⁶, Pr 26¹⁷ (לֹא-לִי).

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

¹ The old view that all these cases arise from the omission of אֲשֶׁר is incorrect. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter (which) he wrote to me*.

² So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 f., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

verb; so after a determinate substantive, ψ 34⁹ *happy is the man* יְחַסְדֵּיבוֹ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3^{3b} הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said*; after ψ 71¹³; referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54¹, or to a noun-suffix (see under e), ψ 16⁴; after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Jb 31¹² *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32^{17b}, 1 S 6⁹, Is 55¹³, 56², ψ 68³¹, 78⁶, Pr 30¹⁷, La 1¹⁰, 2 Ch 28⁹; referring to the suffix in הִנְנִי Is 28¹⁶, prop. *behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle יֹסֵר is to be read; 29¹⁴, 38⁵ (but probably again the participle יוֹסֵף should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25⁷. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e.g. Gn 49²⁷ וְאֵבֶר יִטְרַף *a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf*; Is 51¹²; to express a negative quality, e.g. Is 40²⁰, Ho 4¹⁴ וְעַם לֹא־יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives ^g which have the particle of comparison בְּ, e.g. Jb 7² בְּעֵבֶר יִשְׁאֲרֶצֶל *as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.*; Dt 32¹¹, Is 62¹, Jer 23²⁹, Ho 6³, ψ 42², 83¹⁵, Jb 9²⁶, 11¹⁶; so also after כְּמוֹ ψ 58⁵; after a determinate substantive, e.g. Is 53⁷ (but the better reading is בְּעֵשֶׂה without the article), 61^{10f}, Hb 2¹⁴, ψ 49^{13,21}, 125¹; see also the examples under h. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain בְּ (for בְּאִשְׁרֵךְ; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 b) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards ψ 90⁵, 125¹, Is 53⁷, 61¹¹, but it can hardly be right.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an ^h accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32¹⁷ לֹא יָדְעוּם אֱלֹהִים *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with בְּ (see above, g), Jer 23⁹, Jb 13²⁸. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8¹, ψ 33¹² (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר); Jb 28¹. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15⁷ (יִתְרָה עֵשָׂה) for which Jer 48³⁶ יִתְרַת עֵשָׂה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 d), ψ 7¹⁶, 51¹⁰, La 1²¹.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Is 6⁶ רֵצְפָה בְּמִלְקָתָיִם לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15¹⁷, Is 42¹⁶ (48¹⁷, ψ 25¹², all after בְּיַדְרֵךְ; but ψ 32⁸ בְּיַדְרֵךְוֵי הַלֵּךְ); Is 64²; Ec 10⁵ (in 6¹ the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14¹⁸ read with the LXX אֶל־אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land (that) they know not*.

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on ⁱ a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2⁹ end.

Thus after a determinate substantive, ψ 18³ צִרְיִי אֲחִיקָהּבוּ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18²⁰, Is 42¹; in Jb 3^{3a} also, the omission of the article with יוֹם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2⁶, last clause but one; ψ 32².

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51¹ *look unto the rock הַצִּבְתָּם* (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit הַבְּרִיתָם* (whence) *ye were digged*; Jb 21²⁷ *the devices* (where-with) *ye act violently against me*.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38¹⁹ *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth?* cf. 38²⁴.

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 *d*, cf. the following: after בְּיוֹם Lv 7³⁵, ψ 56¹⁰; after מֵיּוֹם Jer 36²; after simple יוֹם ψ 56⁴ (אִיּוֹם אֵירָא *on the day when I am afraid*); after בְּעֵת הַחֵל הָעוֹלָה 2 Ch 29²⁷ (*at the time when the burnt offering began*); 20²², 24¹¹, Jb 6¹⁷; after לְעֵת Dt 32³⁵; after עַרְעָת Mi 5²; after מְעַת ψ 4⁸ *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time* (when) *their corn and their wine are increased*.

m 2. The agreement (§ 138 *d*) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26¹⁴ *who art thou* (that) *criest?* Cf., however, Is 63¹⁹ *we are become as they over whom* (בָּם not בָּנִי) *thou no longer bearest rule*.

n 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even independent relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 *e*. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(a) As subject, Is 41²⁴ *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you* (but read perhaps לְבַחֵר); Jb 30¹³, cf. § 152 *u*.

(b) As object, Is 41², with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2¹⁶ וְיִכְסֶה וְיִכְסֶה *and him that covereth* (or read וְיִכְסֶה?); Jb 29¹² *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him*.

(c) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 *d*), Ex 4¹³ הַבְּרִיתֶשְׁלַח *send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*, i.e. by the hand of some one else; ψ 65³ and Pr 8³², verbal-clauses after אֲשֶׁרִי *O the happiness of the man, &c.*; ψ 81⁶, 141⁹, Jb 29¹⁶, La 1¹⁴; after פֶּלֶא Gn 39⁴, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, בְּלִאֲשֶׁר יֵשְׁלַח as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9⁴; verbal-clauses after פֶּלֶא 1 Ch 29³, 2 Ch 30¹⁹, 31¹⁹, Ezr 1⁵.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אֲתֵרִי Jer 2⁸; after אֶל (= *to the place where*), 1 Ch 15¹², but Ex 23²⁰ before the same

verb אֲשֶׁר הִפְקִימוּ אֵלָיו; after כִּי Jer 2¹¹, 2 Ch 1⁴ (בְּהַרְבֵּי = 'בְּהַרְבֵּי = to the place where); after לְ Is 65¹ שָׁאֲלוּ לִי לְלוֹא by them that asked not for me . . . לְלוֹא בְקִשְׁתִּי them that sought me not; Ez 13³ that which they have not seen, but the text is hardly correct; after עַל ψ 119¹³⁶, cf. § 158 b; after עַם 2 Ch 16⁹.—A noun-clause follows לְ in Neh 8¹⁰. An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezr 5¹⁴ to one whose name was Sheshbazzar [so in the papyri, see the Lexicon, p. 1116^a].

§ 156. Circumstantial Clauses.

1. The statement of the particular circumstances under which *a* a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141 *e*), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142 *d*). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached, without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see *c*), or as verbal-clauses (see *d-g*).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various *b* noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Gn 16¹²; also statements of weight, Gn 24²²; of name, Jb 1¹ (also introduced by וַשְׁמוֹ Gn 24²⁹, 1 S 1¹, &c., or וַשְׁמָה Gn 16¹, 22²⁴, &c.); of a condition of body, Ju 1⁷, 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*¹ (Gn 19¹, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a *state* which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is 3⁷ *I will not be an healer*, חֵם וְבִיְתִי אֵין בֶּלֶם וְכִסּוּת while in my house is neither bread nor clothing; Is 6⁶ (Am 7⁷); 2 S 13¹⁸, 16¹. Cf. also the instances in § 152 *l* of וַאֲיִן followed by a participle, as וַאֲיִן מַצִּיל, &c.

2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun-clauses* are Gn 12⁸ *C* and pitched his tent בֵּית-אֵל מִיָּם וְהָעֵי מִקְדָּשׁ with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; Nu 22²⁴, 2 S 18¹⁴ through the heart of Absalom, עוֹדֵנִי חַי while he was yet alive; Jer 30⁶, Ez 9² (cf. Ct 3⁸), Na 3⁸, Zc 14⁵, 2 Ch 23¹⁰; with the predicate preceding, e. g. 1 S 26¹³, ψ 32⁸.—In Gn 41²⁹ a noun-clause serves to announce a state in the future.—We may also include here certain set phrases, as אֶל-פְּנֵימֵי face to face (prop. while face was turned towards face), Gn 32³¹, Ex 33¹¹, Dt 34¹⁰,

¹ In Dt 32³¹ 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.;¹ so also *to cast oneself down*, אָרְצָה אַפָּיִם *the face being turned to the earth*, Gn 19¹, &c. (for אָרְצָה we find אָרְץ in 1 K 1³¹, Is 49²³).²—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל-בָּנִים *mother with children*, Gn 32¹²; cf. Ho 10¹⁴ and § 119 aa note 2.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), cf. § 152 u.

d 3. As circumstantial verbal-clauses,³ we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see *f*), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see *g*).

Examples of (1) Is 5^{11b} woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, יַיִן יִדְלִיקֵם *while wine inflames them*; Is 1⁶, 10²⁴, 30³¹, Jer 7²⁶, 20¹⁵, ψ 4³, 5¹², 21¹³, 62⁵. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44¹², 48¹⁴ = *crossing his hands*; Dt 2²⁷, Ju 6¹⁹; antithetically, 1 K 13¹⁸ לוֹ פָּחַשׁ *wherewith however he lied unto him*. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7⁷ מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ *since thou hast commanded judgement*; a consequence in ψ 103⁵.⁴

e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קָם), see § 120 c.

f Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by *without* and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e.g. Lv 11¹⁷ לֹא יִבְרֵיל *without dividing it asunder*; Jb 31³⁴; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44⁴, Ex 34²³, 1 S 30², Jb 20²⁶ (*without its being blown upon it*). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27⁹ לֹא יִקָּמוּ *so that they shall rise up no more*.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without doing, &c.*) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20², Jb 24²², 42³; in a concessive sense, Is 33¹, ψ 44¹⁸.

g Of (3), cf. לֹא יָדַע (prop. *he knows it not*) *unawares*, ψ 35⁸, Pr 5⁶ לֹא יִחַמַּל *unsparingly*, Is 30¹⁴ (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1¹⁷, Jb 6¹⁰ (but לֹא יִחַמַּל); Jb 16¹³, 27²²; see *f* at the end); לֹא כִּתְרוּ (prop. *they hide not*) *openly*, Is 3⁹ (but

¹ The expression הִתְרָאָה פְּנִים *to look one another in the face* (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 K 14^{8,11}, 2 Ch 25^{17,21}, is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה פְּנִים אֶל-פְּנִים.

² That אָרְצָה (אָרְץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפָּיִם, and not אַפָּיִם as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 49²³, where אַפָּיִם אָרְץ precedes the verb.

³ Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 a-c.

⁴ In Gn 21¹⁴ the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָהּ is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָהּ וְאֶת-הַיֶּלֶד שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָהּ. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17²⁵ he was about 16 or 17 years old.

Jb 15¹⁸ בְּלֹא כְחֵרֹוּ (וְלֹא כְחֵרֹוּ); בְּלֵי חֲשֵׁךְ (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14⁶; בְּלֹא-יָמוּט; Jb 41¹⁵ (ψ 93¹ בְּבַל-תִּמּוּט יָמוּט) and לֹא יָמוּט Is 40²⁰ (*without tottering*) *immovably*; cf. also לֹא אֶמְעָר *without wavering*, ψ 26¹.

§ 157. Object-Clauses (Oratio Obliqua).

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are *a* called *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think, &c.*, may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120 a), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *wāw copulative* (§ 120 d-h). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*.¹

Examples:—

(a) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under e) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentiendi* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e. g. Gn 12¹³ אָתָּה אֲחֹתִי אָמַרְתָּ אָמַרְתָּ אָמַרְתָּ אָמַרְתָּ *say, I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10¹³, Jb 25^{3a,14}, Neh 6⁶; Zc 8²³ (after נִשְׁמַע); ψ 9²¹ (after יָדַע); verbal-clauses, e. g. ψ 50²¹ *thou thoughtest* כְּמוֹךְ הָיִיתָ-אֲהִיָּהּ *I was surely like thyself* [but read הָיִי for הָיִיתָ]; Gn 41¹⁵, Ju 9⁴⁸ *what ye have seen me do*; Is 48⁸, Ho 7².

(b) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gn 6⁵ וַיִּרְא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רַעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *oratio obliqua*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26⁹, 27²⁰), e. g. Gn 21³⁰, 22^{16 f.}, 26²², 29³², 37³⁵, Jos 2²⁴, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4²⁵, 32³¹, 41^{51 f.}, Ex 18⁴.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 h.²

(c) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Est 3⁴ לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר-הוּא כִּי-יְהוָה *for he had told them that he was a Jew*; 1 S 18¹⁵, Ez 20²⁶, Ec 8^{12,3} even before direct narration, 1 S 15²⁰, 2 S 1⁴. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

¹ On these clauses with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר and generally on clauses which we should render as subordinate, cf. P. Dörwald 'Zur hebr. Syntax' in *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* 1890, p. 115 ff.

² Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e. g. Nu 21²³ וְלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגַבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20²¹; followed by an infinitive with ל, e. g. Gn 20⁶, 31⁷, Ex 3¹⁹.—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28⁵⁶ (after נָסָה *to venture*; see § 113 d); Ju 11²⁰ (after הֵאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 K 19⁴ (after שָׂאֵל *to request*).

³ In Jer 28⁹ a *subject-clause* is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אֲתָ (equivalent to the circumstance, the fact, that), e. g. Jos 2¹⁰, 1 S 24^{11,19}, 2 S 11²⁰, Is 38³, but in Gn 30²⁹, Dt 29¹⁵ equivalent to the way in which.

§ 158. Causal Clauses.

a A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw* copulative, e. g. ψ 60¹³ give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man; Gn 6¹⁷ (וְאֵינִי), 22¹², Ex 23⁹, Jb 22¹², perhaps also ψ 7¹⁰; or even without *Wāw*, e. g. Gn 17¹⁴. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.

b The most common causal conjunctions are כִּי Is 3¹⁶, &c., and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יַעַן Nu 20¹², &c., or to כִּי because, Gn 3^{14,17}, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30¹⁸, 31⁴⁹, 34^{13,27}, 1 S 15¹⁵, 20⁴², 26^{16,23}, 1 K 3¹⁹, 8³³, Ho 14⁴, Zc 1¹⁵; also בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 39^{9,23}. On the other hand, the simple יַעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יַעַן זָבָרְעֻן (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26⁴³, Ez 13¹⁰ (without וְ 36³); also עַל-אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3³⁰, and עַל-כִּי Dt 31¹⁷, Ju 3¹², Mal 2¹⁴ on the ground that; עַל-דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר because of the circumstance that, Dt 23⁵; עַל-כֵּן אֲרֹת אֲשֶׁר for this very cause that, Jer 3⁸. But just as the simple יַעַן is used for אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל- with the perfect stands for עַל-אֲשֶׁר ψ 119¹³⁶, Ezr 3¹¹; cf. עַל-בְּלִי Gn 31²⁰ and מִבְּלִי Dt 28⁵⁵ both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Cf. further אֲשֶׁר עָקַב Gn 22¹⁸, 26⁵, 2 S 12⁶, all with the perfect, and כִּי עָקַב (2 S 12¹⁰ with the perfect; Am 4¹² with the imperfect) prop. in return for the fact that; similarly again the simple עָקַב Nu 14²⁴ with the perfect, and Dt 7¹², 8²⁰ with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43⁴ arising from the fact that, = *because*; וְרַחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26²¹, &c., and כִּי רַחַת Dt 4³⁷, Pr 1²⁹ for the reason that.

c Rem. 1. The preposition עַל- (*because of, on account of*) with the infinitive (§ 114 *e*) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; cf. e. g. Am 1^{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. Am 1⁹ וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . עַל-הַסִּיָּרָם because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.; 1¹¹, 2⁴; without *Wāw*, Is 30¹⁴.

d 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 ff., viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 *f*) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e. g. Dt 7¹², 8²⁰, 1 K 8³³, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Cf. further, § 111 *h* on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112 *nn* on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

¹ Also כִּי-עַל-כֵּן prop. for *therefore*, Gn 18⁵, 19⁸, 33¹⁰, 38²⁶, Nu 10³¹, 14⁴³, 2 S 18²⁰ *cf. ré*, and אֲשֶׁר-עַל-כֵּן Jb 34²⁷, always mean *forasmuch as*.

§ 159. Conditional Sentences.

Cf. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Diss.).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 ff.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is *a* owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgment of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment*. On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 ff.¹ In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (under *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (under *l*).

2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, *b* as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

(a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107 x) in protasis and apodosis, Jos 22¹⁸, ψ 104^{28 ff.} *c* יִלְקָטוּן² לָהֶם רִתְּוֹן (if) thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.; ψ 139¹⁸, Pr 12¹⁷, Jb 20²⁴, Ec 1¹⁸, Neh 1⁸; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Ju 13¹²; with the jussive, Jb 10¹⁶; with the cohortative, Pr. 1²³; with the perfect, Is 26¹⁰ (yet will he not learn righteousness; the apodosis forcibly denies

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.

² On the termination ׀- cf. § 47 m. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׁפְּעוּן is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28-30 and ψ 139¹⁸ can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that ׀- in Nu 32²³ appears after ׀-לֵאמֹר in the protasis. In Nu 16²⁹, 32²⁰ ׀- as before ׀ (as in Jb 31¹⁰ in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8¹²; with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47²⁵, Ex 33⁵; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5⁸ (see § 107 x).

- d* (b) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 h, i) and apodosis, ψ 104¹⁰ תִּשְׁתַּחֲשֹׁךְ יְהִי לַיְלָה (if) *thou makest darkness, it is night*; imperfect in the apodosis, ψ 104^{29b}; cohortative Pr 1²³. Also in Ex 7⁹ יְהִי לְתַנִּין *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down*; so in 2 K 5¹⁰ וַיִּשָׁב is the apodosis to a protasis *if thou wash*, contained in what precedes.
- e* (c) *Cohortative* (see § 108 e) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis, ψ 40⁶; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19¹⁸ אֶקְוֶמָה וַיְדַבְּרוּבֵי (if) *I arise, they speak against me*; on the cohortative in the apodosis, cf. § 108 f.
- f* (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111 x), ψ 139¹¹ וְאָמַר *if I say*, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2¹⁶.
- g* (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 k k and l), Gn 44²² וַיִּמָּט אָבִיו וַיָּמָת *and should he leave his father, his father would die*; 9¹⁵, 44²⁹, Ex 4¹⁴, 12¹³, 1 S 16², 19³, 2 S 13²⁸, 1 K 8³⁰; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16²¹ (referring to the past, Jer 20⁹); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by לָא), Nu 23²⁰, Jb 5²⁴; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2³⁷; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10¹⁹; a noun-clause, ψ 37¹⁰, Jb 7²¹.
- h* (f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18²² מָצְאָה אִשָּׁה מַצָּא טוֹב *has one found a wife, he has found a good thing*; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19⁴, 23¹⁰; an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20²⁵, Pr 11², Jb 3²⁵, 23^{13b}, 29¹¹; an interrogative clause, Nu 12¹⁴, Jb 7²⁰ *if I have sinned* (prop., well, now I have sinned!) *what can I do unto thee?* 21³¹, 35⁶, Am 3⁸; a noun-clause, Jb 27¹⁹.
- i* (g) *A participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143 d, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 w) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw apodosis*, e.g. Pr 23²⁴ *Keth.* יוֹלֵד הַחֵם בּוֹ וַיִּשְׂמַח *if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him*; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2¹³, &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21¹² (cf. § 112 n); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7^{2,19}; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6¹³.
- k* (h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 mm), e.g. 2 S 7¹⁴ בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ וְהִבְהַתִּיו וְנִי *if he commit iniquity, I will correct him*; Ex 34^{34f}. (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate imperatives, see § 110 f.

- l* 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes הִן, see below, under *w*) and לוֹ (1 S 14³⁰, Is 63¹⁹ לֹא; Ec 6⁶, Est 7⁴ אִלּוּ, from אִם לוֹ) *if*, negative לֹא אִם and לֹא לִי (לִי לֹא) *unless*; כִּי *supposing that* (Lat. *ut*), *in case that*, sometimes used almost in the same sense as אִם. With regard to the difference between אִם לֹא (אִם לֹא) and לוֹ (לִי לֹא), the fundamental rule is that אִם is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or

¹ On לוֹ cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 ff.

probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case, **אם** is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek *ἐάν* with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, **לִּי** (**לִּי־אִם**) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as not having occurred or never occurring. In the former case, **לִּי** and **לִּי־אִם** are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the apodosis) corresponding to the Greek *εἰ* with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker (see under a), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between **אם** and **לִּי** is not always consistently observed. Although naturally **לִּי** and **לִּי־אִם** cannot take the place of **אם** and **אִם־לִּי** (on the strange use of **לִּי** in Gn 50¹⁶ see below), yet conversely **אם** is sometimes used where **לִּי** would certainly be expected; cf. e.g. ψ 50¹², 137⁵, 139⁸, Ho 9¹² (cf. verse 11). These examples, indeed (**אם** with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of **לִּי** with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to **לִּי**) a still open possibility. But **אם** is also used for **לִּי** in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by **אם**, e.g. ψ 74^π. . . . **אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת . . . יִרְדֵּךָ וְג'** if I have done this . . . , let the enemy pursue my soul, &c., cf. Jb 31^{9π}. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with **אם** see § 113 o above.

Examples:—

A. **אם** i. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have *been* completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106 o). The apodosis¹ takes—

(a) A *perfect* also, e.g. Pr 9¹² **אִם־חָכְמַתְּ חֲכַמְתָּ לָּךְ** if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself; ψ 73¹⁵ (see below on **לִּי**).

(b) *Imperfect*, e.g. Dt 32⁴¹ **אִם־שִׁנֹּתִי אֶשִׁיב** if I whet my glittering sword . . . I will render vengeance, &c.; Jb 9^{15f.30} (in both cases we should expect **לִּי** rather than **אִם**; so also in ψ 44^{21f.}, with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11¹³ (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. Jb 31^{9π}. (see m above); Gn 18³.

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 Gn 18^{28.30}, Ju 11¹⁰, ψ 63^{6f.}, 137⁶, and according to Dillmann Is 4⁴.

O (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 *gg*), e. g. Gn 43⁹ אֲמַלְלָהּ הַבְּיָאֲתוֹ וְנִיְיָ if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.; Ju 16¹⁷, 2 S 15³³, 2 K 7⁴. On the other hand, e. g. Gn 47⁶, Mi 5⁷, Jb 7⁴ refer to actions already completed; in Gn 38⁹ and Nu 21⁹ the perfect with י is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.

(e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 *q*), e. g. Jb 8⁴ if thy children have sinned (הִטָּאוּ) . . . , וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם, he has delivered them, &c.

(f) *Imperative*, e. g. Gn 50⁴ וּנְאֻמְךָ וְנִיְיָ אֵלֹהִים בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְנִיְיָ אֵלֹהִים if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.; the imperative precedes in Gn 47¹⁶ and Jb 38^{4.18}.

P (g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e. g. Jer 14¹⁸ (a vivid realization of the future) if I have gone forth into the field (= if I go, &c.), then, behold, the slain with the sword! &c.; Pr 24¹⁴ (apodosis with *wāw apodosis*).

Q 2. אֲמַלְלָהּ with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 *b*) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—

(a) The *perfect*, e. g. Nu 32²⁸ וְאִם-לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן בְּנֵי הַיָּהָה תַּטְּאוּםְּ but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned; here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Jb 20¹²⁻¹⁴. On the other hand, Nu 16²⁹ (as also 1 S 6⁹ and 1 K 22²⁸) is a case of a pregnant construction, if these men die as all men die, then (it will follow from this) the Lord hath not sent me.

R (b) The *imperfect*, e. g. 2 K 7⁴ אֲמַלְלָהּ יְחִיֵּנוּ נַחֲיָהּ if they save us alive, we shall live, &c.; Gn 13¹⁶, 18^{28.30}, 28²⁰ ff., Ex 20²⁵ (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1¹⁸, 10²², Am 9²⁻⁴, ψ 50¹² (where אֲמַלְלָהּ ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8⁵ f. (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9^{3.20}, 14⁷; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31⁸ אֲמַלְלָהּ יְאִמְרָהּ if (ever) he said thus . . . , וַיִּלְרֹךְ then they bare . . . ; Ex 40³⁷. In Gn 42²⁷ the consequence (on תָּמִית cf. § 107 *s*) precedes the condition.

(c) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e. g. ψ 137⁵; cf. § 109 *h*.

(d) The *cohortative*, e. g. Gn 13⁹, Jb 31⁷; cf. § 108 *f*.

S (e) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 *ff* and *gg*), e. g. 1 S 20⁶ וְאִם-פָּקַד יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ וְאִם-רָחַם יִרְחֶמְנִי if thy father miss me at all, then shall thou say, &c.; Gn 24⁴¹, Ju 4²⁰; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gn 31⁸ if he said (as often happened) . . . , then, &c.

(f) The *imperfect consecutive*; so perhaps ψ 59¹⁶, if וַיִּלְיָנוּ is to be explained according to § 111 *t*.

(g) The *imperative*, e. g. Gn 31⁵⁰, 1 S 20²¹ (with *wāw apodosis*, but in verse 22 simply הֲלֵךְ), 21¹⁰, Jb 33³.

T (h) A noun-clause, e. g. Gn 4⁷, ψ 139⁸, Jb 8⁶, 31²⁶ f.

3. אֲמַלְלָהּ with *cohortative*, e. g. Gn 30³¹; cf. the passages in § 108 *e*.

U 4. אֲמַלְלָהּ with *infinitive*, Jb 9²⁷ אֲמַלְלָהּ אֲמַרְיָהּ prop. if my saying is (but probably we should read אֲמַלְלָהּ אֲמַרְיָהּ).

V 5. אֲמַלְלָהּ with a noun-clause, e. g. Dt 5²² (in the apodosis a perfect with *wāw apodosis*), Gn 27⁴⁶, Ju 9¹⁵ (imperative in the apodosis); 11⁹ (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 S 12⁸ (cohortative in the apodosis); Ho 12¹²; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to שֵׁנִי, in a negative sentence to אֵין (cf. on both, § 100 *o*), while the predicate (cf. § 116 *q*) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e. g. Ju 6³⁶ f. אֲמַלְלָהּ מוֹשִׁיעַ

if thou wilt save, &c. ; Gn 24⁴⁹ אַם־יִשְׁבְּחֶם עַיִןִּם if ye will deal, &c. ; 1 S 23²³. In Gn 24⁴² f. the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of נָא. With אִיִּן Gn 43⁵ וְאִם־יִנְיֶךָ מִשְׁלַחַּיְךָ but if thou wilt not send, &c. ; 20⁷ (with imperative in the apodosis) ; Ex 8¹⁷, 9² f., 1 S 19¹¹ (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But וְיִי and וְיִיִּן may also be used after אַם without a suffix ; thus וְיִי Gn 23⁸, 1 S 20⁸, 2 K 9¹⁵, &c., וְאִם־יִיִּן (if it be not the case) Gn 30¹, Ex 32³², Ju 9¹⁵, 2 K 2¹⁰ ; cf. also וְיִיִּן־כִּיִּן if it be so, Gn 25²².

B. הֵן if, generally supposed to be originally identical with הֵן behold!¹ w
Probably, however, הֵן if, is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning *behold*, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with הֵן or הֵנָּה. Cf. Ex 8²², Lv 25²⁰, Is 54¹⁵, Jer 3¹, Hag 2¹², 2 Ch 7¹³, and frequently in Job, as 9^{11,12}, 12^{14,15}, 19⁷, 23³, 40²³, always with wāw apodosis following, except in 13¹⁵, where consequently the meaning *see* is no doubt preferable.

C. לֹא if, לֹא־לֵא (לֹא־לֵא) if not. x

1. With perfect in the protasis and apodosis (cf. § 106 p), e.g. Ju 8¹⁹ ; אִלָּא is used in the same sense as לֹא in Est 7⁴, cf. Ec 6⁶ (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after אִלָּא־לֵא Gn 31⁴², 43¹⁰, Ju 14¹⁸, 1 S 25³⁴, 2 S 2²⁷, Is 1⁹. On the other hand, in Dt 32²⁹ לֹא with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, if they were wise, they would understand this ; in Mi 2¹¹ by a perfect consecutive.

2. With imperfect after אִלָּא־לֵא Dt 32²⁷, אָנֹכִי probably as the *modus rei repetitæ*, y were it not that I ever and again feared, &c. ; so also the imperfect after לֹא with the apodosis suppressed, Gn 50¹⁵ supposing that Joseph should hate us ; since, according to the context, the danger was real, the use of לֹא here is strange ; conversely in other cases, e.g. ψ 73¹⁵, Jb 9¹⁵ f.³⁰, לֹא would be more natural than אַם.

3. A noun-clause occurs after לֹא 2 S 18¹², 2 K 3¹⁴, ψ 81¹⁴, all with imperfect אַם in the apodosis ; Jb 16⁴ לֹא יֵשׁ with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. כִּי supposing that, if :—

1. כִּי with perfect in the protasis, e.g. Nu 5²⁰ וְאִתָּךְ כִּי שָׁטְיִית but thou, if thou aa hast gone astray, &c. ; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Jb 7¹³ f. ; with an imperfect consecutive, Jb 22²⁹.

2. כִּי with imperfect in the protasis, e.g. ψ 23⁴ אֲלֹהֵי בְּיָמֵי אֵלֹהֵי יָמֵי יְהוָה yea, though I walk bb (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא־אִירָא) evil ; 37²⁴ ; Ex 21² כִּי־תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד עִבְדֵּךָ if thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve (but in verses 3-5 a series of definite conditions with definite consequences is introduced by אַם ; so also the כִּי in verse 7 is followed in verses 8-11 by the special cases with אַם ; cf. also verse 17 ff.) ; cf. Gn 4²⁴, 24⁴¹, Jb 38⁵ ; with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gn 32¹⁸ f., Ex 18¹⁶ ; with a noun-clause, Is 1¹⁵.

3. כִּי with a noun-clause (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 S 19⁸.

REMARKS.

1. In 2 K 5¹³ the particle אֲבִי (Masora אֲבִי, probably in the sense of my CC father) appears exceptionally for לֹא ; its meaning here is unquestionable, but

¹ There could be no doubt of their identity if וְהֵנָּה in 1 S 9⁷, 2 S 18¹¹, simply meant if. We must, however, keep to the meaning *but behold*.

its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34⁸⁶, where this אֲנִי appears to be used as a desiderative particle.—Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of אִי or, e.g. Ex 21²⁶ אִי נֹרַע וְגַ' or (another possible case) *it is known that, &c.*, i.e. *but if it be known, &c.*, LXX εἰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*; cf. Lv 4^{28, 28}, 5¹, 25⁴⁹, 2 S 18¹³; with a following imperfect, Ez 14¹⁷¹.—On the hypothetical use of אֲפֹרָ (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lv 4²² (in verses 3 and 27 אֲפֹרָ), Dt 11²⁷ (verse 28 אֲפֹרָ), Jos 4²¹, see the Lexicon.

dd 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13⁹, 24⁴⁹, 1 S 2¹⁶ וְאִם-לֹא and *if not*, i. e. *and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it* (perfect according to § 106 *n*) *by force*; cf. 1 S 6⁹. The use of וַיֵּשׁ alone in Ju 6¹³ is peculiar, as also וַיֵּשׁ in 2 K 10¹⁵ (where read with the LXX וַיֵּשׁ) in the sense of *if it be so*.—In 2 S 13²⁶, 2 K 5¹⁷ וְלֹא alone appears to be used in the sense of *if really . . . not*, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to *may there at least, &c.* (cf. § 143 *d*); but perhaps with Matthes, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 122 ff., following Kuipers, we should read וְלֹא *would that!*—In 1 S 13¹³, Jb 3¹³ the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by כִּי, in Jb 31²⁸ by כִּי, in 2 K 13¹⁹ by אִי.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e. g. Gn 4²⁴, Is 43²) or is entirely suppressed, e. g. Gn 30²⁷, 38¹⁷, 50¹⁵ (see *y* above), Ex 32³², ψ 27¹³, Jb 38⁵, where properly הִפְרָר must be supplied with כִּי תִרַע as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 *a*.—In ψ 8⁴, instead of the apodosis *I exclaim* which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

cc 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of כִּי Is 7⁹; אִי 2 S 22⁷, 19⁷, Jb 11¹⁵; or עֲתָה כִּי *now verily*, Nu 22²⁹, 1 S 14³⁰ after לִי, Gn 31⁴², 43¹⁰ after לִגְבִי, Jb 8⁶ after אִם. On this corroborative כִּי cf. such passages as Gn 18²⁰, &c., and § 148 *d*. On אִם כִּי after an oath cf. 163 *d*.

ff 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of אִם Pr 9¹², Jb 10¹⁵, 16⁶, 22²³, and כִּי Is 43².

gg 5. In Ex 33²⁰ a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, *for a man doth not see me and live*, instead of *for if a man sees me, he does not live*; cf. the similar passages, Dt 22^{1, 4} *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, instead of *if thou seest . . . thou shalt not hide thyself*.

§ 160. Concessive Clauses.

a Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110 *a*) or mockingly (§ 110 *f*), and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141 *e*, § 142 *d*, and § 156 *f*), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(*a*) By a simple אִם *if*: thus Jb 9¹⁵ with perfect, *if (=though) I had been in the right*; Is 1¹⁸ and 10²² with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

b (*b*) By כִּי אִם *yea though*, Is 1¹⁵ with imperfect; for which we find simply אִם in Is 49¹⁵ with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .*; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36²⁵, ψ 95⁹, Neh 6¹; finally אִם כִּי *even if, though*, Ec 4¹⁴.

(c) By the preposition **עַל** governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16¹⁷ **עַל לֹא־הָקָם בְּכַפִּי** notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53⁹. On **עַל** with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to *in addition to the fact that* = *notwithstanding that*), cf. § 119 aa, note 2.

§ 161. Comparative Clauses.

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *α* simply uniting them with *wāw copulative*, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e. g. Jb 5⁷ *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12¹¹ (in an interrogative form; in 34³ the same comparison as a statement); 14^{11f}, Pr 17³, 25³, 26^{3,9,14}, 27²¹, &c.¹ Even without the connecting **וְ** Jb 24¹⁹ *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **וְשָׂאוֹל הַטָּהוּר** so doth Sheol those who have sinned (cf. § 155 n); cf. Jer 17¹¹.

2. The conjunction **כַּאֲשֶׁר** (cf. § 155 g; the simple **אֲשֶׁר** occurs in the *β* same sense in Ex 10⁶, 14¹³, 34¹⁸) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob¹⁵), frequently with **כֵּן** *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31⁴, 52^{14f}. Sometimes, however, **כֵּן** (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55⁹, Jer 3²⁰.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5¹⁵ by **בְּלֹעַמַת שֵׁי** *in all points as*.

Rem. On the use of **כֵּן** *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *γ* comparisons, cf. 118 s; on the alleged use of **כֵּן** as a conjunction (equivalent to **כַּאֲשֶׁר**), cf. § 155 g.—It is to be further remarked that **כֵּן-כֵּן** when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e. g. Lv 7⁷, Ju 8¹⁸, Is 24², Ho 4⁹; also *so—as*, Gn 18²⁵, 44¹⁸, Dt 1¹⁷, 1 K 22⁴; in Jos 14¹¹, 1 S 30²⁴ **כֵּן-וְכֵן**; ψ 127⁴ and often, **כֵּן-כֵּן**, cf. Jo 2⁴), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; **כַּכֶּם בְּיַהֲוִיָּה** Nu 15¹⁵ properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i. e. *your duty shall be (also) the stranger's duty*; cf. Lv 24²².

¹ On this *wāw adaequationis*, and in general on these proverbial comparisons, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 f. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e. g. Pr 25²⁵, 26²¹, 27²¹ (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions **עַם נִחְשָׁב** prop. *to be counted with some one*, ψ 88⁵, and **עַם נִמְשָׁל** *to be likened with some one*, ψ 28¹, 143⁷, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of **עַם** cf. Jb 9²⁶, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

² In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with **כֵּן**, **כַּל**, **כָּל** *all*. The expression is compounded of **כֵּן** and **לְעַמַת**, like the Aramaic **כַּל-קַבְל** for **כַּל-קַבְל**; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

- a* The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by וְאוּ or, e.g. Ex 21³⁶, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2¹⁶; so Is 27⁵ וְאוּ = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere וְאוּ.
- b* In the sense of *sive—sive* we find וְאוּ—וְאוּ, or וְאוּ—וְאוּ, or וְאוּ—וְאוּ (see the examples in the Lexicon), also וְאוּ—וְאוּ Lv 5³, Nu 9¹⁴, Dt 24⁷, Is 2¹³^{fr.}, Jer 32²⁰, ψ 76⁷, Jb 34²⁹, perhaps also Ex 21¹⁶ (but not Pr 29⁹; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and וְאוּ—וְאוּ (see § 143 *e*); cf. also וְאוּ—וְאוּ (in Gn 24⁴⁴ וְאוּ—וְאוּ) *both—and*; but וְאוּ—וְאוּ (in Gn 21²⁶ וְאוּ—וְאוּ); Zp 1¹⁸ וְאוּ . . . וְאוּ) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150 *g*.

§ 163. *Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.*

- a* 1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by וְאוּ וְאוּ, e.g. 1 S 8¹⁹ *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; ψ 1², &c.; frequently also by וְאוּ alone, e.g. Gn 18¹⁵, 19², or even simply connected with וְאוּ, Gn 17⁵, וְאוּ וְאוּ as perfect consecutive; 42¹⁰; cf. Ex 5¹⁸.
- b* Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e.g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mi 6^{3f.}) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31¹⁸); וְאוּ or וְאוּ וְאוּ in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c* 2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by וְאוּ וְאוּ *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) וְאוּ וְאוּ¹ *unless*; especially וְאוּ וְאוּ with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32²⁷ *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lv 22⁶, Is 55¹⁰, 65⁶, Am 3⁷, Ru 3¹⁸. Finally, וְאוּ וְאוּ *unless*, Am 3⁴ (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply וְאוּ וְאוּ Gn 43³ with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10⁴ after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

¹ Very probably this use of וְאוּ וְאוּ arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (וְאוּ in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22²² as a forcible resumption of the preceding וְאוּ. Thus, e.g. Ju 15⁷ is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease, equivalent to, I will not cease, until I have, &c.* When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3¹⁸ *surely (or for) when he has finished it (then the man will rest)*. It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with וְאוּ וְאוּ *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which אֲנִי כִּי appends an exception, א' must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gn 40¹⁴ (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember, &c.* (cf. § 106 n, note 2; but it is probably better to read אֲנִי for כִּי). Cf. Mi 6⁸, where אֲנִי כִּי, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Jb 42⁸, equivalent to *only*, before a noun. Similarly when אֲנִי כִּי after an oath introduces an emphatic assurance, e.g. in 2 K 5²⁰ *as the Lord liveth* (I can do nothing else) *except I run after him, &c.*; cf. 2 S 15²¹ *K^eth.*, Jer 51¹⁴, Ru 3¹² *K^eth.*, and even without the oath, Ju 15⁷; cf. the Rem. on c.

§ 164. Temporal Clauses.

1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or a' events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition:—

(a) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by וְ (or וְהִנֵּה), e.g. Gn 7⁶ *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה and (i.e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by עוֹד *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e.g. Jb 1¹⁶ *עוֹד וְהָיָה* 'וְהָיָה כִּי אֵלֶיךָ וְהָיָה אֵלֶיךָ' *he was yet speaking, and there came another, &c.*; see the numerous examples in § 111 g and § 116 u. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after כִּי with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one . . .*, e.g. 1 S 2¹³ *כִּי-אִישׁ זָבַח זֶבַח* 'וְכָאֵלֶּיךָ' *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came, &c.*; 2 S 2²³, &c.; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116 w.

(b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition

(1) of two imperfects consecutive, e.g. Gn 24¹⁹ *וְהָיָה כִּי-לָהֵטְקָתוֹ וְהָאֵמֶר* *and when she had done giving him drink, she said, &c.*; 28⁶, 29³¹, 30⁹, 32²⁶, &c.; cf. § 111 d;

(2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by וְ, e.g. Gn 38²³; cf. § 116 v; in Gn 49²⁹ 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. Gn 19²³ *וְלֹט כִּי-וָגַע . . . וְהָיָה כִּי-יָצָא* *the sun was just risen . . . and (=when) Lot came, &c.*, cf. 1 S 9⁵, 2 S 2²⁴; Gn 44³, Ju 3²⁴, 15¹⁴, 20³⁹.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand,

(4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e.g. Gn 44⁴ *וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם*

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, note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a *noun-clause* with another clause. In Gn 2^{7,30} the immediate succession is especially emphasized by אֲנִי and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9²⁴ by אֲנִי only in ψ 48⁶ by וְ and the addition of two more perfects without וְ.

and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), thou shalt say unto them. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *kk* and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וַיְהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16⁶, cf. § 112 *oo*.—In 1 S 29¹⁰ an imperative with ׀ follows the perfect consecutive.

- C* (5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by טָרָם (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24¹⁵),¹ is then connected by ׀ (or וְהָיָה) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19⁴ (cf. Jos 2⁸) נָסְבוּ וְנָּ . . . וְאִנְשֵׁי הָעִיר טָרָם יִשְׁבְּבוּ וְאִנְשֵׁי הָעִיר they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.; Gn 24²⁵.

d 2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are קִי (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6¹, Ju 1²⁸, 16¹⁶, 1 S 1¹²; with imperfect, Gn 4¹², 12¹², 24⁴¹, Ex 3²¹, Lv 21⁹, Dt 31²¹, Is 1¹², 8¹⁹) and אֲשֶׁר² when (קִי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8⁴; with perfect Jb 1⁵); less frequently אֲמָם³ (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38⁹, Nu 21⁹, Ju 6³, ψ 41⁷, 94¹⁸, cf. also Is 24¹³ = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36⁴; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4¹. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds קִימָו when, Gn 19¹⁵; כִּי־אֲשֶׁר when, after that; עַד־אֲשֶׁר until (also the simple עַד, e.g. Gn 38¹¹, Jos 2²², 1 S 1²² [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 S 10⁵]); 2⁵, &c.; especially in the formula לוֹ עַד־בְּלֹתִי הַשְּׂאִיר until there was none left remaining to him (where indeed it would be very natural to read הַשְּׂאִיר the infin. constr., as elsewhere after בְּלֹתִי, § 114 *s*) Nu 21³⁵, Dt 3³, Jos 8²², 11⁸ (but 1 S 14¹⁹ while, as long as); לֵאמֹר עַד אֲשֶׁר לֵא before that, Ec 12^{1.2.6} with an imperfect, as in Pr 8²⁶ עַד with a perfect; עַד־אֲמָם until the time when; אַחֲרֵי־אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40¹ אַחֲרֵי־אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25⁴⁸, 1 S 5⁹ simply אַחֲרֵי; Lv 14⁴³, Jer 41¹⁶, Jb 42⁷ simply אַחֲר) after that; מֵאָז (prop. since that time; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138 *e*) since, Gn 39⁵; בְּטָרָם (and simply טָרָם § 107 *c*) before; קִרְמַת אֲשֶׁר before, ψ 129⁵.

- 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

¹ On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, cf. § 107 *c*.

² On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138 *a*; hence עַד־אֲשֶׁר לְשׁוֹב we shall properly up to that (moment)—we shall return.

³ Cf. the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. *if*] for *wann* [= *when*] in German.

Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106 o), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On טָרַם, בְּטָרַם, and עַד with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 c.

2. Clauses introduced by עַד, עַד-כִּי, or עַד-אַשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit *f* which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַד with the imperfect, ψ 110¹; עַד-כִּי with the perfect, Gn 26¹³, with i.npf. 49¹⁰; עַד-אַשֶׁר with the perfect, Gn 28¹⁵; with the imperfect, ψ 112⁸.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עַד may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15¹⁶ עַד-יַעֲבֹר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—they passed through, i.e. so they passed through.

3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 d, e) is very *g* frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בְּ may usually be rendered by *when, as, or whilst*; the infinitive with בְּ by *when, as soon as* (in Pr 10²⁵ followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after מִן by *since*. According to § 111 g such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17⁵⁵ (cf. Driver on the passage) וַיְהִי אֹת וַיִּבְרָאֹת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, cf. § 112 v, and in general, § 114 r.—With the participle, כִּי appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in כִּי-שֹׁב as *he drew back*, Gn 35²⁹ (unless we should read כִּי-שֹׁב [or כִּי-שֹׁב, cf. Gn 19¹⁵]), and in כִּי-פָּרַחַח *when it budded*, 40¹⁰.

§ 165. Final Clauses.¹

1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final *a* clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw copulative* to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb. ??

Examples of the connexion: (a) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of וְ, La 1¹⁹, see § 107 q; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9^{1,3}, Jb 38²⁴; with an optative, ψ 51⁹; with an imperative, 1 K 11²¹; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by וְ, Gn 29²¹, 1 S 15¹⁶, or a jussive, Neh 2⁵ (§ 108 d); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by וְ, Ex 9¹, 2 S 16¹¹, 1 K 5⁵⁰, ψ 59¹⁴, 86¹⁷; with a jussive, Jb 21¹⁹, or cohortative, § 109 f, g (cf. also 2 S 24²¹ the infinitive with לְ, Jon 1¹¹ מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29¹⁰ עַם-לִבְבִי, 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, Lv 14³⁸; 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 25⁴³, 30²⁰; and 2 S 13²⁵ after אֶל-נָא with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 g. In Ex 28³², 39²³ the negative final clause is simply connected by לֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of command-

¹ Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

ing, where we should expect a final clause (e.g. Neh 13⁹ *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9⁷ a negative final clause is connected in this way by אִלּוּ, cf. § 120 f.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without ו) see § 120 c.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12¹³, 27²⁵, Ex 4⁵, ψ 51⁶, &c.; אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gn 27¹⁰, and simply בְּעֵבֶר Gn 27⁴, Ex 9¹⁴, 20²⁰; also the simple אֲשֶׁר¹ Dt 4^{10,40}, 6³, 32⁴⁶, Jos 3⁷, Neh 8^{14f.}; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר Gn 11⁷, 24³, 1 K 22¹⁶; or וְ Ec 3¹⁴; also negatively, עַל-דְּבַר שְׂאֵל *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Ec 7¹⁴; לְבַלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴ *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of כִּי (if the text be right) in Dt 33¹¹ כִּי-יִקְרָאוּ, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מְקוּדָם].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 g (on the apparent exception in Jos 4²⁴, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions אִלּוּ and כִּי *that not, lest*, see § 152 f and w. On the infinitive with הֵ (also לְמַעַן Gn 18¹⁹, 37²², &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11⁵, 28⁴, &c.), see § 114 f, h, p. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 r. On the negation of the final infinitive by לְבַלְתִּי, § 114 s. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31²⁹, 1 S 15²³, &c.), see § 119 x and y.

§ 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple wāw copulative with the jussive,³ especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e.g. Nu 23¹⁹ לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וְיִכְיֹב וְיִזְנוּ אָרָם וְיִתְנַחֲמוּ *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53² וְיִנְחָמְרָהוּ; Ho 14¹⁰ מִי חָכֵם וְיִבֵּן אֵלֶּה נִבּוֹן וְיִרְדְּעֵם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5¹² וְלֹא = *so that . . . not*; in Pr 30³ וְ is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16¹⁰ a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10⁵ after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Jb 9^{32,33} the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without Wāw to the preceding negative sentence (in

¹ In Ez 36²⁷ a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

² On הֵ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 K 6¹⁹, see § 66 i.

³ That such examples as וְיִכְיֹב are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14¹⁰ and Jb 9³³.

verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, for *he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement*). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111 l; on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112 n.

2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see *b* § 157 c, note 3) וְ and וְשֵׁנִי = *so that*; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107 u; cf. Nu 16¹¹, וְ with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; but in Gn 20¹⁰ with the perfect, in reference to an action already completed. On וְשֵׁנִי with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, cf. further Gn 13¹⁶, 22¹⁴; with perfect and imperfect, 1 K 3^{12f.}, with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on הֵן; on הֵן וְשֵׁנִי = *ut non*, cf. Dt 28³⁵, 1 K 3⁸, 2 K 9³⁷.

On וְ with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119 y.

§ 167. *Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

1. *Aposiopesis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences *a* or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense,¹ and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159 *dd*, cf. also Ex 32³² (the LXX and Samaritan supply אֲשֶׁר); Nu 5²⁰, Ju 9¹⁶ (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 S 12^{14f.}, 2 S 5⁸ (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; cf. the addition in 1 Ch 11⁶); 2 S 23¹⁷, ψ 27¹³, 1 Ch 4¹⁰. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117 l, and especially § 147; in Aramaic, Dn 3¹⁵.—On Gn 3²², cf. § 152 *w* at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been *b* already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gn 20¹³, 31⁵² and Ez 34¹⁰ (cf. § 149 at the end); Nu 14^{21ff.}, 32^{20ff.}, Dt 17^{2ff.}, 24^{1ff.}, 29^{21ff.}, Ju 10¹¹ (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is sup-

¹ But those cases are not to be regarded as examples of aposiopesis, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with הֵן; cf. § 147 a, note 1.

pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66¹⁸ (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).¹ On Gn 23¹³ (³₅ with the imperative), see § 110 e.

c 3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24¹⁴ and ⁴² ^π, and Gn 28^{6π}.

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. Gn 17^{14.17}, nor even Gn 31⁴⁰ (cf. § 143).

THE PARADIGMS.

IN the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלָהּ, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלָהּ, קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves.—In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the footnote there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm G onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

The newly added paradigm (Q) consists of forms actually found, belonging to various verbs.

A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

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

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { m. אַתָּה (את), in pause }
אַתָּה } thou.
f. אַתְּ (אתי) }

אֲתָּ; אֲתָּ, in pause אֲתָּ, }
אֲתָּ } thee.
אֲתָּ; אֲתָּ; אֲתָּ, אֲתָּ }

3. { m. הוּא he.
f. הִיא she. }

הוּ; הוּ (הֵ), הוּ; הוּ him.

הָ; הָ; הָ her (eam).

Plur. I. comm. אֲנֵנוּ (נַחֲנוּ), in
pause אֲנֵנוּ (נַחֲנוּ) we.

אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ us.

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

אֲתֶם; אֲתֶם }
[אֲתֶם; אֲתֶם] } you.

3. { m. הֵם, הֵם }
f. הֵנָּה } they.

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

[הֵם], הֵם; הֵם, (הֵם); [הֵם] them (eas).

Pronoun.¹

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*
(*Pron. possessivum*).

| B. | A. | B. |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| With <i>Nūn energeticum</i> . | Attached to a sing. noun. | Attached to a noun plur. or dual. |
| אֲנִי; אַתָּה | אֲנִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i>). | אֲנִי <i>my</i> . |
| אֲנִי, (אֲנִי) | אֲנִי, אַתָּה, in } <i>thy</i> pause אֲנִי } (prop. אֲנִי, אַתָּה, (אֲנִי) } <i>twi</i> . | אֲנִי } <i>thy</i> . אֲנִי } |
| not found. | | |
| (אֲנִי), אֲנִי; (אֲנִי) | אֲנִי, אֲנִי; אֲנִי, אֲנִי (<i>his</i> (<i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i>). | אֲנִי, אֲנִי, (אֲנִי*) <i>his</i> . |
| אֲנִי | אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי <i>her</i> . | אֲנִי <i>her</i> . |
| אֲנִי? (see § 58 k) | אֲנִי; אֲנִי; (אֲנִי) <i>our</i> . | אֲנִי <i>our</i> . |
| these forms are not found. | אֲנִי; אֲנִי } <i>your</i> . אֲנִי; אֲנִי } | אֲנִי } <i>your</i> . אֲנִי } |
| | אֲנִי; אֲנִי, } <i>their</i> . אֲנִי* } | אֲנִי, אֲנִי* } <i>their</i> . אֲנִי } |

¹ Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses () are rare, those in brackets [] do not occur (cf. § 58 a, note).

| | | Qal. | | Niph'al. | P'el. | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | קָטַל* | כָּבַד* | קָטַן* | קָטַל, קָטַל* | |
| | 3. f. | קָטַלָּה* | כָּבְדָה* | קָטְנָה* | קָטַלָּה* | |
| | 2. m. | קָטַלְתָּ* | כָּבַדְתָּ* | קָטַנְתָּ* | קָטַלְתָּ* | |
| | 2. f. | קָטַלְתְּ* | כָּבַדְתְּ* | קָטַנְתְּ* | קָטַלְתְּ* | |
| | 1. c. | קָטַלְתִּי | כָּבַדְתִּי | קָטַנְתִּי | קָטַלְתִּי | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 3. c. | קָטַלוּ | כָּבְדוּ | קָטְנוּ | קָטַלוּ |
| | | 2. m. | קָטַלְתֶּם* | כָּבַדְתֶּם* | קָטַנְתֶּם* | קָטַלְתֶּם* |
| | | 2. f. | קָטַלְתֶּן* | כָּבַדְתֶּן* | קָטַנְתֶּן* | קָטַלְתֶּן* |
| | 1. c. | קָטַלְנוּ | כָּבַדְנוּ | קָטַנְנוּ | קָטַלְנוּ | |
| <i>Inf.</i> | שָׁבַב, קָטַל* | | | הִקָּטַל* | קָטַל* | |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | קָטוּל* | | | הִקָּטַל, נִקָּטַל | קָטַל, קָטַל* | |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> | 2. m. | קָטַל* | כָּבַד* | הִקָּטַל* | קָטַל* | |
| | 2. f. | קָטַלִּי* | כָּבְדִי* | הִקָּטַלִּי* | קָטַלִּי* | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 2. m. | קָטַלוּ | כָּבְדוּ | הִקָּטַלוּ | קָטַלוּ |
| | | 2. f. | קָטַלְנָה* | כָּבְדְנָה* | הִקָּטַלְנָה* | קָטַלְנָה* |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | יִקְטַל* | יִכְבֵּד* | יִקְטַן* | יִקְטַל* | |
| | 3. f. | תִּקְטַל | תִּכְבֵּד | תִּקְטַל | תִּקְטַל | |
| | 2. m. | תִּקְטַל | תִּכְבֵּד | תִּקְטַל | תִּקְטַל | |
| | 2. f. | תִּקְטַלִּי* | תִּכְבְּדִי* | תִּקְטַלִּי* | תִּקְטַלִּי* | |
| | 1. c. | אִקְטַל | אִכְבֵּד | 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 | נִכְבֵּד | נִקְטַל | נִקְטַל | |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | | קָטַל* | כָּבַד | קָטַן | נִקְטַל* | |
| | <i>pass.</i> | קָטוּל* | | | | |

Verb.

| <i>Pu'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i> |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| קָטַל* | הִקְטִיל* | הִקְטַל* | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| קָטַלָּה* | הִקְטִילָּה* | הִקְטַלָּה* | הִתְקַטַּלָּה* |
| קָטַלְתָּ* | הִקְטַלְתָּ* | הִקְטַלְתָּ* | הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ* |
| קָטַלְתָּ | הִקְטַלְתָּ | הִקְטַלְתָּ | הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ |
| קָטַלְתִּי | הִקְטַלְתִּי | הִקְטַלְתִּי | הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי |
| קָטַלְוּ | הִקְטַלוּ | הִקְטַלוּ | הִתְקַטַּלוּ |
| קָטַלְתֶּם | הִקְטַלְתֶּם | הִקְטַלְתֶּם | הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם |
| קָטַלְתֶּן | הִקְטַלְתֶּן | הִקְטַלְתֶּן | הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן |
| קָטַלְנוּ | הִקְטַלְנוּ | הִקְטַלְנוּ | הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ |
| wanting. | הִקְטִיל* | wanting. | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| קָטַל* | הִקְטַל* | הִקְטַל* | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| wanting. | הִקְטַל* | wanting. | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| | הִקְטִילִי* | | הִתְקַטַּלִי* |
| | הִקְטִילוּ | | הִתְקַטַּלוּ |
| | הִקְטִילְנָה* | | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה* |
| יִקְטַל* | יִקְטִיל* | יִקְטַל* | יִתְקַטַּל* |
| תִּקְטַל | תִּקְטִיל | תִּקְטַל | תִּתְקַטַּל |
| תִּקְטַל | תִּקְטִיל | תִּקְטַל | תִּתְקַטַּל |
| יִתְקַטַּל* | יִתְקַטִּיל* | יִתְקַטַּל* | יִתְקַטַּל* |
| אִתְקַטַּל | אִתְקִיל | אִתְקַטַּל | אִתְקַטַּל |
| יִתְקַטַּלוּ | יִתְקִילוּ | יִתְקַטַּלוּ | יִתְקַטַּלוּ |
| תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה* | תִּתְקִילְנָה* | תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה* | תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה* |
| תִּתְקַטַּלוּ | תִּתְקִילוּ | תִּתְקַטַּלוּ | תִּתְקַטַּלוּ |
| תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה | תִּתְקִילְנָה | תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה | תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה |
| נִקְטַל | נִקְטִיל | נִקְטַל | נִתְקַטַּל |
| | יִקְטַל* | | |
| | מִקְטִיל* | | מִתְקַטַּל* |
| מִקְטַל* | | מִקְטַל* | |

| | | Suffixes | 1 Sing. | 2 Sing. m. | 2 Sing. f. | 3 Sing. m. |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Perf. Qal | 3. m. | { קטלני שָׁבַחְנִי } | קטלך | קטלך | { קטלהו קטלו } | |
| | 3. f. | | | | | קטלתני |
| | 2. m. | קטלתני | — | — | { קטלתהו קטלתו } | |
| | 2. f. | קטלתני | — | — | קטלתיהו | |
| | 1. c. | — | קטלתיד | קטלתיד | { קטלתיו קטלתיהו } | |
| | Plur. | 3. c. | קטלני | { קטלוד אֶהְבֹּד } | קטלוד | קטלהו |
| | | 2. m. | קטלתני | — | — | קטלתהו |
| | | 1. c. | — | קטלנוד | קטלנוד | קטלנדהו |
| | Inf. Qal | | { קטלי קטלני } | { בְּתִבֶּד קטלך } | קטלך | קטלו |
| | | Imp. Qal 2. | קטלני | — | — | קטלהו |
| (from an Imperf. in a שְׁמַעְנִי, שְׁלַחְנִי) | | | | | | |
| Impf. Qal | 3. m. | { יקטלני ילבשני } | { יקטלך ילבשך } | { יקטלך ילבשך } | { יקטלהו ילבשהו } | |
| | 3. m. with <i>Nûn energ.</i> | } יקטלני | } יקטלך | — | יקטלנו | |
| | Plur. 3. m. | | | יקטלני | יקטלוד | יקטלוד |
| | Perf. Pi'el | 3. m. | קטלני | קטלך | קטלך | קטלו |

with Suffixes.

| 3 Sing. f. | 1 Plur. | 2 Plur. m. | 2 Plur. f. | 3 Plur. m. | 3 Plur. f. |
|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלָנוּ | wanting. | wanting. | { קָטְלָם } { לְבָשָׁם } | קָטְלוּ |
| קָטְלָתָהּ | קָטְלָתָנוּ | — | — | קָטְלָתָם | wanting. |
| קָטְלָתֶהּ | קָטְלָתֵנוּ | — | — | קָטְלָתָם | wanting. |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ | קָטְלָתֵינוּ | — | — | קָטְלָתֵיהֶם | wanting. |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ | — | קָטְלָתֵיכֶם | wanting. | קָטְלָתֵיהֶם | קָטְלָתֵיוּ |
| קָטְלָוּהָ | קָטְלָוּנוּ | wanting. | wanting. | קָטְלָוּם | קָטְלָוּ |
| wanting. | קָטְלָוּנוּ | — | — | wanting. | wanting. |
| קָטְלָוּהָ | — | קָטְלָוּכֶם | wanting. | קָטְלָוּם | wanting. |
| קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלָנוּ | { קָטְלָבְכֶם } { קָטְלָבָם } | wanting. | קָטְלָם | קָטְלוּ |
| { קָטְלָהּ } { קָטְלָהּ } | קָטְלָנוּ | — | — | קָטְלָם | — |
| { יְקָטְלָהּ } { יְלַבְּשָׁה } { יְקָטְלָהּ } | { יְקָטְלָנוּ } { יְלַבְּשָׁנוּ } | יְקָטְלָכֶם | wanting. | יְקָטְלָם | wanting. |
| יְקָטְלָנָהּ | יְקָטְלָנוּ | — | — | — | — |
| יְקָטְלָוּהָ | יְקָטְלָוּנוּ | יְקָטְלָוּכֶם | wanting. | יְקָטְלָוּם | wanting. |
| קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלָנוּ | wanting. | wanting. | קָטְלָם | קָטְלוּ |

D. Verbs *primae gutturalis*

| | <i>Qal.</i> | <i>Niph'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'ul.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i> | עָמַד | נִעְמַד* | הֶעֱמִיד* | הִעְמַד* |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | עָמְדָה | נִעְמְדָה* | הֶעֱמִידָה | הִעְמַדָה* |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | עָמַדְתָּ | נִעְמַדְתָּ | הֶעֱמַדְתָּ | הִעְמַדְתָּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | עָמַדְתְּ | נִעְמַדְתְּ | הֶעֱמַדְתְּ | הִעְמַדְתְּ |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | עָמַדְתִּי | נִעְמַדְתִּי | הֶעֱמַדְתִּי | הִעְמַדְתִּי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | עָמְדוּ | נִעְמְדוּ | הֶעֱמִידוּ | הִעְמַדוּ |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | עָמַדְתֶּם* | נִעְמַדְתֶּם | הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם | הִעְמַדְתֶּם |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | עָמַדְתֶּן* | נִעְמַדְתֶּן | הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן | הִעְמַדְתֶּן |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | עָמַדְנוּ | נִעְמַדְנוּ | הֶעֱמַדְנוּ | הִעְמַדְנוּ |
| <i>Inf.</i> | עָמֹד* | הֶעֱמֵד* | הֶעֱמִיר* | |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | עָמוּד | נִעְמוּד, הָאָסַף | הֶעֱמֵד* | הִעְמַד* |
| <i>Imp. Sing. m.</i> | עָמֹד* | חֹזֵק* | הֶעֱמֵד* | הֶעֱמֵד |
| <i>f.</i> | עָמְדִי | חֹזְמִי | הֶעֱמְדִי | הֶעֱמְדִי |
| <i>Plur. m.</i> | עָמְדוּ | חֹזְקוּ | הֶעֱמְדוּ | הֶעֱמְדוּ |
| <i>f.</i> | עָמְדֵנָה* | חֹזְקֵנָה* | הֶעֱמְדֵנָה | הֶעֱמְדֵנָה |
| <i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i> | יַעְמֹד* | יִחְזַק* | יַעְמֵד* | יַעְמִיר* |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | תַּעְמֹד | תִּחְזַק | תַּעְמֵד | תַּעְמִיר |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | תַּעְמֹד | תִּחְזַק | תַּעְמֵד | תַּעְמִיר |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | תַּעְמְדִי* | תִּחְזְמִי* | תַּעְמְדִי | תַּעְמְדִי |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | אֶעְמֹד* | אֶחְזַק | אֶעְמֵד | אֶעְמִיר |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יַעְמְדוּ* | יִחְזְקוּ* | יַעְמְדוּ | יַעְמְדוּ |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | תַּעְמְדֵנָה | תִּחְזְקֵנָה | תַּעְמְדֵנָה | תַּעְמְדֵנָה |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | תַּעְמְדוּ | תִּחְזְקוּ | תַּעְמְדוּ | תַּעְמְדוּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | תַּעְמְדֵנָה | תִּחְזְקֵנָה | תַּעְמְדֵנָה | תַּעְמְדֵנָה |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | נִעְמֹד | נִחְזַק | נִעְמֵד | נִעְמִיר |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> | | | יַעְמֵד | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | עָמֵד | נִעְמָד* | מִעְמִיד* | |
| <i>pass.</i> | עָמוּד | | | מִעְמַד |

wanting.

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

| | Qal. | Niph'al. | Pi'el. | Pu'al. | Hithpa'el. |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | שָׁחַט | נִשְׁחַט | בָּרַךְ* | בָּרַךְ* | הִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| 3. f. | שָׁחַטָה* | נִשְׁחַטָה* | בָּרַכְהָ | [בָּרַכְהָ] | הִתְבָּרַכְהָ |
| 2. m. | שָׁחַטְתָּ | נִשְׁחַטְתָּ | בָּרַכְתָּ | בָּרַכְתָּ | הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ |
| 2. f. | שָׁחַטְתְּ | נִשְׁחַטְתְּ | בָּרַכְתְּ | בָּרַכְתְּ | הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ |
| 1. c. | שָׁחַטְתִּי | נִשְׁחַטְתִּי | בָּרַכְתִּי | בָּרַכְתִּי | הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c. | שָׁחַטוּ* | נִשְׁחַטוּ* | בָּרְכוּ | בָּרְכוּ | הִתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 2. m. | שָׁחַטְתֶּם | נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם | בָּרַכְתֶּם | בָּרַכְתֶּם | הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם |
| 2. f. | שָׁחַטְתֶּן | נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן | [בָּרַכְתֶּן] | בָּרַכְתֶּן | הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | שָׁחַטְנוּ | נִשְׁחַטְנוּ | בָּרַכְנוּ | בָּרַכְנוּ | הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ |
| <i>Inf.</i> | שָׁחַט | הִשְׁחַט | בָּרַךְ* | wanting. | הִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | שָׁחוּט | נִשְׁחוּט | בָּרַךְ* | | |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> m. | שָׁחַט* | הִשְׁחַט | בָּרַךְ* | | הִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| f. | שִׁיחַטִי* | הִשְׁחַטִי* | בָּרְכִי* | wanting. | [הִתְבָּרְכִי] |
| <i>Plur.</i> m. | שָׁחַטוּ | הִשְׁחַטוּ | בָּרְכוּ | | [הִתְבָּרְכוּ] |
| f. | שִׁיחַטְנָה | הִשְׁחַטְנָה | בָּרַכְנָה* | | הִתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | יִשְׁחַט* | יִשְׁחַט | יְבָרַךְ* | יְבָרַךְ* | יִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| 3. f. | תִּשְׁחַט | תִּשְׁחַט | תְּבָרַךְ | תְּבָרַךְ | תִּתְבָּרַךְ |
| 2. m. | תִּשְׁחַט | תִּשְׁחַט | תְּבָרַךְ | תְּבָרַךְ | תִּתְבָּרַךְ |
| אֲשֶׁר. f. | תִּשְׁחַטִּי* | תִּשְׁחַטִּי* | תְּבָרְכִי | [תְּבָרְכִי] | [תִּתְבָּרְכִי] |
| יִשְׁלַח. c. | אִשְׁחַט | אִשְׁחַט | אֲבָרַךְ | אֲבָרַךְ | אִתְבָּרַךְ |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m. | יִשְׁחַטוּ | יִשְׁחַטוּ | יְבָרְכוּ | יְבָרְכוּ | יִתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תְּבָרַכְנָה | תְּבָרַכְנָה | תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| 2. m. | תִּשְׁחַטוּ | תִּשְׁחַטוּ | תְּבָרְכוּ | תְּבָרְכוּ | תִּתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 2. f. | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תְּבָרַכְנָה | תְּבָרַכְנָה | תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| 1. c. | נִשְׁחַט | נִשְׁחַט | נְבָרַךְ | נְבָרַךְ | נִתְבָּרַךְ |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> | יִשְׁחַטְהוּ | | | | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | שֹׁחֵט | נִשְׁחָט | מְבָרַךְ* | | מִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| <i>pass.</i> | שָׁחוּט | | | מְבָרַךְ* | |

| | <i>Qal.</i> | <i>Niph'al.</i> | <i>Pi'el.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i> | שָׁלַח | נִשְׁלַחַח | שָׁלַח* |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | שָׁלַחָהּ | נִשְׁלַחָהּ | שָׁלַחָהּ |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | שָׁלַחְתָּ | נִשְׁלַחְתָּ | שָׁלַחְתָּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | שָׁלַחְתְּ* | נִשְׁלַחְתְּ* | שָׁלַחְתְּ* |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | שָׁלַחְתִּי | נִשְׁלַחְתִּי | שָׁלַחְתִּי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i> | שָׁלְחוּ | נִשְׁלְחוּ | שָׁלְחוּ |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | שָׁלַחְתֶּם | נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם | שָׁלַחְתֶּם |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | שָׁלַחְתֶּן | נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן | שָׁלַחְתֶּן |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | שָׁלַחְנוּ | נִשְׁלַחְנוּ | שָׁלַחְנוּ |
| <i>Inf.</i> | שָׁלַח* | הִשְׁלַח* | שָׁלַח* |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | שָׁלוּחַ | נִשְׁלוּחַ | שָׁלַח |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i> | שָׁלַח* | הִשְׁלַח* | שָׁלַח* |
| <i>f.</i> | שָׁלְחִי | הִשְׁלְחִי | שָׁלְחִי* |
| <i>Plur. m.</i> | שָׁלְחוּ | הִשְׁלְחוּ | שָׁלְחוּ |
| <i>f.</i> | שָׁלְחֵנָה* | הִשְׁלְחֵנָה | שָׁלְחֵנָה* |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i> | יִשְׁלַח* | יִשְׁלַח* | יִשְׁלַח* |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח* |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | תִּשְׁלַחִי | תִּשְׁלַחִי | תִּשְׁלַחִי |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | אֲשַׁלַּח | אֲשַׁלַּח | אֲשַׁלַּח ² |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i> | יִשְׁלְחוּ | יִשְׁלְחוּ | יִשְׁלְחוּ ¹ |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | תִּשְׁלְחוּ | תִּשְׁלְחוּ | תִּשְׁלְחוּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁלַח |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> | | | |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> | יִשְׁלַחֲנִי | | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | שָׁלַח* | נִשְׁלַח | מִשְׁלַח* |
| <i>pass.</i> | שָׁלוּחַ* | | |

tertiaie gutturalis.

| <i>Pu'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'el.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i> |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| שָׁלַח | הִשְׁלִיחַ* | הִשְׁלַח | הִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| שִׁלְּחָהּ | הִשְׁלִיחָהּ | הִשְׁלַחָהּ | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָהּ |
| שִׁלְּחָתָּהּ | הִשְׁלִיחָתָּהּ | הִשְׁלַחָתָּהּ | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָּהּ |
| שִׁלְּחָתָּהּ* | הִשְׁלִיחָתָּהּ* | הִשְׁלַחָתָּהּ* | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָּהּ* |
| שִׁלְּחֵתִי | הִשְׁלִיחֵתִי | הִשְׁלַחֵתִי | הִשְׁתַּלַּחֵתִי |
| שִׁלְּחוּ | הִשְׁלִיחוּ | הִשְׁלַחוּ | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| שִׁלְּחוּם | הִשְׁלִיחוּם | הִשְׁלַחוּם | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּם |
| שִׁלְּחוּן | הִשְׁלִיחוּן | הִשְׁלַחוּן | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּן |
| שִׁלְּחוּנִי | הִשְׁלִיחוּנִי | הִשְׁלַחוּנִי | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּנִי |
| | הִשְׁלִיחַ* | | הִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| | הִשְׁלַח* | הִשְׁלַח* | |
| | הִשְׁלַח | | הִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| wanting. | הִשְׁלִיחֵי | wanting. | הִשְׁתַּלַּחֵי |
| | הִשְׁלִיחוּ | | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| | הִשְׁלַחְנָה | | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה* |
| יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁלִיחַ* | יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלִיחַ | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁתַּלַּח |
| תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלִיחַ | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁתַּלַּח |
| תִּשְׁלַחֵי | תִּשְׁלִיחֵי | תִּשְׁלַחֵי | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחֵי |
| אִשְׁלַח | אִשְׁלִיחַ | אִשְׁלַח | אִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁלִיחוּ | יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה* |
| תִּשְׁלַחוּ | תִּשְׁלִיחוּ | תִּשְׁלַחוּ | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה |
| נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁלִיחַ | נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| | יִשְׁלַח | | |
| | מִשְׁלִיחַ* | | מִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| מִשְׁלַח | | מִשְׁלַח | |

G. Verbs mediae geminatae

| | Qal. | Niph'al. |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | קָבַב, תָּם* | נָקַב, נָקַם* |
| 3. f. | קָבְבָה, תָּמְוָה | נָקְבָה* |
| 2. m. | קָבַוְת* | נָקְבוֹת* |
| 2. f. | קְבוֹת | נָקְבוֹת |
| 1. c. | קָבַוְתִי | נָקְבוֹתִי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c. | קָבְבוּ, תָּמוּ | נָקְבוּ |
| 2. m. | קְבוֹתֶם | נָקְבוֹתֶם |
| 2. f. | קְבוֹתֵינָן | נָקְבוֹתֵינָן |
| 1. c. | קָבַוְנוּ | נָקְבוֹנוּ |
| <i>Inf.</i> | קָבֵב* | הִקָּב |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | קָבוֹב | הִיָּם, הִסוֹב |
| <i>Imp. Sing. m.</i> | קָבֵב* | הִקָּב |
| f. | קָבִי* | הִקָּבִי* |
| <i>Plur. m.</i> | קָבוּ | הִקָּבוּ |
| f. | [קָבִינָה] | [הִקָּבִינָה] |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | יִקָּב* (יִקָּב § 67 p) | יִקָּב* |
| 3. f. | תִּקָּב | תִּקָּב |
| 2. m. | תִּקָּב | תִּקָּב |
| 2. f. | תִּקָּבִי* | תִּקָּבִי |
| 1. c. | אִקָּב | אִקָּב |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m. | יִקָּבוּ | יִקָּבוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּקָּבִינָה* | [תִּקָּבִינָה] |
| 2. m. | תִּקָּבוּ | תִּקָּבוּ |
| 2. f. | [תִּקָּבִינָה] | [תִּקָּבִינָה] |
| 1. c. | נִקָּב | נִקָּב |
| <i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i> | וַיִּקָּב* (pause וַיִּסָּב) | |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> | יִקָּבֵנִי* | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | קָבֵב | קָבֵב |
| <i>pass.</i> | קָבוֹב* | (fem. נִקָּבָה) |

or double v.

| Hiph'il. | Hoph'al. | Po'el. | Po'al. |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| הִסַּב, הִסַּב* | הוֹסַב* | סוֹבַב* | סוֹבַב* |
| הִסְבָּה* | הוֹסְבָה | סוֹבְבָה | [סוֹבְבָה] |
| הִסְבֹּת* | [הוֹסְבֹת] | סוֹבְבֹת | סוֹבְבֹת |
| הִסְבֹּת | הוֹסְבֹת | סוֹבְבֹת | סוֹבְבֹת |
| הִסְבֹּתַי | [הוֹסְבֹתַי] | סוֹבְבֹתַי | סוֹבְבֹתַי |
| הִסְבֵּב, הִחֵלֵב | הוֹסְבֵב | סוֹבְבוּ | סוֹבְבוּ |
| הִסְבֹּתֶם | [הוֹסְבֹתֶם] | סוֹבְבֹתֶם | סוֹבְבֹתֶם |
| הִסְבֹּתֶן | הוֹסְבֹתֶן | סוֹבְבֹתֶן | סוֹבְבֹתֶן |
| הִסְבִּינוּ | [הוֹסְבִינוּ] | סוֹבְבִינוּ | [סוֹבְבִינוּ] |
| הִסַּב* | | סוֹבַב | |
| הִסַּב | הִשְׁטַח | סוֹבַב | [סוֹבַב] |
| הִסַּב* | | סוֹבַב | |
| הִסְבִּי | wanting. | [סוֹבְבִי] | wanting. |
| הִסְבֵּב | | סוֹבְבוּ | |
| [הִסְבִּינָה] | | סוֹבְבִנָה | |
| יִסַּב, יִסַּב* | יֹוִסַב, יֹוִסַב* | יִסוֹבַב | [יִסוֹבַב] |
| תִּסַּב | [תִּוִּסַב] | תִּסוֹבַב | תִּסוֹבַב |
| תִּסַּב | תִּוִּסַב | תִּסוֹבַב | תִּסוֹבַב |
| [תִּסְבִּי] | *תִּוִּסְבִּי | [תִּסוֹבְבִי] | תִּסוֹבְבִי |
| אִסַּב | [אִוִּסַב] | [אִסוֹבַב] | אִסוֹבַב |
| יִסְבֵּב, יִסְבֵּב | יֹוִסְבֵב | יִסוֹבְבוּ | יִסוֹבְבוּ |
| *תִּסְבִּינָה | *תִּוִּסְבִּינָה | [תִּסוֹבְבִנָה] | תִּסוֹבְבִנָה |
| תִּסְבֵּב | תִּוִּסְבֵב | תִּסוֹבְבוּ | תִּסוֹבְבוּ |
| תִּסְבִּינָה | תִּוִּסְבִּינָה | [תִּסוֹבְבִנָה] | תִּסוֹבְבִנָה |
| נִסַּב | [נִוִּסַב] | נִסוֹבַב | [נִסוֹבַב] |
| וַיִּסַּב | | | |
| וַיִּסְבֵּב | | | |
| וַיִּסְבִּי | [וַיִּסְבֵּב] | וַיִּסוֹבְבוּ | |
| מִסַּב* | | מִסוֹבַב | |
| | מִוִּסַב | | מִסוֹבַב |

H. Verbs י"ב.

| | Qal. | Niph'al. | Hiph'il. | Hoph'al. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | נָפַל [נָפַשׁ] | נָפַל* | הִפִּיט* | הִפִּיט* |
| 3. f. | | נָפְטָה | הִפִּיטָה | הִפִּיטָה |
| 2. m. | | נָפַטְתָּ | הִפִּיטְתָּ | הִפִּיטְתָּ |
| 2. f. | | נָפַטְתְּ | הִפִּיטְתְּ | הִפִּיטְתְּ |
| 1. c. | regular. | נָפַטְתִּי | הִפִּיטְתִּי | הִפִּיטְתִּי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c. | | נָפְטוּ | הִפִּיטוּ | הִפִּיטוּ |
| 2. m. | | נָפַטְתֶּם | הִפִּיטְתֶּם | הִפִּיטְתֶּם |
| 2. f. | | נָפַטְתֶּן | הִפִּיטְתֶּן | הִפִּיטְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | | נָפַטְנוּ | הִפִּיטְנוּ | הִפִּיטְנוּ |
| <i>Inf.</i> | נָפֹטְתָ* | נָפַל* | הִפִּיט | הִפִּיט* |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | נָפֹט | נָפַל, הִפִּיט | הִפִּיט | הִפִּיט* |
| <i>Imp. Sing. m.</i> | נָפֹט* | נָפַל* | הִפִּיט | הִפִּיט* |
| f. | נָפְטִי | נָפְלִי | הִפִּיטִי | |
| <i>Plur. m.</i> | נָפְטוּ | נָפְלוּ | הִפִּיטוּ | wanting. |
| f. | נָפְטֶנָה | נָפְלֶנָה | הִפִּיטֶנָה | |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | יִפֹּט* | יִפֹּל* | [יִפְּטֹט] | יִפִּיט* |
| 3. f. | תִּפֹּט | תִּפֹּל | | תִּפִּיט |
| 2. m. | תִּפֹּט | תִּפֹּל | | תִּפִּיט |
| 2. f. | תִּפֹּטִי | תִּפֹּלִי | | תִּפִּיטִי |
| 1. c. | אִפֹּט | אִפֹּל | | אִפִּיט |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m. | יִפֹּטוּ | יִפֹּלוּ | regular. | יִפִּיטוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּפֹּטְנָה | תִּפֹּלְנָה | | תִּפִּיטְנָה |
| 2. m. | תִּפֹּטוּ | תִּפֹּלוּ | | תִּפִּיטוּ |
| 2. f. | [תִּפֹּטְנָה] | [תִּפֹּלְנָה] | | [תִּפִּיטְנָה] |
| 1. c. | נִפֹּט | נִפֹּל | | נִפִּיט |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> | | | | יִפֹּט* |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | נֹפֵט | | נֹפֵט* | מִפִּיט* |
| <i>pass.</i> | נֹפֵט | | | מִפִּיט |

I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

| | Qal. | Niph'al. | Hiph'il. | Hoph'al. |
|-------|-------|----------|----------|----------|
| Perf. | אָכַל | נִאָכַל* | הִאָכַל* | הֻאָכַל* |

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Inf. | אָכַל, אֲכַל* | הִאָכַל | הִאָכַל | הִאָכַל |
| Inf. absol. | אָכַל | הִאָכַל | wanting. | wanting. |
| Impf. Sing. m. | אָכַל* | הִאָכַל | הִאָכַל | |
| f. | אָכְלִי | &c. | &c. | wanting. |
| Plur. m. | אָכְלוּ | | | |
| f. | [אָכְלֶנָּה] | | | |
| Impf. Sing. 3. m. | יֵאָכַל* (in pause | יֵאָכַל* | יֵאָכַל* | יֵאָכַל* |
| 3. f. | תֵּאָכַל | &c. | &c. | &c. |
| 2. m. | תֵּאָכַל | | | |
| 2. f. | תֵּאָכְלִי | | | |
| 1. c. | אֵכַל* | | | |
| Plur. 3. m. | יֵאָכְלוּ | | | |
| 3. f. | תֵּאָכְלֶנָּה | | | |
| 2. m. | תֵּאָכְלוּ | | | |
| 2. f. | [תֵּאָכְלֶנָּה] | | | |
| 1. c. | נֵאָכַל | | | |
| Impf. with consec. | וַיֵּאָכַר* וַיֵּאָכַל* | | | |
| Part. act. | אֹכֵל | נֹאֲכַל | מֵאָכַל | |
| pass. | אָכוּל | | | מֵאָכָל |

| | | Qal. | Niph'al. | |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing</i> | 3. m. | יָשַׁב | נִישַׁב* | |
| | 3. f. | | נִישְׁבָּה* | |
| | 2. m. | | נִישַׁבְתָּ | |
| | 2. f. | | נִישַׁבְתְּ | |
| | 1. c. | regular. | נִישַׁבְתִּי | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | | 3. c. | נִישַׁבוּ |
| | | | 2. m. | נִישַׁבְתֶּם |
| | | | 2. f. | נִישַׁבְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | | נִישַׁבְנוּ | | |
| <i>Inf.</i> | | יֹסֵד, רָשַׁת, *נִשְׁבַּח | *הִישַׁב | |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | | יָשׁוּב | wanting. | |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> | m. | *נִשַׁב, דַּע | *הִישַׁב | |
| | f. | נִשְׁבִּי | הִישְׁבִּי | |
| | <i>Plur. m.</i> | | נִשְׁבוּ | הִישְׁבוּ |
| | | f. | נִשְׁבְּנָה | [הִישְׁבְּנָה] |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | *יִשַׁב | *יִישַׁב | |
| | 3. f. | תִּשַׁב | תִּישַׁב | |
| | 2. m. | תִּישַׁב | תִּישַׁב | |
| | 2. f. | תִּישְׁבִּי | תִּישְׁבִּי | |
| | 1. c. | אִישַׁב | אִישַׁב | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 3. m. | יִשְׁבוּ | יִישְׁבוּ |
| | | 3. f. | תִּישְׁבְּנָה | [תִּישְׁבְּנָה] |
| | | 2. m. | תִּישְׁבוּ | תִּישְׁבוּ |
| | | 2. f. | [תִּישְׁבְּנָה] | [תִּישְׁבְּנָה] |
| 1. c. | | נִישַׁב | נִישַׁב | |

*Shortened Impf. (Jussive).**Impf. with Wāw consec.* *וַיִּשַׁב

| | | |
|-------------------|---------|----------|
| <i>Part. act.</i> | יֹשֵׁב | *נוֹשֵׁב |
| <i>pass.</i> | יֹשׁוּב | |

פ"י (for פ"ו).

L. Verbs properly פ"י.

| <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Qal.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| הוֹשִׁיב* | הוֹשִׁיב* | יָטַב | הִיטִיב* |
| הוֹשִׁיבָה | הוֹשִׁיבָה | | הִיטִיבָה |
| הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ | הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ | | הִיטִיבְתָּ |
| הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי | הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי | regular. | הִיטִיבְתִּי |
| הוֹשִׁיבוּ | הוֹשִׁיבוּ | | הִיטִיבוּ |
| הוֹשִׁיבְתֶם | הוֹשִׁיבְתֶם | | הִיטִיבְתֶם |
| הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן | הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן | | הִיטִיבְתֶּן |
| הוֹשִׁיבֵנוּ | הוֹשִׁיבֵנוּ | | הִיטִיבֵנוּ |
| הוֹשִׁיב* | הוֹשִׁיב* | יָטַב | הִיטִיב* |
| הוֹשִׁיב* | | יָטוּב | הִיטִיב* |
| הוֹשִׁיב* | | | הִיטִיב* |
| הוֹשִׁיבִי | wanting. | | הִיטִיבִי |
| הוֹשִׁיבוּ | | | הִיטִיבוּ |
| [הוֹשִׁיבְנָה] | | | [הִיטִיבְנָה] |
| יוֹשִׁיב | יּוֹשִׁיב* | יִיטֵב* | יִיטֵב* |
| תּוֹשִׁיב | תּוֹשִׁיב | תִּיטֵב | תִּיטֵב |
| תּוֹשִׁיבִי | תּוֹשִׁיבִי | תִּיטֵבִי | תִּיטֵבִי |
| אֹשִׁיב | אֹשִׁיב | אִיטֵב | אִיטֵב |
| יֹשִׁיבוּ | יֹשִׁיבוּ | יִיטְבוּ | יִיטְבוּ |
| [תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה] | תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה | תִּיטְבְּנָה | [תִּיטְבְּנָה] |
| תּוֹשִׁיבוּ | תּוֹשִׁיבוּ | תִּיטְבוּ | תִּיטְבוּ |
| [תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה] | [תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה] | [תִּיטְבְּנָה] | [תִּיטְבְּנָה] |
| נֹשִׁיב | נֹשִׁיב | נִיטֵב | [נִיטֵב] |
| יּוֹשֵׁב* | | | יִיטֵב |
| יְיֹשֵׁב | | וְיִיטֵב | וְיִיטֵב |
| מֹשִׁיב* | | מִיטֵב | מִיטֵב |
| | מֹשֵׁב* | מִיטְבוּ | |

| | | Qal. | Niph'al. | Hiph'il. | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | קָם* | מָת* | נָקוּם* | הִקִּים* | |
| | 3. f. | קָמָה* | מָתָה* | נָקְוָה* | הִקְיָמָה* | |
| | 2. m. | קָמַתָּ* | מָתָה* | נָקוּמוּתְךָ | הִקְיָמוּתְךָ* | |
| | 2. f. | קָמַתְךָ | [מָתְךָ] | [נָקוּמוּתְךָ] | הִקְיָמוּתְךָ | |
| | I. c. | קָמַתִּי | מָתִי | נָקוּמוּתִי | הִקְיָמוּתִי | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 3. c. | קָמוּ | מָתוּ | נָקוּמוּ | הִקְיָמוּ |
| | | 2. m. | קָמַתֶּם | [מָתֶם] | נָקוּמוֹתֶם | הִקְיָמוֹתֶם |
| | | 2. f. | [קָמַתְנָן] | [מָתְנָן] | [נָקוּמוֹתְנָן] | [הִקְיָמוֹתְנָן] |
| I. c. | קָמַנּוּ | מָתְנוּ | [נָקוּמוֹנּוּ] | הִקְיָמוֹנּוּ | | |
| <i>Inf.</i> | | קוּם* | הִקּוּם* | הִקִּים* | | |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | | קוּם* | הִקּוּם, נָסוּג | הִקֵּם* | | |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> | m. | קוּם* | הִקּוּם* | הִקֵּם* | | |
| | f. | קוּמִי* | [הִקּוּמִי] | הִקְיָמִי* | | |
| | <i>Plur. m.</i> | קוּמוּ | הִקּוּמוּ | הִקְיָמוּ | | |
| | | f. | קוּמְנָה* | | [הִקְיָמְנָה] | |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | יָקוּם, יָבוֹא | יִקּוּם* | יִקְיָם* | | |
| | 3. f. | תָּקוּם | תִּקּוּם | תִּקְיָם | | |
| | 2. m. | תָּקוּם | תִּקּוּם | תִּקְיָם | | |
| | 2. f. | תָּקוּמִי* | [תִּקּוּמִי] | תִּקְיָמִי* | | |
| | I. c. | אָקוּם | אִקּוּם | אִקְיָם | | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 3. m. | יָקוּמוּ | יִקּוּמוּ | יִקְיָמוּ | |
| | | 3. f. | תָּקוּמוּנָה, תִּשְׁבְּנוּ | תִּקּוּמוּנָה* | תִּקְיָמוּנָה, תִּקְיָמוּנָה* | |
| | | 2. m. | תָּקוּמוּ | תִּקּוּמוּ | תִּקְיָמוּ | |
| | | 2. f. | תָּקוּמִינָה | | [תִּקְיָמִינָה] | |
| I. c. | נָקוּם | נִקּוּם | נִקְיָם | | | |
| <i>Shortened Impf.</i> | | יָקֻם* | | יִקְיָם* | | |
| <i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i> | | יָקוּם (pause וְיָקוּם*) | | יִקְיָם* | | |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> | | יִשְׁוֹפְנִי* | | יִקְיָמִי* | | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | | קָם* | נָקוּם* | מִקְיָם* | | |
| | <i>pass.</i> | קוּם* | | | | |

Verbs, ע"ו.

N. Weak Verbs, ע"י.

| <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Pôlêl.</i> | <i>Pôlal.</i> | <i>Qal.</i> | <i>Niph'al.</i> |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| היָקַם* | קִיָּמַם* | קִיָּמַם* | בָּן* | נָכוֹן* |
| [הִיָּקְמָה] | קִיָּמְמָה | [קִיָּמְמָה] | בָּנָה* | [נָכוֹנָה] |
| הִיָּקְמָתָּ | קִיָּמְמָתָּ | קִיָּמְמָתָּ | בָּנִיתָ* | נִבְנוֹתָ |
| הִיָּקְמָתִי | [קִיָּמְמָתִי] | [קִיָּמְמָתִי] | בָּנִיתִי | [נִבְנוֹתִי] |
| הִיָּקְמוּ | קִיָּמְמוּ | קִיָּמְמוּ | בָּנוּ | |
| [הִיָּקְמֻתֶם] | [קִיָּמְמֻתֶם] | [קִיָּמְמֻתֶם] | [בָּנִיתֶם] | See |
| הִיָּקְמֻתָּן | קִיָּמְמֻתָּן | קִיָּמְמֻתָּן | [בָּנִיתֶן] | ע"ו Verbs. |
| [הִיָּקְמֻנִי] | [קִיָּמְמֻנִי] | [קִיָּמְמֻנִי] | בָּנוּ | |
| היָקַם* | קִיָּמַם | | בִּין* | |
| | קִיָּמַם | | בִּין* | |
| | קִיָּמַם | | בִּין* | |
| | [קִיָּמְמִי] | wanting. | בִּינִי | |
| | קִיָּמְמוּ | | בִּינוּ | |
| | [קִיָּמְמֻנָה] | | — | |
| היָיַקַם* | יָקִיָּמַם | יָקִיָּמַם | יָנִיל | |
| הִיָּיַקְמָה | יָקִיָּמְמָה | [יָקִיָּמְמָה] | תָּנִיל | |
| [הִיָּיַקְמָתָּ] | יָקִיָּמְמָתָּ | יָקִיָּמְמָתָּ | תָּנִיל | |
| הִיָּיַקְמָתִי | [יָקִיָּמְמָתִי] | [יָקִיָּמְמָתִי] | תָּנִילִי | |
| [הִיָּיַקְמָתִי] | יָקִיָּמְמָתִי | [יָקִיָּמְמָתִי] | אָנִיל | |
| הִיָּיַקְמוּ | יָקִיָּמְמוּ | יָקִיָּמְמוּ | יָנִילוּ | |
| [הִיָּיַקְמֻתֶם] | [יָקִיָּמְמֻתֶם] | [יָקִיָּמְמֻתֶם] | תָּנִילְנָה | |
| הִיָּיַקְמוּ | יָקִיָּמְמוּ | [יָקִיָּמְמוּ] | תָּנִילוּ | |
| [הִיָּיַקְמֻנָה] | [יָקִיָּמְמֻנָה] | [יָקִיָּמְמֻנָה] | תָּנִילְנָה | |
| נִיָּקַם | [נִקְוִיָּמַם] | [נִקְוִיָּמַם] | נָנִיל | |
| | | | יָנִיל | |
| | | | וְיָנִיל | |
| | | | יָרִיבֵנִי | |
| מָקַם* | מָקַם | מָקַם | לָנִים, שָׁב | נָכוֹן |
| | | | שִׁים, שָׁם | |

| | | Qal. | Niph'al. | Pi'el. | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | מָצַא* | מָלֵא | דָּבַא, מָצַא | |
| | 3. f. | מָצְאָה | מָלְאָה | [מָצְאָה] | |
| | 2. m. | מָצַאתָ* | מָלֵאתָ | מָצַאתָ* | |
| | 2. f. | מָצַאתְּ | מָלֵאתְּ | [מָצַאתְּ] | |
| | 1. c. | מָצַאתִי | מָלֵאתִי | מָצַאתִי | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 3. c. | מָצְאוּ | נִמְצְאוּ | מָצְאוּ |
| | | 2. m. | מָצַאתֶם | נִמְצַאתֶם | מָצַאתֶם |
| | | 2. f. | [מָצַאתֶן] | [מָלֵאתֶן] | [מָצַאתֶן] |
| | 1. c. | מָצַאתִנוּ | מָלֵאתִנוּ | [נִמְצַאתִנוּ] | |
| <i>Inf.</i> | | מָצֵא | הִמְצֵא | מָצֵא | |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | | מָצוּא | נִמְצֵא | מָצֵא | |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> | m. | מָצַא* | הִמְצֵא | מָצֵא | |
| | f. | מָצְאִי | [הִמְצְאִי] | [מָצְאִי] | |
| | <i>Plur. m.</i> | m. | מָצְאוּ | הִמְצְאוּ | מָצְאוּ |
| | | f. | מָצְאֵנָה* | [הִמְצְאֵנָה] | [מָצְאֵנָה] |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | יִמְצֵא* | יִמְצֵא* | יִמְצֵא | |
| | 3. f. | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא | |
| | 2. m. | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא | |
| | 2. f. | תִּמְצְאִי | תִּמְצְאִי | [תִּמְצְאִי] | |
| | 1. c. | אִמְצֵא | אִמְצֵא | אִמְצֵא | |
| | <i>Plur.</i> | 3. m. | יִמְצְאוּ | יִמְצְאוּ | יִמְצְאוּ |
| | | 3. f. | תִּמְצְאֵנָה* | תִּמְצְאֵנָה* | תִּמְצְאֵנָה* |
| | | 2. m. | תִּמְצְאוּ | תִּמְצְאוּ | [תִּמְצְאוּ] |
| | | 2. f. | תִּמְצְאֵנָה | תִּמְצְאֵנָה | תִּמְצְאֵנָה |
| | | 1. c. | נִמְצֵא | [נִמְצֵא] | נִמְצֵא |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> | | יִמְצְאֵךְ, יִמְצְאֵנִי | | יִמְצְאֵנִי | |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | | מֹצֵא | נִמְצֵא | מֹצֵא | |
| <i>pass.</i> | | מְצוּא | | | |

Verbs, ל"א.

| <i>Pu'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i> |
|---------------|---|-----------------|---|
| קרא [מִצָּא] | הִמְצִיא | [הִמְצָא] | [הִתְמַצָּא] |
| מִצָּאָה | הִמְצִיָּאָה | הִמְצָאָה | הִתְמַצָּאָה |
| מִצָּאתָ | *הִמְצִיָּאתָ* | *הִמְצָאתָ* | *הִתְמַצָּאתָ* |
| מִצָּאתִי | הִמְצִיָּאתִי | הִמְצָאתִי | [הִתְמַצָּאתִי] |
| מִצָּאוּ | הִמְצִיִּאוּ | הִמְצָאוּ | הִתְמַצָּאוּ |
| מִצָּאתֶם | הִמְצִיִּאתֶם | הִמְצָאתֶם | [הִתְמַצָּאתֶם] |
| מִצָּאתֶן | [הִמְצִיִּאתֶן] | הִמְצָאתֶן | הִתְמַצָּאתֶן |
| [מִצָּאנוּ] | [הִמְצִיִּאנוּ] | [הִמְצָאנוּ] | [הִתְמַצָּאנוּ] |
| wanting. | הִמְצִיא הִמְצָא | wanting. | הִתְמַצָּא wanting. |
| wanting. | הִמְצָא הִמְצִיָּאִי הִמְצִיִּאוּ [הִמְצָאנָה] | wanting. | [הִתְמַצָּא] הִתְמַצָּאִי הִתְמַצָּאוּ [הִתְמַצָּאנָה] |
| יִמְצָא | יִמְצִיא | [יִמְצָא] | יִתְמַצָּא |
| [תִּמְצָא] | תִּמְצִיא | תִּמְצָא | תִּתְמַצָּא |
| תִּמְצָא | תִּמְצִיא | תִּמְצָא | תִּתְמַצָּא |
| תִּמְצָאִי | תִּמְצִיָּאִי | תִּמְצָאִי | [תִּתְמַצָּאִי] |
| אִמְצָא | אִמְצִיא | אִמְצָא | [אִתְמַצָּא] |
| יִמְצָאוּ | יִמְצִיִּאוּ | יִמְצָאוּ | יִתְמַצָּאוּ |
| *תִּמְצָאנָה | *תִּמְצִיָּאנָה* | *תִּמְצָאנָה* | [הִתְמַצָּאנָה] |
| תִּמְצָאוּ | תִּמְצִיִּאוּ | תִּמְצָאוּ | תִּתְמַצָּאוּ |
| תִּמְצָאנָה | תִּמְצִיָּאנָה | תִּמְצָאנָה | [תִּתְמַצָּאנָה] |
| [נִמְצָא] | נִמְצִיא | נִמְצָא | נִתְמַצָּא [נִתְמַצָּא] |
| | יִמְצָא | | |
| | יִמְצִיָּאִי | | |
| | מִמְצִיא | | מִתְמַצָּא |
| מִמְצָא | | מִמְצָא | |

| | <i>Qal.</i> | <i>Niph'al.</i> | <i>Pi'el.</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | גָּלָה* | נִגְלָה* | גִּלָּה* |
| 3. f. | גָּלְתָה* | נִגְלְתָה* | גִּלְתָה* |
| 2. m. | גָּלִיתָ* | נִגְלִיתָ, יָת | גִּלִּיתָ* |
| 2. f. | גָּלִית | נִגְלִית | גִּלִּית |
| 1. c. | גָּלִיתִי | נִגְלִיתִי | גִּלִּיתִי, גִּלִּיתִי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c. | גָּלוּ* | נִגְלוּ | גִּלוּ |
| 2. m. | גָּלִיתֶם | נִגְלִיתֶם | גִּלִּיתֶם |
| 2. f. | גָּלִיתֶן | נִגְלִיתֶן | [גִּלִּיתֶן] |
| 1. c. | גָּלִינוּ | נִגְלִינוּ | גִּלִּינוּ |
| <i>Inf.</i> | גָּלוֹת* | הַגָּלוֹת* | גִּלוֹת* |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i> | גָּלָה | נִגְלָה, הַגָּקָה | גִּלָּה, גָּלָה |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> m. | גָּלָה* | הַגָּלָה* | גִּלָּה, גַּל |
| f. | גָּלִי* | הַגָּלִי* | גִּלִּי* |
| <i>Plur. m.</i> | גָּלוּ | הַגָּלוּ | גִּלוּ |
| f. | גָּלִינָה* | [הַגָּלִינָה] | [גִּלִּינָה] |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m. | יִגְלֶה* | יִגְלֶה* | יִגְלֶה* |
| 3. f. | תִּגְלֶה | תִּגְלֶה | תִּגְלֶה |
| 2. m. | תִּגְלֶה | תִּגְלֶה | תִּגְלֶה |
| 2. f. | תִּגְלִי* | [תִּגְלִי] | תִּגְלִי* |
| 1. c. | אֶגְלֶה | אֶגְלֶה, אֶגְ' | אֶגְלֶה |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m. | יִגְלוּ | יִגְלוּ | יִגְלוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּגְלִינָה* | תִּגְלִינָה* | תִּגְלִינָה* |
| 2. m. | תִּגְלוּ | תִּגְלוּ | תִּגְלוּ |
| 2. f. | תִּגְלִינָה | תִּגְלִינָה | תִּגְלִינָה |
| 1. c. | נִגְלֶה | [נִגְלֶה] | נִגְלֶה |
| <i>Shortened Impf.</i> | יִגְלֶ* | יִגְלֶ* | יִגְלֶ* |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> | יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי* | | יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי* |
| <i>Part. act.</i> | גָּלָה* | נִגְלָה* | גִּמְגָה* |
| <i>pass.</i> | גָּלוּי* | | |

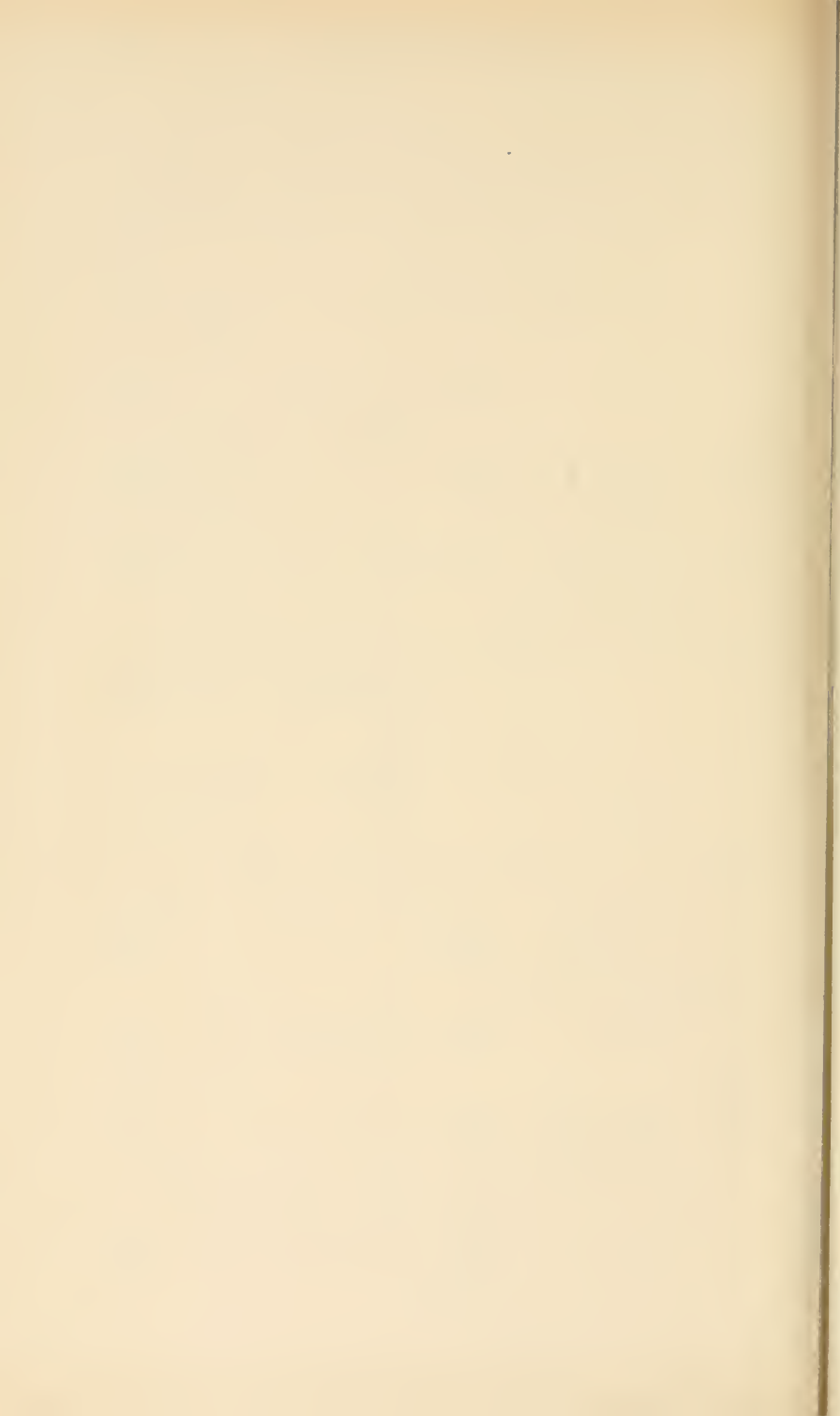
Verbs, ל"ה.

| <i>Pu'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i> |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| גָּלָה* | הִגְלָה* | הִגָּלָה* | הִתְגַּלָּה* |
| גָּלְתָה* | הִגְלִיתָ* | הִגָּלְתָה* | [הִתְגַּלִּיתָ] |
| גָּלִיתִי* | הִגְלִיתִי, יָתִי | הִגָּלִיתִי | הִתְגַּלִּיתִי |
| [גָּלִיתִי] | הִגְלִיתִי, יָתִי | [הִגָּלִיתִי] | [הִתְגַּלִּיתִי] |
| גָּלְתִּי | הִגְלִיתִי, יָתִי | הִגָּלְתִּי | הִתְגַּלִּיתִי |
| גָּלוּ | הִגְלוּ | הִגָּלוּ | הִתְגַּלוּ |
| גָּלִיתֶם | הִגְלִיתֶם, יָתֶם | [הִגָּלִיתֶם] | הִתְגַּלִּיתֶם |
| גָּלִיתֻם | [הִגְלִיתֻם] | הִגָּלִיתֻם | [הִתְגַּלִּיתֻם] |
| [גָּלִיתֻם] | הִגְלִיתֻם | [הִגָּלִיתֻם] | [הִתְגַּלִּיתֻם] |
| גָּלוּת* | הִגְלוּת* | הִגָּלוּת* | הִתְגַּלוּת* |
| | הִגְלָה | | |
| | הִגְלָה* | | [הִתְגַּלָּה] הִתְגַּל |
| wanting. | הִגְלִי* | wanting. | הִתְגַּלִּי |
| | הִגְלוּ | | הִתְגַּלוּ |
| | [הִגְלִינָה] | | [הִתְגַּלִּינָה] |
| יִגְלָה* | תִּגְלָה* | [יִגָּלָה]* | יִתְגַּלָּה* |
| תִּגְלָה | תִּגְלָה | תִּגְלָה | [תִּתְגַּלָּה] |
| תִּגְלָה | תִּגְלָה | תִּגְלָה | תִּתְגַּלָּה |
| [תִּגְלִי] | תִּגְלִי* | תִּגְלִי* | תִּתְגַּלִּי* |
| [יִגְלָה] | יִגְלָה | יִגְלָה* | יִתְגַּלָּה |
| יִגְלוּ | יִגְלוּ | יִגְלוּ | יִתְגַּלוּ |
| [תִּגְלִינָה]* | תִּגְלִינָה* | תִּגְלִינָה* | [תִּתְגַּלִּינָה] |
| תִּגְלוּ | תִּגְלוּ | תִּגְלוּ | תִּתְגַּלוּ |
| תִּגְלִינָה | תִּגְלִינָה | תִּגְלִינָה | [תִּתְגַּלִּינָה] |
| [תִּגְלָה] | תִּגְלָה | [תִּגְלָה] | תִּתְגַּלָּה |
| | יִגְלֶה* | | יִתְגַּלֶּה* |
| | יִגְלֶה, יִגְלֶנִי* | | |
| | מִגְלָה* | | מִתְגַּלָּה* |
| מִגְלָה* | | מִגְלָה* | |

| | 1. Sing. | 2. Sing. m. | 2. Sing. f. |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i> | נָחַנִּי | רָאָדְךָ, עָשָׂךְךָ | |
| | <i>P.</i> עָשָׂנִי | <i>P.</i> עָנְךָךָ | |
| 3. f. | עָשָׂנִי | | |
| 2. m. | רָאִיתָנִי | | |
| | <i>P.</i> עָנִיתָנִי | | |
| 2. f. | <i>Pi.</i> רָפִיתָנִי | | |
| 1. c. | | רָאִיתִיךָ | עָנִיתִיךָ |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | עָשִׂנוּ | רָאִיתֶם | <i>Pi.</i> כָּפַסְתֶּם |
| 1. c. | | <i>Pi.</i> קָנִיתֶם | |
| <i>Imper. 2. m.</i> | נָחֵנִי } עָנֵנִי } | | |
| 2. f. | <i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאִינִי | | |
| <i>Plur. 2. m.</i> | <i>Pi.</i> כָּפְסוּ | | |
| <i>Impf. 3. m.</i> | יִרְאֵנִי | יִפְדֶּךָ } יִחַתֶּךָ } | |
| 3. f. | | תִּשְׁכַּחְךָ | |
| 2. m. | תִּרְאֵנִי | | |
| 2. f. | | | |
| 1. c. | | אֶרְאֶךָ | אֶעָנֶךָ |
| | | אֶעָנֶךָ | |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יִעֲשִׂנוּ | <i>Pi.</i> יִפְתְּרוּךָ | |
| 2. m. | תִּעֲצָנִי | | |
| 1. c. | | | |

with Suffixes.

| 3. Sing. m. | 3. Sing. f. | 1. Plur. | 3. Plur. m. |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| עָשָׂהוּ | רָאָהָ | עָשִׂנוּ | עָשׂוּם |
| <i>Pi.</i> בָּלְתָהוּ | <i>Pi.</i> צָוָתָהָ | | <i>Hiph.</i> הֶעֱלָתָם |
| <i>Pi.</i> בָּפִיתָהוּ | עָשִׂיתָהָ | <i>Pi.</i> דִּבְרַתְנוּ | עָנִיתָם |
| עָשִׂיתָהוּ } רָאִיתָהוּ } | רָאִיתָהָ | | רָעִיתָם |
| עָשָׂהוּ <i>Pi.</i> קִוִּיָּהוּ | רָאָהָ | | שָׁבוּם |
| | | <i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאֵנוּ | רָעָם |
| הִלְדָּהוּ | | | <i>Hiph.</i> הִכְבִּים |
| יִרְאָהוּ } יִלְוֶנוּ } | יִרְאָהָ } יִרְאֶנָּה } | <i>Pi.</i> יִצְוֵנוּ | יִחַצֵּם } יִעֲשִׂם } |
| <i>Hiph.</i> תִּשְׁקָרָהוּ | תִּעֲשֶׂהָ | <i>Hiph.</i> תִּתְעַנֶּנוּ | תִּזְרָם |
| תִּעֲשֶׂנוּ | | | <i>Pi.</i> תִּכְפִּים |
| אָרְאָנוּ | אִעֲשֶׂנָּה | | אָפְדָם |
| אִעֲנֶהוּ <i>Pi.</i> יִפְתָּרָהוּ | יִעֲשֶׂהָ | <i>Pi.</i> יִעֲנֹנוּ | |
| נִשְׁקָנוּ | נִעֲשֶׂנָּה | | תִּצִּים |



I

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The numbers refer to the sections, except where otherwise indicated.
N. = note.

- A-sounds, 8 *a*, 9 *a ff.*
 Abbreviations, 5 *m.*
 Absolute cases, 143 *c n.*
 Abstract, for concrete, 83 *c*: abstr. ideas expressed by the feminine, 122 *g, r*: by fem. in $\Pi\bar{\lambda}$ -, 86 *k*: by the plural, 124 *a*, *d-f*: with the article, 126 *n.*
 Accents, 3 *b*: names and laws of, 15: of the poetical books, 15 *h, i.*
 Accentuation, 3 *b*: double accentuation in certain passages, 15 *p.*
 Accusative expressed by $\Pi\bar{\lambda}$ -, 117: as direct object of verb, 117: syntax of pronominal object and second accus., 117 *e*: introduced by $\bar{\lambda}$ (esp. late), 117 *n*: cognate accus., 117 *p-r*: pronominal suffix with dative force, 117 *x*: with verbs of putting on and off, 117 *y*, being filled, 117 *z*, dwelling (rare) 117 *bb*: double accus. (to clothe, present, support, meet, &c. *with*), 117 *cc-gg*: accus. of material (to make of), 117 *hh*: of product (make into), 117 *ii*: of the part affected, 117 *ll*: of place, 118 *d-g*: of nearer definition, 118 *h*: of time, 118 *i-k*: of cause, 118 *l*: defining the manner of an action, 118 *m-r*, 120 *b*: construed with passive verb, 121 *a, b.*
 Accusative and infinitive construction, 157 *b n.*
 Acrophony, 5 *e.*
 Acrostic poems, 5 *h.*
 Adjectival idea expressed by a substantive in the genitive, 128 *o, p*, 135 *n*: by a substantive as predicate, 141 *c, d*: adjective used as a substantive in the genitive, 128 *w*, 133 *h*, cf. with ordinal numerals, 134 *p*, end: used poetically for a substantive, 132 *a n*²: rarely stands before the subst., 132 *b.* See also Attributive ideas.
 Adjectives, construction of, with substantives, 132: with the article, 126 *u, v*: with art. when subst. is without it, 126 *w, x* and *n*: without the article when subst. definite, 126 *z*: syntax of, as predicate in a noun-clause, 145 *r.*
 Adverbs, 100: with suffixes, 100 *o, p*: adverbial ideas expressed by the infin. abs., 113 *h-k*: by infin. constr., 114 *n* and *n*: by finite verb, 120 *d-h.*
 Adversative clauses, 163.
 Affirmatives of the perfect, 40 *c, 44*: of the imperfect, 40 *c, 47*: of the noun, 85 *s-v*, 86 *h-l.*
 Agreement of members of a sentence in gender and number, 145.
 Aleph four times with Mappiq, 14 *d*: affixed to 3rd plur. perf. (rare), 23 *i, 44 l*: verbs $\aleph^{\prime}\bar{\lambda}$, 68.
 Aleph prostheticum, 19 *m* and *n*.
 Alphabet, old Hebrew, 5 *a*: origin of, 5 *g.*
 Alphabetic poems, 5 *h.*
 Amarna letters, 2 *b n*³, 2 *f* and *n*⁴.
 Anacoluthon, 167 *b.*
 Answers, affirmative, 150 *n*: negative, 150 *n.*
 Any one, 139 *d.*
 Aphaeresis, 19 *h, i*, 66 *a-c*, 69 *b, c, f-h.*
 Apocope, 19 *l*: in verbs $\Pi^{\prime}\bar{\lambda}$, 75 *k.*
 Aposiopesis, 117 *l*, 167 *a.*
 Appellatives, 125 *e-g.*
 Apposition, 127 *h*, 130 *e*: in the wider sense, 131: to express attribute, material, contents, measure, &c., 131 *c-e.*
 Arabic language and Arabisms, 1 *b, m*, 22 *s*, 24 *g n*, 35 *l* and *n*², 44 *a*, 47 *a n*, 48 *b*, 58 *l.*
 Aramaic language and Aramaisms,

1 *c*, *m*, 2 *g*, *t*, 24 *e*, 44 *c*, 47 *a* *N*, *c* *N*:
 Pi'el, 52 *a*: Nûn epentheticum,
 58 *i-l*: Aram. forms of verbs, פ"ע ,
 67 *g*: of verbs פ"ע , 72 *ee*: of verbs
 פ"ל , 75 *hh*: Aram. termination of
 the feminine, 80 *h*: of the plural,
 87 *e*.
 Araq al-Emir, inscription of, 5 *a*.
 Archaisms, 2 *k*, *q*: supposed, in the
 Pentateuch, 2 *n*.
 Article, 35: syntax of, 126: with
 demonstrative force, 126 *a*, *b*:
 before names of classes, 126 *l-n*:
 in comparisons, 126 *o*, cf. *p*: with
 the attributive, 126 *u-x*: used as a
 relative, 138 *i*, *k*: punctuation of,
 35, *a-k*, *o*: rarely retained after pre-
 positions, 35 *n*: original form of,
 35 *l*: *N* elided after it, 35 *d*: omitted
 with $\text{הַ$, $\text{וְ$, $\text{אֲ$, $\text{אֵ$ after a subst.
 with pronom. suff., 126 *y*: found
 anomalously with a noun in constr.
 st., 127 *f-i*.
 Ashdod, language of, 2 *w*.
 Asher, ben, 7 *h* *N*².
 Aspirates, 6 *n*.
 Asseverations, 149.
 Assimilation, 19 *b-f*, 54 *c*, *d*, 66 *d-g*: of
 י and י : 'backward-assimila-
 tion,' 19 *f* *n*.
 Assuan papyri, 1 *m*.
 Assyrian language, 1 *d*.
 Asyndeton, cases of, 120 *g*, *h*, 154 *a*
N (*a*).
 Athê merahîq, 20 *f*, *g*.
 Athnâh, chief divider of verse in
 prose, 15 *f*: secondary divider in
 poetry, 15 *h*.
 Attraction, cases of, 145 *u* *N*³, 146 *a*.
 Attribute, *see* Adjective.
 Attributive ideas expressed by שֵׁנִי ,
 בְּעַל , followed by a genitive,
 128 *s-v*: by the genitive, 128 *o*, *p*,
 135 *m*: by a substantive in appo-
 sition, 131 *c-e*: by a subst. as pre-
 dicate, 141 *c*, *d*: negative expressed
 by a noun-clause, 152 *u*, *v*. *See also*
 Adjectival idea.

Babylonian language, 1 *a*, *d*, *e*, *i*.
 Babylonian punctuation, 42 *N*³.
 Bêgadhêphath letters, 3 *d*, 6 *n*, 12 *a*,
 13 *c*: aspiration of, 21.
 Ben Asher's recension of the text,
 7 *h* *N*².
 Ben Naphthali's recension of the
 text, 7 *h* *N*².
 Beth essentialia, 119 *i*: pretii, 119 *p*.
 Bodily and mental defects denoted

by adjectives of the form קָפִיל,
 84^b *d*.
 Boustrophedon, 1 *k* *N*², 5 *d* *N*³.

Canaanite branch of the Semitic
 languages, 1 *b* (*ii*).
 Canaanite glosses in the cuneiform
 tablets of Tell el-Amarna, 2 *f* *N*¹.
 Cardinal numbers, 97.
 Case-endings, remains of early, 90:
 הַ as locative, 90 *c* *e*, of time,
 90 *h*, in place-names and as a poeti-
 cal form without meaning, 90 *f*, *g*
 with *N*: punctuation and tone, 90 *i*:
 הַ , 90 *k-m*, *o*: י - and י -, 90 *k*, *n*, *o*.
 Cases, absolute, 143 *c* *N*: instrumental,
 144 *m* *N*.
 Casus pendens, various uses of, 111 *h*,
 112 *n*, *t*, *mm*, *oo*, 116 *u*, 143, 159 *i*.
 Causal clauses, 106 *f*, 112 *nn*: syntax
 of, 158.
 Chaldee, incorrect use of the term,
 1 *c* *N*.
 Changes of consonants, 19.
 Chiasmus in the arrangement of
 words in parallel members of a
 verse, 114 *r* *N*, 142 *f* *N*.
 Circumstantial clauses, 156: express-
 ing negative qualities, 152 *u*: noun-
 clauses, 156 *c*: verbal, 156 *d*.
 Citation, formulae of, 150 *e*.
 Cognate accusative, 117 *p-r*.
 Cohortative, 48 *b*: form of, 48 *c*, *d*:
 meaning, 48 *e*: syntax of, 108:
 very rare in verbs ה"ל , 75 *l*.
 Coins, Hebrew, 2 *d* (*4*).
 Collective nouns, 123 *a*, *b*: in fem.
 sing., 122 *s*: names of classes used
 collectively, 126 *l-p*: with the plu-
 ral of the adj. or ptep., 132 *g*:
 with the predicate in the plur.
 masc., 145 *b-e*, in 3rd pl. fem., 145 *c*
 (יֵשׁ), in masc. sing., 145 *f*, in sing.
 followed by plur., 145 *g*, in fem.
 sing., 145 *k* (cf. 135 *p*).
 Common gender, 122 *b*, *d*.
 Comparatio decurtata, 118 *r* *N*, 133 *e* *N*.
 Comparative, expression of, 133 *a-f*.
 Comparative clauses, 161.
 Comparison, use of article in, 126 *o*, *p*.
 Compensatory lengthening, 25 *a*, 27 *c*,
e-h.
 Composition of words, 30 *p*, (*b*), *r*,
 81 *d*, 152 *a* *N*: of particles, 99 *e*.
 Compound ideas, how thrown into
 the plural, 124 *p-r*: with the article,
 127 *e*: with suffixes, 135 *n*.
 Compounds formed by שֵׁנִי with a sub-
 stantive or adjective, 152 *a* *N*.

- Concessive clauses, 160.
- Concord of subject and object in gender and number, 145 *a-l*: cases of false concord, 145 *u*.
- Conditional sentences, perfect in, 106 *p*: imperf. in, 107 *x*: cohortative in, 108 *e, f*: jussive in, 109 *h*: imperat. in, 110 *f*: ptep. in, 159 *v*: ptep. without אֵל , 116 *w*, 159 *i*: perf. consec. in apodosis, 112 *f-mm*: different types of, 159: without conditional particle, 112 *kk, ll*, 159 *b-k*.
- Conjugations, or verba derivata, 38 *b*, 39 *c, d*: number and arrangement of, 39 *e-f*: Niph'al, 51: Pi'el and Pu'al, 52: Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53: Hithpa'el, 54: the less common conjugations, 39 *g*, 55: conjugation of aim or attack (Po'el), 55 *c*.
- Conjunctions, 104.
- Conjunctive accents, 15 *g, i*.
- Consecutio temporum, perf. and imperf. with waw consec., 49: perf. with waw consec., 112.
- Consecutive clauses, 107 *u*: syntax of, 166.
- Consonants, 5: changes of, 19: pronunciation and division of, 6: transcription of their names, 5 *fN*: weak consonants, 7 *a-g*: softening of, 19 *o*.
- Constructio ad sensum, 132 *g*, 145 *a-l*: asyndetos, 120 *g, h*, 154 *a N (a)*: praegnans, 119 *x, y, ff, gg*.
- Continuous action expressed by infin. abs., 113 *s-u*.
- Continuous progress expressed by duplication of a word, 133 *k*.
- Contraction of vowels, 7 *a*.
- Co-ordination of verbal ideas instead of subordination, 120.
- Copula, see Waw copulativum: verbal, how expressed, 141 *f-h*.
- Cuneiform inscriptions, 1 *d, m N¹*, 5 *g (b)*, 6 *b*.
- Dageš forte, 12: in place of a letter assimilated, 19 *b-f*: orthophonicum, 20 *g*, 13 *c*: necessarium, compensativum, characteristicum, 20 *a*: euphonicum, 20 *c*: conjunctivum, 20 *c-f*: dirimens, 20 *h*: affectuosum, 20 *i*: firmativum, 20 *k*: implicitum, 20 *m*, 22 *c*: omission of, 20 *l, m*: in gutturals, 22 *b, s*: occasionally in ך , 22 *q (a)*, *s*: four times in ש (acc. to others Mappiq), 14 *d*: omitted sometimes in 2nd radical of verbs שׁוּע , 67 *g, ad*. See also Strengthening.
- Dageš lene, 13, 21: after יהוה (i. e. יְהוָה), 21 *c*: omitted anomalously after consonantal י and ל , 21 *c*: exceptional cases of ($\text{בַּב, בִּב, בִּפ, בִּט}$), 21 *d*.
- Dative, 119 *s*.
- Dativus ethicus, 119 *s*, 135 *i*: dative expressed by a suffix, 117 *x*.
- Decalogue, double accentuation of, 15 *p*.
- Dehiq, 20 *c*.
- Denominative nouns, see Nouns: verbs, see Verb.
- Desiderative sentences, 151.
- Determination of nouns, 125: omission of it, 117 *q*, 126 *p*: determination of proper names, 125 *c-f*: determination by the article, 126: by a following determinate genitive, 127: determination of numerals, 134 *k*.
- Diacritical points, see Puncta extraordinaria.
- Dialects in the O. T., 2 *w*.
- Diminutives, 86 *g* and *n*.
- Diphthongs, 7 *a*, 8 *m*, 24 *f*.
- Disjunctive accents, 15 *f, h*.
- Disjunctive questions, 150 *f-i*.
- Dissimilation of vowels, 27 *x*.
- Distributive numerals, 134 *g*.
- Doubling of consonants, see Strengthening.
- Dual, 88: with the plural of the adjective, 132 *f*: with predicate in the plur., 145 *n*: in numerals, 97 *g, h*, 134 *r*: place-names doubtfully so explained, 88 *c*.
- E-sounds, 7 *a, b, e*, 8 *b*, 9 *i-m*.
- Each, every, how expressed, 139 *b, c*.
- East Semitic, 1 *d*.
- Elatives, 85 *b*, 133 *a n*.
- Elegy, rhythm of, in Hebrew, 2 *r*.
- Elision, see Syncope and elision.
- Ellipse of the pronominal object, 117 *f*: other cases of ellipse (real or apparent), 116 *s*, 118 *s N* (in comparisons), 134 *n* (of names of measures, weights, &c.), 144 *o* (due to corruption).
- 'Emblematic Mashal,' 161 *a n*.
- Emphasis expressed by infin. abs., 114 *l-r, v-x*: by cognate accus., 113 *w* (end): by cognate accus. with defining adjective, 117 *q*: by duplication of a word, 123 *e*, 133 *k, l*: by combination of different derivatives from the same root, 133 *l*: by

- the article or a genitive (the superlative degree), 133 *g-i*: by a personal pronoun added to the subject, 135 *a, c*: by the pronoun annexed to the nominative to the suffix or to a noun, 135 *d-h*: by לש with the suffix, 135 *k*: by position, 142 *f, g*, 152 *e* (after ל), 152 *w* (after ל).
- Emphasis on indeterminate nouns, 117 *g*, 125 *c*.
- Enallage of gender, 135 *o*, 144 *a*.
- Epicene nouns, 122 *b, e-g*.
- Epithets, poetical, used as substantives, 132 *a n*.
- Era, Jewish, 5 *l*.
- Ethical dative, 119 *s*, 135 *i*.
- Ethiopic, 1 *b* (i), 30 *p n*.
- Exceptive clauses, 163 *c*.
- Exclamations, 146 *b* (הי = *hark*): with הי , 147 *b*: without הי , 147 *c*: with other interjections, 147 *d*: expressing a wish, 148 *a-d*: in form of a question expressing irony or indignation, 148 *a, b*; expressed by הי , 148 *d*, 151.
- Extension of influence of a preposition over a parallel clause, 119 *hh*: of a negative, 152 *z*: of an interrogative, 150 *m*: of a conjunction, 150 *m n*.
- Extension, plurals of, 124 *a-g*.
- Feminine, forms of, 80, 94: ending in ת , 80 *f*, ת , 80 *g*, ת , 80 *l*: in the constr. state, 89 *e*: in the plural, 87 *i-l*: paradigms, 95: of a land or people, 122 *h, i*: of abstract ideas, 122 *g*: of holders of offices¹, 122 *r*: of collectives, 122 *s*: in verb or pronoun to express *it*, 135 *p*: in impersonal verbs (*it rains*), 144 *b, c*: in the predicate of collective plurals, 145 *k* (cf. fem. of pronoun referring to collectives, 135 *p*): dislike of the fem. form, 132 *d*, 145 *p, t*: fem. forms of the infinitive, 45 *d*, 66 *b, g, h*, 69 *b* (C), *c*: fem. nouns with plur. in ות , 87 *g*: fem. denoting artificial (as opposed to natural) objects, 122 *u*, in plur. (as opp. to dual), 87 *o*.
- Feminine pronoun = English *it*, 135 *p*, 144 *b, c*.
- Figura etymologica, see Schema etymologicum.
- Final clauses, 107 *q* (imperf.), 109 *f, g* (jussive): syntax of, 165.
- Final letters, 5 *c*.
- Formae mixtae, 78 *d*.
- Formative letters, or serviles, 30 *c*: in formation of nouns, 81 *b*, 85.
- Frequentative force of imperf., 107 *b-g*: of perf. with waw consec., 112 *e-o*, cf. *kk, ll*.
- Fulera, 8 *h n*.
- Future tense, 47 *a n*: futurum exactum, 106 *o*, 107 *l*: futurum intrans, 116 *p*.
- Ga'ya, 16 *c, g, h*.
- Ge'ez, 1 *b* (i).
- Gemara, 1 *c*, 3 *a*.
- Gender of nouns, 122: in the construction of subject and predicate, 145: irregularities in use of, 110 *k*, 135 *o*, 144 *a*, 145 *p, t, u*.
- Genitive, expression of, 89, 127 *a*, 128: epexegetical or explicative, 128 *k-g, x, y*: subjective, 128 *g*, 135 *m*: objective, 128 *h*, 135 *m*: partitive, 128 *i, r*: expressing the genus, *l*, the species, *m*: expressed periphrastically by ה , 129 *a-f*: by ה ל , 129 *a, h*.
- Gentilic names, in ל , 86 *h*: determination of, 125 *e*: of compounds (as ל ל), 127 *d*.
- Geographical names with a following genitive, 125 *h*: with the article (appellatives), 125 *e*.
- Germanic languages, 1 *e*.
- Gerund, 45 *f, g*.
- Grammarians, early, p. 20 *n*¹.
- Gutturals, pronunciation of, 6 *c-f, o, r*: peculiarities of, 22: in verbal stems, 62-65.
- Hadad inscription, 1 *m*.
- Ha'ep-Pathah, 10 *f, g*: shorter than Ha'ep-S'ghöl, 27 *r*, 63 *f*.
- Ha'ep-Qames, 10 *f, h*.
- Ha'ep-S'ghöl, 10 *f*.
- He interrogative, pointing of, 100 *k-n*.
- He locale, 90 *c-i*.
- Hebrew language, 1 *a, b* (ii): history of, 2: remains of the literature, 2 *d, l, o*: dialects of, 2 *w*: grammatical treatment of, 3: system of writing, 2 *i*, 5.
- Hebrews, 2 *b*.
- Helping vowels, 9 *h, m*, 28 *e* (to keep a syllable open), 84^a *a*, 93 *c* (in segholates).

¹ Cf. Driver, *Introd.*⁸, p. 466: Segal, *Mišn. Hebr.*, p. 63.

- Himyaritic, 1 b (i) : writing, 1 k n².
- Hiph'il, 53 : 'internal,' 53 d : infinitive pointed -ה, 53 l : the ה in infin. elided after preposition, 53 q : imperf. with $\frac{1}{2}$ for $\frac{1}{3}$ (as $\frac{1}{2}$ רַכְּבִי), 53 n : with ה retained in imperf. after preformatives, 53 q : denominatives in Hiph., 53 g.
- Hireq, different kinds of, 8 b, 9 g, h : compaginis, 90 k-n.
- Hithpa'el, 54 : sometimes construed with an accusative, 54 f, 117 w.
- Hithpa'lal, 55 d, 72 m, 75 kk.
- Hithpapel, 55 g, 67 l.
- Hithpō'el, 55 b, 67 l.
- Holem, 8 c-g : written defectively, 8 i-l : its origin, 9 p-s : changed to games in pause, 29 u.
- Homogeneous consonants, 6 q : vowels, 24 b, f.
- Homorganic consonants, 6 q.
- Hoph'al, 53 b, h, s, t : ה retained once in ptep., 53 s.
- Hothpa'al, 54 b, h, l.
- Hypothetical sentences, *see* Conditional sentences.
- I-sounds, 8 b, 9 g, h : from a 27 s, t : in impf., 47 b : in Niph., 51 a : in Pi, 52 a : in Hiph., 53 a : in nouns with preformative ה, 85 f : lengthened to ē, 93 c.
- Imperative, forms in Qal, 46 : shortened and lengthened forms of, 48 i-l, 75 k : with suffixes, 61 f-h : syntax of, 110 : infinitive absolute used with force of imperative, 113 bb.
- Imperfect, the name, 47 a n : formation and inflexion of, 47 : unusual forms of, 47 k : form תִּקְטַלְנָה as 3rd fem. sing. or 2nd masc. sing., 47 k : 3rd pl. masc. in ה, 47 m : jussive and cohortative forms of, 48 : with wāw consecutive, 49 c-g, 111 : with suffixes, 60 : its syntax (alone), 107 : expressing custom or habit, 107 e, g : with wāw consec., 111 : subordinated to another verb, 120 c.
- Imperfect Hiph'il with $\frac{1}{2}$ for $\frac{1}{3}$ (as $\frac{1}{2}$ רַכְּבִי), 53 n : with ה retained after preformatives, 53 q.
- Impersonal construction of הִיָּה, &c., 144 b : impersonal passive, 121 a.
- Imprecation, formulae of, 149 d.
- Incomplete retrocession of the tone, 29 f.
- Indefinite subject of verb, expressed by 3rd masc. sing., 144 d, e, by 3rd plur., 144 f, g, by 2nd sing. masc. (rare), 144 h, by ptep. plur., 144 i, by passive, k.
- Indeterminateness expressing amplification, 125 c.
- Indogermanic languages compared, 1 e, g, h, i (loan-words in), 10 e n¹, 20 l n, 22 c n, 27 t n, 31 a, 33 a, 51 c-e, 52 f n, 53 g n, 55 f n, 99 b and n, 132 a n, 133 b n¹, 135 i n, g n, 145 k n¹, 155 b n.
- Infinitive, 45 : with suffixes, 61 a-e : use of the infinitive absolute, 113 : as a casus adverbialis, 113 h-k : to strengthen the idea of the verb, 113 l-r : in place of the finite verb, 113 y-gg : infinitive construct, unusual forms in Qal, 45 c-e, in Pi'el, 52 p (cf. 84^b e), in Hiph'il, 53 l, 86 k, in Hithpa'el, 54 k : of הִיָּה, 66 i : in verbs י'ע, 67 o : in י'ע, 69 m with n : in י'ע (Hiph.), 72 z, cf. 85 c : ה' 74 h, 75 qq : ה' 75 n (cf. 69 m n), ff, kk : syntax of the infin. constr., 114 : with ה to express a future, 114 h-k, obligation, 114 l, as object of another verb, 114 m, gerundial, 114 o : after הִיָּה, 114 p : infinitive construct continued by a finite verb, 114 r : how negated, 114 s : construction with subject and object, 115 : infinitive Hiph'il pointed -ה, 53 l, with ה elided after preposition, 53 q : Niph'al with ה elided, 51 l.
- Instrument, introduced by ה, 119 o : accusative as a supposed casus instrumentalis, 144 m n.
- Interjections, 30 s, 105 : syntax of, 148.
- Interpunctuation, the accents as marks of, 15 d, m-o.
- Interrogative sentences, 107 t, 150 : disjunctive, 150 c, g : indirect, 150 i : expressing a wish, 151 a, b : expressed without an interrog. particle, 150 a, b.
- Interrogative words and particles, 150 c, d.
- Involved series of sentences, 167 c.
- Jews, Jewish, 2 a.
- Jussive, forms of, 48 a-c, f-h : syntax of, 109 : used absolutely, 109 b, c : depending on another verb, 109 f, g, i : in conditional sentences, 109 h, 159 d : jussive forms in poetry without jussive force, 109 k.

Kaph veritatis, 118 *x*.
K^ethibh, 17 *a-c*.

Lamed auctoris, 129 *c*.

Lamentation metre, 2 *r*.

Letters, forms and names of, 5 *a, b, e, f*: final, 5 *c*: order of, 5 *h, i*: numerical value, 5 *k*.

Litterae dilatabiles, 5 *d*: maiusculae, minusculae, suspensae, 5 *n*: spirantes, 6 *n*: quiescibiles, 8 *h n, 23*: incompatibiles, 30 *m n*: serviles, 30 *g, 81 b*: compaginiis, 90 *k-o*.

Loan-words in Hebrew and Greek, 1 *i*.

Locative, 90 *a, c-i*.

Mandaeans, 1 *c*.

Mappiq, 8 *m n*¹, 14 *a-d*: omitted in 3rd fem. sing. suffix of verb, 58 *g*: of noun, 91 *e*: in הַ , 103 *g* (end): found four times in אֵ , 14 *d*.

Maqqēph, 9 *u* (*c, d*), 16 *a, b*.

Masculine as prior gender, 122 *g, 146 d*: masc. nouns with plur. in לֵי , 87 *m-p*.

Masora and Masoretic text, 3 *b, c*: masora marginalis (magna and parva) and finalis, 17 *d, e*.

Masoretic terms explained, 17 *e*.

Material expressed by the genitive, 128 *o, 135 n*.

Matres lectionis, 8 *h n*.

Meša' inscription, 1 *b* (ii), *k, 2 d*, final vowels in, 7 *b-d n*¹: אָנְיָאָנְיָ ,

p. 105 n: אָה־אָה־נְ , 32 *k n*: wāw consecutive, 49 *a n*: the forms

הַלְהַחֵם , &c., 54 *l*: לְסַפֵּת , 69 *h n*:

אָעָנְיָ , 75 *b n*: fem. sing. abs. in אָ- , 80 *f n*: plur. masc. in אָ- , 87 *e n*:

suffixes, 91 *k n*: the imperfect, 107 *b n*¹: impf. consec. III *h n*:

article omitted with אָנְיָ though the noun has it, 126 *y*: use of the

separate pronoun, 135 *a n*: casus pendens, 143 *b n*.

Metathesis, *see* Transposition.

Metheg, distinguishing \bar{a} from δ , 9 *u, v*: marks secondary tone, 15 *c, 29 b, 20 f*:

various kinds of, 16 *c-i*: with short vowel in open syllable, 26 *i-l* (but cf. *o n*): with sere in closed

ultima, 29 *f*: in perf. consec. 49 *i*.

Metre in Hebrew, 2 *r*.

Mil'el and Milra', 15 *c, 20 f*.

Mishna, 3 *a*.

Mixed forms, 78 *d*.

Moods, expression of, 40 *a, 106 p, 107 m-x*: modus rei repetitae (imperf. as frequentative), 107 *e*.

Multiplicatives (*once, twice, &c.*), how expressed, 134 *r*.

Nabataean inscriptions, 1 *c*.

Naphthali, ben, 7 *h n*.

Names of countries, peoples, and towns, fem., 122 *i*: of places and peoples with the article, 125 *d n, e*: with a following genitive, 125 *h*.

Nasog aḥor, 29 *e*.

Negative sentences, 152.

Negatives, 152: two negatives intensify negation, 152 *y*: influence extending over a following clause, 152 *z*.

Neuter, wanting in Hebrew, 80 *a*: expressed by feminine, 122 *q* with אָ , 135 *p*: by plur. of adjectives, 122 *q*: by suffix of 3rd plur., 135 *p*: in pronoun, 136 *b*, in verb, 144 *b, c*.

Niph'al, 51: tolerativum, 51 *c*: reflexive and reciprocal senses of, 51 *c-e*: infin. with הַ elided after a preposition, 51 *l*.

Nithqaṭṭel, 55 *k* (9).

Nomen regens and rectum, 89 *a*.

Nomen unitatis, 122 *t*.

Nominativus pendens resumed by a pronoun, 143.

North Semitic, 1 *c*.

Nota accusativi, 57: when used, 117 *a-e*.

Nothing, no one, how expressed, 139 *d*.

Noun-clauses, ptc. in, 116 *m-r*: defined, 140 *a*: syntax of, 141: shortened unusually (rare), 147 *e*: negated by אֵין and אֵין , 152 *a, d, i-m*: relative, 155 *e*.

Noun-forms with verbal force (nomina verbi), 45 *e* (with prefixed אֵין), 115 *d*.

Nouns, derivation and various kinds of, 81: primitive, 30 *f, 79 a, 82*: on nouns in general, 83: forms derived from the simple stem, 84^a, from intensive stems, 84^b: nouns formed with preformatives (אָ , הַ , וֹ , &c.), 85 *b-r*, with affirmatives, 85 *s-v*: quadrilaterals and quinquelaterals, 85 *v*: denominatives, 86: with pronominal suffixes, 91: paradigms of, 93: forms with peculiar flexion (אֵין , הַ , &c.), 96: distinctions of gender in, 122: collectives, 123 *a, b*: with the article, 126: appellatives, 125 *e-g*: nomina unitatis, 122 *s, t*, 123 *b*: abstracts, *see* Abstract. *See also* Names.

Number in the construction of subject and predicate, 145.

Number of words in the O. T., 2 *w n*.
 Numeral adverbs, 124 *r*.
 Numerals, 97 : syntax of, 134 : order of compound numerals in different books, 134 *c n, h, i*.
 Numeration, ascending (rhetorical figure), cases of, 134 *s*.
 Numerical sigus, 5 *k*.
 Nûn paragogicum, in imperf., 47 *m* : in perf. (?), 44 *l* : assimilation of Nûn, 19 *b, c*, 66 *d* : Nûn energicum (demonstrativum, epentheticum), 58 *i-l* : inversum, 5 *n*.

O-sounds, 8 *c, d, g p-s*.
 Oaths, formulae of, 149.
 Object, in the accusative, 117 : introduced by ה, 143 *e* : introduced by ׀ instrumenti, 119 *q* : absolute or internal (cognate accusative), 117 *p, q* : dative expressed by accus. suffixes, 117 *x*.
 Object of verb anticipated by pronom. suffix, as in Aram., 131 *m, o*.
 Object-clauses, 157.
 Occupations denoted by nouns of the form הַמְּשָׁל, 84^b *b*.
 Old Hebrew, 1 *k, 2 a*.
 'Ôlè w'ÿôrèdh, principal divider of verse in poetry, 15 *b*.
 One, indefinite, how expressed, 144 *d-k*.
 Onomatopoeica, 1 *h, 30 h*.
 Optative, 109 *b, c*.
 Oratio obliqua, how expressed, 157.
 Order of the alphabet, 5 *h, i*.
 Order of words, 114 *r n* (chiasmus) : in noun-clauses, 141 *l-n* : varieties of, in verbal clauses, 142 *a, f, g* : with the infinitive constr., 115 *e-k*.
 Ordinal numbers, 98, 134 *o, p*.
 Oriental and Occidental texts, 7 *h n*.
 Orthography of Hebrew in the masoretic text and previously, 7.

Pa'lèl, 55 *d* : in three הַלְּבָ verbs, 75 *kk*.
 Panammu inscription, 1 *m*.
 Papyri of Assuan, 1 *m*.
 Parallel texts, 3 *g*.
 Parallelism of members, 2 *q, 150 h*.
 Participle, forms of, in Qal, 50 : Niph'al, 51 *a* : Pi'èl and Pu'al, 52 *a-c* : with aphaeresis of ה, 52 *s* : Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53 *a, b* : anomalous forms in Hiph., 53 *o* : with suffix, 61 *h* : fem. in הַמְּשָׁל 84^a *s*, 94 *d* : plur. in הַמְּשָׁל 93 *qq* ; force of, 107 *d* : syntax of, 116 : construed as verb or noun, 116 *f-i* : passive ptep. construed with accus.

or genitive, 116 *k, l* : of imminent future, 116 *p* : subject with הַלְּבָ (of continuous action), 116 *r* : subject omitted, 116 *s, t* : participle absolute, 116 *w* : continued by finite verb, 116 *x*.

Particles, 99.

Partitive sense of ׀, 119 *m* : of הַלְּבָ, 119 *w n*.

Paseq, p. 59 *n*².

Passive, 39 *e*, 51 *f* (Niph'al) : probable passives of Qal, 52 *e*, 53 *u* : construction of passives, 121 : expressed by the 3rd plur. active, 144 *f, g*, by the active participle, 144 *i* : impersonal passive, 121 *a* : passive verbs construed with הַלְּבָ, 121 *a, b* : agent after passive expressed by הַלְּבָ, הַלְּבָ, and (rarely) הַלְּבָ, 121 *f*.

Pathah, 8 *a, 9 e* : preferred with gutturals, 22 *d* : furtive, 8 *f*, 22 *f, g*, 65 *a-e* : as a helping vowel, 27 *r*, 28 *c, e n*², 65 *g*, 84^a *a* : in the imperfect of verbs הַלְּבָ, 75 *bb* : in pause for Sere, 29 *g*, 51 *m* : before a guttural (esp. ה) with Qames changed to S'ghòl, 27 *q*, 29 *v* : in perf. Pi'èl for Sere, 52 *a, l*.

Patronymics, 86 *h*.

Pause, 29 *i-v* : pausal forms with lesser distinctive accents, 29 *i*.

Po'al'al, 55 *e*.

Pentateuch, linguistic character of, 2 *m, n*.

Perfect, 40 : flexion of, 44 : 3rd fem. sing. in הַלְּבָ, 44 *f*, 72 *o* : 2nd fem. sing. in הַלְּבָ, 44 *h* : 1st sing. in הַלְּבָ, 44 *i* : 3rd plur. in הַלְּבָ (?), 44 *l* : did Hebrew possess a 3rd pl. fem. in הַלְּבָ ? 44 *m* : contraction of last radical with affirmative of perfect, 44 *o* : meaning of, 47 *a n* : with suffixes, 59 : syntax of, 106 : not precativè, 106 *n n*² : perfectum confidentiae, 106 *n* : propheticum, 106 *n* : with ׀ consec., 49 *a*, change of tone, *h-l*, syntax, 112 : with ׀ consec. as a frequentative, 112 *e-o, dd, ee* : carrying on the protasis, 112 *p*, introducing the apodosis, 112 *ff-ii* : with simple ׀ of a single act, in narrative, 112 *pp-uu*.

Periphrastic expression of qualities by means of הַלְּבָ, הַלְּבָ, הַלְּבָ, 128 *s-v*.

Periphrastic future, 114 *p n*.

Permutation, 131 *k*.

- Permutative, 131 *k-o*
- Person, abrupt changes of, in poetry, 144 *p*.
- Personification of countries or peoples, 122 *i*.
- Phoenician and Punic language, 1 *a*, *b* (ii), 2 *f*, 10 *e n*¹, *p*. 106 *n*, § 34 *n*⁴, 36 *n*, 49 *a n*, 80 *f*, 87 *d*: writings, 1 *l*, 7 *d n*.
- Phonetic system of Hebrew, 6 *o*, *p*.
- Phonetics, 6 *a*, *b*.
- Pi'el, 52: privativum, 52 *h*: intensive sense of, 52 *f*, *k*: rare in verbs פִּיֵּל, 72 *m*.
- Pi'lél, 55 *d*: in verbs פִּיֵּל, 72 *m*.
- Pilpél, 55 *f*: in verbs פִּיֵּל, 67 *l*: in verbs פִּיֵּל, 72 *m*.
- Pleonastic use of the pronoun, 135 *a*, *b*: of the negative, 152 *y*.
- Pluperfect, 106 *f*, 111 *q*: pluperf. subjunctive, 106 *p*.
- Plural, terminations of, 87: in פִּיֵּל, 87 *e*: פִּיֵּל, פִּיֵּל, פִּיֵּל not plural endings, 87 *f-h*: double plural ending in constr. st. of certain words, 87 *s*: double plur. of subst. and following genitive, 124 *q*: uses and senses of, 124: unusual constructions of, 145 *h-m*: plur. forms of prepositions, 103 *n*, *o*: plur. suffix referring to collective singular, 135 *p*: plur. predicate of a collective singular, 145 *b-g*.
- Pluralia tantum, 124 *f n*.
- Pluralis excellentiae or majestatis, 124 *g-i* and *n*: its construction, 132 *h*: pl. of extension, 124 *a-c*: intensive pl., 124 *a*, *d*, *e*: of the result or product, 124 *m*: amplifying plur., 124 *b*, *d-f*: expressing abstract ideas, 124 *d, f*: pl. of pronoun to denote a group of actions (= *it*), 135 *p*.
- Plurals of compound ideas, 124 *p-r*: of names of animals or things construed with a fem. sing., 145 *k*.
- Po'el, 55 *b*, *c*: in verbs פִּיֵּל, 67 *l*.
- Poetic style, 2 *q-s*.
- Point used to divide words, 3 *g n*.
- Polpal, 55 *f*.
- Polysyndeton, 154 *a n*.
- Potential sense of the imperfect, 107 *r-w*.
- Precative, 109 *b*, *c*.
- Predicate, without the article, 126 *i, k*: agreeing (or not) with the subject, 145: with compound subj., 146: attracted to the principal idea of a compound subject, 146 *a*: subst. as predicate where we should use an adjective, 141 *c, d*.
- Prefixes, *see* Prepositions.
- Preformatives of the imperfect, 47: of the noun, 85.
- Pregnant construction with prepositions, 119 *ee*: with מִן, 119 *x, y, ff*: with אֶת־, אֵל, לְקַרְאֵת, בְּ, לְ, 119 *gg*.
- Prepositions, 101: prefixed, 102: with suffixes, 103: under the government of the verb, 119: compound prepositions, 119 *b-e*: chief meanings of, אֵל, בְּ, לְ, מִן, עַל, 119 *g-ad*: pregnant uses of, 119 *ee-gg*: force of, extending over parallel clause, 119 *hh*: with adverbs (rare), 119 *ii*: prep. (esp. בְּ) not used after בְּ, 118 *s-w*, found exceptionally, 118 *s n*.
- Present expressed by the Perfect, 106 *g, h*.
- Preterite, *see* Perfect.
- Pretonic vowels, 26 *e*: with בְּ, בְּ, לְ, 102 *f-k*: with עַל before suffix, 103 *c*: with לְ, 104 *g*.
- Printed texts, earliest Hebrew, 3 *e n*.
- Prohibitions, expressed by אַל or לֹא with jussive or imperfect, 107 *o*, 109 *c, d*, 152 *f*.
- Pronominal ideas expressed by substantives, 139.
- Pronominal suffix anticipating noun, attached to verb, 131 *m, o*; to subst. or prep., 131 *n*.
- Pronouns, 32: syntax of, 135-8: personal, 32, 135: oblique cases of, 135 *i-k*: suffixes, 33, with the verb, 58, with the noun, 91, with adverbs, 100 *o, p*, with prepositions, 103: suffix of 3rd fem. sing. referring to entire sentences, 135 *p*: demonstrative, 34, 136, used relatively, 138 *g, h*: relative, 36, 138: indefinite, 37 *g*, 137 *c*: interrogative, 37 *a-f*, 137 *a-c*: suffix reflexive, 135 *i, k*: suffix possessive, 33, 135 *m-o*: suffix as genitive, subjective or objective, 135 *m*: separate pronoun in nominative emphasizing a suffix, 135 *d-h*: reciprocal, 139 *c* with *n, e*.
- Pronunciation of Hebrew, 6 *a, b*, 48 *f*.
- Prosthetic Aleph, 19 *m*.
- Pu'al, 52 *b-d, h* (end), *q-s*: as passive of Qal, 52 *e*.
- Pu'lal, 55 *d*.
- Puncta extraordinaria, 6 *n*.

- Punctuation, Babylonian, 8 *g n*.
 Punic, *see* Phoenician.
- Qal, form and meaning of, 43 : probable passives of, 52 *e*, 53 *u*.
 Qameš, 8 *a*, 9 *a-d* : its pronunciation, 8 *d* : Qameš impurum, 25 *c*.
 Qameš-hatûph, 8 *c*, 9 *s* : how distinguished from Qameš, 9 *u*, *v*.
 Q°rê, 17 *a*, *b* : perpetuum, 17 *c*.
 Qibbus, 8 *c*, 9 *n*, *a*.
 Qina-metre, 2 *r*.
 Quadrilaterals, 30 *p*, *q* : nouns, 85 *w* : verbs, 56.
 Quantity of vowels, p. 40 (Preliminary remark).
 Questions indicated by tone, 150 *a*, *b* : disjunctive, 150 *g* : double, 150 *h* : indirect, 150 *i* : expressing rhetorically a denial, 148 *c*, 150 *d*, 151 *a*, *b*.
 Quiescent letters, *see* Letters.
 Quinqueliterals, 30 *p*, *r*, 85 *w*.
- Radical letters, 30 *c-e*.
 Raphe, 6 *n*, 14 *e*.
 Reciprocity expressed by . . . שׂוֹיִן (רעהו) : by Niph'al, 51 *d* : by Hithpa'el, 54 *f*.
 Reduplication of letters, in verbs, 55 *d-g*, in nouns, 84^b *k-p*.
 Reflexive use of ה (ethical dative), 119 *s* : of Niph'al, 51 *c* : of Hithp., 54 *e* : of pronouns, 57 *n*, 135 *i*, *k*.
 Relative sentences, 138 *a-f*, 155 : expressed without שׂוֹיִן, 155 *f-m*, 156 *b* : in genitive after constr. st., 130 *c*, without שׂוֹיִן, 130 *d*, 152 *a n* (end), *u* (2nd part), *v*, 155 *e* : expressed by הוּ, הוּ, הוּ, 138 *g* : by article (in late Hebrew), 138 *i* (cases due to false vocalization or accentuation, 138 *k*) : independent rel. clause as subject or object of verb, or genitive of a noun, or governed by a preposition, 155 *n*.
 Relative pronoun, 36, 138.
 Repetition of words, without ו, to express distribution (= 'every'), 123 *c*, *d* : emphasis, 123 *e* : the superlative, 133 *l* : with ו, to express summation, 123 *c*, to express difference (וְאֵל וְאֵל), 123 *f*.
 Resh occasionally with Dageš, 22 *s*.
 Rhythm of Hebrew poetry, 2 *q*, *r*.
 Roots, 30 *c*, *d*.
- Sabaeen, 1 *b* (*i*), *k n*.
 Samaritan, 1 *c*.
 Saph'el, 55 *i*, *cf.* 30 *p*.
- Schema etymologicum, 117 *p-r*.
 Scriptio continua, 3 *g n*.
 Scriptio plena and defectiva, 8 *i-l*, 25 *b*.
 Seal-stones, engraved, 2 *d*.
 S°ghôl, 8 *b*, 9 *m*, 27 *p-r* : as a helping vowel, 27 *r*, 28 *e*, 84^a *a* : rarely after gutturals, 22 *h* : before gutturals (esp. פ) with Qameš, for Pathah, 27 *q*, 29 *v* : in pause for Šere in Pi'el, 52 *n*.
 'Segholate' nouns, forms of, 84^a *a-d* : in constr. st. and with suffixes (paradigms), § 93 *c-e*, *g-r*, feminine forms, 95 *d-f* : of the form עָרַץ in constr. st., 93 *h* : of the form עָרַץ בְּכַפִּי (dageš in 3rd radical) in constr. st. plur., 93 *m* : explanation of forms from verbs הָלַךְ (as הָלַךְ), 84^a *c* (*e*), 93 *x-z*, 95 *d-f* : constr. st. of nouns of the form הָלַךְ sometimes segholate in form, 93 *h h*.
 Self, idea of, how expressed, 135 *a*, *i*, *k*, 139 *f*, with *n*, *cf.* *g*.
 Semitic languages, 1 : their grammatical structure, 1 *f* : their relation to one another, 1 *e*, *m*, *n* : and to other languages, 1 *g-i* : their age, 1 *m*, *n* : writing, 1 *k*, *l*.
 Sentences, 140 : compound, 140 *d*, 143 : incomplete, 147 : restrictive and intensive, 153 : connected by ו, 154 : divided by Paseq, 15 *f n*².
 Separating vowels, 67 *d n*, 72 *i*.
 Septuagint, 3 *a*, 6 *b*, p. 35 *n*.
 Šere, 8 *b*, 9 *i-l* : in pause for S°ghôl in verbs הָלַךְ, 75 *h h n* : changed to pathah in pause, 29 *q* : in Hithpa'el changed to qameš in pause, 29 *s*, 55 *k*.
 Serviles, *see* Formative letters.
 Šewâ, simple and compound, 10, 21 *e, f*, 22 *l-p*, 24 *b-d*, 63 *f* : mobile, 10 *b*, *c*, *l*, 20 *m*, 21 *e, f*, 22 *l*, 27 *e*, *i-m* : simple, under gutturals, 22 *m*, *n*, 63 *a*, *c*, 65 *g* : quiescent (silent, syllable divider), 10 *i*, 22 *m*, 24 *b*.
 Sibilants, 6 *h-l* : transposition of, 19 *n*, 54 *b*.
 Sillûq with Sôph pasûq, 15 *f*.
 Siloam inscription, 2 *d n* : orthography of, 7 *f*.
 Simultaneity of actions expressed by noun-clauses, 141 *e*, 164 *a*.
 Singular with distributive force, 145 *l*, *m*.
 Softening of consonants (rare), 19 *o*.
 Some, how expressed, 139 *h* with *n*.
 Sonants, 6 *o*, *p*.

- South Semitic, 1 b (i).
 Spirants, 6 n, 13, 21.
 Square character, 5 a.
 Status absolutus of the noun, 89 a.
 Status constructus, its form, 89:
 vowel-changes marking it in many nouns, 91-6: its use, 128: before an adjective treated as a subst., 128 w, 133 h (end), 134 p (end): wider use of it, 130: before prepositions, 130 a: before relative clauses, 130 c, d: in apposition with another constr. st., 130 e, f: before numerals, 134 o, p: anomalously with the article, 127 f-i: before הַן, used as a relative, 138 g (a).
 Stem-consonants, or radicals, 30 c.
 Stems, distinguished from roots, 30 a, d, g-k.
 Strengthening (doubling or sharpening) of consonants, 12, 20: in gutturals, 22 b: virtual, 22 c: to intensify the idea of the stem, 52 a, d: of 3rd radical in fem. and plur. of nouns of the forms $\text{D}^{\text{h}}\text{N}$, $\text{L}^{\text{h}}\text{N}$, 84^a h, 93 s, ee, kk, 94 c, 95 g, cf. 93 pp: virtual sharpening of N , 64 e: sharpening sometimes omitted in 2nd radical of verbs $\text{Y}^{\text{h}}\text{Y}$, 67 g, dd.
 Subject, omitted in participial clauses, 116 s, t: impersonal, 144 b, c: indefinite, 144 d-k: two subjects in a verbal clause, 144 l, m: construction of compound subjects, 146.
 Substantive, its construction with the adjective, 132: as predicate of a noun-clause, 141 b: used as predicate where we should use an adjective, 141 c-d.
 Suffixes, (pronominal) attached to verbs, 58: rare, irregular, or poetic, with verb, 58 g, i, k (cf. 59 e-h, 60 d-h, 61 b-e, g, h): with noun in sing., 91 e, f: in plur. 91 l: the sing. form after הַן-, 91 n: with prepositions, 103: 3rd sing. masc. in הַן-, 7 c, 58 g, 91 e: 3rd sing. fem. without Mappiq, 58 g, 91 e, 103 g: omission of הַן- in fem. nouns before suffix, 91 e (end): 3rd plur. in הַן, 58 g, 91 f, l, 103 f N³: omission of ' in plur. nouns before suffix, 91 k: original ' of sing. nouns from הַן- stems retained before suffix, 93 ss: denoting the remoter object, 117 x: use of 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd plur. to express 'it', 135 p: anticipating the object (as in Aram.), 131 m, o: apparent verbal forms attached to nouns used as adverbs, 100 o, p: anticipating the genitive, 131 n: syntax of, 135 m-r: heavy (or grave) and light, 59 e, 91 o, 93 b: masculine suffixes referring to feminines, 135 o: fem. suff. with collective force, 135 p: suffixes which have lost their meaning (הַתְּרֵן, הַתְּרֵן), 135 q, r: omitted sometimes with infinitive, 115 e n.
 Superlative, expression of, 132 c, 133 g-l.
 Šureq, 8 c, 9 n.
 'Surface'-plurals, 124 b, c.
 Suspended genitive, 130 e, f.
 Syllables, theory of, 26.
 Syncope and elision, 19 k, 35 d: of the article, 35 n: of הַן in Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53 a, b, in infin. Niph., 51 l, in infin. Hiph., 53 q, in infin. Hoph., 67 y (end).
 Syriac language, 1 c.
 Syriasms in pronunciation, 24 e: cf. Aramaisms.
 Talmud, 3 a.
 'Tam'-character, 5 a (end).
 Targums, 1 c, 3 a.
 Tell-el-Amarna tablets, 2 f.
 Temporal clauses, 106 f, 111 d, 112 oo, 164: expressed by infin. constr. with a preposition, 164 g.
 Tenses, 40: their use, 106-9, 111, 112: tempus historicum, 106 d.
 Text of the O. T. probably derived from a single archetype, 3 c.
 Textual criticism, 3 g: intentional and unintentional changes in the text, 3 g.
 Tiph'el, 55 h.
 Titles indicated by the feminine form, 122 r.
 Tone of Hebrew words, 29: marks of, 15 b, c, k, l: thrown forward, 29 e: retrocession of, 29 d-g: incomplete retrocession, 29 f: tone in pause, 29 i-r: concurrence of two tone-syllables avoided, 29 e, f, h. Tone in perfect thrown forward after wāw consec., 49 h-l: in imperf. often thrown back in jussive and after wāw consec., 48 f, 49 d, 67 x, 68 d, e, 69 p, 71, 72 t, aa, 73 e.
 Transitions in poetry from one person to another, 144 p, cf. 135 r.
 Translations of the O. T., 3 a.
 Transposition (metathesis) of consonants, 19 n, 54 b.
 U-sounds, 8 c, 9 n, o.

- Verb, 38: its syntax, 106-116: its government, 117-121: weak verbs, 41, 66-76, relation to one another, 77: verbs middle *e* and *o*, 43: derivative, *see* Conjugations: denominative, 38 *c, d*, 43 *c* (in Qal), 51 *g* (Niph.), 52 *h* (Pi.), 53 *g* (Hiph.), 54 *i* (Hithp.): transitive and intransitive, 43, 117 *u, v*: with suffixes, 57-61: doubly weak, 76: נ"ל and ה"ל confused, 75 *nn-rr*: defective, 78: verba induendi et exuendi, 117 *y*: copiae et inopiae, 117 *z, aa*: with prepositions, 119: primitive ׀ retained exceptionally in verbs ה"ל, 75 *u, v, x, dd, gg* (end), *cf.* 29 *t*: verbs ה"ל, 65 *n*, 75 *b* (end): verbs ׀"ל, 75 *b, v, kk*, nouns derived from, 84^a *c* (*ε, f* (end), *g* (end), 93 *z*.
 Verbal clauses, 140 *b, c*, 142: relative, 155 *f-n*.
 Verbal ideas subordinated to a verb, 120 *a-c*: co-ordinated with a verb, 120 *d-h*.
 Verbal suffixes with prepositions (rare), 103 *d*.
 Verse arrangement of poetic passages, 2 *r* (end).
 Vocalization of the text, 7 *h, i*: Babylonian, 8 *g n*, 103 *m n*.
 Vocative with and without the article, 126 *f*.
 Vowel-letters, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*.
 Vowel-signs or points, 7 *h, i*, 8-10.
 Vowels, 7: influenced by the nature of the syllable, 26: firm or unchangeable, 25: changes in them as regards quantity, 27: impure, 25 *c n*: pretonic, p. 86 *n*¹, § 102 *f-i*, 103 *c*.
 Wāw consecutive, § 49 *a, b*, before נ in 1st pers. impf. Pi. with anomalous pathah, 49 *c*, with the perfect, 49 *h-l*, with the imperfect, 49 *c-g*: copulative, punctuation of, 104 *d-g*: wāw apodosis introducing the predicate, 143 *d*: explicative, 154 *a n* (*b*): concomitantiae, 154 *a n* (*b*): adaequationis, 161 *a n*. *See also under Perfect and Imperfect*.
 Weak consonants, 6 *s*: נ and ה, 23: ׀ and ׀, 24.
 Weak verbs, 41, 66-76: their relation to one another, 77: relation between נ"ל and ה"ל, 75 *nn-rr*.
 Weakening (or softening) of consonants, 19 *o*.
 Wish, expressed by simple impf., 107 *n*: by cohortative, 108 (with נ"ל, 108 *c*): by jussive, 109 (with נ"ל, 109 *b*), by imperative, 110 *a*: by perf. consec., 112 *aa*: by a noun-clause, 116 *r n*, 141 *g*: by ׀, 151 *a*: by ׀"ל, 151 *b-d*: by ׀"ל, ׀"ל, 151 *e*.
 Writing, Semitic, 1 *k, l*: old Hebrew, 2 *d, i*, 5 *a*: its origin, 5 *g*.
 Zenjirli, inscriptions, 1 *m*, 32 *k n*.

II

INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS AND FORMS

The numbers refer to the sections : the 'superior' figures after the letters refer to the notes. Doubtful forms are marked ? Corrupt forms with †.

א as consonant
and guttural 6 c, 22; qui-
escent 23 a-i; prosthetic
19 m

- אב 96
אבר 68 b
אבר 50 e, 93 qq
אברה 85 v
אבה 68 b, 76 d
אבוא ? 23 i
אבותיהם 91 n
אבתר 10 g³
אבי 74 k, 76 h
אבי for לוי 159 cc
אבדה 68 i
אביר 84^b f
אבל 93 hh
אנאלתי ? 53 p
אנרות 95 q
אדדה 55 g
אדוש ? 113 w³
אדם without arti-
cle, 125 f, 126 e¹
אדני 87 g, as Qerê
for יהוה 102 m, force of
suffix lost 135 q and note²
ארני כם 21 c
ארנים 124 i, 145 h
ארעך 69 b¹

- אדרש ? 51 k
אהב 68 e
אהבו 64 a
אהבו הבו † 55 e
אהה 105 a
אהיה 75 hh
אהל 22 h
אהלה 91 e
אהלים 23 h, 93 r
אהמיה 75 l
אהרנה 63 f
או 104 c, in dis-
junctive questions 150 g.
in indirect questions 150 i,
in conditional sentences
159 cc, in disjunctive sen-
tences 162
אוביל 50 e
אוי 105 a
אווה 105 a
אוויל 84^a o
אוביל 68 i
אולם 92 g
אולת 84^b c
אוניות 93 r
אופן 84^a r
אור 72 c², n
אות 95 n
אותהם 103 b

- אותהן 103 b
אותכם 103 b
אז 100 i, wi
perf. and imperf. 107
108 g¹
אזור 23 h
איון 68 i
אזכה 85 b
אזלת 44 f
אזרה 75 hh
אזרוע 84^a n
אח 96, 105 a
אחר 96
אחר not in const
st. 130 g
אחדלה 63 f
אחו 1 i
אחוד 75 bb
אחומי 90 k
אחות p. 283
אחוז 64 c
אחוי 64 c
אחפנה 23 f, 75 oo
אחיותך 91 n
אחל 67 y
אחלי, אחלי in wishes 151
אחרי, אחרי 103 o
אחר 64 d
אחרך 64 h

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| אָחַר כֵּן 29 g | אֵל, אֱלֹהִים 103 o, 119 g | אָנָּה, אֲנָּה 16 f ¹ , 105 a, and Additions |
| אֲחֵרַיִת 85 u | אֱלֹהֵיכֶם 35 m | אָנָּה 80 i |
| אֵי island 93 y | אֱלֹהֵי 9 q, 87 t | אָנָּה (Jer 42 ⁶) 32 d |
| אֵי woe! 105 a | אֱלֹהֵי 20 k | אֲנַחְמֶךָ (Is 51 ¹⁹) 47 b ¹ |
| אֵי not 152 q | אֱלֹהִים pluralis majestatis 124 g and note ² , without article 125 f, with article 126 e ¹ , with the singular 145 h; with a plural 132 h ² , 145 i | אֲנִי use of, in different books p. 105 note |
| אֵיף 148 | אֱלוֹת (inf. abs.) 75 n | אֲנִי 32 c |
| אֵיכָּה 100 i, 148 | אֱלֵיכֶם 22 o | אֲנִי (Moab.) 7 d ¹ |
| אֵיכָּה 100 i | אֱלֵי 84 ^a o | אֲנִי 96 |
| אֵילָל 70 d | אֱלֵימוֹ 103 p ² | אֲנִי 72 aa, 113 w ³ |
| אֵימָה 84 ^a g | אֱלִמִּיִּם 35 m | אֲסִיר 84 ^b f |
| אֵין, אֵין connecting subj. and predicate 141 k, 12 i-q | אֱלִמוֹדֵר 35 m | אֲסִלוֹחַ 65 b |
| אֵין? 150 c ³ | אֱלִקִּים? 35 m | אֲסַף 72 aa, 113 w ² |
| אֵיסִירִם 24 f ² , 70 b | אֱלִקָּטָה 64 i | אֲסַפָּה 69 h ¹ |
| אֵישׁ 96 (and אִשָּׁה) | אֱלִתִּיחַת 119 e ¹ | אֲסַפָּה 48 i |
| used distributively 139 b, c | אֱלִתִּי 95 n | אֲסַפּוֹ 48 i |
| אֵישׁוֹן 86 g | אֵם (אִם-לֹא) in wishes 151 e, in conditional sentences 159 l-v, dd, in double questions 150 c-i, in oaths 149, concessive 160 a | אֲסַפָּךְ? 68 h |
| אֵישִׁי 47 b ¹ | אֵם μητρόπολις 122 h ⁵ | אֲסַק 19 f, 66 e |
| אֵיִשָּׁר 70 b | אֵמָה 96 | אֲסַרְהָ 91 k |
| אֵיתָם? 67 p | אֵמָה 1 h | אֲסַרְם 71 |
| אֵיתָן 85 b, 133 a ¹ | אֵמוֹן 63 p | אֲעַנֶּה 63 f |
| אֵף 100 i, uses of 153 | אֵמִילָם: 60 d | אֲעַנֶּה 63 h ¹ |
| אֵבֶב 85 b, 133 a ¹ | אֵמִינוֹן 86 g ¹ | אֲעִנוֹ (Moab.) 75 b ¹ |
| אֵבֶל 68 b | אֵמִן for אֲמַנֶּת 122 f ¹ | אֲעִשֶׂה 63 m |
| אֵבֶל- 22 o | אֵמֶר 68 b | אֵף 104 c, intensive 153, (אֵף...אֵף) 154 a ¹ (e) |
| אֵבֶל (ptep.) 52 s | אֵמֶר 23 f, 68 c | אֲפִאִיָּהֶם 58 a ¹ , 75 m m u |
| אֵבֶלָה 91 e | אֵמֶרֶת 44 f | אֲפָה 68 b, 76 d |
| אֵבֶלְךָ for אֲבִלְךָ 27 g, 68 f, 75 bb | אֵמִישָׁךְ 67 r, dd | אֲפָהֶם 91 c ¹ , 93 ss |
| אֵבֶלְךָ 61 d | אֵין for אֵין or אֵין f | אֲפִי 63 i, 76 d |
| אֵבֶלְכֶם 61 d | | אֲפִואֹ 23 i |
| אֵבֶן 100 i | | אֲפִי-כִי 154 a ¹ (e) |
| or אֵלָה 34 b | | אֲפִינוֹ 93 r |
| אֵל- with jussive 99 c, 152 f, forming a negative compound 152 g, not standing immediately before a verb 152 h | | אֲפִם 152 s, כִּי אֲפִם 163 c |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| אָצֵק 71 | אָתָה 76 <i>d</i> | בְּרוּעַ 20 <i>g</i> |
| אָקטל 47 <i>b</i> | אָתָהֶם 103 <i>b</i> | בְּחִנְיָ 27 <i>n</i> |
| אָקרא 10 <i>g</i> ³ | אָתָהוּ 103 <i>b</i> | בָּחַן 64 <i>d</i> |
| אָרְהֶלִי 9 <i>v</i> , 67 <i>o</i> | אָתְחַבֵּר 54 <i>a</i> ² | בָּחֻק 67 <i>r</i> |
| אָרְחָם 52 <i>n</i> | אָתִי, אָתִי 32 <i>h</i> | בְּחִרְיָאָף 9 <i>v</i> |
| אָרְחָתוּי 93 <i>r</i> | אָתִי 29 <i>t</i> , cf. 75 <i>u</i> | בְּטָנִים 93 <i>r</i> |
| אָרִי 93 <i>x</i> | אָתִי מְרַחֵק 20 <i>f</i> | בְּטָרָם 107 <i>c</i> |
| אָרְוֶה 72 <i>gg</i> , 75 <i>dd</i> | אָתָּן 32 <i>i</i> | בִּי for בְּעִי? 19 <i>o</i> |
| אָרְפָה 75 <i>pp</i> | אָתָּנָה 75 <i>rr</i> | as interjection 105 <i>b</i> |
| אָרִין 67 <i>p</i> | | בִּיהוּה 102 <i>m</i> |
| אָרְצָה 90 <i>f</i> | בְּ preposition | בֵּין 73 <i>a</i> |
| אִשׁ = אִשׁ 47 <i>b</i> ¹ , 114 <i>l</i> ^o | 102; punctuation of 102 | בֵּין 103 <i>o</i> |
| אִשָּׁה 96 | <i>d</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>m</i> ; with suffixes | בִּינוּחָנָה 103 <i>p</i> ¹ |
| אִשְׁבִּים 53 <i>k</i> | 103 <i>g</i> ; senses of 119 <i>h-g</i> ; | בִּינְיָ? 103 <i>o</i> |
| אִשְׁכֶּם 93 <i>bb</i> | בְּ essential 119 <i>i</i> ; בְּ par- | בִּינְיָ? 103 <i>o</i> |
| אִשְׁעָה 75 <i>l</i> | titive 119 <i>m</i> ; בְּ pretii, | בֵּין תְּבִין 73 <i>d</i> |
| אִשְׁקָה 20 <i>m</i> | 119 <i>p</i> ; בְּ instrumenti with | בִּלְתִּי 73 <i>a</i> |
| אִשְׁקָה 10 <i>h</i> , 48 <i>c</i> | the object 119 <i>q</i> | בֵּית 96 |
| אִשְׁרַ as relative | בָּא? 72 <i>o</i> , 76 <i>g</i> , | בְּכָה 103 <i>g</i> |
| pron. 36, its syntax 138, | 152 <i>x</i> | בְּבֹרָה? 91 <i>e</i> |
| in relative clauses 155, | בְּאֵלִים 20 <i>g</i> | בְּכָל אֲנָשִׁים 127 <i>c</i> ² |
| introducing obj.-clause | בְּאֵנִי 9 <i>v</i> | בְּכַשְׁלוֹ 51 <i>l</i> |
| 157 <i>c</i> , after יען, על, &c. | בְּבִנְדוֹ 61 <i>b</i> | בְּכַתָּף? 93 <i>hh</i> |
| 158 <i>a</i> , hypothetical (rare) | בְּבִרְי 93 <i>k</i> | בֵּל 152 <i>t</i> |
| 159 <i>cc</i> , introd. temporal | בְּבִרְמָה 44 <i>g</i> | בְּלָה? 19 <i>k</i> ² |
| clauses 164 <i>d</i> , final 165 <i>b</i> , | בְּבָאִם 74 <i>i</i> | בְּלֹאֵי 93 <i>x</i> |
| consecutive 166 <i>b</i> , with | בְּדִיל 84 <i>a</i> ^o | בְּלוֹי 8 <i>k</i> |
| prepositions forming con- | בְּהִלּוֹ 67 <i>p</i> | בְּלוֹי 152 <i>t</i> |
| junctions 104 <i>b</i> ; לְ אִשְׁרַ for | בְּהִן 22 <i>h</i> | בְּלִיעַל 81 <i>d</i> |
| the genitive 129 <i>h</i> | בְּהִנוֹת 93 <i>r</i> | בְּלִיעַרִי 99 <i>e</i> |
| אִשְׁרַ 84 <i>b</i> <i>g</i> | בְּהִרְגַ 51 <i>l</i> | בְּלִיתִ with inf. |
| אִשְׁרִידִי 93 <i>l</i> | בְּהִשְׁפָּה 67 <i>y</i> | constr. 114 <i>s</i> , with an |
| אִתְ, אִתְ 103 <i>b</i> , syntax | בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי? 75 <i>kk</i> | jective 152 <i>t</i> ; לְבִלְתִּי |
| of 117 <i>a-m</i> ; before an un- | בּוֹא 76 <i>g</i> | ... not, with infn. 11. |
| determined noun 117 <i>d</i> ; not | בּוֹדָאִם 23 <i>c</i> | with impf. 152 <i>x</i> ; (אִם) 1. |
| denoting accus. 117 <i>i-m</i> | בּוֹטָה 75 <i>qq</i> | except, 163 <i>c</i> |
| אִתְ 20 <i>l</i> , 32 <i>h</i> ; as | בּוֹסִים 72 <i>p</i> | בָּם 23 <i>k</i> |
| masc. 32 <i>g</i> | בּוֹשְׁסָם? 61 <i>e</i> | בְּמוֹ 103 <i>k</i> |
| אִתְ = אִתָּה 32 <i>g</i> | בּוֹ 72 <i>dd</i> | |
| אָתָּה 75 <i>rr</i> | בְּוָה לְךָ 72 <i>l</i> | |

בְּמִצְאָם 61 *d*, 74 *h*,
93 *q*
בְּמַתִּי 87 *s*, 95 *o*
בֵּן 96
בְּנֵי 72 *o*, 76 *g*
בְּנוֹ 90 *o*
בְּנֵיהֶם 23 *k*
בְּנֵיהֶם 60 *h*
בנת (Moab.) for
בְּנַתִּי 7 *d*¹
בְּנַת 73 *a*
בְּעַדְנִי 103 *d*
בְּעֶפֶף 51 *l*
בְּעֵיו 29 *t*, 75 *u*
בְּעִיר (ψ 73²⁰) 53 *q*
בְּעִלְיָהּ 93 *m*
בְּעָלִים 145 *h*
בְּעֶרְהָ 80 *k*
בְּעֶשֶׂר 53 *k*
בְּעֵשֶׂק 35 *g*
בְּעַת מוֹלֵךְ ? 116 *g*¹
בְּעָיִם ? 93 *y*
בְּעָעִים 61 *g*
בְּמַרְבֵּ- 10 *g*³
בְּמָרִים 123 *a*¹
בְּרָא (בְּרָה) 75 *r*
בְּרֹל 85 *s*
בְּרִכְיָהֶם 93 *n*
בְּרִכַּת 95 *g*
בְּרִקַּת 80 *f*
בֵּשׁ 72 *c*², *n*, 78 *b*
בְּשָׂם 67 *p*
בְּשׂוֹבְנֵי ? 91 *e*
בַּת 96; to per-
sonify a people 122 *i*
בַּת for בֵּית 7 *f*
בְּתוּאֵל 90 *k*
בְּתוּכָם 10 *g*, 91 *d*
בְּתִים 9 *u*; p. 285
s.v. בַּיִת

בְּתַקוּמָּיִךְ † 72 *cc*
בָּאָה 84 *b* *c*
בְּבָהָא 44 *f*
בְּבָהִים 124 *h*
בְּבִי 86 *i*, 87 *g*
בְּבַעַל 85 *s*
בְּבָרִים 93 *x*
בְּבָרִים 95 *o*
בְּבָרָה 23 *f*
בְּבָזַל 84 *a* *r*
בְּבִי 8 *k*
בְּבִי 8 *k*
בְּבִל 67 *n*
בְּבֹעַ 65 *a*
בְּבִיא 93 *g*, *v*
בְּבִילֵי 85 *v*
בְּבִלְתִּי 95 *r*
בְּבִלָּה ? 91 *e*
בְּבִלִּית 80 *f*, *g*
בְּבִלְתָּה 44 *f*
בָּם intensive I 53,
I 54 *a*¹(*c*); בָּם (!) ... בָּם *ibid.*;
(בִּי) בָּם concessive I 60 *b*
בְּבָב 84 *b* *b*
בְּבִרְתָּךְ 91 *n*
בְּבִרְנָה 90 *i*
בְּבִשׁ- 66 *c*
בְּבִשׁוֹ 66 *c*
בְּבִשִׁי 66 *c*
בְּבִשְׁמוֹ 90 *k*
בְּבָבוֹן 85 *u*
בְּבָאָג 9 *b*
בְּבָקָה 44 *c*
בְּבָר 52 *o*
בְּבָרָאִים 93 *x*
בְּבָרִים 67 *n*
בְּבָרִים 100 *g*²
בְּבָרִי 84 *a* *r*

בְּבָשִׁי 72 *q*
בְּבָחוּ 64 *d*
בְּבָחִיק 20 *c*
בְּבָרָה 91 *d*
בְּבָרִי 84 *b* *b*
בְּבָרִל 93 *x*, 95 *f*
בְּבָרִיו 67 *dd*, 75 *u*, *bb*
בְּבָרִיו 93 *z*
בְּבָרִיו 84 *a* *g*
בְּבָרִילוֹ 67 *cc*
בְּבָרִיתוֹת 95 *f*
בְּבָרִיתִים 93 *n*
בְּבָרִים 93 *mm*
בְּבָרִים 124 *n*
בְּבָרִי 58 *i*, 59 *f*
בְּבָרִעַ 69 *m*
בְּבָרִיעַ 69 *c*, *m*²
בְּבָרִיעַ 48 *l*
בְּבָרִיק 67 *bb*
בְּבָרִבוֹן 85 *u*
בְּבָרִכִּים 93 *n*
בְּבָרִכָּךְ ? 91 *k*
בְּבָרִשָׁא 80 *h*
בְּבָרִשָׁא 22 *e*
ה with Mappiq
14, as a weak consonant
23 *k*, *l*, in verbs לִּהְיֶה 75, as
a mere vowel-letter 6 *d*,
7 *b*, *c*, 24 *g*
ה locale, origin
90 *b*, use 90 *c*-*i*, with
constr. st. before a geni-
tive 90 *c*, sometimes opti-
ose 90 *e*, mere poetic
ornament 90 *f*, *g*, in place-
names 90 *g*¹, added in se-
gholate nouns to the de-
veloped form 90 *i*, 93 *i*
ה (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126 :
 see Article in Index I
 הִי interrog. 100,
 origin and pointing 100
i-n, uses of 150; הִיא(?) ... הִי
 150 *h*
 הִי (with the tone),
 ending of fem. nouns 80 *c*
 הִי (toneless), end-
 ing of the Cohortative and
 Imperative 48 *c, d, i*; an old
 case-ending 90 *a-i*
 הִי 3rd masc. sing.
 pronominal suffix 91 *e*
 הִי (without Map-
 piq) anomalous 3rd fem.
 sing. pronom. suff. 91 *e*
 הִיא 105 *b*
 הַאֲזֹכָה (Mi 6¹¹) 47 *b*¹
 הַאֲזֹנִיחַ 53 *g*
 הַאֲזֹקִים 35 *d*
 הַאֵחַ 105 *a*
 הַאִישׁ *one*, 144 *d*¹
 הַאֵל בֵּית־אֵל 127 *f*¹
 הַאֲנַח 65 *e*
 הַאֲרוֹן 35 *o*
 הַבָּאָה 74 *g*
 הַבָּאָה 74 *d*
 הַבָּאָה 72 *w*
 הַבָּה 105 *b*
 הַבִּיא 72 *y*, 74 *l*
 הַבִּישׁוּתָהּ 78 *b*
 הַבִּישׁ 72 *x*, 78 *b*
 הַבַּמַּת זֹאת (Moab.) 80 *f*¹
 הַבְּרוּ 67 *t*
 הַבְּרָה 10 *g* (end)
 הַבְּרָה 16 *g*
 הַבְּנָה *Q^erê* for הַבְּנָה
 118 *e*²
 הַנַּח 69 *w*

הַנּוּ 75 *n*, *aa*
 הַנְּרֹנֹת 93 *r*
 הַדֹּשׁ 72 *v*
 הַדְּרֹךְ חֲתָלוֹן 127 *f*¹
 הַדְּשָׁה 54 *h*
 הַהִימִיר ? 72 *e*
 הַהִלַּכְתִּי 90 *n*
 הַהִלְלָה 52 *s*
 הוּא, הִיא, הוּא 32 *k*; הוּא with
Q^erê הִיא 17 *c*, הוּא as fem.,
 not an archaism 32 *l*
 הוּא (הִיא, הַמָּה) =
ipse or *idem* 135 *a*¹, demon-
 strative 136, for the copula
 141 *h*, resuming the sub-
 ject 145 *u*³, in questions
 136 *e* (end), 150 *l*
 הוּא 75 *hh*
 הוּבִישׁ 72 *x*
 הוּדַע 69 *w*
 הוּי 105 *a*
 הוּכַח 65 *f*
 הוּלְדָת 71
 הוּלְלוּת 86 *l*
 הוּלְלִים פְּעַם 29 *f*
 הוּנַח ? 72 *ee*¹
 הוּפִיעַ ? 69 *v*
 הוּצִיא 74 *l*
 הוּרְדָתָנוּ 59 *h*
 הוּשַׁע 65 *f*
 הוּזְרָה ? 80 *i*
 הוּזְרָה 67 *y*, 72 *ee*
 הוּצַב 54 *d*
 הוּצְרָכִים 53 *l*
 הוּצְבָאָה 75 *oo*
 הוּחָה 75 *pp*
 הוּחַדְלָתִי 63 *k*
 הוּחִי, הוּחִי 35 *f*, 27 *q*
 הוּחַל 67 *t*
 הוּחַלִּי 74 *k*, 75 *ii*

הַחֲמִנִים 35 *f*
 הַחֲרִיטִים 35 *f*
 הַחֲרִסָּה 90 *f*
 הַחֲתָת 67 *w*
 הַחֲרָה 27 *q*
 הִיא 32 *k*
 הִיא 16 *f*, 63 *q*, 75
 with participle 116 *r*, with
 ל before infin. 114 *h-k*,
 copula 141 *g-i*. Cf. הִיא
 הִיא 75 *n*
 הַיּוֹם = *one day*
 126 *s*
 הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה 134 *o*¹
 הַיַּיֵּב 113 *k*
 הַיָּבֵל 9 *i*, 85 *c*
 הַיָּלִיכִי ? 69 *x*, 78 *b*
 הַיָּמָה ? 90 *f*
 הַיָּצָא 69 *v*
 הַיָּקִיץ 70 *e*
 הַיָּשָׁר 24 *f*², 70 *b*
 הַיֵּת 75 *m*¹
 הַיְכוּת (inf. abs.) 75
 הַיָּכִי 150 *d*, *e*
 הַיָּכִין 72 *z*
 הַיָּכִינִי 75 *mm*
 הַיָּלְמָנוּ 53 *p*
 הַיָּכַנּוּ 72 *w*
 הַיָּלֵא expressing
 assurance 150 *e*
 הַיָּלְדָת 69 *w*, 71
 הַיָּלֹ 34 *f*
 הַיָּלוּה 34 *f*
 הַיָּלוּז 34 *f*
 הַיָּלֹף inflexion
 69 *x*, use of, to express con-
 tinuance 113 *u*
 הַיָּלֹף 69 *m*²
 הַיָּלְכוּא ? 23 *i*

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| הַלְכָתִי 44 <i>h</i> | הִנְחֹו 72 <i>ee</i> | הַרְבִּית ? 75 <i>ff</i> |
| הִלְלוּ 10 <i>g</i> | הִנְנוּ 10 <i>g</i> | הִרְדִּיפָהוּ 20 <i>h</i> ¹ , 22 <i>s</i> |
| הִלֵּם 50 <i>e</i> | הִנְנוּ 58 <i>k</i> | הִרְהַ 27 <i>q</i> , 93 <i>aa</i> |
| הִלְתֶּם (Moab.) 54 <i>l</i> | הִנְנִי 10 <i>g</i> | הִרוּ 75 <i>n</i> , <i>aa</i> |
| הֵם, הִפּוֹה, הֵם 32 <i>m</i> , for the ninine, 32 <i>n</i> | הִנְפֹת 72 <i>k</i> | הִרְחַק 29 <i>q</i> , 64 <i>h</i> |
| הִפְאוֹת 97 <i>g</i> | הִנְתָּקוּ 66 <i>f</i> | הִרְחַק 64 <i>h</i> |
| הִפּוֹה its Dageš 20 <i>k</i> | הֵם 105 <i>a</i> | הִרְיוֹתִי 84 <i>g</i> |
| הִמוֹנָה 91 <i>e</i> | הִפּג 72 <i>ee</i> | הִרִים 72 <i>ee</i> |
| הִפּוֹשֵׁב in close con- xion 72 <i>bb</i> , 93 <i>pp</i> , cf. <i>d</i> | הִסְרִים 35 <i>d</i> | הִרְפוּ 67 <i>t</i> , 72 <i>dd</i> |
| הִמְיִשְׁנִי 67 <i>v</i> | הִסִּיג 72 <i>ee</i> | הִרְפִּים 35 <i>d</i> |
| הִפְכוּ 67 <i>y</i> | הִסִּית 72 <i>ee</i> | הִרְנִין 67 <i>cc</i> |
| הִפְלִמִי 29 <i>o</i> ² | הִסְתָּה 72 <i>w</i> | הִרְעוּ 67 <i>v</i> |
| הִמְנִישָׁה 125 <i>d</i> ¹ | הִעֲבַרְתָּ 63 <i>p</i> | הִרְעַמָּה 22 <i>s</i> |
| הִפּם 67 <i>t</i> | הִעֲרִים 35 <i>g</i> | הִרְרִי 90 <i>n</i> |
| הִמְסִיו 75 <i>ii</i> | הִעֲזִיבִים 35 <i>g</i> | הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i> |
| הִמְסִלַת (Moab.) 80 <i>f</i> ¹ | הִעֲבַת 35 <i>g</i> | הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i> |
| הִמְעַד : 64 <i>h</i> | הִעֲזוּה 67 <i>dd</i> | הִרְרִיהַ 93 <i>aa</i> |
| הִמְעִיט 133 <i>c</i> ³ | הִעֲלָה 63 <i>p</i> | הִרְרַם 93 <i>aa</i> |
| הִמְצַרְעִים 10 <i>g</i> | הִעֲלָה 63 <i>p</i> | הִרְשִׁמוּ ? 73 <i>a</i> |
| הִפְרוֹת 75 <i>ff</i> | הִעֲרַב 113 <i>k</i> | הִשְׁקוּ 66 <i>e</i> |
| הִפְשִׁחִית 126 <i>m</i> ¹ | הִעֲרִכִים 35 <i>g</i> | הִשְׁירוּ 67 <i>v</i> |
| הִכְתָּה 72 <i>w</i> | הִעֲשׂוּ 116 <i>g</i> ¹ | הִשְׁעֵרָה 90 <i>i</i> |
| הִמְתָּם 72 <i>w</i> | הִעֲשׂוּם 75 <i>v</i> | הִשְׁאַלְתִּיהוּ 64 <i>f</i> |
| הִן with suffixes oo <i>o</i> , 147 <i>b</i> , origin 105 <i>b</i> , = <i>if</i> 159 <i>w</i> | הִעֲתִיר 63 <i>o</i> | הִשָּׁב 29 <i>q</i> , 72 <i>y</i> |
| הִכַר 76 <i>a</i> | הִפִּיר 67 <i>v</i> | הִשְׁבַּע 65 <i>e</i> |
| הִיָּה with suffixes oo <i>o</i> , 147 <i>b</i> , origin 105 <i>b</i> , ith ptc. of present time 16 <i>n</i> ; more often of future me 116 <i>p</i> | הִפְכִי 61 <i>a</i> | הִשְׁבַּעְתֶּנּוּ (fem.) 59 <i>h</i> |
| הִיָּה 20 <i>k</i> | הִפְלָא 75 <i>oo</i> | הִשְׁבַּם 113 <i>k</i> |
| הִיָּקָה 85 <i>c</i> (A dit.) | הִפְצַר 29 <i>q</i> , 53 <i>l</i> | הִשְׁפּוֹה 67 <i>y</i> |
| הִפַח 72 <i>ee</i> | הִפַר 29 <i>q</i> , 67 <i>v</i> | הִשְׁמַם 67 <i>cc</i> |
| הִנְחַת 64 <i>h</i> | הִיָּג ? 113 <i>d</i> ² | הִשַּׁע 75 <i>gg</i> |
| הִנְחִים, הִנְחִים 72 <i>ee</i> | הִצְטִיר 72 <i>m</i> | הִשְׁעִנִי 7 <i>f</i> |
| | הִקְלַתְנִי 67 <i>w</i> | הִשְׁפּוֹת 35 <i>d</i> |
| | הִקַם עַל ? 29 <i>g</i> | הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 75 <i>kk</i> |
| | הִקְמַתוּ 72 <i>w</i> | הִתְוּ : 29 <i>q</i> , 67 <i>v</i> , 72 <i>dd</i> |
| | הִקְשִׁיבָה 10 <i>g</i> | הִתְחַבְּרוּח 54 <i>k</i> |
| | הִרְאִיתָם 22 <i>s</i> | הִתִּיו 68 <i>i</i> |
| | הִרְבָּה 113 <i>k</i> | הִתְיַחֲשָׁם ? 64 <i>i</i> |
| | הִרְבָּה 75 <i>ff</i> | הִתְלַת 67 <i>dd</i> |
| | הִרְבָּה 75 <i>ff</i> | |

- הַתְּמַהוּ? 55 *g*
 הַתְּמַךְ 67 *v*
 הַתְּנַבּוּת 75 *qq*
 הַתְּנַבִּיית 75 *qq*
 הַתְּפַקְדוּ 54 *l*
 הַתְּפַקְדוּ 54 *l*
 הַתְּרָאָה פְּנִים 156 *c*¹
 הַתְּרַחֲצוּת 64 *d*
- ו as a vowel-letter 5 *b*¹, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*, 9 *n-s*, its changes 24, initial 26 *a*; a firm consonant in verbs ע"ו 72 *gg*, in verbs orig. ל"ו 75 *a, b, kk*, cf. in nouns 93 *x*
- ! pointing of 104 *d-g*, connecting sentences 154, = *and that*, or *and especially* 114 *p*, 154 *a*¹ (*b*), introducing predicate 143 *d*; ׀ introducing predicate 111 *h*, or apodosis (rare) 111 *q*, 159 *o* (*e*), *s* (*f*). 143 *d*; ׀ with perf. introducing predicate or apodosis 112 *ff-oo*, 143 *d*, 159 *o, s*. See also Wāw in Index I.
- וְאֶבְרַךְ 23 *d*, 68 *k*
 וְאֶבְרַכְכֶם׃ 60 *d*
 וְאֶאֱרָשׁ׃ 49 *c*
 וְאֶדְבַּרְנִי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*
 וְאֶזְכְּרָה 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*
 וְאֶחָיו 68 *e*
 וְאֶחְלָלְךָ 111 *w*¹
 וְאֶחָד 64 *h*, 68 *e*
 וְאֶחָדְרֵי שְׂתָה 113 *e*³
 וְאֶחְשָׁבָה? 49 *e*
 וְאֶחְלָה? 49 *e*
- וְאֶכַּל 68 *e*
 וְאֶכְלָה 49 *e*
 וְאֶכְסַף 49 *c*
 וְאֶל- = *rather than* 133 *b*²
 וְאֶלְךָ 69 *p*
 וְאֵלֵהֶם 102 *d*, 104 *d*
 וְאֵסְחָבָה (Moab.) 7 *c*
 וְאֵעִידָה? 49 *e*
 וְאֵקוּם 49 *e*, 72 *t*
 וְאֵקְרָא? 48 *d*
 וְאֵרַב 75 *gg*
 וְאֵרַץ 29 *i*¹
 וְבָטוֹן 104 *g*
 וְדִינָם 73 *b*
 וְדִהֲאֲנִיחוּ 53 *g*
 וְדִבַּרְתִּי 76 *h*
 וְדִלְגָה 75 *ee*
 וְדוֹשְׁבוֹתַי? 72 *x*
 וְדִחַתְתִּי 67 *dd*
 וְדִטַלְתִּי 72 *k, w*
 וְדִהָה in prophetic style 112 *y, z*
 וְהָיָה 28 *b*
 וְהָיָה 28 *b*
 וְהָיִטַבְתִּי 70 *e*
 וְהָיִיתֶם 63 *q*, 104 *f*
 וְהָמַטְרָתִי (Am 4⁷) 112 *h*³
 וְהָמַתִּי 72 *w*
 וְהָמַתִּיהָ 72 *w*
 וְהָמַתְּן 72 *w*
 וְהָנִיחָה? 72 *ee*
 וְהָנַפְתָּ 72 *w*
 וְהָצִיתָהּ 71
 וְהָצִרְתִּי 67 *ee*
 וְהִקְאֵתוּ 76 *h*
 וְהִקְדָּשְׁנוּ 29 *l*
 וְהִקְלַמְנוּ 72 *i*
 וְהִרְאִיתִי 53 *p*, 75 *ee*
- וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם 72 *i*²
 וְהִתְשׁוּטְטָהּ 54 *b*
 וְזָהַב 16 *e*, 104 *e*
 וְזָרַף 104 *g*
 וְחָטָאת (Ex 5¹⁶) 74 *g*
 וְחָי? 76 *i*
 וְחָי 76 *i*
 וְחָבַתֶּם 72 *m*
 וְחָיָה 67 *k*
 וְחָיָה with *ē* for 28 *b*, 63 *q*, 104 *f*, in pau. sometimes וְחָיָה 75 *n*
 וְחָנְתִּי 67 *ee*
 וְיָאֵל 76 *d*
 וְיָאָמַר (in Jb) 68 *e*
 וְיָאָסַף 68 *h*
 וְיָאָסַר 23 *b*
 וְיָאָצַל 23 *d*, 68 *e*
 וְיָאֵת 23 *d*
 וְיָבִיא 74 *l*
 וְיָבֵךְ 75 *q*
 וְיָבֵרַךְ 64 *g*
 וְיָבִישָׁהוּ 69 *u*, 70 *e*
 וְיָגַה 69 *u*
 וְיָגַל 67 *p*
 וְיָגַרְשָׁה 7 *c*
 וְיָדְבַקוּ 53 *n*
 וְיָדוּ 69 *u*
 וְיָדְרָכוּ 53 *n*
 וְיָהִי 102 *m*
 וְיָהִי 104 *f*
 וְיָהִי 16 *g*; as narrative formula 111 *f*
 וְיָהִי שָׁם 29 *g*
 וְיָהַתַּל 67 *y*
 וְיָוִחַד? 68 *i*
 וְיָוַעַץ 64 *b*
 וְיָוִצֵּא 74 *l*
 וְיִוִּי 75 *r*

וַיִּזְ 75 r, 76 b
 וַיּוֹצֵחַ 65 e
 וַיַּחְזֹק בּוֹ 29 g
 וַיַּחֲטֵא 74 l
 וַיַּחֲזִי 16 g
 וַיַּחֲלֵא 75 rr
 וַיַּחֲלוּ (Ho8¹⁰)? I I I w¹
 וַיַּחֲלוּ 24 e
 וַיַּחֲלִיפוּ (Moab.) 7 c
 וַיַּחֲלִקֵם? 63 n
 וַיַּחֲמוּ 69 f
 וַיַּחֲמִנָה 69 f
 וַיַּחֲזוּ 75 r
 וַיַּחֲרֹ 75 r
 וַיַּחֲטִי 75 r
 וַיַּטְמִינוּ 47 i
 וַיַּחֲלִי 69 t
 וַיַּחֲזִיף 76 f
 וַיַּיְצֵר 71
 וַיַּיְשֵׁם 53 u, 73 f
 וַיַּיְכּוּ 60 d
 וַיַּיְכֹּם-שָׂם 58 g
 וַיַּיְכַנְנוּ 72 cc
 וַיַּיְכַתּוּ 67 g, y
 וַיַּיְלַדְתָּ? 80 d, 94 f
 וַיַּלְלַת 24 e
 וַיַּלְלִי 72 ee
 וַיַּמְלִאוּם 60 h
 וַיַּנַּח 72 ee
 וַיַּסֵּב 67 y
 וַיַּסְבּוּ 67 g
 וַיַּסְדּוּ 67 p, 73 f
 וַיַּסְרִינִי 59 h
 וַיַּעַט 72 ff
 וַיַּעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 b²
 וַיַּעֲרֹף 72 t
 וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי 63 m
 וַיַּעֲקֹשְׁנִי? 53 n

וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 cc
 וַיַּפֵּר 67 x
 וַיַּפְּתָה 75 q
 וַיַּנְלִיחַ 65 f
 וַיַּנְצֵק 71
 וַיַּנְצֵק 71
 וַיַּנְקַד 67 g
 וַיַּנְקַדוּ 67 g
 וַיַּנְפִּיץ? 71
 וַיַּנְרָא 75 q
 וַיַּרְאוּ הַמּוֹרֵאִים 75 rr
 וַיַּרְבֵּ 68 i
 וַיַּרְדֵּךְ 75 q
 וַיַּרְיִבוּן 49 d¹
 וַיַּרְם 27 o, 67 o;
 with accus. 121 d²
 וַיַּרְפוּ 75 qq
 וַיַּרְפוּ 23 f, 75 qq
 וַיַּרְשׁוּךְ 69 s
 וַיַּרְשׁוּהָ 69 s
 וַיַּרְשָׁתָהּ 44 d
 וַיַּרְשָׁתֶם 44 d
 וַיַּרְשִׁיב 26 p², 75 q
 וַיַּרְשְׁבוּם 69 k
 וַיַּרְשִׁנוּ 60 d, 75 bb,
 131 m³
 וַיַּרְשְׁעוּם? 65 f
 וַיַּרְשָׁם 69 u
 וַיַּרְשְׁרֶנָה 71
 וַיַּרְשִׁתִּי 75 q
 וַיַּרְשִׁתְחוּ 75 kk
 וַיַּרְתֵּא 68 h
 וַיַּרְתִּי 75 bb
 וַיַּרְתְּמֶמָה 55 g
 וַיַּרְתְּמוּ 67 g
 וַיַּרְכֹּשׁ בּוֹ 29 g
 וַיַּלֵּא 104 g
 וַיַּלְכֵה 73 d

וַיַּלְכֵנוּ 73 d
 וַיַּלְכֵנוּ in perfect
 (rare) 44 l; in imperfect
 47 m, n; less frequent with
 wāw consec. 49 d¹. Cf.
 וַיַּלְכֵנוּ
 וַיַּנְאִשְׂאָר 64 i
 וַיַּנְרִים? 69 r, 76 f
 וַיַּנְעֵל 112 tt¹
 וַיַּנְעֵמִיד 49 e²
 וַיַּנְעִישָהּ 75 hh
 וַיַּנְשׁוּב 49 e²
 וַיַּנְשִׂים 67 y
 וַיַּנְשַׁפְּחֵת 44 f
 וַיַּנְשַׁקָה? 19 k²
 וַיַּנְשַׁתְעָה 75 l
 וַיַּנְעָר 28 b, 104 d
 וַיַּנְעָחַר 104 g
 וַיַּנְפְּשִׂים 44 d
 וַיַּנְצִמֹת 75 qq
 וַיַּנְקַדְמָה 104 g
 וַיַּנְקִי 8 k
 וַיַּנְקַצְתָהּ 67 ee
 וַיַּנְרִינָה 75 n
 וַיַּנְרִצְאָתִי 75 rr
 וַיַּנְשַׁבַת 44 f, 72 o
 וַיַּנְשַׁבְתִּי (ψ 23⁶)? 69 m¹
 וַיַּנְשַׁבְתִּי nouns ending
 in 86 k, 95 t, plur. of 95 u
 וַיַּנְתְּרֶנָה 72 k
 וַיַּנְתְּבֹאֵת 76 h
 וַיַּנְתְּבֹאֵתִי 48 d
 וַיַּנְתְּבֹהֲיִינָה 47 l
 וַיַּנְתְּהֵם 72 h
 וַיַּנְתְּוֹכֵל 69 r
 וַיַּנְתְּוִי-שָׂם 75 ii
 וַיַּנְתְּרִי for וַיַּנְתְּאוּ 23 f,
 68 k
 וַיַּנְתְּחָבֵא 74 l
 וַיַּנְתְּחוּ 23 f

וּתְהַלֵּקֶם 63 *m*
 וַתַּחֲשׁ 72 *ff*
 וַתִּיפֵי 76 *f*
 וַתִּלְוֶשׁ ? 72 *t*
 וַתִּמְוַיְנֶנּוּ 72 *cc*
 וַתִּנְיָקְהוּ 70 *e*
 וַתַּעֲנֹב 63 *m*
 וַתַּעֲט 72 *ff*
 וַתַּעֲצֹר 65 *e*
 וַתַּעֲצֹפְנוּ 60 *d*
 וַתִּמְקְרְבוּ ? 60 *a*¹
 וַתִּרְא 75 *p*
 וַתִּרְצַן 27 *o*, 67 *p*
 וַתִּשְׁמֹנוּ ? 58 *g*
 וַתִּתְחַצֵּב 71
 ז (Moab.) for זָה
 7 *d*¹
 זָאת 34, use of 136
 זָה 34, use of 136;
 enclitic 136 *c, d*; = *here*
 or *now* 136 *d*; as a rela-
 tive 138 *g*
 זָהָב 82
 זֶה, זֹה 34 *b*
 זֶה demonstr. pron.
 34 *d*; relat. pron. 138 *g*
 זָלַח 90 *l*, 101 *a*
 זָוְרָה 73 *d*
 זָיָקוֹת 20 *n*
 זָפָו 67 *ee*
 זָמְמָתַי 67 *aa*
 זָפְרָה 52 *p*
 זָמְרָת ? 80 *g*
 זָנְבוֹת 93 *ee*
 זָעִיר 86 *g*¹
 זָעֻמָּה 63 *p*, 64 *c*
 זָעַת 95 *e*
 זָרַו 67 *m*
 זָרְמוּ 55 *l*

ח with dageš f.
 implicitum 22 *c*
 חָבִי 75 *qq*
 חָבְלָהוּ 63 *l*
 חָבְלָתְךָ 59 *g*¹
 חָבְרָתוֹ 84^b *g*
 חָנָא 95 *d*
 חָנְוִי 93 *x*
 חָנְוִי 67 *ff*
 חָד (אָחַד) 96
 חָרְלוֹ 20 *i*
 חָתְוּחִים 93 *w*
 חָוָא 75 *oo*
 חֹל ? חוֹל תְּחִיל 73 *d*
 חוֹמֹתַיִם 95 *o*
 חֹפְוִי 27 *n*
 חוֹרִי 86 *i*, 87 *g*
 חוֹתֶם 84^a *r*
 חוֹאֵל 23 *k*¹
 חוֹה (2S24¹¹)¹ 93 *rr*
 חוֹיֵר 84^a *o*
 חוֹיֵר 84^a *o*
 חוֹקָה 45 *d*
 חוֹקִי 93 *ee*
 חוֹטָאִים 23 *e*, 74 *i*,
 75 *oo*
 חוֹט 75 *qq*
 חוֹי יְהוָה, חוֹי נִפְשֶׁךָ 93 *aa*¹,
 149 *a*¹, *c*
 חוֹי אֲנִי 32 *c*
 חוֹיָה what forms
 take Metheg 16 *f*, pointing
 of 63 *g*, shortened forms of
 in imperfect 75 *s*, perfect
 forms as if from חוֹיָה 76 *i*
 חוֹיָו 27 *w*
 חוֹיָת ? 80 *f*
 חוֹיָתוֹ 90 *o*
 חוֹיָי 23 *l*, 75 *aa*, *hh*
 חוֹמֹת 86 *l*

חָלַב 93 *dd*
 חָלְוִי 87 *g*
 חָלוֹתֵי הָיָא 67 *r*
 חָלִילָה 105 *b*
 חָלַל 67 *cc*
 חָלְכָאִים ? 93 *x*
 חָם 96
 חָמָה 23 *f*
 חָמוּטַל 90 *k*
 חָפוֹתַי 67 *ee*
 חָמְלָה, חָמְלָה 45 *b*
 חָמְשִׁי 98 *a*
 חָמְשֶׁת 94 *f*
 חָמְשֶׁת עֶשֶׂר 97 *e*
 חָמְשֶׁתַּי 91 *l*
 חָנוֹת 67 *r*
 חָנָה 91 *e*
 חָנָם 118 *g*
 חָנְנִי 67 *a*
 חָנְנִי 20 *b*, 63 *l*,
 67 *cc*
 חָסְרִי 93 *m*
 חָסִידָה 82
 חָצוֹ 91 *k*
 חָצוּצֵר 55 *e*
 חָצוּצְרָה 55 *e*, 84^b *n*
 חָצְצִיק 93 *bb*
 חָקָךְ 93 *bb*
 חָקְכֶם 93 *bb*
 חָקְקִי 10 *g*, 93 *bb*
 חָרְבוֹ 46 *d*
 חָרְבִי 63 *l*
 חָרְדַּת 95 *g*
 חָרוֹ 67 *ee*
 חָרַשׁ 84^b *b*
 חָשׁוּפִי ? 87 *g*
 חָשְׁפִי 46 *d*, 63 *l*
 חָשִׁים 72 *p*
 חָשְׁמַל 85 *s*

טָאָט 55 *f*
 טָבַח 65 *b*
 טָבַח 84^b *b*
 טוֹב 72 *c, n*, 78 *b*
 טוֹטְפוֹת 19 *o*, 84^b *o*
 טָנָא 22 *e*
 טָרַם with impf., of
 past time 107 *c*, of present
 time 152 *r*

' as a vowel-
 letter 5 *b*¹, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*,
g-m, its changes 24, as
 initial vowel 47 *b*¹; orig. '
 appearing in poet. forms
 of verbs לָהּ 75 *u, v*, *dd, gg*

יָאָבָר 53 *n*

יָאוּר 72 *h*

יָאִחוּ 68 *b*

יָאִחוּ 68 *b*

יָאִחוּזָה 64 *a*

יָאָטָם 63 *m*

יָאִבְלוֹן 68 *c*

יָאָמַר 68 *c*

יָאָסַף 68 *b, h*

יָאָסַר 26 *i*, 63 *e*

יָאָר 1 *i*

יָאָשׁ 64 *e*

יָאָשָׁמוּ 67 *p*²

יָאִתּוּ 72 *h*

יָבוֹא 72 *h*

יָבוֹשׁ 72 *h*

יָבֵעַר 53 *n*

יָבֵשֶׁת 69 *n*, 70 *a n*

יָבִיר 53 *n*

יָנַפָּא 75 *oo*

יָגַן 67 *p*

יָגַר impf. of 78 *b*

יָגַר 67 *g* (Addit.)

יָד 93 *mm*

יָדָה 76 *a*

יָדָה 76 *a*

יָדָה 76 *f*

יָדָה 69 *u*

יָדָד 67 *cc*, 76 *a*

יָדָן 72 *r*

יָדָי ? 87 *f*

יָדָכֶם 91 *k*

יָדָל 67 *g* (Addit.)

יָדָמוּ 67 *g*

יָדָמוּ 67 *g*

יָדָעַן 44 *l*

יָדָעַ מִנֶּנֶן 120 *b*¹

יָדָעַת 44 *i*

יָדָשָׁנָה ? 48 *d*

יָהֵב 69 *o*

יָהֵגָה 63 *m*

יָהֵדָף 63 *e*

יָהֵוֹא 27 *w*

יָהֵוֹא 23 *i*, 75 *s*

יָהֵוֹדָה 53 *q*

יָהֵוֹה 17 *e*, its pro-
 nunciation with prefixes
 102 *m*; יָצָאוֹת 125 *h*

יָהֵבֵל 53 *q*

יָהֵלְשִׁיעַ 53 *q*

יָהֵי 75 *s*

יָהֵי 9 *f*, 75 *s*

יָהֵל 67 *p*

יָהֵל ? 68 *k*

יָהֵצָה 90 *f*

יָיָאָר 53 *u*

יָיֹדְעָמִי ? 55 *b*

יָיָדָשׁ 53 *u*

יָיָחַל 53 *u*

יָיָבַח 65 *f*

יָיָבַל 53 *u*, 69 *r*

יָיָלָד (ptcp.) 52 *s*

יָיָם 96

יָיָמָם 100 *g*¹

יָיָנְקוֹת 95 *q*

יָיָסָף ? 50 *e*

יָיָצַת 74 *i*

יָיָקָשִׁים (ptcp.) 52 *s*

יָיָרָא 69 *w*

יָיָרָה 69 *r*

יָיָשְׁבַתִּי 90 *n*

יָיָשָׁר 53 *u*

יָיָשָׁר 53 *u*, 73 *a*

יָיָשַׁת 53 *u*, 73 *a*¹

יָיָנַחַם 65 *e*

יָיָנָמוּ 67 *dd*

יָיָבְלוּ 63 *g*

יָיָבְרָךְ 60 *b*, 63 *m*

יָיָבָשׁ 63 *d*

יָיָבָשׁ 63 *d*

יָיָחַד 28 *e*², 75 *r*

יָיָחַדוּ 91 *k*

135 *r*

יָיָחֲזִינוּ 47 *m*

יָיָחֲזָקָל 27 *q*

יָיָחֲזָקִי 63 *g*

יָיָחִי 75 *s*

יָיָחִי 75 *s*

יָיָחִיתָן ? 20 *n*, 60 *d*,

67 *v*

יָיָחֵלוּ 20 *i*

יָיָחַם 67 *g*

יָיָחֲמַתִּי 64 *h*

יָיָח 53 *u*

יָיָחֲנָד 60 *b*, 67 *n*

יָיָחֲנַן 67 *cc*

יָיָחַם 72 *r*

יָיָחֲפָץ 29 *u*

יָיָחֲצִבֹן 51 *m*

יָיָחֲקִי 53 *u*, 67 *y*

יָיָחַת 66 *f*

יָיָחַתָּה 63 *m*

יָיָחַתִּי 20 *i*

יָיָטָפָא 19 *d*

| | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| יִדַע 69 <i>b</i> ¹ , <i>p</i> | יָנַח 66 <i>e</i> | יְקַדְעִים 21 <i>e</i> ¹ |
| יִיטִיב 70 <i>d</i> | יָנִי 74 <i>k</i> , 76 <i>h</i> | יְקוֹט 72 <i>r</i> |
| יִיטִיב 70 <i>e</i> | יָנִיחַ 72 <i>ee</i> | יְקוֹם 72 <i>t</i> |
| יִילִיל 70 <i>d</i> | יִנְצָרוּ 66 <i>f</i> | יְקוֹם 72 <i>h</i> |
| יִיָסֵף? 73 <i>f</i> | יִנְקָה 75 <i>hh</i> | יָפַח 53 <i>u</i> |
| יִיקַר 69 <i>b</i> ¹ | יִנְשׂוּא? 23 <i>i</i> , 47 <i>n</i> , 75 <i>oo</i> | יָקַחוּ 20 <i>m</i> |
| יִישָׂרוּ 70 <i>b</i> | יִסַּב (Addit.) 67 <i>g</i> | יְקַמְלֵנָה 47 <i>k</i> |
| יִכְלָה 75 <i>qq</i> | יִסַּג 72 <i>dd</i> | יָפַס-קָוֹ 29 <i>g</i> |
| יִכְלֹתָיו 44 <i>e</i> | יִסִּיג 72 <i>ee</i> | יָקַם (juss.) 72 <i>t</i> |
| יִכְסִימוּ 75 <i>mm</i> | יִסִּית 72 <i>ee</i> | יָקַם 53 <i>u</i> |
| יִכְסֹמוּ 75 <i>dd</i> | יִסְפְּרוּ 67 <i>o</i> | יָקַן forms of 78 <i>b</i> |
| יִכַּח 53 <i>u</i> , 67 <i>g</i> , <i>y</i> | יָסַף 69 <i>h</i> ¹ , 78 <i>c</i> | יָתַר 93 <i>ww</i> |
| יִלְבַּב 67 <i>cc</i> | יָסַף 68 <i>b</i> | יָתַר 84 ^a <i>n</i> |
| יִלְדֹתָיו 27 <i>s</i> , 44 <i>d</i> | יָסַרָה 52 <i>p</i> | יָתַרָא 75 <i>rr</i> |
| יִלְוֹד 27 <i>w</i> , 84 ^b <i>e</i> | יָסַרְךָ 61 <i>d</i> | יָתַרְאָהוּ 60 <i>c</i> |
| יִלְנֹנֶה 72 <i>ee</i> | יָסַרְנִי 59 <i>f</i> | יָתַרְאוּ 60 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>e</i> |
| יִלְוִיזוּ 72 <i>ee</i> | יָעַבְרוּ 53 <i>n</i> | יָתַרָה 75 <i>rr</i> |
| יִלְוִיזוּ 72 <i>ee</i> | יָעוֹרְנוּ 72 <i>cc</i> | יָקַשׁוּן 72 <i>r</i> |
| יִלְוִיזוּ 72 <i>ee</i> | יָעֲלֵעוּ 55 <i>f</i> | יָקַתְאֵל 21 <i>e</i> ¹ |
| יִלְוִיזוּ 72 <i>ee</i> | יָעוּ, יָעוּ אֲשֶׁר 107 <i>q</i> ¹ | יָרָא 76 <i>e</i> |
| יִלְוִיזוּ 72 <i>ee</i> | יָעוּ וְיָעוּ 158 <i>b</i> | יָרָא 75 <i>hh</i> |
| יִלְדֵךְ 69 <i>p</i> | יָעֲרֹוּ 72 <i>cc</i> | יָרָא 75 <i>p</i> , <i>q</i> |
| יִלְבְּדָנוּ? 60 <i>e</i> | יָעַקַב (verb) 63 <i>c</i> | יָרָאוּ 75 <i>oo</i> |
| יִלְקַטְנוּ 27 <i>l</i> | יָעֵרַם 63 <i>m</i> | יָרָאִי 93 <i>i</i> |
| יִם? (Siloam inscr.) 7 <i>f</i> | יָעִשָׂה 75 <i>hh</i> | יָרַאתָם 74 <i>g</i> |
| יִמָּה (Moab.) 7 <i>c</i> | יָפְנִיטְךָ 10 <i>g</i> , 60 <i>b</i> | יָרַד 69 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>bb</i> |
| יִמַּח 75 <i>y</i> | יָפַח forms of 76 <i>f</i> | יָרַדְתָּ? 63 <i>n</i> |
| יִמִּים 132 <i>h</i> ² | יָפַחְפָּיָה 23 <i>k</i> ¹ , 84 ^b <i>n</i> | יָרַדְפוּ 60 <i>d</i> |
| יִפְסֵךְ 67 <i>g</i> | יָפַח 72 <i>dd</i> | יָרַדְפֶּךָ 10 <i>h</i> |
| יִפְלֵל 67 <i>g</i> | יָפַחְפָּיִת 55 <i>e</i> | יָרָה forms of 76 <i>f</i> |
| יִמְלָה 23 <i>e</i> , 75 <i>pp</i> | יָפַרַח 65 <i>e</i> | יָרוּמוּ 72 <i>dd</i> |
| יִפְצָה 75 <i>hh</i> | יָפַרְיָא 75 <i>rr</i> | יָרוּן 67 <i>p</i> |
| יָמַר 72 <i>dd</i> | יָצָא 76 <i>e</i> | יָרוּעַ 67 <i>t</i> |
| יָמַרְדֵךְ 68 <i>h</i> | יָצָא 75 <i>qq</i> | יָרוּץ 67 <i>p</i> |
| יָ— in 2nd sing. fem. imperf. 47 <i>o</i> ; Aram. plur. for יָם— 87 <i>e</i> . | יָצָא (אל-) 9 <i>l</i> , 69 <i>p</i> | יָרוּשָׁלַיִם 88 <i>c</i> |
| יָנֵאן 73 <i>g</i> | יָצַב 71 | יָרַחַף 52 <i>n</i> |
| יָנַח 64 <i>d</i> | יָצַחַק 64 <i>h</i> | יָרַחְתִּי 95 <i>i</i> |
| | יָצַר 71 | יָרְמִיָה 23 <i>k</i> |
| | יָצַרְתִּי 23 <i>f</i> | יָרַע 67 <i>n</i> |
| | יָקַבְדֵךְ 93 <i>k</i> | יָרַע 67 <i>n</i> |

יָרָעוּ 67 *dd*
 יִשְׁאַ 75 *rr*
 יִשָּׂם 75 *q*
 יִשְׂק 66 *e*
 יִשְׁשִׁים? 47 *n*
 יִשְׁטָכֵר 47 *b*¹
 יֵשׁ meaning 152 *i*;
 with suffixes 100 *o*, *p*;
 hypothetical sentences
 6 *q* (with ptcp.), יֵשׁ
 hypoth. 159 *dd*; in ques-
 tions 141 *k* (with ptcp.)
 יֵשָׂא 74 *l*
 יִשְׁבֵּב בְּשִׁבְבוֹ 47 *b*¹
 יִשְׂרָדֵם 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
 יִשְׂוֹד 67 *p*
 יִשְׂוִי 47 *b*¹
 יִשְׁוַע 27 *w*
 יִשְׂיִם 67 *y*
 יִשְׂף 67 *g*
 יִשְׂלֵם 53 *n*
 יִשְׂם 67 *g* (Addit.)
 יִשְׂמַעֲלָל 23 *c*
 יִשְׂנָא 75 *rr*
 יִשְׂנָא 75 *rr*
 יִשְׂנֹו its suffix 67 *o*¹;
 doubtful form 100 *o*²
 יִשְׂפֹוטוּ הֵם 47 *g*
 יִשְׂרוּן 86 *g*
 יִשְׂרִתוּנָה 60 *e*
 יֵשׁ— nouns ending
 in 86 *l*, 94 *f*, 95 *t*
 יִתְאַוּ 75 *bb*
 יִתְאַרְהוּ 64 *i*
 יִתֵּם 67 *g*
 יִתֵּם 67 *g*
 יִתְמֹו 67 *g*
 יִתֹו 53 *u*, 66 *k*
 יִתְנַחֵם 27 *q*, 29 *v*
 יִתְפָּקֵד 54 *l*

יִתְּץ 53 *u*
 יִתְּרָת 80 *g*
 כ for כִּי (Moab.)
 7 *d*¹
 כִּי its meaning
 102 *c*; with suff. 103 *h*;
 construction of 118 *s-x*;
 prepositions often omitted
 after 118 *s-w*; exception-
 ally with prep. 118 *s*²; כ
 veritatis 118 *x*; omitted in
 comparisons 141 *d*; not
 = בְּאִשְׁרָ 155 *g*
 יִתְּבָאֵר 19 *k*²
 יִתְּבָאֵר 161 *b*, *c*
 יִתְּבַחֲצִי 118 *s*²
 יִתְּבִים 52 *l*
 יִתְּבַרְאֵשָׁה 118 *s*²
 יִתְּבַחֲחֵלָה 118 *s*²
 יִתְּבַדֵּב 21 *d*
 יִתְּבַהִיִּם 35 *n*
 יִתְּבַהֲרֵף? 51 *k*, 66 *f*
 יִתְּבַב 19 *o*, 84 *b* *o*
 כִּי for כִּי 24 *b*.
 cf. 93 *y*
 כִּי omitted in
 obj.-clause 157 *a*, intro-
 ducing obj.-clause 157 *b*,
 introducing direct narra-
 tion 157 *b*, causal 158 *b*,
 in conditional clauses
 159 *aa*, *bb*, asseverative
 159 *ee*, adversative and
 exceptive 163, temporal
 164 *d*, consecutive 107 *u*,
 166 *b*
 כִּי אִם 163 *a-d*
 כִּי לִי 86 *i*
 כִּי-עַל-כֵּן 158 *b*¹
 כִּי-עֲנִים 35 *b*

כִּי-תֵרוּן 24 *e*
 כִּבְהָ 100 *i*
 כִּבְרִים 88 *b*, 131 *d*²
 כָּל (עִיבֵי) 73 *b*
 כָּל used abso-
 lutely 117 *c*, with a fol-
 lowing genitive 117 *c*,
 127 *b*, *c*; construction of
 its predicate, 146 *c*; with
 a participle absol. 116 *w*;
 with a negative 152 *b*
 כָּל-אֵתִי 75 *oo*
 כָּל-הָ 91 *e*
 כָּל-מְקַלְלֹנִי 61 *h*
 כָּלוּ (= בְּלֹאוּ) 75 *qq*
 כָּלִי 96
 כָּלְכָל 72 *m*
 כָּלְנִי 91 *f*
 כָּמוֹ 103 *k*
 כָּמוֹנִי 103 *h*⁵, *k*
 כָּמַפְּנִי 118 *s*²
 כָּמְרִירִים? 84 *b* *m*
 כֵּן 100 *i*
 כִּן-הִיא 20 *g*
 כִּנְלוֹת 20 *h*, 53 *q*
 כִּנָּם 85 *t*, 87 *h*
 כִּנְפוֹת 93 *ee*
 כִּסִּיל 84 *o*
 כִּעֲבֹר 35 *g*
 כִּעוֹפֶרֶת 35 *g*
 כִּעַל 118 *s*²
 כִּעְפֹּר 35 *n*
 כִּפְּיֹו 103 *f*³
 כִּפְּכָה 91 *e*
 כִּפְּלִים 134 *r*²
 כִּרְמִל 85 *s*
 כִּרְבַת 22 *s*, 64 *e*
 כִּרְתָהּ 64 *e*
 כִּרְתִי 44 *o*

בְּשִׁית 20 *g*
 כָּשַׁל forms of 78 *c*
 כְּתָב 25 *c*², a *qitāl*
 form 84^a *n*, the *d* un-
 changeable 93 *ww*
 כְּתוּבִים 91 *e*
 כְּתַב־הַדָּת 9 *u*
 כְּתַת 95 *r*
 כְּתַר 65 *e*

לְ preposition

45 *f, g*; pointed לְ 102 *f-i*,
 103 *e, f*; uses of 119 *r-u*;
 reflexive use 119 *s*; intro-
 ducing the object 117 *n*;
 denoting the genitive 129;
 with a passive and with
 passive ideas 121 *f*; לְ in-
 scriptionis 119 *u*; distri-
 butive 123 *d*; with the
 infinitive 114 *f-s*, "ול" with
 infin. 114 *p*; = *in respect*
to 143 *e*; perhaps = Arab.
lā, surely 143 *e*.

לֹא origin 100 *a*;
 in prohibitions 107 *o*;
 with the Jussive 109 *d*;
 as negative answer 150 *n*,
 uses of 152 *a-d, u*; nega-
 tive a single idea 152 *a*¹;
 exceptional positions of for
 emphasis 152 *e*; וְלֹא = *in*
order that . . . not 165 *a*;
 וְלֹא forming hypothetical
 sentence 159 *dd*

לֹא written for לוֹ
 103 *g*

לְאָדִיב 53 *q*
 לְאוֹר 51 *l, 72 v*
 לְאֵט 72 *p*

לְאָמַר 23 *d*
 לְאָסַר 28 *b*
 לְבַד 119 *c*
 לְבוֹז 67 *n*
 לְבוֹר 67 *r*
 לְבִיא 53 *q, 72 z*
 לְבִיָּא? 80 *h*
 לְבַלְתִּי with infin.
 114 *s*; with impf. 152 *x*

לְבֹד 93 *dd*

לְבַעַר קֶוֶן 29 *f*
 לְבָרַם 67 *p*
 לְדָה 69 *c*
 לְדַרְדֵּי־אֵשׁ 45 *g*
 לָהּ 23 *k, 103 g*

לְהוֹשִׁיבִי 90 *n*

לְהִיּוֹת 28 *b*

לְהַכִּיל 68 *i*

לְהַנְפִיךָ 72 *z*

לְהַנְתִּיךָ 66 *f*

לְהַפִּיר 67 *w*

לְהַפְרֹכֶם 67 *dd*

לְהַרְאוֹת 75 *c*

לְהַשׁוֹת 75 *qq*

לְהַשְׁמַעוֹת 53 *l*

לוֹ written for לֹא
 103 *g*

לוֹ in wishes, its
 construction 151 *e*; in con-
 ditional clauses 159' *l, m,*
x-z

לוֹא 23 *i*

לוֹט 72 *p*

לוֹיִנִי 91 *k*

לוֹיָהוּן 86 *f*

לוֹיָהוּן, לוֹיָהוּן formation

27 *w*, in conditional clauses
 159 *l, m, x-z*

לְחַה 91 *e*

לְחַטִּיא 53 *q*

לְחַיִּים 88 *b*

לְחַלֵּק 53 *q*

לְחַם 22 *h*

לְחַמֶּם 28 *b, 67 cc*

לְחַנְנָה 67 *cc*

לְחַפֵּר פְּרוּחַ? 84^b *n*

לְטַעַת 66 *b*

לְיֵהוּהָ 102 *m*

לְיֵלָה 90 *f*

לְיִסְדֹּר 69 *n, 71*

לְיִרְוֵא 75 *rr*

לְיִרְשֵׁנוּ 69 *m*

לְךָ imperative,

for לְכָה 48 *i*; as an inter-
 jection 105 *b*

לְכָה pronoun, fo

לְךָ 103 *g*

לְכוּ 105 *b*

לְלֹאוֹת 93 *x*

לְלַבֵּן 53 *q*

לְלֵה (Moab.) fo

לְלֵיָה 7 *f*

לְלֵת 19 *d, 69 m*

לְמָה, לְמָה, לְמָה, לְמָה it
 punctuation 49 *f, g, 102 l*
 in requests or warning
 often nearly = *lest* 150 *e*

לְמוֹ 103 *f*³

לְמוֹ 103 *k*

לְמַחֹת 53 *q*

לְמִינְהֶם 91 *k*

לְמוֹן 119 *c*²

לְמַעַן 119 c
 לְמַרוֹת 53 q
 לְמַשְׁאוֹת 45 e
 לְנִגְוֹעַ 66 b
 לָנֶה 80 i
 לְנַחֲוֹתָם 53 q
 לְנִפְלֹא 53 q, 66 f
 לְנִפְשׁ 102 i
 לְסִתְרָא 53 q
 לְעִבִיר 53 q
 לְעוֹן 72 q
 לְעִינַיִם 35 g
 לְעַמַּת 100 b, 101 a
 לְעֲנוֹת 51 l
 לְעֵשֶׂר ? 53 k
 לְפָנַי 119 c, 130 a³
 לְצַבָּא 45 g
 לְצִבּוֹת 53 q
 לְצַחֵק בְּנֹו 29 g
 לְצַעִים 55 f
 לְמַח 66 g
 לְמַח 66 g
 לְמַח 52 s (ptcp.)
 לְמַחָה 10 h, 52 d
 לְמַחִי 66 g
 לְמַחֲתָא 65 g
 לְמַרְאָת 19 k, 74 h
 לְמַרְאִי ? 69 n
 לְמַרְאוֹת 51 l
 לְמַרְאֲתֵכֶם 53 q
 לְשִׁטְנוֹ 61 b
 לְשִׂאוֹל 10 g³
 לְשִׁבִית 53 q
 לְשִׁלַּח 65 e
 לְשִׁלְשֵׁת יָמִ 134 o¹

לְשִׁמְרָא 53 q
 לְשִׁמְעָא 53 q
 לְשִׁרְתָּ שָׁם 64 g
 לַת ? 69 m
 לְתַת־חֶרֶב 102 f
 לְתַתִּי ? 66 i
 מ as preforma-
 tive of participles 52 c,
 sometimes dropped 52 s; of
 infin. (rare) 45 e; of nouns.
 85 e-m
 מִי, מִה־, מִי 20 d, 37
 מְאוּמָה 90 f
 מְאֵן (ptcp.) 52 s
 מְאֻסְכֵם 61 d
 מְאֻסְפוֹי 52 p
 מְאֵת לְשִׁמְרָא 29 f
 מְבַטָּח 92 g
 מְבִי with final א
 dropped 72 z, 74 k, 76 h
 מְבִיאָהּ 91 k
 מְבִיתָ לְ 130 a³
 מְבִלִי 119 c²
 מְבַלְעֵדִי 119 c²
 מְבַעֲתָד 80 d
 מְבַצֵּיר for מְבִ 20 m
 מְבַרְרָתֶם 20 m
 מְבַדֵּן 85 v
 מְבַדְּלָתָה (Moab.) 91 k²
 מְבַנֵּי 85 f
 מְבַרֵּשׁ infin. 45 e
 מְבַרְשָׁהּ ? 91 k
 מְבַרְרָא 19 d, 54 c
 מְבַרְרָה 26 h, 67 o
 מְבַדָּה ? 91 e
 מְבִדוֹ 27 s
 מְבַדְּעָא 99 e
 מִי, מִה־, מִי 20 d, 37; its

uses 137; in exclamations
 148
 מְהִיֹּות 102 b
 מְהִלְכִים ? 53 o
 מְהַפְּכָה followed by
 אֵת 115 d, cf. 45 e
 מְהַקְצַעוֹת 53 q
 מְהַר (ptcp.) 52 s
 מוֹ- verbal suffix
 58 g; noun suff. 91 f, l,
 103 f²
 מוֹט 72 q
 מוֹל 72 p
 מוֹסֵר 71
 מוֹסְרוֹת see Additions
 מוֹעֲדָתָא 52 s
 מוֹצֵא 53 o
 מוֹצֵא 75 oo
 מוֹצֵאָה 95 p
 מוֹצֵאָתָא 74 i, 94 f
 מוֹרְגִים 93 pp
 מוֹתָה 90 f
 מוֹיִן 68 i
 מוֹתָה וְהַפְּדָא 113 k²
 מוֹחֵץ 119 c
 מוֹחֵלְמִים 53 o
 מוֹחֵנָה fem. 122 l¹
 מוֹחֵנִיד 93 ss
 מוֹחֵסִי 13 b
 מוֹחֵצְרִים 53 o
 מוֹחֵרְשׁוֹת 95 q
 מוֹחֵרָת 80 g
 מוֹטְחוֹ 75 kk
 מִי 37; its uses
 137
 מִי יִהְיֶה in wishes
 151 a, d
 מִיִּהְיָה 102 m
 מִים 88 d, 96
 מִיִּמְיָנַיִם 24 f², 70 b

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| מִימִין לְ 130 a ³ | 133 a, b; = too much or too little for 133 c; pregnant use in comparisons 119 ff, 133 e | מָקוֹם 85 g |
| מִימִן? (Siloam inscr.) 7 f | מִן-דִּיא 103 m | מָחָה (infin.) 45 e |
| מִירְדִי 69 m | מִן 37 b | מָחָה 75 qq |
| מִפְּלֹת 23 f | מִן-אֵין? 55 b | מָחָה 75 rr |
| מִכְרָם 48 i, 61 b | מִפְּנֵי 119 c ² | מִרְאֵיהֶם 93 ss |
| מִבְּתֵהָ 91 k | מִבְּהוּ 103 m | מִרְאִיו 93 ss |
| מִבְּחָדָד 91 n | מִנִּי plur. apoc.? | מִרְאֵיָהּ 93 ss |
| מִלֵּא 75 oo | 87 f; poet. for מִן 90 m, 102 b, for מִפְּנֵי 103 i (in pause מִנִּי) | מִרְבַּע 65 d |
| מִלֵּאוֹ 74 g | מִנִּי twice poet. for מִן 102 b | מִרְנוּדָה 22 s |
| מִלֵּאוֹת 74 h | מִסָּב 85 h, k | מִרְדֵּה 69 m |
| מִלֵּאכָה 23 c, 85 g | מִסֹּרֶה 3 b | מִרְדָּף 22 s |
| מִלֵּאכָהּ 91 e, l | מִסִּיף? 67 v | מִרְדָּף 102 b |
| מִלֵּאת 75 qq | מִסְלָאִים 75 rr | מִרְחָק 85 h |
| מִלְבָּד 119 c ² | מִסַּע (infin.) 45 e | מִרְוֶה 85 k |
| מִלֵּא 75 qq | מִסְרַת 23 f | מִרְבָּבָה 85 h |
| מִלֹּכָה 46 e | מִעוּז 85 k | מִרְפָּא 75 rr |
| מִלֹּשְׁנֵי 55 b, 90 m | מִעוּנִי? 20 o | מִרְתָּ 22 s |
| מִלִּין 72 ee | מִעֲוָרִים 53 o | מִשְׁאוֹת, מִשָּׂא (infin.) 45 e |
| מִלְכִי 46 d | מִעֲוִנו 90 o | 74 h |
| מִלְמַעְלָה 99 e, 119 c ² | מִעֲלֵל 119 c ² | מִשְׁאוֹן 85 u |
| מִלָּף 68 k | מִעֲלָה (infin.) 45 d | מִשְׁחָח? 80 b ² |
| מִלְפָּנָי 119 c | מִעֲלִיו 93 ss | מִשְׁכָּבוֹ 46 d |
| מִלְשָׁנִי 64 i | מִעֵת 133 e ⁴ | מִשְׁלֹחַ (Inf.) 45 e |
| מִלְתִּי 23 f | מִפְּנֵי 119 c | מִשְׁמֵם 119 c ² |
| מִפּוֹד 119 c ² | מִצְאֹן 74 h | מִשְׁמִים 67 cc |
| מִמְחִים 75 dd, 93 ss | מִצָּב 92 g | מִשְׁק 85 h |
| מִפְּנֵי 103 m, 135 o ³ | מִצְוֹתָד 91 n | מִשְׁקָל 92 g |
| מִפְּעַל 119 c ² | מִצַּל 67 v | מִשְׁרַת 80 d, 94 f |
| מִפְּרָם 85 g | מִצְפֹּן לְ 130 a ³ | מִשְׁרַתִּי אֹתִי 116 g ¹ |
| מִמְתָּחִים 85 g ¹ | מִצְרִים 88 c | מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתֶם 75 kk |
| מִן preposition | מִצְתִּי 23 f | מִשְׁתִּי, מִשְׁתִּים 97 b ¹ |
| 101 a; its punctuation | מִקְדְּשֵׁיהֶם 93 oo ¹ | מִשְׁתִּיהֶם 93 ss |
| 102 b; with suffixes | מִקְהָלִים 93 qq | מִת 72 c ² , n |
| 103 i, m; its meanings | | מִתְשַׁאֵל 90 k |
| 119 v-z; partitive 119 w ² ; | | מִתְשַׁלַּח 90 k |
| negative force of 119 w-y; | | מִתְחַת 119 c ² |
| with the comparative | | מִתְחַשִּׁים? 64 i |

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| מָתָם 85 <i>k</i> | נָהָה 66 <i>c</i> | נִכְבְּרוֹת 121 <i>d</i> ¹ |
| מָתָן 92 <i>g</i> | נִהְלַתְתָּ 64 <i>d</i> | נִכְהַ forms of 76 <i>c</i> |
| נ as preforma- | נִהְרִים 88 <i>c</i> , 93 <i>ee</i> | נִכְחַ 27 <i>w</i> |
| tion of nouns 85 <i>n</i> | נִיגִי 69 <i>t</i> | נִכְרַ 93 <i>gg</i> |
| נָא 105 <i>b</i> , em- | נִוְהֵם 93 <i>ss</i> | נִכְרַ שׁוֹעַ 29 <i>g</i> |
| phasizing a cohortative | נִוַח (inf. constr.) 72 <i>q</i> | נִלְוֹ (imper.) 51 <i>o</i> |
| 13 <i>b, c</i> , a jussive 109 <i>b, c</i> ; | נִוְטִיהֶם 93 <i>ss</i> | נִמְבְּוֹה 75 <i>y</i> |
| with an imperative 110 <i>d</i> | נִוְלְדוֹ 69 <i>t</i> | נִמוֹנ 72 <i>v</i> |
| נָאדָר 23 <i>b</i> | נִוַע (inf. constr.) 72 <i>q</i> | נִמוּל 72 <i>ee</i> |
| נָאדָרִי? 90 <i>l</i> | נִוַה forms of 76 <i>c</i> | נִמְלִיחֶם 67 <i>dd</i> |
| נָאֻוֹה 75 <i>x</i> | נִוְלוֹ 67 <i>dd</i> | נִמְצָאִים 93 <i>oo</i> |
| נָאוּ 73 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>x</i> | נִחְבָּאִים 93 <i>oo</i> | נִכְרַ 72 <i>dd</i> |
| נָאוֹת 72 <i>h</i> | נִחְפָּאֶת 63 <i>c</i> | נִסְכָּה 67 <i>dd</i> |
| נָאחֻז 68 <i>i</i> | נִחְפָּה 75 <i>pp</i> | נִסָּה 76 <i>b</i> |
| נָאם 50 <i>a</i> ¹ | נִחָה forms of 78 <i>c</i> | נִסוֹג 72 <i>r, v</i> |
| נָאף 64 <i>e</i> | נִחָה 66 <i>c</i> | נִסוֹג אַחֹר 29 <i>e</i> |
| נָאץ 52 <i>o</i> , 64 <i>e</i> | נִחָה 66 <i>c</i> | נִסְפָּהֶם 91 <i>k</i> |
| נָאצוּחֵיךְ 84 ^b <i>e</i> | נִחָה 91 <i>e</i> | נִעְבְּרִים 60 <i>b</i> |
| נָאֵר 64 <i>e</i> | נִחַל 67 <i>u</i> | נִעוֹר 72 <i>ee, v</i> |
| נָאֵרִים 67 <i>u</i> | נִחֻלָּה (from חֻלָּה) 63 <i>c</i> | נִעַתוֹר 63 <i>c</i> |
| נָאֵרְתָה 64 <i>e</i> | נִחֻלָּה 90 <i>f</i> | נִעַתְרוֹת 63 <i>c</i> |
| נָבְאִים 93 <i>oo</i> | נִחֻלָּתִי? 80 <i>g</i> | נִפְלָאֶת 74 <i>g</i> |
| נָבֹוֹה 67 <i>dd</i> | נִחַם 66 <i>f</i> | נִפְלָאֶתָה 75 <i>oo</i> |
| נָבִית 75 <i>qq</i> | נִחְמִים 67 <i>u, dd</i> | נִפְלוֹ 61 <i>b</i> |
| נָבִלָה 67 <i>dd</i> | נִחְנוֹ 32 <i>d</i> | נִפְלַל 55 <i>d</i> |
| נָבִלָו 51 <i>h</i> | נִחְנַתְתָּ 23 <i>f</i> ¹ | נִפִּין 67 <i>dd</i> , 78 <i>b</i> |
| נָבִיחַ 93 <i>i</i> | נִחַר 67 <i>u</i> | נִפְצָה 67 <i>dd</i> |
| נָבִיחֹת 93 <i>r</i> | נִחְרוֹ 75 <i>x</i> | נִפְשׁ שְׁנַיִם 132 <i>g</i> , 134 <i>e</i> ¹ |
| נָבִיחֵי 86 <i>i</i> | נִחַת 95 <i>k</i> | נִצַּב forms of 78 <i>b</i> |
| נָבִיחַת? 80 <i>f</i> | נִחַת 67 <i>u</i> | נִצָּה 91 <i>e</i> |
| נָבִלֹות 75 <i>x</i> | נִחַת 67 <i>u</i> | נִצָּנִים 85 <i>u</i> ¹ |
| נָבִפוֹ 61 <i>a</i> | נִחַתוֹם 63 <i>c</i> | נִצָּרָה 48 <i>i</i> |
| נָנַשׁ forms of 78 <i>c</i> | נִחָה forms of 76 <i>c</i> | נִקְבְּצוֹ (imper.) 51 <i>o</i> |
| נָנַד? 72 <i>n</i> | נִחָה 66 <i>c</i> | נִקּוּם 72 <i>h</i> |
| נָנַדְרָה 67 <i>cc</i> | נִחַוֹת 75 <i>v</i> | נִקְטָה 72 <i>dd</i> |
| נָנַדְחוֹ 92 <i>b</i> ¹ | נִחַוִּי 75 <i>x</i> | נִקְטָפוֹ 72 <i>dd</i> |
| נָנַדְחִי 20 <i>m</i> | נִחְמָאִים 93 <i>oo</i> | נִקְיָא 23 <i>i</i> |
| נָנַדְחֵךְ 92 <i>b</i> ¹ | נִחַע 65 <i>d</i> | נִקְיָת 75 <i>x</i> |
| נָנַג 66 <i>c</i> | נִחַם 76 <i>f</i> | נִקְרָא 75 <i>rr</i> |

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| נָרָא (Is 41 ²⁸ Keth.) | כָּפוּ 69 <i>h</i> ¹ | uses of 119 <i>aa-dd</i> ; causa |
| 48 <i>g</i> ¹ | סְפוֹת (from נִסְפָּה) ? | with perfect 158 <i>b</i> , wit |
| נָרַד 26 <i>r</i> | 69 <i>h</i> ¹ | infin. 158 <i>c</i> ; concessiv |
| נָרְפָא 75 <i>oo</i> | סְפָרִים <i>a letter</i> 124 <i>b</i> ¹ | 160 <i>c</i> |
| נָרְפָתָה 75 <i>qq</i> | סָרִים 84 ^b <i>f</i> | עָלְיוֹן 133 <i>g</i> ¹ |
| נִשָּׂא 66 <i>c</i> , 76 <i>b</i> | סָרַר 67 <i>cc</i> | עָלְיוֹהָ Is 23 ⁷ without |
| נִשָּׂא forms of 76 <i>b</i> | סְתָמוֹם 60 <i>h</i> | article 126 <i>z</i> ² |
| נִשְׂאָת 76 <i>b</i> | ע pronunciation | עָלְיָמוּ 103 <i>f</i> ³ |
| נִשְׂאָת 74 <i>i</i> , 94 <i>f</i> | 6 <i>e</i> ; with dageš <i>f</i> . implici- | עַם its origin |
| נִשְׂוֵא 23 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i> | tum 22 <i>a-c</i> | 101 <i>a</i> ; pointing, with su- |
| נִשְׂוִי 75 <i>qq</i> | עֲבָרִי 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i> | 103 <i>c</i> |
| נִשְׂקָה 66 <i>e</i> | עָנַב 84 ^a <i>t</i> | עֲמֹדֶךָ 61 <i>d</i> |
| נִשָּׂא 75 <i>oo</i> | עָנֹל 93 <i>kk</i> | עֲמוּקָה ? 93 <i>kk</i> |
| נִשְׂאָר 48 <i>g</i> ¹ | עֲדָהֶם 32 <i>n</i> | עֲפִי plur. apoc |
| נִשְׂדָּנָה 67 <i>u</i> | עַד, poetic עָרִי 103 <i>o</i> ; with | 87 <i>f</i> |
| נִשְׂנִי 52 <i>m</i> | imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i> | עֲמָמִים 93 <i>aa</i> |
| נִשְׂתָּוָה ? 75 <i>x</i> | עָדוֹתִי ? 91 <i>n</i> | עָנְבִי 20 <i>h</i> |
| נִשְׂתָּעָה 75 <i>l</i> | עָדִים 29 <i>e</i> ¹ | עָנִי 63 <i>l</i> |
| נָתַן forms of 78 <i>c</i> | עָרִיכֶם 103 <i>o</i> | עָנִי 63 <i>l</i> |
| נָתַן 66 <i>h</i> , <i>i</i> ; with | עָדָר 72 <i>m</i> | עָנוֹת 75 <i>aa</i> |
| accus. and infin. = <i>allow to</i> | עָוָה 67 <i>ff</i> | עֲפָאִים 93 <i>z</i> |
| 157 <i>b</i> ² | עָוִן 55 <i>c</i> | עָץ 9 <i>l</i> , 26 <i>o</i> ¹ |
| נָתַן 66 <i>i</i> , 69 <i>m</i> ² | עָוֹל 93 <i>u</i> | עֲצָבוֹן 93 <i>uu</i> |
| נָתַן 66 <i>h</i> | עָוֹנָה 61 <i>h</i> , 91 <i>d</i> | עֲצָבִי 61 <i>a</i> |
| נָתַנּוּ 44 <i>o</i> | עָוֹנָה 91 <i>k</i> | עָקַב 93 <i>hh</i> |
| נָתַתָּ 19 <i>c</i> , 20 <i>l</i> | עָוִי 72 <i>s</i> | עָקַרְב 19 <i>m</i> |
| נָתַתָּה 44 <i>g</i> , 66 <i>h</i> | עָזָאוֹל 30 <i>n</i> | עָרְבִיאִים 93 <i>x</i> |
| נָסָאָה ? 55 <i>f</i> | עָזְבוֹנֶיךָ 93 <i>uu</i> | עָרְפִים 88 <i>c</i> |
| נָסְבוֹת 67 <i>d</i> ¹ | עָרֹת 80 <i>g</i> | עָרוּ 75 <i>cc</i> |
| נָסִיב 103 <i>o</i> | עָטִיה 75 <i>v</i> | עָרוֹם 118 <i>n</i> , 146 |
| נָסִיב 50 <i>e</i> | עִי 24 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>y</i> | עָרוּמִים 93 <i>pp</i> |
| נָסְלוּ 10 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>q</i> | עִו 82 | עָרוֹת (Hb 3 ¹³) 7. |
| נָסַג 72 <i>p</i> | עִוֹת 93 <i>v</i> | עָרְכָה 48 <i>i</i> |
| נָסְפָתָה 90 <i>f</i> | עִיר 96 | עָרְכוּ 48 <i>i</i> |
| נָסְרָה 72 <i>p</i> | עִירָה 91 <i>e</i> | עָרְלָה 95 <i>d</i> |
| נָסְתָה 91 <i>e</i> | עִירוּ 93 <i>v</i> | עָרְמָם 91 <i>e</i> |
| נָסִיב 24 <i>g</i> ¹ | עִירָם 27 <i>w</i> | עָשׂוֹבוֹת 20 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>o</i> |
| נָסְפָה 91 <i>e</i> | עַל 2 <i>f</i> ¹ | עָשָׂה 69 <i>m</i> ² |
| נָסְרָר 6 <i>k</i> | עַל its origin | עָשָׂהָל 23 <i>k</i> ¹ |
| נָסְלָם 85 <i>t</i> , 87 <i>h</i> | 101 <i>a</i> ; poetic עָלִי 103 <i>o</i> ; | עָשָׂהוּ 75 <i>n</i> |

עָשָׂה ptc. passive
24 b, 75 v
עֲשׂוֹת 75 v
עֲשָׂרָה 80 l
עֲשָׂרָה אֲלֶפֶס 97 g
עֲשָׂרִים 93 l, 97 f
עֲשָׂן 93 dd
עֲשָׂשָׁה 67 cc
עֲשָׂשׂוּ 67 cc
עֲשָׂתִי 97 e¹
עֲשִׂיתָרַח 95 q¹
עֲתָה 90 h
עֲתִיק 84 b f
עַת נִשְׁבְּרָה ? 116 g¹
פֶּאֶרָה 23 c
פֶּדְהָצִיר 23 k¹
פְּרִיֹם 85 t
פָּה 96
פִּינָת 80 f
פָּחַם (Ne 5¹⁴) ? 91 e
פִּיּוֹת 96
פִּימוֹ 91 f
פִּלָּא 93 k
פִּלָּא 22 e
פִּלְגַּ 52 n
פֶּן with imperf.
twice perf.) 107 q and
note³, 152 w (end), after
ideas of fearing 152 w
פִּנְהָ 91 e
פִּנוּיָל 90 k
פִּנִּים 145 h
פִּנִּימוֹ 103 f³
פִּעַל 39 e, 41 d
פִּעְלוֹ 93 q
פִּפְיוֹת 96
פִּפְתָּקוֹחַ 84 b n
פִּרְא 22 e

פִּרְאוֹת 75 rr
פִּרְדָּם 1 i
פִּרְי 93 x
פִּרְי 9 f
פִּרְיִין 84 b f
פִּרְשׁ 84 b b
פִּרְשׁוֹ 56
פִּרְשִׁים 93 dd
פִּרְת 80 g
פִּתְאִים 93 x
פִּצָּן with 3rd fem.
pl. 132 g, 145 c
פִּצְאִינוּ ? 123 a¹
פִּצָּת 69 m
פִּצָּת 95 e
פִּצְאוֹת 125 h
פִּצְאָם 93 x
פִּצְבִּיָּה 75 qq
פִּצְרַק מֶן 133 b²
פִּצְרַקְתָּךְ 52 p
פִּצְרָרִים 88 c
פִּצְרָר (verb) 67 n
פִּצְרִי 72 s
פִּצְרִיִּים 86 g
פִּצְחָה 84 b c
פִּצְי, צִי 93 y
פִּצְלָלוּ 67 cc
פִּצְלָלִי 10 g
פִּצְלָמוֹת 30 r, 81 d²
פִּצְלַע 93 gg
פִּצְלַע 93 gg
פִּצְמַתְתוּנִי 55 d
פִּצְעָקִי 46 d
פִּצְפוּ passive ptc.
75 v
פִּצְפְּרַע 81 d², 85 w
פִּצְקוֹן ? 44 l, 72 o

קָאָם for קָם 9b, 23 g,
analogous cases 72 p
קָאָת 80 g
קָבַח-לִי 9 v, 67 o
קָבְנוּ the ן not com-
pensatory 20 o, for קָבְנִי
67 o, doubtful form 100 o²
קָבְצָה 52 l
קָרְבִּינִת 85 u
קָרְשִׁים 9 v, 93 r
קָרְשִׁים 124 h
קָהֶלֶת 145 h
קֹל = hark !
146 b
קֹלוּ constr. st. 90 n
קֹימָה 72 s
קֹימוֹ צָא 20 g
קֹימִים 72 p
קֹוֶף 1 i
קֹרְתָהוּ 21 c
קָח ? for לָקַח 19 i,
66 g
קָחָם ? for לָקַחְם 19 i,
66 g
קָחָם-נָא 58 g, 61 g,
66 g
קָחַת 66 g, 93 h
קָחְבָּךְ 93 q
קָחְלִי 26 g
קָחְלָתִי 19 f
קָחְנִי ? 93 q
קָחַר 52 o
קָיָא 76 h
קָיִ 76 h
קָיטוֹר 84 a u
קָיִם 72 m
קָיִנִּי 91 f
קָלֹו 67 ee
קָם 72 g

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| קַמְשָׁנִים 85 <i>u</i> ¹ | רַבְעִים 93 <i>qq</i> | שָׁרִיף 93 <i>ss</i> |
| קַמַּת 44 <i>h</i> ¹ | רַבָּת 73 <i>a</i> | שָׁה 96 |
| קַלָּךְ 20 <i>g</i> | רַבְתִּי עִם 90 <i>l</i> | שָׁהֲרוֹן 86 <i>g</i> |
| קַנְמוֹן 93 <i>uu</i> | רַנַּע 65 <i>d</i> | שׁוּמָה 73 <i>f</i> |
| קַסְמִי 46 <i>d</i> | רַנְעִי 93 <i>ii</i> | שָׁחוּ 24 <i>d</i> , 93 <i>x</i> |
| קַפּוּד 27 <i>w</i> | רַד 19 <i>i</i> , 69 <i>g</i> | שָׁטָן without arti- |
| קִין (Is 18 ⁶) 73 <i>b</i> | רַדָּה 69 <i>m</i> ² | cle 125 <i>f</i> , 126 <i>e</i> ¹ |
| קִצָּה 91 <i>e</i> | רַדְפִּי 61 <i>c</i> | שְׁכָלוֹת 6 <i>k</i> |
| קִצְוִי 93 <i>x</i> | רוֹם 72 <i>q</i> | שֶׁלֶק 66 <i>e</i> |
| קִצְרָכִם 61 <i>d</i> | רָחַם 22 <i>h</i> | שְׁמַאל 23 <i>c</i> |
| קִרְאִים 75 <i>oo</i> | רָחַמָּה 80 <i>k</i> | שְׁעִיר 82 |
| קִרְאוֹן 46 <i>f</i> | רָחַמִּים 93 <i>l</i> , 145 <i>h</i> | שְׁעָר 93 <i>gg</i> |
| קִרְאוֹן 74 <i>h</i> | רִי 24 <i>b</i> , cf. 93 <i>y</i> | שְׁעָרָה 82 |
| קִרְאָת 74 <i>g</i> | רִיבּוֹת 73 <i>a</i> | שְׁרִי (n. pr.) 80 <i>l</i> |
| קִרְב 52 <i>n</i> , 64 <i>h</i> | רִיב יְרִיב 73 <i>d</i> | in Ju 5 ¹⁵ , 87 <i>g</i> |
| קִרְב 84 <i>n</i> | רִים 23 <i>e</i> | |
| קִרְבָּה 48 <i>i</i> | רַבּוֹ 67 <i>ee</i> | שׁ as preforma- |
| קִרְרָה 80 <i>h</i> | רַבְסִי 93 <i>r</i> | tive of noun 85 <i>o</i> |
| קִרְוֹן 82 | רַפּוֹ 67 <i>m</i> | שֵׁ, שֵׁ, שֵׁ, שֵׁ (relative |
| קִרְנִים 88 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>n</i> | רַפּוֹ 20 <i>i</i> | 36; uses of p. 485 note |
| קִשְׁטָם 26 <i>r</i> , 93 <i>p</i> | רַפּוּי ? 87 <i>f</i> | שְׁאֵטִים 72 <i>p</i> |
| ר 6 <i>g</i> , <i>o</i> | רַנְי 67 <i>ff</i> | שְׁאֵטָךְ 23 <i>c</i> |
| ר 22 <i>q</i> , <i>s</i> | רַעְבוֹן 85 <i>u</i> | שְׁאֵל 64 <i>e</i> |
| רָאָה 105 <i>b</i> | רַעָה 64 <i>d</i> | שְׁאֵלָה (Is 7 ¹¹) 29 <i>u</i> |
| רָאָי (א with Map- | רַעָה 84 ^a <i>i</i> , 93 <i>U</i> | שְׁאֵלוֹנִי 64 <i>f</i> |
| piq) 14 <i>d</i> , 64 <i>e</i> | רַעָה 67 <i>o</i> , <i>s</i> | שְׁאֵלָךְ 64 <i>f</i> |
| רָאוּה 75 <i>n</i> | רַעָהוּ 91 <i>k</i> | שְׁאֵלְתֵיהוּ 64 <i>f</i> |
| רָאוּת 75 <i>v</i> | רַעְתְּכֶם 91 <i>k</i> | שְׁאֵלְתִי 44 <i>d</i> |
| רָאוּה ? 72 <i>p</i> | רַפְּאָה 74 <i>h</i> | שְׁאֵלְתֶם 44 <i>d</i> , 64 <i>f</i> |
| רָאֲנִי 61 <i>h</i> , 75 <i>v</i> | רַפְּאֲתִי 75 <i>oo</i> | שְׁאֵסִיף 67 <i>s</i> |
| רָאשׁ 23 <i>g</i> , 72 <i>p</i> | רַפָּה 75 <i>pp</i> | שְׁבִיסִים 86 <i>g</i> ¹ |
| רָאשׁ 96 | רַצּוּא 113 <i>s</i> ² | שְׁבִיתָךְ ? 91 <i>e</i> |
| רָאשׁוֹן 27 <i>w</i> | רַק 153 | שְׁבִעָנָה ? 97 <i>c</i> |
| רַבָּה adverbial ? | רַשָּׁה (Moab.) 7 <i>c</i> | שְׁבִירִי 61 <i>b</i> |
| 132 <i>h</i> ² | | שְׁבִית 69 <i>c</i> |
| רַבָּה 48 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>cc</i> | שׁ pronunciation | שְׁבִירָדוּ 20 <i>b</i> , 67 <i>cc</i> |
| רַבּוֹ 67 <i>ee</i> | 6 <i>i</i> , <i>k</i> | שְׁוֹא form of th |
| רַבּוֹ 67 <i>m</i> | שְׁאֵת 76 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>t</i> | name 10 <i>b</i> ¹ |
| רַבּוּא 23 <i>i</i> | שְׁרִי, שְׁרָה 84 ^a <i>f</i> , 93 <i>U</i> | שׁוב infin. abs., ex- |

re for שׁוּב 19 i, 69 g; in-
 fu constr. (once) of שׁוּב 72 q
 שׁוּבִי (imper.) 72 s
 שׁוּבִי 72 b
 שׁוּשְׁתִּי 75 z
 שׁחַדוֹ 22 p, 64 a
 שׁחָה 67 ee
 שׁחַחַה 67 cc
 שׁחַחָה? 64 a
 שׁחַחַת 95 k
 שׁחִלְתִּי 85 v
 שׁחִתּוֹ 93 v
 שׁחַבּ 45 c
 שׁחַבָּה 61 c, 93 s
 שׁחַחַת 65 g
 שׁחָבוּ 44 c
 שׁחַנְתִּי 90 n
 שׁחַלְחַת 55 i, 85 o
 שׁחִלּוּ בָהּ 21 c
 שׁחִיחַ with accus.
 121 d¹
 שׁחִיחַ subst. and
 adj. 141 c²
 שׁחַח 65 a
 שׁחִיחַ 52 o
 שׁחַחַת 61 h, 65 d
 שׁחַחַת 21 f, 28 e²
 שׁחִי 129 h¹
 שׁחִי 84^a g
 שׁחַם 52 o
 שׁחִשִּׁים 93 qg
 שׁחַלְחַח 129 h¹
 שׁחַחַת 23 f
 שׁחַם 26 o¹, 96
 שׁחַחֵאֵל 90 k
 שׁחַחֻת (inf.) 67 r
 שׁחִיחַ 88 d, 96
 שׁחַחִים see Additions

שׁמַנַּת עָשָׂר 97 e
 שׁמַעַן 46 f
 שׁמַעַת 80 g
 שׁמַרְחָה 48 i², 61 f¹
 שׁמַרְוֹן 88 c
 שׁמַרְנִי 48 i², 61 f¹
 שׁנָא 23 l
 שׁנָא 75 rr
 שׁנַבַּנ (Phoen.) 7 d¹
 שׁנֹת 95 c¹
 שׁנִים 97 d
 שׁנַת 80 g
 שׁסַע 65 d
 שׁעַר? 135 p¹
 שׁפַּט אֶת- 29 i¹
 שׁפִּיפּוֹן 86 g
 שׁפַּמוֹת 10 g
 שׁפַּעַת 80 f
 שׁפַּרוֹרוֹ 84^b m
 שׁקַמִּים 93 o
 שׁקַקוֹת 95 f
 שׁרַאֲשִׁי 22 s
 שׁרִית 23 f
 שׁרַף 22 s
 שׁרַשִּׁים 9 v, 93 r
 שׁשַׂא 55 f
 שׁשִׁתִּי 9 u, 26 o¹
 שׁשַׁה (only Qal) 78 b
 שׁשַׁה 73 d
 שׁשַׁה 67 ee
 שׁשַׁחַת (inf. abs.) 75 n
 שׁשַׁחַת 73 d
 שׁשַׁחַת 97 b¹
 שׁשַׁחַת 97 d

ת as preforma-
 tive of nouns 85 p-r
 ת־, ת־ original femi-
 nine ending 80 f, g, 89 e
 ת־אֶהְיֶה 63 m, 93 t¹

ת־אֶחָד 65 e
 ת־אֶכְלֶה 68 c
 ת־אֶכְלֶה? 68 f
 ת־אֶמְנֶה 51 m
 ת־אֶסְפֵּן 68 h
 ת־אֶרֶוֹ 93 q
 ת־אֶתָּה 68 f
 ת־אֶל־תֵּבֵא 75 hh
 ת־בְּאֵנָה 72 k
 ת־בְּאוֹתָהּ 48 d
 ת־בּוֹאֲתֶךָ? 48 d
 ת־בַּחַר 10 g³
 ת־בְּחָחַי as 3rd pl. fem.
 47 k
 ת־בָּל 85 p
 ת־בְּנֶה 75 hh
 ת־עִיד 53 n
 ת־עִלָּה 75 hh
 ת־דְּבִקוֹן 27 l
 ת־דְּבִרוֹן 52 n
 ת־דְּבֹאֲוֵנַי 75 oo
 ת־דְּמִי 67 t
 ת־דְּמִיוֹן 75 dd
 ת־דְּשַׂא 53 n
 ת־הוֹם 85 r
 ת־אֶל־תֵּהִיָּה 75 hh
 ת־הוֹמְנָה 72 k
 ת־הַכְּרוּ 53 n
 ת־הַלֵּךְ 69 x
 ת־הַהֲלֵת? 80 g
 ת־הַחֲלוּ 53 q
 ת־חֲנִיּוֹן 75 gg
 ת־חֹלַע 84^a r
 ת־חֹמֵיךָ? 50 e
 ת־חֹמִים 23 f
 ת־חֹסֶף 26 r, 69 v
 ת־חֹכֵר? 51 g
 ת־חֹרְעָנוּ 47 k
 ת־חֹסֶם 72 r

| | | | | | |
|------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| תְּחִנּוֹתַי | 91 <i>n</i> | תִּמְקָנָה | 67 <i>dd</i> | תָּרַד | 69 <i>p</i> |
| תַּחַת | 103 <i>o</i> | +אֶל-תִּמְרָה | 67 <i>y</i> | תִּרְדָּמָה | 85 <i>q</i> |
| תַּחַת | 66 <i>f</i> | תִּנְדָּף ? | 66 <i>f</i> | תִּרְוּמִים | (Jb 17 ⁴) 72 <i>c</i> |
| תַּחֲתָנָה | 103 <i>d</i> | תִּנְשֵׂא | 19 <i>d</i> | תִּרְנָה | 47 <i>k</i> |
| תַּחֲתָנִי | 103 <i>d</i> | +תִּתְנַחַן אֶת- | 121 <i>b</i> ¹ | תִּרְנָנָה | 44 <i>o</i> |
| תַּטְעִי | (Is 17 ¹⁰)? 20 <i>m</i> ³ | תִּסְכְּנָה | 67 <i>d</i> ¹ | תִּרְפִּים | 124 <i>h</i> , 132 <i>h</i> |
| תִּיטִיבִי | 70 <i>e</i> | תַּעֲבֹדֶם | 60 <i>b</i> | תִּרְפָּנָה | 75 <i>qq</i> |
| תִּיכּוֹן | 27 <i>w</i> | תַּעֲבֹרִי | 47 <i>g</i> | תִּרְצָחוּ ? | 52 <i>q</i> |
| +תִּיעֲשֶׂה | 63 <i>h</i> | תַּעֲנֶנָּה | 51 <i>m</i> | תִּשְׁאִינָה | (Ez 23 ⁴⁹)? 76 <i>t</i> |
| תִּירְאוּ | (Jb 6 ²¹ +) 75 <i>t</i> | תַּעֲנֶנָּה | 58 <i>k</i> | תִּשְׁנָה | (Ru 1 ¹⁴) 74 |
| תִּישְׁמְנָה | (Ez 6 ⁶)? 67 <i>p</i> ² , <i>dd</i> | ? תַּעֲלֶה | 75 <i>y</i> | תִּשְׁנָה | 76 <i>b</i> |
| +תִּכְבְּדֶךָ | 60 <i>f</i> | תַּעֲנֶנָּה | (Ju 5 ²⁹) 75 <i>w</i> | תִּשְׁבֹּן | 72 <i>k</i> |
| תִּכּוֹנֵן | 19 <i>d</i> | תַּעֲנָה | 48 <i>d</i> | תִּשְׁכַּבְנָה | 72 <i>k</i> |
| תִּכְבִּים | 1 <i>i</i> | אֶל-תַּעֲשֶׂה | 75 <i>hh</i> | ? תִּשְׁשִׁי | 75 <i>s</i> |
| תִּכְלָה | 77 <i>rr</i> | תַּעֲשִׂרְנָה | 60 <i>g</i> | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | (anomalous) 47 <i>k</i> |
| תִּלֶּךְ | 20 <i>g</i> | ? תַּפּוּצוֹתֵיכֶם | 91 <i>l</i> | תִּשְׁמֹרֶם | 47 <i>g</i> |
| תִּלְאוּם | 75 <i>rr</i> | תַּצְלִינָה | 67 <i>p</i> | תִּשְׁתַּעַ | 75 <i>bb</i> |
| תִּלְאוּם | 75 <i>rr</i> | תַּצְלֶנָּה | 67 <i>g</i> | תִּתְאוּ | 75 <i>bb</i> |
| תִּלְבָּשׁוּן | 47 <i>l</i> | תַּצְרִי | 67 <i>dd</i> | ? תִּתְאוּ | 75 <i>bb</i> ¹ |
| תִּלְוֹנוּ | 72 <i>ee</i> | תַּקְבְּנוּ | 67 <i>g</i> | תִּתְבַּר | 67 <i>l</i> |
| תִּלְוֹן | 29 <i>q</i> , 73 <i>e</i> | +תִּקּוּ-מִיָּד | 72 <i>cc</i> | תִּתְנַר | 75 <i>bb</i> |
| תִּלְעַג | 10 <i>g</i> ³ | תִּקְמַל | 47 <i>k</i> | תִּתָּה | 19 <i>i</i> , 66 <i>k</i> |
| תִּמְוִתָּנָה | 72 <i>k</i> | ? תִּקְיֶמְנָה | 72 <i>k</i> | תִּתֵּם | 67 <i>y</i> |
| ? אֶל-תִּמְוִתֵי | 75 <i>ii</i> | תִּקְרָאנָה | 47 <i>k</i> , 75 <i>rr</i> | תִּתֵּם | 67 <i>p</i> |
| תִּמְחִיץ | 10 <i>g</i> ³ | תִּירָא | 75 <i>p</i> | תִּתְצוּ | 20 <i>m</i> |
| תִּמְנֵן | 67 <i>e</i> , <i>dd</i> | תִּירְאוּ | 75 <i>hh</i> | תִּתְשׁ | 53 <i>u</i> |
| תִּמְנֵן | (Lam 3 ²²)? 20 <i>o</i> | תִּירְאֵנָה | 75 <i>w</i> | | |
| תִּמָּס | 85 <i>p</i> | | | | |

III

INDEX OF PASSAGES

The references are to the sections and their marginal letters, except where otherwise indicated. N. = note.

Genesis

- 1 1 . 5 *n*, 21 *b*, 117 *a*,
125 *f*, 142 *g*, 145 *h*
2 . 141 *c* N., 142 *c*
3 . . 109 *b*, 145 *h*
4 . . 53 *n*, 117 *h*
5 . 29 *e*, 98 *a*, 111 *c*
6 . . 102 *h*, 116 *r*
7 . 16 *b*, 21 *b*, 138 *b*
8 126 *w*
9 75 *t*, 107 *n*, 109 *a* N.
11 . 16 *h*, 20 *f*, 117 *r*
12 . . 20 *f*, 91 *d*
14 112 *q*, 145 *o*, 145 *s*
16 133 *f*
20 . . . 15 *m*, 117 *z*
21 . 91 *c*, 91 *k*, 117 *c*,
126 *g*
22 64 *g*
24 90 *o*
26 75 *l*, 119 *h*, 122 *s*,
124 *g* N.
27 . . 117 *kk*, 122 *g*
28 110 *c*
29 16 *a*, 106 *m*, 141 *n*
31 . . 126 *w*, 131 *q*
2 1 111 *k*
2 . . 106 *f*, 138 *a*
3 . . 114 *o*, 126 *w*
4 . 5 *n*, 20 *f*, 114 *q*
5 106 *f*, 107 *c*, 142 *a*,
152 *k*, 152 *r*
6 107 *b*, 107 *d*, 112 *e*,
142 *b*
7 . . 70 *a*, 117 *hh*
9 . . 115 *d*, 127 *b*
10 107 *d*, 112 *e*, 141 *a*
11 98 *a*, 117 *q*, 126 *k*,
134 *k*, 141 *n*
12 . . . 10 *g*, 141 *b*
13 260 *N*.
14 118 *g*
15 122 *l*
16 . . 260 *N*., 113 *p*
17 61 *d*, 113 *n*, 114 *b*,
135 *c* N., 143 *c*
18 . . . 75 *l*, 114 *a*
19 70 *a*, 107 *k*, 131 *n*
N., 145 *m*

Genesis

- 2 21 103 *d*
23 10 *h*, 20 *c*, 52 *d*,
102 *g*, 125 *i*, 126 *b*,
141 *a*
24 . . 107 *g*, 112 *m*
25 9 *o*, 72 *m*, 85 *t*,
93 *pp*, 107 *b*, 111 *d*,
134 *d*
3 1 111 *a*, 119 *w*, 142 *c*,
152 *b*
2 107 *s*
3 72 *u*
4 . . . 72 *u*, 113 *v*
5 61 *d*, 112 *oo*, 116 *n*
6 . 35 *g*, 116 *e*, 131 *t*
7 . . . 85 *t*, 93 *pp*
8 . . . 118 *p*, 146 *f*
10 142 *f*
11 . . 114 *s*, 150 *e*
12 . 44 *g*, 68 *e*, 135 *c*
13 136 *c*, 142 *a*, 148 *b*
14 116 *r* N., 118 *k*,
119 *w*
15 117 *ll*
16 154 *a* N.
17 10 *g*
19 . 29 *e*, 95 *e*, 141 *l*
21 . . . 60 *g*, 128 *o*
22 76 *i*, 96 (77 *aa*),
107 *g*, 112 *p*, 114 *o*,
124 *g* N., 130 *a*,
152 *w*
24 128 *h*
4 2 . . . 131 *h*, 142 *d*
4 91 *c*, 106 *d*, 154 *a*
N.
6 . . . 20 *f*, 144 *b*
7 145 *u*
9 . . . 106 *g*, 150 *d*
10 . . 146 *b*, 148 *b*
12 109 *d*, 114 *m*, 164 *d*
13 76 *b*, 133 *c*, 141 *m*
14 . . 112 *p*, 116 *g*
15 97 *h*, 114 *s*, 115 *k*
116 *w*, 117 *e*, 134 *r*
16 118 *g*
17 29 *e*
18 121 *b*

Genesis

- 4 20 117 *bb*
22 127 *b*
23 . . . 44 *o*, 46 *f*
24 29 *g*, 134 *r*, 159 *bb*,
159 *dd*
25 9 *u*, 16 *f*, 26 *o* N.,
157 *b*
26 107 *c*, 135 *h*, 144 *k*
5 1 115 *i*, 119 *h*, 125 *f*
3 134 *d*
5 146 *c*
20 134 *h*
23 . . . 145 *q*, 146 *c*
24 152 *m*
6 1 164 *d*
2 117 *h*, 119 *w* N.,
128 *v*
3 . . . 67 *p*, 72 *r*
4 107 *e*, 112 *e*, 128 *t*
5 157 *b*
8 142 *b*
9 16 *b*
11 117 *z*
13 117 *z*
14 112 *r*, 117 *ii*, 126 *m*
17 112 *t*, 116 *p*, 131 *k*
N., 158 *a*
18 . . . 49 *l*, 72 *w*
19 35 *f*
21 107 *g*
22 117 *b*
7 1 . . . 117 *e*, 117 *h*
2 138 *b*
4 112 *t*, 116 *p*, 118 *k*,
141 *a*, 141 *f*
5 117 *b*
6 164 *a*
7 146 *f*
9 134 *g*
11 126 *y*, 129 *f*, 134 *o*
13 . 97 *c*, 104 *g*, 139 *g*
15 127 *c*
19 . . . 106 *d*, 133 *k*
20 118 *h*
21 119 *i*
22 . . . 119 *w* N.
23 . . . 51 *n*, 75 *o*
8 3 . . . 63 *f*, 113 *u*

Genesis

- 8 4 124 o
 5 129 f, 134 p
 7 70 a N., 113 s,
 126 r, 126 t
 8 150 i
 9 135 i
 12 69 t
 13 . 15 l, 72 t, 72 aa
 14 129 f
 17 . 69 v, 70 b, 119 i
 18 15 g, 146 f
 21 72 aa
 22 104 g, 146 d
 9 2 135 m
 3 117 c, 138 b
 4 119 n, 131 k
 5 139 c
 6 116 w, 121 f, 143 b
 9 143 a
 10 116 h, 119 i, 143 e
 11 121 f, 152 b
 14 52 d, 112 y, 117 r
 15 159 g
 16 131 t
 19 . . . 67 dd, 134 k
 20 120 b
 21 75 bb, 91 e
 22 117 f
 23 117 f, 141 e, 146 f
 24 70 a, 133 g
 25 133 i
 26 116 r N.
 27 75 gg
 10 5 139 b
 9 107 g
 11 118 f
 17 35 g
 19 . . . 91 d, 144 h
 21 135 h
 26 35 m
 11 1 141 d
 3 69 o, 117 r
 4 107 q, 152 w
 5 114 g
 6 67 w, 67 dd, 133 d,
 147 b
 7 67 dd, 107 q, 124 g
 N., 165 b
 8 63 f
 9 144 d
 10 118 i
 28 125 h
 29 146 f
 30 152 o
 31 20 f
 12 1 119 s, 121 c
 2 63 q, 110 i, 141 d
 3 116 g
 4 134 h
 7 116 o

Genesis

- 12 8 91 e, 156 c
 9 113 u
 11 111 g, 114 m
 12 112 c, 112 y, 112 hh,
 164 d
 13 110 d, 112 p, 141 l,
 157 a, 165 b
 14 111 g, 117 h, 118 u
 15 118 f
 16 145 o
 17 117 q
 19 111 m, 117 f, 147 b
 13 2 126 m
 3 . . . 138 c, 154 a N.
 5 145 o
 8 131 b
 9 . 51 n, 56, 159 dd
 10 144 h
 11 139 e
 12 142 c
 13 140 a
 14 104 g
 15 . . . 142 g, 143 c
 16 166 b
 17 120 g
 14 4 118 i, 134 o
 5 134 o
 6 93 aa, 131 f
 9 134 k
 10 27 g, 90 c, 90 i,
 93 aa, 123 e, 130 e
 13 . 2 b, 126 r, 128 u
 17 115 a
 18 129 c
 19 121 f, 128 a
 22 106 i
 23 102 b, 109 g, 135 a,
 149 c, 154 a N.
 24 135 c
 15 1 126 r, 131 q
 2 116 n, 118 n, 128 v,
 141 e
 5 150 i
 6 112 ss, 122 q, 135 p
 7 . 29 f, 66 i, 138 d
 10 139 b, 139 c
 11 126 r
 12 114 i
 13 113 o, 135 p, 155 e
 14 119 n
 15 135 a
 16 118 q
 17 111 g
 18 . . . 106 m, 136 b
 16 1 142 b, 156 b
 2 . 51 g, 51 p, 119 x
 3 102 f
 4 67 p
 5 5 n, 103 o, 135 a,
 135 m

Genesis

- 16 7 60 d, 127 e
 8 10 k, 76 g, 107 h,
 116 n
 10 166 a
 11 . 80 d, 94 f, 116 n
 12 127 c, 128 l, 156 b
 16 115 f
 17 1 110 f
 4 143 a
 5 117 ii, 121 b, 163 a
 8 128 p
 9 142 f N.
 10 113 gg
 11 67 dd, 112 aa, 121 d,
 144 b
 14 29 q, 67 v, 112 mm,
 158 a, 167 b N.
 15 143 b
 17 96, 100 l, 107 t,
 134 d, 150 g
 19 49 l
 20 . . . 106 m, 112 s
 21 154 a
 26 72 ee
 18 1 116 o, 118 g, 141 e
 5 158 b N.
 6 . 90 c, 90 i, 131 d
 7 . . . 117 f, 126 r
 9 147 b
 10 118 u
 11 . . . 116 d, 146 d
 12 106 n, 139 f, 141 e,
 150 a, 150 b
 13 . . . 106 g, 136 c
 14 133 c, 139 d, 141 m
 15 . . . 106 b, 163 a
 17 100 l
 18 . . . 75 n, 142 d
 19 . . . 114 o, 165 c
 20 128 h, 148 d, 159 ee
 21 100 l, 108 b, 135 m,
 138 k
 24 . . . 117 g, 122 l
 25 112 v, 115 b, 161 c
 26 112 ff
 27 141 e
 28 47 m, 117 aa,
 119 p, 134 l, 159 n
 N., 159 r
 29 134 k
 19 1 116 o, 141 e, 141 f,
 156 c
 2 17 e, 20 d, 20 g,
 100 o, 135 q, 142 g,
 150 n, 152 c
 4 15 l, 107 c, 152 r,
 154 a N., 164 c
 5 29 f
 6 93 i
 8 34 b, 103 b, 139 d

Genesis

19 9 66 c, 113 r
 11 126 n
 12 150 b
 14 20 g, 116 d
 15 152 w
 16 15 f, 45 d, 55 g,
 115 f
 17 107 p
 18 152 g
 19 60 d, 72 n, 107 f,
 152 w, 154 a
 20 109 f
 21 61 a
 22 120 g
 23 164 b
 28 126 o
 29 115 a, 124 o
 30 126 r
 31 133 f, 152 o
 32 69 x, 117 cc
 33 5 n, 47 l, 61 c, 93 s,
 126 y
 34 126 b
 20 1 90 c
 5 32 l
 6 66 b, 75 qq, 114 m,
 157 b N.
 7 63 q, 110 i
 9 107 w
 10 107 v, 166 b
 11 112 x, 153
 12 152 d
 13 119 u, 124 h N.,
 127 e, 141 f, 145 i,
 167 b
 16 116 s, 134 n
 17 145 u
 18 106 f, 113 n
 21 3 138 k
 5 121 b, 128 v
 6 10 g, 64 h, 114 c
 7 106 p, 124 o, 142 f,
 151 a
 8 51 m
 9 52 n
 11 67 p
 13 143 c
 14 95 l, 128 g, 156 d
 N⁴
 16 75 kk, 108 b, 113 h,
 119 k, 119 s
 17 138 e
 19 117 cc
 20 131 b
 23 20 f, 51 o
 24 51 p, 135 a
 25 112 rr
 26 162 b
 28 91 c, 127 e
 29 91 f, 126 x

Genesis

21 30 117 d, 157 b
 32 138 f, 146 h
 22 1 111 g
 3 135 i
 4 111 b
 5 119 s
 7 147 b
 12 116 g, 158 a
 14 130 d N²
 17 75 ff
 23 134 k
 24 111 h, 147 e
 23 1 134 d, 134 h
 3 122 f
 4 52 f, 128 m
 5 110 e
 6 75 qq, 119 x, 128 r,
 142 f N², 152 b
 8 61 g
 9 119 p
 10 116 h, 141 b, 143 e
 11 106 m, 152 c
 13 110 e
 20 111 k
 24 3 128 a, 165 b
 5 100 n, 113 q
 6 51 n, 152 w
 7 138 a
 8 75 x, 109 d, 126 y
 9 16 h
 14 112 bb, 135 p,
 167 c
 15 106 f, 107 c, 152 r
 18 120 d
 19 106 o, 164 b
 20 75 bb
 21 130 a, 150 i
 22 134 n, 156 b
 23 37 a, 118 g
 26 67 g
 27 75 ll, 135 e, 143 b
 29 156 b
 30 115 e N., 116 s
 31 116 l
 33 73 f
 35 154 a N.
 37 149 c
 41 95 n, 117 f, 164 d
 42 159 v, 167 c
 43 112 t
 44 154 a N., 162 b
 45 135 a
 48 75 t
 49 159 v
 51 109 f, 117 f
 55 139 h, 146 f
 56 142 d
 58 150 n
 60 63 q, 97 g, 134 g
 61 146 g, 146 h

Genesis

24 63 114 f N.
 65 34 f
 67 127 f
 25 1 120 d
 5 16 a
 16 136 d
 21 51 n, 121 f
 23 119 ff
 24 23 f
 26 115 a, 115 c, 115 e
 N.
 31 35 n, 48 i
 34 75 o
 26 7 144 p N., 147 a N.
 9 148 b, 152 w, 157 b
 10 49 l, 106 p
 13 113 u, 164 f
 15 60 h, 135 o
 16 133 c
 18 60 h, 111 q, 120 d
 23 118 f
 25 76 c
 28 75 n, 103 p N.
 29 65 h, 75 hh
 27 1 111 q, 114 d, 119 y
 3 118 f, 122 t
 4 20 b, 106 g, 108 d
 7 58 g
 9 117 ii
 12 49 l, 112 p
 13 10 g, 141 f
 19 60 d
 20 114 n N., 136 c,
 148 b
 21 67 r, 136 d
 24 150 a
 26 10 g
 28 20 m
 29 145 l
 30 113 n, 164 b N.
 31 72 t
 33 107 c, 116 d, 117 q,
 150 l, 153
 34 111 h N., 113 m,
 117 q, 135 e, 153
 36 63 m, 136 d, 150 e
 37 103 g, 117 ff, 117 ii,
 142 g, 150 l
 38 10 g, 16 g, 100 l
 39 20 m, 119 c
 41 63 f
 42 61 a, 121 a
 43 112 r, 119 s
 45 114 d, 114 r,
 117 aa, 118 i,
 150 e, 154 a N.
 28 2 16 h, 90 i
 3 75 ll
 4 95 g, 114 g
 6 167 c

Genesis

28 8 111 *d*
 9 119 *aa N.*
 11 126 *r*
 15 106 *o*, 147 *b*
 16 106 *g*
 18 71
 29 2 111 *e*, 144 *f*
 6 150 *n*
 7 126 *i*, 152 *d*
 9 116 *u*, 129 *h*
 10 67 *p*, 75 *gg*, 106 *f*
 14 131 *d*
 15 112 *cc*, 150 *e*
 17 145 *n*
 19 133 *a*
 21 69 *o*, 165 *a*
 25 142 *g*
 26 107 *g*
 27 121 *b*
 30 133 *b*
 32 60 *d*
 30 3 51 *g*
 6 26 *g*, 59 *f*
 8 85 *n*, 117 *q*, 154 *a*
N.
 13 106 *n*
 15 114 *a*
 16 126 *y*
 18 17 *c*, 135 *m*
 19 96
 20 117 *bb*, 117 *ff*
 23 135 *m*
 27 111 *h N.*, 120 *f*,
 159 *dd*
 29 157 *c*
 31 120 *g*, 120 *h*
 32 112 *mm*
 34 109 *b*, 151 *e*
 37 117 *r*, 123 *b*
 38 10 *g*, 47 *k*, 76 *g*,
 95 *f*, 138 *c*, 145 *c*
 39 69 *f*, 145 *p*
 40 119 *aa N.*, 142 *f*
 41 91 *f*, 112 *ee*
 43 132 *g*
 31 6 32 *i*
 7 67 *w*, 112 *h*
 8 145 *u*, 159 *r*, 159 *s*
 9 135 *o*
 13 127 *f*
 14 146 *g*, 146 *h*
 15 113 *r*
 19 67 *cc*
 23 118 *h*
 27 63 *c*, 111 *m*, 114 *n*
N.
 28 75 *n*
 29 152 *i*
 30 51 *i*, 113 *p*
 32 138 *f*

Genesis

31 32 59 *g*, 138 *f*
 34 111 *q*, 124 *h N.*,
 132 *h N.*
 35 106 *l*
 36 20 *d*, 37 *d*
 39 23 *f*, 74 *k*, 75 *oo*,
 75 *qq*, 90 *l*, 107 *e*
 40 67 *cc*, 76 *a*, 104 *g*,
 143 *a N.*, 167 *b N.*
 41 136 *d*
 42 106 *p*
 44 69 *x*
 45 117 *ii*
 47 1 *c*
 52 149 *c*, 167 *b*
 53 145 *i*
 32 1 103 *b*, 122 *g*
 3 136 *b*
 5 64 *h*, 68 *f*
 6 49 *e*, 104 *g*, 123 *b*
 7 116 *s*
 8 67 *p*, 144 *b*
 9 112 *p*, 145 *u*
 10 116 *o*
 11 106 *g*, 119 *n*, 133 *c*
 12 119 *aa N.*, 152 *w*,
 156 *c*
 13 107 *w*
 15 134 *c*
 16 28 *b*, 122 *d*, 132 *e*,
 135 *o*
 17 123 *d*
 18 9 *v*, 10 *g*, 60 *b*, 64 *f*,
 137 *b*
 19 124 *i*
 20 52 *n*, 61 *d*, 74 *h*
 25 51 *n*
 27 60 *f*, 65 *h*, 163 *c*
 30 20 *f*, 107 *h*
 31 90 *k*, 111 *e*, 156 *c*,
 157 *b*
 33 2 146 *e N.*
 3 66 *b*
 4 5 *n*
 5 37 *a*, 67 *a*, 117 *ff*,
 137 *a*
 7 146 *h*
 8 147 *a N.*
 10 112 *gg*, 158 *b N.*
 11 74 *g*
 13 60 *h*, 104 *g*, 122 *d*,
 126 *i*, 135 *o*
 18 118 *n*
 19 134 *g*
 34 5 112 *ss*
 7 45 *c*, 45 *g*
 8 140 *d*
 9 117 *w*
 15 72 *h*, 119 *p*
 16 44 *o*, 49 *k*

Genesis

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

Genesis

39 23 . . . 116 o, 152 l
 40 4 139 h
 5 129 h
 7 84^b f, 87 t
 8 152 o
 9 143 d
 10 91 e, 164 g
 13 72 w
 14 10⁵ b N., 106 n N.,
 163 d
 15 2 b
 16 135 f
 20 69 w, 71, 121 b
 22 144 n
 41 1 116 s, 119 cc, 131 d
 6 116 l
 8 64 b, 122 i
 11 49 e
 12 139 c
 15 152 o, 157 a
 21 91 f, 93 ss
 25 116 d
 26 126 x, 141 h
 28 53 p
 29 156 c
 30 112 x
 33 75 p, 75 hh
 39 115 a
 40 118 h
 42 117 cc
 43 8⁵ h, 113 z, 129 h
 49 75 ff
 51 52 m
 57 145 e
 42 1 54 f
 2 109 g
 4 75 rr
 6 126 k
 7 122 q
 9 114 g
 10 163 a
 11 32 d, 91 f
 13 133 g, 141 b, 152 m
 16 110 c
 18 110 f
 19 134 d
 23 126 r
 25 93 m, 120 f, 124 l,
 139 c
 28 119 gg
 30 124 i, 126 p
 33 134 d
 35 111 g, 116 u, 139 c
 36 91 f, 135 p
 37 159 r
 43 3 113 n, 163 c
 5 116 g, 159 v
 6 150 i N.
 7 107 k, 107 t, 113 q,
 150 d

Genesis

43 9 159 o
 10 106 p, 159 x
 12 65 d, 72 bb, 93 pp,
 131 e
 14 29 u, 106 o
 15 20 c, 131 q
 16 65 b
 17 90 c
 18 116 d
 21 49 e
 26 14 d
 27 141 c N.
 28 67 g
 29 67 n
 33 119 gg
 34 134 r, 144 n
 44 1 47 m, 138 e
 2 135 n N.
 3 142 e, 144 c
 4 138 e, 156 f, 164 b
 5 119 m N.
 9 112 ii, 138 f
 10 153
 12 156 d
 16 20 d, 58 k
 22 159 g
 23 137 b
 28 113 w
 29 112 kk
 31 112 oo
 33 69 p, 109 b
 34 152 w
 45 4 138 d
 7 117 n
 8 119 hh
 14 93 pp
 23 102 g
 46 2 124 e, 126 r
 3 69 m
 4 113 w
 22 121 b
 27 121 b, 132 g
 30 108 b
 34 127 e
 47 3 145 r
 6 120 e
 9 128 a
 11 69 v
 17 93 ss
 19 67 p
 21 139 e N., 143 c
 22 112 l
 24 145 u
 48 1 144 d
 2 144 d N²
 9 58 g, 60 d, 61 g
 11 75 n, 115 b
 14 141 e, 156 d
 22 96, 106 m, 130 g
 49 1 75 rr

Genesis

49 3 29 u
 4 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,
 147 c
 8 135 e
 10 20 h, 164 f
 11 7c, 52 l, 90 m, 91 e,
 93 v, 96, 106 k,
 116 x, 118 p
 12 93 dd
 13 95 i
 15 117 b N.
 17 20 h, 109 k
 18 106 g
 21 126 b
 22 44 m, 80 g, 96,
 145 k
 23 67 m, 112 rr
 25 117 ff, 119 c
 27 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,
 155 f
 30 138 b N.
 50 13 138 b N.
 15 117 ff, 159 y
 18 58 k
 20 75 n
 23 128 v
 25 116 v
 26 73 f, 144 d N.

Exodus

1 1 49 b N.
 7 117 z, 121 d, 133 k
 10 47 k, 75 rr, 112 y
 12 107 e
 14 119 o
 16 67 k, 72 w, 76 i
 18 47 l
 19 47 l, 112 oo
 20 47 l
 21 135 o
 22 127 b N.
 2 1 117 d
 2 117 h
 3 20 h, 58 g, 114 m,
 126 m
 4 69 m, 71
 6 131 m
 9 69 x, 70 e, 135 m
 10 111 d
 15 126 r
 16 75 w
 17 60 d, 60 h, 135 o
 20 46 f, 154 b
 3 2 52 s, 119 i, 126 r
 3 108 b, 126 v
 8 128 x
 9 117 r
 10 110 i
 11 107 u

Exodus

| | | |
|----|--------------|--------------------|
| 3 | 13 | 112 t |
| | 15 | 133 l |
| | 18 | 49 l |
| | 19 | 69 x, 157 b N. |
| | 20 | 63 m |
| | 21 | 164 d |
| | 22 | 95 k, 139 b |
| 4 | 1 | 107 i |
| | 2 | 37 c |
| | 4 | 29 g, 64 c |
| | 10 | 61 e, 128 t, 152 d |
| | 12 | 75 ee |
| | 13 | 130 d, 155 n |
| | 14 | 159 g |
| | 21 | 112 mm, 143 d |
| 5 | 2 | 107 u |
| | 5 | 112 cc |
| | 7 | 68 h |
| | 10 | 152 m |
| | 11 | 138 e |
| | 16 | 74 g, 116 t, 152 o |
| | 18 | 163 a |
| | 19 | 57 N., 135 k |
| | 20 | 126 r |
| | 21 | 66 i, 102 f |
| | 23 | 113 v |
| 6 | 3 | 119 i, 144 l N. |
| | 6 | 112 x |
| | 10 | 20 c N. |
| | 14 | 124 r |
| | 28 | 52 o, 130 d |
| 7 | 9 | 109 h, 159 d |
| | 11 | 131 l |
| | 20 | 119 q |
| | 27 | 52 s |
| 8 | 1 | 20 m, 75 gg |
| | 4 | 63 o |
| | 10 | 123 e |
| | 17 | 117 z |
| | 20 | 107 b |
| | 22 | 150 a, 159 w |
| 9 | 4 | 130 d, 155 n |
| | 9 | 117 z |
| | 15 | 106 p |
| | 16 | 115 e N. |
| | 18 | 91 e, 127 f |
| | 23 | 63 n, 69 x |
| | 27 | 126 k |
| | 30 | 107 c |
| | 31 | 141 d |
| 10 | 1 | 126 y |
| | 3 | 51 l, 106 h |
| | 4 | 65 e |
| | 6 | 161 b |
| | 7 | 107 c, 152 r |
| | 8 | 137 a |
| | 9 | 91 k, 127 e |
| | 10 | 154 a N. |
| | 11 | 135 p |
| | 22 | 133 i |

Exodus

| | | |
|----|--------------|--|
| 10 | 28 | 69 v |
| 11 | 6 | 135 o |
| | 8 | 9 v |
| 12 | 4 | 133 c, 139 c |
| | 5 | 128 v |
| | 6 | 88 c |
| | 8 | 154 a N. |
| | 12 | 124 g |
| | 13 | 159 g |
| | 14 | 67 n |
| | 15 | 20 g, 112 mm, 116 w, 126 w |
| | 16 | 146 c, 152 b |
| | 18 | 134 o |
| | 21 | 46 d |
| | 23 | 126 l N. |
| | 27 | 61 a |
| | 31 | 20 g |
| | 34 | 107 c |
| | 39 | 117 ii |
| | 43 | 119 m |
| | 48 | 113 gg |
| | 49 | 145 u |
| 13 | 2 | 52 n |
| | 3 | 113 bb |
| | 7 | 118 k, 121 b |
| | 8 | 138 h |
| | 18 | 67 y |
| | 21 | 53 q |
| 14 | 2 | 93 q |
| | 11 | 61 c, 152 y |
| | 20 | 139 e N. |
| 15 | 1 | 20 e, 107 c, 146 f |
| | 2 | 58 k, 80 g, 117 b |
| | 4 | 128 r |
| | 5 | 58 g, 75 dd, 91 l |
| | 6 | 90 l |
| | 7 | 116 i |
| | 8 | 15 c |
| | 9 | 117 z, 120 g N., 154 a N. |
| | 10 | 35 g |
| | 11 | 20 e, 20 g |
| | 12 | 107 d |
| | 13 | 20 e, 64 d, 138 g |
| | 14 | 47 m |
| | 15 | 107 c |
| | 16 | 20 e, 67 g, 90 g, 132 c, 138 g, 164 f |
| | 17 | 20 h, 155 h |
| | 20 | 47 l, 146 c |
| | 21 | 20 e |
| | 24 | 20 c |
| | 26 | 113 o |
| 16 | 2 | 72 ee |
| | 6 | 112 oo |
| | 7 | 32 d, 72 ee, 141 l N. |
| | 8 | 72 ee |
| | 12 | 88 c |
| | 14 | 55 k |

Exodus

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| 16 | 16 | 118 h |
| | 20 | 27 o, 67 n, 121 d N., 139 h N. |
| | 21 | 123 c, 159 g |
| | 22 | 134 e |
| | 23 | 63 i, 76 d |
| | 29 | 9 l, 69 p, 139 d |
| | 32 | 117 cc |
| | 33 | 125 b |
| 17 | 1 | 115 f |
| | 2 | 47 m |
| | 3 | 72 ee, 117 e |
| | 4 | 112 x |
| | 6 | 49 k |
| | 7 | 152 k |
| | 12 | 141 d, 145 n |
| | 14 | 126 s |
| 18 | 4 | 119 i |
| | 5 | 118 g |
| | 9 | 75 r |
| | 14 | 102 b |
| | 18 | 75 n, 133 c |
| | 20 | 155 d, 155 i |
| | 21 | 97 h |
| | 22 | 127 b |
| | 23 | 49 i |
| | 26 | 47 g, 112 g |
| | 27 | 119 s |
| 19 | 1 | 102 f |
| | 3 | 53 n |
| | 5 | 113 o |
| | 8 | 135 r |
| | 13 | 69 t |
| | 15 | 134 o N. |
| | 18 | 93 dd |
| | 19 | 113 u |
| | 23 | 72 w, 72 x |
| 20 | 2 | 15 p, 138 d |
| | 3 | 107 o, 132 h |
| | 5 | 60 b, 129 e |
| | 8 | 113 bb |
| | 9 | 118 k |
| | 15 | 107 o |
| | 18 | 116 o |
| | 20 | 135 m, 152 x |
| | 24 | 127 e |
| | 25 | 72 k, 117 kk |
| 21 | 2 | 159 bb |
| | 4 | 145 h, 146 e |
| | 5 | 113 o |
| | 8 | 61 b, 75 ee, 103 g |
| | 12 | 104 g, 112 n, 116 w |
| | 13 | 112 ii |
| | 18 | 47 m |
| | 20 | 126 r |
| | 28 | 117 d, 121 b |
| | 29 | 124 i |
| | 31 | 29 i N. |
| | 35 | 135 m |
| | 36 | 159 cc |

Exodus

21 37 . . . 47*f*, 123 *a*
 22 1 . . . 124 *n*
 3 . . . 51 *k*, 113 *o*
 4 . . . 53 *n*
 5 . . . 117 *g*
 8 . . . 138 *e*
 11 . . . 113 *o*
 17 . . . 94 *d*
 22 . 113 *m*, 163 *c* *N.*
 25 . . . 135 *o*
 29 . . . 60 *d*
 30 . . . 131 *k*
 23 4 . . . 21 *h*
 8 . . . 107 *g*
 9 . . . 158 *a*
 16 . . . 61 *a*
 21 . . . 51 *n*, 67 *y*
 22 . . . 113 *o*
 24 . . . 60 *b*
 26 . . . 94 *d*
 27 . . . 117 *ii* *N.*
 28 . . . 126 *t*
 30 . . . 123 *e*, 133 *k*
 31 . . . 58 *g*
 24 3 . . . 118 *g*
 4 . . . 134 *f*
 10 . . . 139 *g*
 12 . . . 154 *a* *N.*
 25 5 . . . 52 *q*
 11 . . . 49 *l*
 15 . . . 135 *o* *N.*
 18 . . . 117 *hh*
 28 . . . 117 *hh*
 29 . . . 20 *f*, 117 *hh*
 31 . . . 63 *h*
 33 . . . 123 *d*
 35 . . . 123 *d*
 40 . . . 121 *c*
 26 2 . . . 134 *n*
 3 . . . 123 *d*, 139 *e*
 19 . . . 123 *d*
 33 . 49 *h*, 53 *r*, 133 *i*
 27 11 . . . 134 *n*
 28 9 . . . 117 *d*
 10 . . . 134 *c* *N.*
 17 . . . 131 *d*
 20 . . . 117 *y*
 21 . . . 139 *c*
 32 . . . 165 *a*
 43 . . . 165 *a*
 29 1 . . . 66 *g*
 2 . . . 126 *m*
 12 . . . 119 *w* *N.*
 31 . . . 128 *p*
 35 . . . 103 *b*
 30 4 . . . 103 *g*
 20 . . . 117 *y* *N.*
 32 . . . 73 *f*
 31 4 . . . 63 *i*
 13 . . . 60 *f*

Exodus

31 17 . . . 51 *m*
 18 . . . 124 *g*
 32 1 . . . 126 *aa*, 137 *c*
 3 . . . 54 *f*, 117 *w*
 4 . . . 72 *t*, 145 *i*
 6 . . . 52 *n*, 113 *e*
 12 . . . 150 *e*
 25 . 5 *n*, 58 *g*, 116 *i*
 26 . . . 137 *c*
 29 . . . 114 *p*
 30 . . . 108 *h*
 32 . . . 159 *dd*, 167 *a*
 33 3 . . . 137 *c*
 34 . . . 112 *oo*
 33 3 . . . 27 *q*
 6 . . . 54 *f*, 117 *w*
 7 107 *e*, 112 *e*, 113 *h*
 10 . . . 112 *kk*
 11 . . . 156 *c*
 12 . . . 75 *gg*
 13 . . . 69 *b* *N.*, 91 *k*
 14 . . . 150 *a*
 19 . . . 67 *ee*
 20 . . . 60 *d*, 159 *gg*
 23 . . . 124 *b*
 34 1 . . . 124 *q*
 10 . . . 122 *q*
 13 . . . 47 *m*
 19 . . . 51 *g*
 24 . . . 51 *l*
 34 . . . 159 *k*
 36 1 . . . 103 *g*
 29 . . . 112 *ss*
 38 3 . . . 117 *hh*
 5 . . . 95 *n*
 39 17 . . . 131 *d*
 18 . . . 60 *h*
 23 . . . 165 *a*

Leviticus

1 1 . . . 49 *b* *N.*
 2 . . . 139 *d*
 2 1 . . . 139 *d*, 145 *t*
 2 . . . 85 *b*
 8 . . . 144 *p* *N.*
 4 2 . 119 *w* *N.*, 139 *d*
 23 . . . 69 *w*
 5 9 . . . 75 *hh*
 11 . . . 131 *d*
 13 . . . 119 *w* *N.*
 15 . . . 128 *d*
 6 2 . . . 91 *e*
 3 . . . 128 *d*
 7 . . . 113 *gg*
 8 . 118 *g*, 135 *o* *N.*
 9 . . . 118 *g*
 13 . . . 131 *c*
 7 8 . . . 117 *d*
 35 . . . 53 *l*, 155 *l*

Leviticus

8 11 . . . 76 *c*
 16 . . . 91 *c*
 9 6 . . . 107 *q*, 120 *c*
 10 6 . . . 109 *g*
 10 . . . 114 *p*
 19 75 *rr*, 100 *k*, 159 *g*
 11 7 . . . 67 *g*
 23 . . . 88 *f*
 35 . . . 53 *u*
 42 . . . 5 *n*
 43 . . . 74 *k*
 44 . . . 54 *k*
 13 4 . . . 91 *e*
 19 . . . 131 *i*
 34 . . . 127 *e*
 55 . . . 54 *h*
 14 34 . . . 101 *a*
 43 . . . 53 *l*
 46 . . . 53 *l*
 55 . . . 54 *h*
 15 29 . . . 53 *r*
 16 8 . . . 30 *n*
 17 14 . . . 145 *l*
 18 7 . . . 75 *hh*
 21 . . . 95 *q* *N.*
 25 . . . 76 *h*
 27 . . . 34 *b* *N.*
 28 . . . 116 *s*
 19 9 . . . 61 *d*, 142 *f* *N.*
 16 . . . 118 *q*
 20 . . . 113 *w*
 28 . . . 102 *i*
 20 7 . . . 54 *k*
 10 . . . 117 *d*
 14 . . . 117 *d*
 19 . . . 75 *hh*
 21 4 . . . 67 *t*
 9 . . . 67 *t*, 164 *d*
 21 . . . 142 *f* *N.*
 23 17 . . . 14 *d*
 22 . . . 61 *d*
 39 . . . 61 *a*
 42 . . . 126 *r*
 24 5 . . . 49 *l*, 117 *ii*
 22 . . . 134 *d*
 25 5 . . . 20 *h*
 10 . . . 134 *o* *N.*
 20 . . . 159 *w*
 21 . . . 49 *l*, 75 *m*
 33 . . . 145 *u* *N.*
 36 . . . 76 *i*
 48 . . . 130 *d*
 26 15 . . . 67 *dd*
 18 . . . 52 *p*
 25 . . . 49 *l*
 33 . . . 52 *n*
 34 . . . 67 *y*, 75 *m*
 37 . . . 118 *s* *N.*
 42 . . . 128 *d*, 131 *r*
 43 . . . 67 *y*

Leviticus

27 2 128 *d*
 23 127 *i*

Numbers

1 1 49 *b N.*
 2 124 *r*
 47 54 *l*
 2 33 54 *l*
 3 1 52 *o*, 130 *d*
 9 123 *e*
 26 117 *l*
 46 117 *m*, 134 *k*
 49 85 *t*
 4 2 113 *bb*
 23 45 *g*
 27 128 *v*
 5 2 102 *i*
 3 119 *e*
 10 117 *m*, 139 *c*
 17 128 *p*
 19 110 *i*
 20 167 *a*
 22 53 *q*, 66 *f*
 23 126 *s*
 27 112 *y*
 6 7 74 *b*, 96
 9 133 *k N.*, 144 *e*
 26 109 *b*
 7 2 5 *n*
 11 123 *d*
 8 7 27 *q*, 64 *d*
 24 45 *g*
 9 20 131 *e*
 10 3 145 *c*
 4 134 *r N.*
 29 138 *b*
 35 5 *n*
 36 118 *f*
 11 4 35 *d*, 151 *a N.*
 5 106 *g*
 7 93 *h*
 10 117 *h*
 11 74 *k*
 12 69 *s*, 122 *f N.*
 15 32 *g*
 16 48 *i*
 17 119 *m*
 20 80 *h*
 25 23 *d*, 68 *f*, 72 *q*,
 120 *d N.*, 126 *x*
 27 126 *r*
 29 154 *b*
 12 1 146 *g*
 2 133 *k N.*
 4 97 *i*
 6 128 *d*
 13 105 *b N.*
 14 154 *b*
 13 21 102 *f*

Numbers

13 27 118 *f*
 32 72 *l*
 14 2 106 *p*, 151 *e*
 16 69 *n*, 114 *s*
 17 5 *n*
 21 167 *b*
 24 119 *gg*
 27 72 *ee*
 31 76 *h*
 33 91 *l*
 34 123 *d*
 35 67 *g*
 40 58 *k*
 41 135 *p*
 15 15 161 *c*
 24 119 *w*
 29 143 *c*
 31 51 *k*
 35 113 *gg*
 16 13 54 *e*
 15 117 *d*
 22 100 *m*, 150 *m*
 29 121 *b*, 159 *c N.*,
 159 *q*
 17 6 72 *w*
 10 67 *t*, 72 *dd*
 17 139 *c*
 20 72 *ee*
 25 128 *v*
 27 106 *n*
 28 67 *e*, 67 *dd*, 150 *g*
 N.
 18 8 143 *e*
 26 72 *i*
 19 12 74 *b*
 20 3 65 *a*, 154 *b*
 5 59 *a*, 152 *a N.*
 18 152 *w*
 21 66 *i*
 21 1 75 *q*
 5 59 *a*
 9 117 *d*
 14 127 *f*
 15 112 *pp*
 17 63 *l*
 20 112 *ss*
 23 157 *b N.*
 24 112 *pp*
 27 54 *c*, 75 *hh*
 30 67 *g*, 69 *r*, 76 *f*
 35 164 *d*
 22 1 125 *h*
 6 20 *c*, 53 *u*, 67 *o*,
 120 *c*, 138 *e*
 12 103 *c*
 13 69 *x*, 115 *c*
 17 67 *o*
 19 109 *d*, *i*
 29 151 *e N.*
 33 103 *b*, 117 *e*

Numbers

22 38 114 *m*
 23 3 130 *d*, 137 *c*
 6 64 *c*, 67 *o*, 93 *aa*
 8 58 *g*
 10 151 *a*
 13 20 *o*, 48 *i*, 67 *o N.*,
 69 *x*, 100 *o N.*,
 152 *b*
 14 118 *f*
 15 51 *p*
 18 90 *o*, 96
 19 27 *q*, 64 *d*, 109 *i*,
 166 *a*
 20 159 *g*
 24 124 *n*
 25 10 *h*, 67 *g*
 24 1 123 *c*
 3 90 *o*, 96
 4 116 *k*
 5 148 *b*
 6 75 *x*
 7 54 *c*, 93 *z*
 10 113 *r*
 17 55 *f*
 22 29 *f*
 23 115 *k*
 24 93 *y*
 25 12 5 *n*, 128 *d*, 131 *r N.*
 26 62 54 *l*
 27 7 135 *o*
 29 39 93 *m*
 30 5, 8 91 *k*
 31 28 134 *d*
 32 6 150 *m*
 14 69 *h*
 17 72 *p*
 20 159 *c N.*, 167 *b*
 23 47 *m*, 159 *q*
 30 68 *i*
 32 32 *d*
 42 103 *g*
 34 2 131 *f*
 7 75 *bb N.*
 14 23 *c*
 36 6 135 *o*

Deuteronomy

1 1 101 *a*
 2 118 *g*, 134 *f*
 3 134 *o*
 5 120 *g*, 120 *h*
 7 119 *s*
 13 119 *s*
 16 75 *t*, 112 *u*
 17 47 *m*, 53 *r*, 133 *c*,
 161 *c*
 18 117 *gg*
 19 118 *h*, 126 *v*
 21 69 *f*
 23 134 *f*

Deuteronomy

1 24 120 h
 27 115 c, 115 f
 28 124 q
 33 53 q
 34 65 e, 149 b
 40 119 s
 41 135 n
 44 . 67 g, 67 y, 107 g
 46 138 c
 2 9 75 bb, 118 q
 13 119 s
 14 134 h
 23 126 w
 24 20 g, 69 f, 75 cc,
 110 h, 120 g, h
 27 108 c, 123 e, 133 k,
 156 d
 28 49 m
 31 67 w, 69 f
 3 3 164 d
 5 128 c
 11 100 i
 13 125 d N.
 21 126 k
 26 69 v
 4 1 44 d, 69 s
 8 128 p
 10 115 d, 165 b
 15 52 o, 130 d
 20 74 l
 21 54 k
 26 51 k
 36 61 d
 39 2 v, 72 w
 41 90 c
 5 3 135 g
 6 15 p, 138 d
 9 60 b
 12 113 bb
 19 120 d N.
 23 132 h
 24 32 h
 26 115 d, 151 c
 6 3 118 g, 165 b
 7 119 l
 11 49 m, 96
 17 58 g
 7 5 52 n
 15 60 d
 16 72 r, 109 d
 24 53 l
 25 127 e
 8 3 44 l, 72 o
 5 61 h
 9 93 aa
 13 75 u
 14 116 f
 15 127 i
 16 44 l, 72 o
 19 106 i

Deuteronomy

9 7 138 c
 8 54 k
 18 54 k
 10 5 29 g
 17 102 m, 126 v, 133 i
 19 112 aa
 22 119 i
 11 2 117 l
 15 49 m
 30 150 e
 12 3 52 n
 14 61 h
 13 1 109 d
 3 60 b
 6 116 f
 9 109 d
 14 17 80 k
 15 2 113 gg
 7 . 119 w N., 139 d
 14 93 k
 18 128 c, 133 k
 16 6 119 g
 13 93 k
 20 133 k
 17 2 167 b
 5 124 o
 6 144 e
 8 102 h
 14 44 d, 49 m
 17 109 g
 18 1 68 c, 131 h
 16 109 d
 19 5 126 r
 20 2 61 d
 5 137 c
 8 121 b
 14 128 h
 21 3 121 a, 145 q
 4 121 a
 7 44 m, 145 k
 8 55 k
 10 135 p, 145 m
 11 49 m, 96, 130 e
 13 101 a
 22 1 159 gg
 19 17 c, 127 e
 23 131 b
 23 5 . 61 d, 130 c N 1
 11 20 h
 15 93 ss, 128 p
 25 96
 24 1 167 b
 4 54 h
 8 51 n
 10 23 d
 13 58 i
 25 2 96, 128 v
 12 67 ee
 13 123 f
 26 5 119 i
 12 53 k

Deuteronomy

27 2 72 w
 6 117 hh
 9 16 b
 28 24 58 g
 36 131 d
 43 133 k
 48 53 l, 145 m
 49 155 d
 52 67 v
 56 . 113 d, 142 f N.
 57 74 i
 59 91 n
 62 119 i
 66 75 rr
 67 151 b
 29 14 100 o N.
 15 157 c
 18 69 h N.
 21 167 b
 28 5 n
 30 4 92 b N.
 31 12 120 e
 16 93 gg
 21 164 d
 29 74 g
 32 1 . . 2 r, 91 l, 117 b
 3 69 o
 4 126 c
 5 13 c, 152 e
 6 20 g, 75 ll, 100 i,
 152 a N.
 7 . 60 f, 87 n, 123 c
 8 53 k, 109 k
 10 58 i, 58 k
 11 52 n, 155 g
 15 20 g, 144 p, 154
 N (a)
 17 144 p, 152 a N.,
 155 e, 155 f, 155 h
 18 75 s, 109 k
 20 108 a
 21 152 a N.
 22 69 f
 24 116 h, 116 l
 26 . 58 a N., 75 mm
 27 139 y
 28 50 e, 93 qq, 124 e
 29 159 x
 30 134 s
 31 156 b N.
 32 20 h
 35 52 o, 145 o, 155 l
 36 . 29 v, 44 f, 152 s
 37 29 t, 75 u
 39 141 h N 2
 40 93 aa N.
 41 159 n
 46 . . 117 gg, 165 t
 50 110 c
 33 2 112 pp

Deuteronomy

| | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------|----------------|
| 33 | 3 | | 116 s |
| | 4 | | 131 s |
| | 9 | | 19 c, 117 b N. |
| 11 | 116 i, 117 l, 165 b | | |
| 12 | | | 44 c |
| 16 | . 48 d, 90 l, 90 m | | |
| 19 | | | 130 f, 133 h |
| 21 | | | 68 h, 76 d |
| 23 | | | 48 i, 69 f |
| 24 | | | 119 w, 126 m |
| 26 | | | 91 l |
| 27 | | | 131 s |
| 34 | 8 | | 67 g |
| | 9 | | 116 f |

Joshua

| | | | |
|----|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | 1 | | 49 b N. |
| | 2 | | 131 n |
| | 5 | | 106 c |
| | 7 | . 107 p, 135 o N. | |
| | 8 | | 91 k |
| 12 | | | 125 d N. |
| 2 | 2 | | 63 i |
| | 4 | | 60 d, 135 p |
| | 5 | | 114 k |
| | 6 | | 59 g |
| 10 | | | 117 c, 157 c |
| 13 | | | 63 g, 96 |
| 15 | | | 126 r |
| 16 | . 63 c, 72 a, 74 k | | |
| 17 | . 34 a N., 59 h | | |
| 18 | | | 59 h |
| 20 | | | 126 y |
| 3 | 5 | | 54 k |
| | 7 | | 115 c |
| | 9 | | 66 c |
| 11 | | | 128 c |
| 12 | | | 134 q |
| 14 | | | 127 g |
| 16 | | | 120 g |
| 4 | 3 | | 72 z |
| | 4 | | 134 k |
| | 6 | | 47 m |
| | 7 | | 9 v |
| 14 | | | 52 l |
| 24 | | | 74 g |
| 5 | 2 | . . 120 g, 124 q | |
| | 8 | | 63 q |
| 6 | 8 | | 134 l |
| | 9 | | 113 u |
| 13 | . . 112 i, 113 t | | |
| 17 | | | 75 oo |
| 22 | | | 134 l |
| 7 | 7 | 63 p, 113 x, 120 e, 154 b | |
| | 9 | | 75 hh |
| 15 | | | 121 b |
| 21 | . . 127 i, 134 g | | |
| 24 | . . 154 a N. (a) | | |
| 25 | | | 117 ee |
| 8 | 3 | | 60 c |

Joshua

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| 8 | 11 | | 127 g |
| | 25 | | 146 c |
| | 28 | | 20 g, 117 ii |
| | 33 | . . . 127 f, 127 i | |
| 9 | 2 | | 118 q |
| | 8 | | 137 a |
| 12 | 54 f, 72 m, 112 ss, 126 aa | | |
| 20 | | | 113 z |
| 24 | | | 75 hh |
| 10 | 2 | | 107 c |
| | 13 | 107 c, 135 p, 150 e | |
| | 17 | | 93 oo |
| | 24 | | 23 i, 138 i |
| | 36 | | 90 e |
| 11 | 2 | | 10 g |
| | 8 | | 126 y |
| | 14 | | 53 l |
| 12 | 9 | | 2 r (end) |
| 13 | 5 | | 127 f |
| | 7 | | 125 d N. |
| | 14 | | 145 u N. |
| 14 | 1 | | 64 d |
| | 7 | . . . 72 aa, 115 i | |
| | 8 | | 75 ii |
| | 11 | . . . 115 k, 161 c | |
| 15 | 3 | | 112 ss |
| | 5 | | 90 d |
| | 12 | | 90 f |
| | 14 | | 134 l |
| | 18 | | 16 f |
| | 19 | 117 x, 117 ff, 126 y | |
| | 21 | | 90 e |
| | 38 | 56 | 21 e N. |
| 16 | 2 | | 112 ss |
| | 3, 5 | | 126 y |
| 17 | 11 | | 97 c, 117 l |
| 18 | 12 | . . . 90 i, 112 ss | |
| | 13 | | 126 y |
| | 20 | | 47 f |
| 19 | 11 | | 112 ss |
| | 13 | | 90 i |
| 21 | 11 | | 91 k |
| 22 | 3 | | 112 ss |
| | 9 | | 68 i |
| | 17 | | 117 aa |
| | 20 | | 150 m |
| | 25 | | 69 n |
| 23 | 5 | | 60 a |
| | 15 | | 103 b |
| 24 | 7 | | 145 m |
| | 10 | | 113 r |
| | 14 | | 75 oo |
| | 19 | . . 124 h, 145 i | |

Judges

| | | | |
|---|---|-----------|---------|
| 1 | 1 | | 49 b N. |
| | 2 | | 106 m |
| | 3 | | 49 h |
| | 6 | | 93 r |

Judges

| | | | |
|---|----|---|---------------|
| 1 | 7 | 116 k, 121 d, 141 i, 156 b | |
| | 12 | | 112 ii |
| | 15 | | 59 h, 126 y |
| | 19 | | 114 l |
| | 22 | | 145 c |
| | 28 | | 113 n, 164 d |
| 2 | 1 | | 107 b |
| | 18 | | 112 hh |
| | 19 | | 112 e, 112 ee |
| 3 | 23 | | 112 tt |
| | 24 | | 67 v, 164 b |
| | 25 | | 116 d |
| | 28 | | 129 e |
| 4 | 4 | | 131 b |
| | 6 | | 150 e |
| | 8 | | 49 m |
| | 18 | . 72 s, 72 t, 126 r | |
| | 19 | | 74 k |
| | 20 | 58 g, 64 f, 110 k, 147 c, 159 n, 152 k | |
| | 21 | | 72 p, 72 t |
| | 24 | . 113 h N., 113 u | |
| 5 | 1 | 2 r, 73 e, 117 b, 146 g | |
| | 4 | | 117 z |
| | 5 | . 67 dd, 136 d N. | |
| | 7 | . 20 i, 36, 44 h N. | |
| | 8 | | 107 b, 149 e |
| | 10 | | 87 e, 130 a |
| | 12 | | 10 g, 71 s |
| | 13 | | 69 g |
| | 14 | | 93 aa |
| | 15 | . 10 g, 87 g, 93 bb | |
| | 17 | | 117 bb |
| | 21 | | 118 q |
| | 22 | . . . 20 h, 123 e | |
| | 24 | | 119 w |
| | 26 | | 47 k |
| | 27 | | 154 a N. |
| | 28 | | 64 h |
| | 29 | 75 w, 128 i, 133 h | |
| 6 | 9 | | 49 c, 49 e |
| | 10 | | 49 e |
| | 11 | | 127 d |
| | 13 | | 159 dd |
| | 14 | | 126 y |
| | 16 | | 49 l |
| | 17 | | 36 |
| | 18 | . . 114 g, 135 a | |
| | 19 | . . 53 n, 156 d | |
| | 20 | | 34 f |
| | 25 | . 126 w, 128 c | |
| | 28 | | 63 p |
| | 31 | | 73 e, 100 m |
| | 36 | . . 116 q, 159 v | |
| | 39 | | 109 a N. |
| 7 | 3 | | 137 c |
| | 4 | | 136 b |
| | 6 | | 93 n |

Judges

| | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|
| 7 | 8 | 131 s |
| 12 | | 36 |
| 13 | | 112 qq |
| 19 | | 113 z |
| 20 | | 147 c |
| 23 | | 102 b |
| 25 | | 124 r |
| 8 | 1 | 74 h, 155 d, 155 h |
| 2 | | 20 m |
| 4 | | 118 n |
| 10 | | 97 e |
| 11 | | 130 a N. |
| 18 | | 126 o, 161 c |
| 19 | | 63 q, 159 x |
| 32 | | 125 h, 128 c |
| 9 | 8 | 113 o |
| 9 | | 63 k, 100 n, 106 n |
| 10 | | 46 d, 46 e |
| 15 | | 159 v |
| 16 | | 167 a |
| 17 | | 119 bb |
| 28 | | 137 a |
| 29 | | 48 l, 76 e, 151 b, 154 b |
| 39 | | 69 p |
| 41 | | 35 d |
| 45 | | 117 ee |
| 48 | | 157 a |
| 53 | | 27 o, 67 p, 125 b |
| 55 | | 145 d |
| 10 | 4 | 96 |
| 11 | | 167 b |
| 18 | | 137 c |
| 11 | 5 | 21 b |
| 10 | | 159 n N. |
| 18 | | 47 m |
| 20 | | 157 b N. |
| 25 | | 51 i, 133 a N. |
| 29 | | 118 f |
| 33 | | 134 e |
| 34 | | 135 o, 135 o N. |
| 35 | | 119 i |
| 36 | | 124 e |
| 39 | | 144 b |
| 12 | 5 | 100 m, 112 ee |
| 6 | | 2 w |
| 7 | | 124 o |
| 13 | 2 | 125 b |
| 5 | | 80 d |
| 6 | | 44 d, 64 f, 127 e |
| 8 | | 52 s |
| 12 | | 135 m |
| 16 | | 119 m |
| 21 | | 75 y |
| 23 | | 90 h N. |
| 25 | | 61 c |
| 14 | 2 | 90 e |
| 3 | | 135 a |
| 4 | | 122 q, 135 p |
| 6 | | 152 p |

Judges

| | | |
|----|----|----------------------------|
| 14 | 15 | 9 v, 69 n, 150 g N. |
| 17 | | 134 m |
| 18 | | 37 d, 90 f, 93 x, 133 a |
| 15 | 1 | 119 n |
| 7 | | 163 c, 163 d N. |
| 12 | | 152 w |
| 13 | | 113 p |
| 14 | | 164 b |
| 16 | 5 | 66 h |
| 9 | | 126 o |
| 10 | | 67 dd |
| 11 | | 113 o |
| 13 | | 28 c N. |
| 14 | | 127 g |
| 15 | | 141 e |
| 16 | | 10 g, 52 d, 60 d, 164 d |
| 18 | | 112 tt |
| 20 | | 123 c |
| 25 | | 52 n |
| 26 | | 67 v |
| 27 | | 126 x |
| 28 | | 34 a N., 88 f, 97 b N. |
| 30 | | 72 r |
| 17 | 2 | 32 h, 121 f |
| 3 | | 154 N. |
| 18 | 3 | 142 e |
| 19 | | 20 g, 150 g |
| 23 | | 67 g, 67 y |
| 29 | | 52 q |
| 30 | | 5 n |
| 19 | 1 | 131 b |
| 2 | | 75 t |
| 5 | | 9 u, 64 c N., 117 ff |
| 6 | | 110 h, 120 d |
| 8 | | 64 |
| 9 | | 91 k |
| 11 | | 19 i |
| 13 | | 69 x, 73 d |
| 18 | | 118 e N. |
| 20 | | 29 g, 73 e |
| 22 | | 54 c, 130 e |
| 30 | | 112 ee, oo, 116 w |
| 20 | 2 | 29 f |
| 15 | | 54 l, 155 d |
| 16 | | 90 i N. |
| 31 | | 66 f |
| 32 | | 20 h |
| 38 | | 75 gg |
| 39 | | 118 u |
| 43 | | 22 s |
| 44 | | 117 m |
| 21 | 7 | 131 n |
| 9 | | 54 l |
| 16 | | 123 b |
| 21 | | 145 p |

1 Samuel

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|----|---|--|
| 1 | 1 | 49 b N., 125 b, 125 h, 156 b |
| 2 | | 134 l, 145 o |
| 3 | | 112 dd, 123 c |
| 4 | | 112 g, 126 s |
| 6 | | 20 h, 22 s, 59 g, 117 p |
| 7 | | 107 e, 123 c |
| 8 | | 37 e, 102 l |
| 9 | | 91 e, 113 e N., 141 e |
| 10 | | 128 y |
| 11 | | 113 o |
| 12 | | 112 uu, 114 n N., 164 d |
| 13 | | 20 g |
| 14 | | 47 o |
| 16 | | 128 v |
| 17 | | 23 f, 95 h |
| 20 | | 44 d, 64 f |
| 22 | | 112 oo |
| 24 | | 135 i |
| 27 | | 95 h |
| 28 | | 64 f |
| 2 | 1 | 2 r, 1c6 g |
| 3 | | 103 g, 120 g, 124 e, 133 k, 152 z |
| 4 | | 146 a |
| 6 | | 111 u, 116 x |
| 8 | | 107 g, 116 x, 135 p |
| 9 | | 67 g |
| 13 | | 112 oo, 116 w, 131 c, 159 i, 164 a |
| 14 | | 131 h, 132 g |
| 15 | | 112 oo |
| 16 | | 103 g, 106 m, 112 ll, 113 w, 159 f, 159 dd |
| 18 | | 116 k, 118 q, 121 d |
| 19 | | 112 e |
| 20 | | 145 u |
| 22 | | 112 k |
| 23 | | 126 y |
| 24 | | 116 s |
| 25 | | 117 x |
| 26 | | 113 u |
| 27 | | 113 q, 114 e, 150 e |
| 28 | | 49 e, 113 z, 119 w |
| 29 | | 133 b |
| 30 | | 113 p, 116 g, 149 a |
| 31 | | 112 x, 116 d |
| 33 | | 53 g, 118 q, 145 e |
| 3 | 2 | 107 b, 120 b |
| 3 | | 107 c, 152 r |
| 5 | | 46 c, 120 g, 120 h |
| 7 | | 107 c |
| 10 | | 54 k, 118 u, 123 c |
| 11 | | 67 g, 67 p, 116 w, 155 d |
| 12 | | 113 h |

1 Samuel

- 3 13 112 *qq*, 130 *c N.*,
119 *p*
14 149 *c*
17 149 *d*
21 75 *y*
4 1 131 *c*, 145 *c*
3 127 *g*
5 72 *h*, 145 *c*
6 37 *f*
7 125 *e*
8 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*
10 124 *b*, 145 *o*
12 127 *e*
15 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*
16 126 *k*
19 69 *m*, 112 *tt*
21 152 *q*
5 3 116 *d*
7 112 *rr*
9 67 *v*, 130 *d*,
164 *d*
10 115 *c*, 145 *m*
11 117 *e*
6 4 118 *h*, 135 *r*
7 72 *i N.*, 135 *o*
9 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*
10 60 *h*, 75 *qq*
11 154 *a N.*
12 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*,
113 *s*
14 127 *d*
18 126 *x*
19 119 *k*
7 9 131 *k*
10 116 *u*
11 119 *c*
12 111 *d*
14 72 *k*
16 112 *f*
17 29 *i N.*
8 11 72 *l*
12 114 *p*
19 20 *g*, 163 *a*
9 2 133 *a*
3 96, 117 *d*, 130 *g*
4 104 *g*, 152 *k*
7 159 *w N.*
9 107 *e*, 144 *d N*
10 120 *g*
11 116 *u*
13 35 *n*, 47 *m*
17 138 *b*
20 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*
21 133 *g*
24 138 *i*, 138 *k*
10 3 97 *c*
4 134 *n*
5 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,
112 *z*
6 75 *qq*

1 Samuel

- 10 8 112 *v*
9 112 *uu*
11 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,
116 *w*, 136 *c*
12 154 *b*
13 75 *qq*
14 152 *k*
16 113 *o*
18 135 *a*
23 133 *b*
24 22 *s*, 100 *l*
25 126 *s*
27 136 *b*
11 1 125 *h*
2 135 *p*
5 107 *v*
11 111 *g*, 116 *w*
12 150 *a*
12 3 137 *b*
7 51 *p*
13 44 *d*, 64 *f*
14 167 *a*
17 114 *o*
19 107 *p*
20 135 *a*
23 126 *x*, 135 *g*
24 75 *oo*
25 29 *o*, 113 *o*
13 3 2 *b*
6 93 *w*
7 119 *gg*
8 69 *t*
11 67 *dd*
12 54 *k*
13 159 *dd*
15 93 *oo*, 132 *g*
17 118 *q*, 126 *m*, 126 *z*,
134 *l*
19 152 *w*
20 118 *f*
21 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*
22 112 *ee*
23 92 *g*
14 1 126 *s*
13 72 *m*
14 118 *s N.*
15 95 *g*
16 129 *b*
19 111 *h*, 113 *u*, 164 *d*
21 2 *b*
22 53 *n*
24 76 *d*, 112 *w*
27 72 *k*
28 72 *t*
29 126 *c*
30 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*
33 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*
34 96 (p. 286)
36 48 *g N.*, 67 *dd*, 109 *d*
38 66 *c*

1 Samuel

- 14 39 100 *o N.*, 149 *c*
43 113 *p*
44 149 *d*
45 119 *w N.*
49 47 *b N.*
52 112 *ll*
15 1 9 *v*
2 106 *g*
4 93 *x*
5 68 *i*
6 20 *g*, 22 *s*, 60 *f*,
68 *h*, 154 *a N.*
9 67 *t*, 75 *y*, 132 *d*,
135 *c N.*
13 121 *f*
14 37 *f*, 154 *b*
16 165 *a*
19 72 *ff*
20 157 *c*
23 29 *q*, 53 *l*, 111 *h*,
119 *x*
32 118 *q*
33 119 *w*
16 1 65 *h*, 127 *d*
2 114 *g*, 159 *g*
3 138 *e*
4 141 *n*, 144 *d*, 145 *u*,
150 *a*
7 35 *g*, 132 *c*
8 125 *i*
11 133 *g*
12 128 *x*
14 112 *h*
16 120 *b N.*, 124 *i*
18 128 *t*, 129 *c*
20 128 *g*
23 112 *ee*, 112 *oo*, 126 *x*
17 5 121 *d*, 131 *q*
12 126 *x*
14 133 *g*, 134 *l*
15 113 *u*, 118 *g*
16 113 *k*
17 126 *x*, 134 *n*
20 112 *rr*
21 122 *i*
24 111 *h*
25 22 *s*, 53 *n*, 60 *g*,
100 *l*, 114 *g*, 116 *s*
26 34 *f*, 132 *h*
28 136 *c*
32 112 *p*
34 112 *kk*, 126 *r*,
154 *a N.*
38 112 *tt*
40 132 *c*
41 113 *u*
43 124 *o*
46 145 *e*
47 53 *q*, 145 *c*
48 112 *uu*

1 Samuel

17 50 111 *k*
 55 136 *c*,
 137 *b*
 58 126 *e*, 126 *f*
 18 1 60 *d*
 9 55 *c*
 10 54 *e*, 118 *u*
 15 157 *c*
 18 137 *a*
 19 114 *q*, 115 *e* N.
 21 134 *r*
 22 59 *c*
 23 114 *a*
 28 59 *g*, 59 *i*
 29 68 *h*, 69 *n*
 19 1 115 *a*
 2 51 *n*, 63 *c*
 3 119 *l*
 10 126 *y*
 13 124 *h*, 132 *h* N.
 17 59 *h*, 150 *e*
 22 126 *x*
 23 113 *t*, 135 *g*
 20 1 37 *d*, 116 *s*
 2 103 *g*, 156 *f*
 3 118 *x*, 149 *a* N.
 6 51 *e*, 51 *i*, 113 *n*,
 159 *s*
 8 142 *g*
 9 150 *a*
 10 150 *i*, 151 *a*
 11 118 *f*
 13 117 *l* N., 149 *d*
 16 117 *g*
 19 120 *c*
 20 127 *e*
 23 143 *a*
 26 152 *d*
 27 80 *g* N.
 31 128 *v*, 138 *c*
 33 115 *c*
 37 150 *e*
 40 72 *y*
 42 134 *d*, 135 *f*
 21 2 90 *i*, 119 *gg*, 152 *o*
 3 55 *b*, 137 *c*
 5 119 *e* N.
 6 123 *b*
 8 129 *h*
 9 150 *c* N³
 10 102 *g*, 126 *r*
 14 60 *d*, 75 *bb*, 131 *m*
 N.
 16 150 *b*
 22 2 75 *oo*
 5 119 *s*
 7 117 *n*, 124 *p*, 153
 9 90 *i*
 13 113 *e*
 15 67 *w*, 150 *b*

1 Samuel

23 1 93 *r*
 7 128 *a*
 10 113 *o*, 117 *n*
 11 150 *g* N., 150 *n*
 15 90 *e*
 19 150 *e*
 21 121 *f*
 22 63 *n*, 135 *b*, 144 *d*
 N²
 23 100 *o* N.
 28 22 *s*
 24 5 138 *b*
 6 117 *d*
 11 9 *v*, 112 *rr*, 144 *o*
 12 114 *r*, 154 N. (c)
 18 117 *ff*
 19 112 *hh* N., 117 *c*
 25 1 21 *d*
 2 67 *cc*
 5 44 *d*, 64 *f*
 7 53 *p*
 8 72 *o*, 74 *k*, 76 *g*
 10 67 *ee*, 126 *w*
 11 112 *cc*
 14 72 *ff*
 15 130 *d*
 18 24 *b*, 75 *v*, 132 *g*
 20 47 *k*, 112 *uu*
 22 149 *b*
 24 135 *g*
 25 107 *p*
 26 65 *f*, 113 *e*, 113 *gg*,
 144 *l* N³, 149 *a* N.
 27 143 *d*, 145 *o*, 145 *o*
 N¹
 28 119 *w* N.
 29 143 *c*
 31 114 *p*
 33 75 *qq*
 34 76 *h*, 106 *p*, 149 *d*
 26 9 112 *h*, 151 *a*
 12 87 *s*, 152 *l*
 13 156 *c*
 14 155 *m*
 16 117 *l*, 117 *m* N.
 19 72 *aa*
 20 117 *d*
 22 127 *f*
 27 9 112 *e*, 112 *dd*
 10 150 *a* N.
 28 3 106 *f*, 154 *a* N.
 7 52 *d*, 96, 128 *u*,
 130 *e*
 8 10 *h*, 46 *d*, 46 *e*
 10 20 *h*
 13 132 *h* N. I
 15 48 *d*, 59 *f*, 75 *ll*,
 102 *l*
 24 68 *h*
 29 6 149 *c*

1 Samuel

29 8 49 *m*, 130 *c*
 10 144 *c*
 30 2 156 *f*
 6 144 *b*
 8 150 *a* N¹, 154 *a*
 13 134 *o* N¹
 24 161 *c*
 26 91 *k*
 28 10 *g*
 31 2 53 *n*
 7 103 *g*
 9 124 *r*

2 Samuel

1 4 157 *c*
 6 75 *rr*, 113 *o*
 9 72 *m*, 128 *e*
 10 49 *c*, 61 *b*, 107 *b* N.
 18 150 *e*
 21 126 *m*, 130 *a*, 152 *g*
 23 44 *c*, 154 *a* N.
 24 116 *f*
 25 148 *b*
 26 75 *oo*
 2 5 121 *f*
 16 144 *d*
 20 136 *d*
 21 64 *c*, 119 *s*
 22 102 *l*, 150 *e*
 23 111 *g*, 116 *w*
 26 44 *g*
 27 159 *ee*
 32 72 *r*, 118 *g*
 3 1 113 *u*, 145 *c*
 2 129 *g*
 8 75 *qq*, 111 *e*
 10 114 *o*
 11 115 *d*
 16 113 *u*
 18 113 *dd* N.
 25 117 *h*
 27 117 *ll*
 30 117 *n*
 33 107 *t*
 34 152 *d*, 152 *e*
 39 141 *e*
 4 1 145 *p*
 2 128 *c*
 4 128 *h*
 7 141 *e*
 10 111 *h*, 114 *l* N.
 11 117 *d*
 5 2 74 *k*
 6 35 *g*, 106 *m*
 8 35 *g*, 116 *w*, 107 *u*
 10 125 *h*
 21 146 *f*
 24 109 *k*, 112 *z*, 117 *d*
 6 1 68 *h*

2 Samuel

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|----|----|------------------------|
| 6 | 2 | 125 c |
| | 3 | 126 z |
| | 6 | 117 g |
| | 16 | 112 uu |
| | 20 | 75 y, 148 b |
| 7 | 5 | 112 r, 150 d |
| | 14 | 112 mm |
| | 29 | 120 d |
| 8 | 2 | 126 m |
| | 3 | 17 b |
| | 4 | 69 v |
| | 8 | 131 e |
| 9 | 1 | 165 a |
| | 3 | 128 y, 152 s |
| 10 | 7 | 131 o |
| | 9 | 145 k, 146 a |
| | 12 | 54 k |
| 11 | 1 | 23 g |
| | 4 | 141 e |
| | 11 | 149 a N. |
| | 19 | 142 f N ² |
| | 20 | 157 c |
| | 24 | 69 r, 75 rr |
| | 25 | 117 l |
| | 27 | 60 d |
| 12 | 1 | 72 p |
| | 2 | 126 d, 126 x, 146 f |
| | 3 | 152 p |
| | 6 | 97 h |
| | 9 | 144 n |
| | 10 | 114 g |
| | 14 | 52 o |
| | 15 | 51 m |
| | 16 | 112 f, 117 q |
| | 17 | 75 rr |
| | 28 | 61 f, 135 a, 150 m N. |
| | 30 | 127 e |
| 13 | 4 | p. 457 N ¹ |
| | 5 | 75 cc |
| | 8 | 72 t |
| | 12 | 75 hh, 107 g |
| | 14 | 117 u |
| | 15 | 117 q |
| | 17 | 64 c |
| | 18 | 47 l, 112 tt N., 156 b |
| | 19 | 113 t |
| | 20 | 84 a s, 118 p, 154 a N |
| | 23 | 131 d |
| | 25 | 152 g, 165 a |
| | 26 | 159 dd |
| | 28 | 72 w, 159 g |
| | 31 | 116 k |
| | 32 | 73 f |
| | 39 | 131 g, 144 o |
| 14 | 2 | 75 m, 136 d |
| | 3 | 76 g |
| | 4 | 126 e |
| | 6 | 60 d |

2 Samuel

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|----|----|--------------------------------|
| 14 | 7 | 73 b |
| | 10 | 116 w |
| | 11 | 75 ff, 119 w N. |
| | 13 | 92 b, 115 i |
| | 19 | 47 b N., 70 c |
| | 21 | 106 m |
| | 26 | 118 h, 134 g |
| | 30 | 71 |
| | 31 | 102 l |
| 15 | 2 | 111 g, 127 b N. |
| | 4 | 112 p, 151 a |
| | 5 | 10 g N ^s |
| | 7 | 10 g |
| | 12 | 113 u |
| | 16 | 117 d |
| | 20 | 150 a |
| | 21 | 93 aa N., 130 c, 163 d |
| | 23 | 117 t |
| | 25 | 117 e |
| | 27 | 72 s |
| | 32 | 116 k, 121 d |
| | 33 | 49 l, 75 w |
| | 34 | 67 dd, 143 d |
| | 37 | 93 u |
| 16 | 1 | 134 n |
| | 5 | 112 tt, 113 t |
| | 7 | 128 t |
| | 13 | 93 gg, 112 f |
| 17 | 5 | 135 f |
| | 8 | 117 h |
| | 9 | 144 e |
| | 10 | 67 t |
| | 11 | 106 i |
| | 12 | 109 d, 122 l |
| | 13 | 106 o |
| | 15 | 135 a |
| | 16 | 121 a |
| | 17 | 112 k, 126 r |
| | 22 | 96, 130 g |
| | 23 | 51 m |
| | 26 | 118 g |
| 18 | 3 | 63 i, 97 g |
| | 11 | 114 l, 119 aa, 154 b, 159 w N. |
| | 12 | 137 c, 154 b |
| | 13 | 159 cc |
| | 14 | 108 c, 156 c |
| | 16 | 22 s |
| | 18 | 117 d |
| | 19 | 119 ff |
| | 22 | 74 i |
| | 23 | 110 b |
| | 29 | 114 f, 150 a |
| | 33 | 133 l N. |
| 19 | 1 | 135 f, 151 b |
| | 6 | 70 c, 128 a |
| | 13 | 112 i |
| | 14 | 68 h |
| | 18 | 97 e, 112 tt |

2 Samuel

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|----|----|------------------|
| 19 | 19 | 53 q |
| | 20 | 115 g |
| | 25 | 52 l, 127 f |
| | 27 | 122 f |
| | 30 | 106 i |
| | 43 | 76 b |
| | 44 | 67 w |
| 20 | 1 | 147 c |
| | 5 | 68 i |
| | 8 | 142 e |
| | 9 | 68 h, 141 c |
| | 11 | 137 c |
| | 12 | 112 oo, 116 e |
| | 13 | 69 w |
| | 14 | 125 h |
| | 18 | 113 w |
| | 19 | 130 f N. |
| | 20 | 149 a, 149 e |
| | 21 | 53 s, 155 e |
| | 23 | 16 b, 127 f |
| 21 | 2 | 74 h |
| | 3 | 110 i |
| | 4 | 120 c |
| | 9 | 118 i |
| | 11 | 121 a |
| | 12 | 75 rr |
| | 15 | 72 t |
| | 20 | 35 n |
| | 22 | 121 b |
| 22 | 1 | 2 s, 53 l, 130 d |
| | 24 | 49 e |
| | 27 | 67 l |
| | 33 | 35 d, 131 r |
| | 37 | 103 d |
| | 38 | 108 e |
| | 40 | 68 k |
| | 41 | 19 i, 116 w |
| | 44 | 87 f |
| 23 | 1 | 2 s, 29 g |
| | 3 | 116 w |
| | 4 | 152 u |
| | 5 | 135 m, 150 a N. |
| | 6 | 91 f, 143 a |
| | 7 | 113 w |
| | 8 | 47 b, 87 f |
| | 11 | 127 e |
| | 13 | 134 k |
| | 17 | 167 a |
| | 19 | 150 d |
| 24 | 3 | 145 n, 154 b |
| | 6 | 90 i |
| | 11 | 93 rr |
| | 13 | 145 h |
| | 16 | 142 f |
| | 21 | 165 a |
| | 22 | 93 pp |
| | 23 | 106 m |
| | 24 | 75 n, 113 p |

1 Kings

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|---|----|------------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | 49 b, 67 g |
| | 2 | 131 b, 144 f |
| | 5 | 116 o |
| | 6 | 119 w N. |
| | 12 | 117 p |
| | 14 | 116 u |
| | 15 | 80 d, 90 c |
| | 20 | 135 g |
| | 21 | 146 d |
| | 24 | 150 a, 150 b |
| | 26 | 135 g |
| | 27 | 150 f |
| | 31 | 156 c |
| | 40 | 117 g, 145 c |
| | 41 | 146 a |
| | 47 | 70 e |
| | 52 | 119 w N. |
| 2 | 2 | 116 p |
| | 3 | 95 u, 114 o |
| | 6 | 109 d |
| | 7 | 116 h |
| | 17 | 131 g |
| | 18 | 135 a |
| | 21 | 121 b |
| | 22 | 110 a, 154 b |
| | 23 | 149 d |
| | 26 | 75 z, 93 ss, 118 f, 128 t |
| | 30 | 75 u |
| | 31 | 128 w |
| | 36 | 80 i, 90 i |
| | 40 | 90 i |
| | 42 | 72 aa |
| | 43 | 128 h |
| 3 | 4 | 107 b |
| | 7 | 114 c |
| | 8 | 166 b |
| | 11 | 112 tt |
| | 12 | 166 b |
| | 15 | 71 |
| | 16 | 107 c |
| | 18 | 128 f, 135 r |
| | 26 | 46 e |
| 4 | 5 | 93 u |
| | 7 | 112 l |
| | 12 | 90 i |
| | 13 | 128 c |
| | 14 | 90 d |
| 5 | 1 | 144 i |
| | 3 | 131 c |
| | 7 | 112 dd |
| | 9 | 131 e |
| | 12 | 134 g |
| | 17 | 117 h |
| | 20 | 68 c |
| | 25 | 23 f, 107 e |
| | 29 | 131 b |
| 6 | 1 | 134 h, 134 o |
| | 6 | 63 i |
| | 7 | 131 c |

1 Kings

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|----|----|---------------|
| 6 | 16 | 117 d |
| | 19 | 66 i |
| 7 | 6 | 92 g |
| | 7 | 118 p, 126 w |
| | 8 | 118 g |
| | 14 | 41 o, 131 b |
| | 15 | 117 hh |
| | 27 | 134 l |
| | 28 | 20 m |
| | 37 | 91 f |
| 8 | 1 | 107 c, 109 k |
| | 5 | 119 z, 145 c |
| | 12 | 138 e |
| | 13 | 118 k |
| | 29 | 91 k |
| | 30 | 119 g, 159 g |
| | 31 | 145 o |
| | 32 | 118 g |
| | 33 | 158 d |
| | 44 | 75 w |
| | 46 | 49 m |
| | 48 | 44 i |
| | 64 | 133 c |
| 9 | 3 | 75 v |
| | 8 | 67 g |
| | 11 | 75 oo |
| | 17 | 126 y |
| | 25 | 112 dd, 113 z |
| | 26 | 122 t |
| 10 | 9 | 115 d |
| | 11 | 35 m |
| | 12 | 117 ii |
| | 21 | 152 y N. |
| | 22 | 74 i |
| | 23 | 119 u |
| | 24 | 164 b N. |
| | 27 | 126 p |
| | 29 | 75 t |
| 11 | 1 | 10 h |
| | 3 | 145 o, 145 p |
| | 5 | 122 f |
| | 8 | 131 h N. |
| | 9 | 138 k |
| | 12 | 135 p |
| | 15 | 52 f |
| | 16 | 53 l |
| | 19 | 54 k |
| | 21 | 165 a |
| | 25 | 117 m N. |
| | 30 | 117 ii |
| | 31 | 134 l |
| | 33 | 87 e |
| | 34 | 117 ii |
| | 39 | 23 d |
| | 41 | 150 e |
| 12 | 2 | 138 d |
| | 6 | 64 b, 117 gg |
| | 8 | 116 q, 118 q |
| | 10 | 93 q |
| | 12 | 74 k |

1 Kings

| | | |
|----|----|-----------------------------|
| 12 | 15 | 115 a |
| | 28 | 133 c |
| | 31 | 117 d |
| | 32 | 21 d, 65 e, 112 pp |
| 13 | 3 | 112 tt |
| | 7 | 10 h |
| | 11 | 125 b |
| | 12 | 155 d |
| | 14 | 126 r |
| | 18 | 156 d |
| | 30 | 147 d |
| | 33 | 109 f, 109 g |
| 14 | 2 | 32 h |
| | 3 | 65 g |
| | 5 | 94 d, 112 z |
| | 6 | 118 p, 121 d N ¹ |
| | 10 | 64 d |
| | 12 | 72 r N, |
| | 13 | 129 g |
| | 14 | 136 d N. |
| | 15 | 91 u |
| | 16 | 23 c |
| | 17 | 116 u |
| | 19 | 129 d, 150 e |
| | 21 | 10 g |
| | 24 | 127 g |
| 15 | 13 | 119 x |
| | 23 | 118 q |
| | 25 | 134 p |
| 16 | 2 | 74 l |
| | 10 | 134 o |
| | 24 | 29 f, 88 b |
| | 25 | 67 x |
| | 31 | 150 d |
| 17 | 1 | 93 pp |
| | 3 | 119 s |
| | 9 | 90 i |
| | 11 | 66 g |
| | 13 | 75 m |
| | 14 | 66 i, 75 rr |
| | 15 | 32 l |
| | 16 | 146 a |
| 18 | 5 | 119 w N. |
| | 10 | 107 e |
| | 27 | 53 q, 67 y |
| | 32 | 117 ii, 117 kk |
| | 43 | 152 p |
| | 44 | 58 g |
| 19 | 4 | 157 b N ² |
| | 9 | 126 r |
| | 11 | 132 d |
| | 15 | 26 h, 90 c, 90 i |
| | 19 | 134 o |
| | 20 | 20 m |
| | 21 | 131 m |
| 20 | 14 | 137 b |
| | 20 | 145 c |
| | 21 | 112 tt |
| | 22 | 54 k |
| | 25 | 103 b |

1 Kings

| | | | |
|----|----|-----------|---------------------|
| 20 | 27 | | 54 l |
| | 33 | | 53 n |
| | 35 | | 75 mm, 128 v |
| | 39 | | 51 k |
| | 40 | | 116 g N. |
| 21 | 2 | | 34 c |
| | 8 | | 124 b N. |
| | 10 | | 104 g |
| | 11 | | 116 g, 118 q |
| | 12 | | 112 qq |
| | 13 | | 119 c |
| | 15 | | 69 f |
| | 19 | | 74 k, 135 f |
| | 21 | | 74 k, 74 l |
| | 25 | | 72 w |
| 22 | 3 | | 150 e |
| | 4 | | 161 c |
| | 7 | | 108 b |
| | 10 | | 121 d |
| | 12 | | 110 f |
| | 15 | | 150 c |
| | 16 | | 102 k, 134 r |
| | 23 | | 126 y |
| | 25 | | 75 pp |
| | 27 | | 131 c |
| | 28 | | 135 r, 144 p, 159 q |
| | 30 | | 104 g, 113 dd N. |
| | 35 | | 71 |
| | 49 | | 44 m |

2 Kings

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | | 49 b |
| | 2 | | 126 y |
| | 3 | | 152 y |
| | 7 | | 37 f |
| | 9 | | 97 i |
| | 10 | | 154 b |
| | 11 | | 120 d |
| 2 | 1 | | 10 h, 114 q |
| | 9 | | 107 c |
| | 10 | | 52 s, 114 n N. |
| | 16 | | 93 u, 107 q N ^s |
| | 20 | | 72 aa |
| | 21 | | 75 oo |
| | 22 | | 75 qq |
| | 24 | | 122 e |
| 3 | 3 | | 135 p |
| | 4 | | 2 d, 112 h, 131 k |
| | 8 | | 155 d |
| | 15 | | 112 uu |
| | 16 | | 113 bb, 123 e |
| | 23 | | 113 w |
| | 24 | | 75 ff |
| | 25 | | 112 e |
| | 27 | | 107 k |
| 4 | 1 | | 125 b |
| | 3 | | 91 l, 133 c N. |
| | 8 | | 126 s |
| | 13 | | 114 k, 117 r |

2 Kings

| | | | |
|----|----|-----------|----------------------------|
| 4 | 14 | | 154 b |
| | 16 | | 32 h, 116 p |
| | 23 | | 90 n |
| | 24 | | 66 c |
| | 25 | | 34 f |
| | 27 | | 63 e |
| | 31 | | 29 k |
| | 41 | | 69 f |
| | 43 | | 113 ee |
| 5 | 2 | | 118 q |
| | 3 | | 151 e |
| | 9 | | 129 d |
| | 10 | | 110 i, 113 bb, 159 d |
| | 11 | | 112 p |
| | 12 | | 107 t |
| | 13 | | 110 f, 142 f, 159 cc |
| | 17 | | 104 g, 159 dd |
| | 18 | | 75 kk |
| | 20 | | 112 gg, 163 d |
| | 22 | | 136 d |
| | 23 | | 72 t, 88 b, 131 d |
| | 26 | | 150 a N ¹ |
| 6 | 5 | | 117 m N. |
| | 8 | | 91 n |
| | 9 | | 51 n |
| | 10 | | 134 r |
| | 11 | | 36 |
| | 19 | | 34 b N ^s , 52 n |
| | 22 | | p. 457 N ¹ |
| | 27 | | 109 h, 150 g |
| | 29 | | 74 l |
| | 32 | | 22 s, 100 l |
| 7 | 1 | | 131 d |
| | 4 | | 112 ff |
| | 8 | | 47 i |
| | 10 | | 135 p N ¹ |
| | 13 | | 127 f |
| | 18 | | 10 h |
| 8 | 1 | | 32 h |
| | 6 | | 53 m, 72 y, 91 e |
| | 8 | | 126 y |
| | 16 | | 52 l |
| | 17 | | 134 e |
| | 21 | | 50 e |
| 9 | 2 | | 72 w, 76 h |
| | 4 | | 127 g |
| | 17 | | 80 f |
| | 18 | | 32 n, 103 o, 119 b |
| | 19 | | 150 a N ¹ |
| | 27 | | 147 c |
| | 31 | | 144 p |
| | 33 | | 76 c |
| | 35 | | 119 m |
| | 37 | | 75 m |
| 10 | 1 | | 124 b N., 127 f |
| | 6 | | 131 h N. |
| | 15 | | 159 cc |
| | 21 | | 102 h |
| | 23 | | 152 w |
| | 29 | | 93 o |

2 Kings

| | | | |
|----|----|-----------|------------------------------|
| 11 | 1 | | 112 pp |
| | 2 | | 116 e |
| | 4 | | 75 gg, 75 q, 97 g |
| | 5 | | 116 h |
| | 12 | | 74 l |
| | 13 | | 87 e |
| | 15 | | 113 cc, 119 e |
| 12 | 9 | | 72 h, 66 g, 93 h |
| | 12 | | 112 pp N ^s |
| 13 | 6 | | 74 k |
| | 17 | | 69 r, 76 f |
| | 19 | | 114 k, 159 dd |
| | 21 | | 111 g |
| 14 | 7 | | 21 e, 112 tt |
| | 8 | | 156 o |
| | 14 | | 93 oo, 112 pp, 112 tt, 124 q |
| 15 | 16 | | 76 c, 127 i |
| | 29 | | 80 k |
| 16 | 4 | | 65 e |
| | 7 | | 72 p |
| | 14 | | 127 h |
| | 17 | | 127 h |
| | 18 | | 80 k |
| 17 | 4 | | 118 u |
| | 6 | | 134 p |
| | 11 | | 53 p |
| | 15 | | 103 l |
| | 29 | | 124 r |
| 18 | 1 | | 134 p |
| | 4 | | 112 tt |
| | 17 | | 128 w N. |
| | 20 | | 44 i |
| | 26 | | 2 a |
| | 28 | | 2 a |
| | 29 | | 74 l |
| | 30 | | 121 b N. |
| | 36 | | 112 tt |
| 19 | 2 | | 131 h N. |
| | 4 | | 132 h |
| | 14 | | 124 b N. |
| | 21 | | 72 l |
| | 25 | | 23 f, 75 qq |
| 20 | 1 | | 49 a |
| | 19 | | 126 x, 141 n |
| 21 | 11 | | 74 l |
| | 12 | | 67 g |
| | 13 | | 113 h N. |
| | 15 | | 112 tt |
| | 26 | | 144 d N. |
| 22 | 1 | | 134 e |
| | 13 | | 138 b |
| | 20 | | 61 h, 124 c |
| 23 | 3 | | 127 c |
| | 4 | | 75 v, 112 pp, 112 pp N. |
| | 8 | | 112 pp N. |
| | 10 | | 112 pp, 114 s |
| | 12 | | 112 rr, 127 f |
| | 14 | | 112 pp N. |

2 Kings

| | | |
|----|--------------|--------------|
| 23 | 15 | 67 v |
| | 17 | 127 f, 127 g |
| | 20 | 117 d |
| | 35 | 139 c |
| 24 | 7 | 144 b |
| | 14 | 97 g, 112 tt |
| 25 | 9 | 117 d |
| | 15 | 123 e |
| | 16 | 126 z, 134 l |
| | 17 | 134 e |
| | 18 | 131 b |
| | 19 | 127 f |
| | 28 | 122 q |
| | 29 | 75 rr |

Isaiah

| | | |
|---|--|-----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 126 e |
| | 3 | 124 i |
| | 4 | 128 l, x, 147 d |
| | 5 37 e, 127 c, 137 b, 156 d | |
| | 6 67 m, 126 m, 144 b, 152 o | |
| | 7 116 l, 116 n, 118 x, 143 a | |
| | 9 106 p, 118 x, 159 x | |
| | 11 106 g, 107 f, 117 z | |
| | 12 . 51 l, 106 g, 164 d | |
| | 14 66 b, 76 b, 102 h, 114 c, 119 aa | |
| | 15 60 f, 61 e, 117 z, 124 n, 145 n | |
| | 16 | 54 d, 128 r |
| | 17 | 113 d, 117 u |
| | 18 | 126 o, 160 a |
| | 19 | 120 e |
| | 20 | 52 e, 121 c |
| | 21 90 l, 95 h, 107 b, 148 b | |
| | 22 | 126 m |
| | 23 | 107 g, 124 f |
| | 24 | 51 p |
| | 25 | 118 w, 124 l |
| | 26 . 118 s N., 135 m | |
| | 27 | 116 i |
| | 28 | 147 c |
| | 29 | 144 p |
| | 30 . 91 d, 116 i, 152 o | |
| | 31 | 93 q |
| 2 | 1 | 154 a N. |
| | 2 | 116 r |
| | 4 | 91 n |
| | 6 | 44 g |
| | 7 | 117 z |
| | 8 | 145 m |
| | 9 | 109 e, 117 g |
| | 11 | 112 s, 146 a |
| | 17 | 145 o |
| | 18 | 15 f |

Isaiah

| | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| 2 | 20 63 i, 84 ^b n, 135 n, 145 m | |
| | 22 | 116 e, 119 s |
| 3 | 1 | 116 p, 122 v |
| | 3 | 116 k |
| | 6 | 103 g, 118 g |
| | 7 117 g, 117 ii, 156 b | |
| | 8 | 53 q, 122 i |
| | 9 | 135 i, 156 g |
| | 12 | 124 k, 145 l |
| | 13 | 115 b |
| | 14 | 128 h, 154 b |
| | 15 | 37 c |
| | 16 52 n, 75 v, 111 r, 112 nn, 113 u, 135 o | |
| | 17 . 91 c, 91 f, 142 f | |
| | 18 | 86 g N. |
| | 22 | 35 f |
| | 24 | 131 b |
| 4 | 4 106 o, 107 l, 113 e, 159 n N. | |
| 5 | 1 87 f N., 108 b, 128 v | |
| | 2 | 114 m, 117 ee |
| | 3 | 110 a |
| | 4 75 z, 114 k, 150 m | |
| | 5 112 u, 113 d, 113 f, 114 k N., 116 d, 116 p | |
| | 6 117 z, 117 ii, 119 y | |
| | 8 112 w, 116 x, 144 p, 147 d | |
| | 9 | 149 e, 152 y |
| | 10 | 93 m |
| | 11 112 m, 120 c, 130 a, 156 d | |
| | 12 93 ss, 106 l, 141 d | |
| | 13 | 106 n, 128 t |
| | 14 | 20 f, 112 s |
| | 15 | 111 v |
| | 17 | 118 t, 142 f |
| | 19 | 48 d, 108 d |
| | 23 | 116 x, 145 m |
| | 24 | 114 r, 115 k |
| | 25 | 136 b |
| | 26 . 133 k N., 145 m | |
| | 28 | 20 h, 117 z |
| | 29 | 152 l |
| | 30 | 136 b |
| 6 | 1 | 111 b |
| | 2 88 f, 119 cc, 134 q | |
| | 3 112 k, 133 k, 139 e N., 141 l | |
| | 4 107 b, 107 d, 117 z | |
| | 5 106 n, 128 y, 147 d | |
| | 6 94 b, 155 h, 156 b | |
| | 7 | 112 x |
| | 8 61 g, 117 c, 124 g N., 137 b | |
| | 9 | 75 n, 113 r |
| | 10 | 67 v, 136 b |

Isaiah

| | | |
|----|---|-------------------|
| 6 | 11 106 o, 121 d, 144 d, 152 y | |
| | 12 | 67 k |
| | 13 52 p, 112 mm, 114 k N., 120 d | |
| 7 | 2 | 72 q, 122 i |
| | 3 | 95 s |
| | 4 | 113 bb |
| | 6 | 122 i |
| | 7 | 122 q, 144 b |
| | 8 | 119 y |
| | 9 | 148 d, 159 ee |
| | 11 | 29 u |
| | 13 | 114 a, 133 c |
| | 14 74 g, 112 t, 113 h, 126 r, 135 a N., 135 c | |
| | 15 | 113 f |
| | 17 | 49 a |
| | 18 | 124 e |
| | 20 | 126 x |
| | 23 | 134 n |
| | 25 | 118 l, 144 h |
| 8 | 1 | 29 l, 52 s, 119 u |
| | 2 | 49 e, 96 |
| | 4 | 144 d |
| | 6 | 2 d N., 130 a |
| | 7 | 154 b |
| | 8 | 145 o |
| | 9 | 110 f |
| | 11 | 45 d, 59 h |
| | 12 | 47 m, 117 r |
| | 16 | 67 n |
| | 17 | 75 z |
| | 19 | 164 d |
| | 20 | 145 m |
| | 21 | 54 k, 118 n |
| | 23 . 67 v, 90 f, 128 h | |
| 9 | 1 106 n, 130 a, 132 g | |
| | 2 | 103 g, 130 a |
| | 3 10 h, 20 h, 67 w, 93 q, 118 u, 135 n | |
| | 4 112 mm, 124 n, 143 d, 146 e | |
| | 5 | 93 k, 144 d |
| | 6 | 5 n, 152 u |
| | 8 | 127 c, 145 c |
| | 11 | 127 c |
| | 12 | 116 f |
| | 18 | 145 o |
| 10 | 1 | 10 g, 93 bb |
| | 2 | 114 r |
| | 4 | 163 c |
| | 5 | 152 a |
| | 9 | 21 d |
| | 10 | 133 e |
| | 12 | 47 b, 127 a |
| | 13 23 d, 75 z, 107 b N. | |
| | 14 118 w, 126 o, 132 e | |
| | 15 115 i, 124 k, 150 h | |

Isaiah

10 16 69f
 17 93v
 18 67cc
 22 117z
 24 . 58i, 119o, 156d
 30 . . . 132b, 144m
 32 . . . 114k, 119o
 33 23c
 34 119o
 11 2 128a
 7 122e
 8 142f
 9 106u, 114c, 115d,
 116fN., 117n, 126z
 10 119gg
 12 20m
 14 93hh
 12 1 109k
 2 80g
 5 116e
 6 122s
 13 3 135n
 4 . . . 146b, 147c
 6 118x
 8 . . . 47m, 119gg
 18 52n
 19 115d
 20 68k
 22 145o
 14 2 54f, 57N^a, 117w
 3 22s, 102b, 115g,
 121b, 121f
 4 . 49k, 49m, 148b
 6 . . . 117g, 130a
 9 145t
 11 93ss, 145o
 14 87s
 17 . . . 116x, 117o
 19 . 29f, 126p, 130a
 23 55f, 113e
 24 . . . 144b, 149b
 27 . . . 116g, 126k
 30 72w, 133h
 31 72v, 113bb
 15 2 70d, 96
 5 72cc
 7 155h
 8 119hh
 16 2 126p
 4 145d
 6 122v
 7 70d
 8 75m, 145u
 9 75dd
 10 72bb, 121a, b, 144e
 17 1 . . . 119x, 121b
 4 128r
 5 122n
 6 118u, 131n N¹,
 134s

Isaiah

17 8 . 35f, 154a N. (b)
 10 . . . 20m N., 47k
 11 72n
 12 47m, 75u
 18 1 124e
 2 52s, 103m
 3 66b
 4 10h
 5 29g, 67v, 72dd,
 142f, 145q
 6 73b
 19 1 72l
 3 67dd
 4 . . . 124i, 132h
 6 . 53g, 53p, 124e
 9 86i
 10 128y
 11 133h
 12 109f
 13 142f
 17 . 80h, 95d, 143b
 18 2a
 22 113s
 20 1 115k
 2 113i, 118n
 4 87g, 118o
 21 1 114o
 2 44o, 72s, 121b
 7 93dd, 117q
 8 118r
 9 136d
 11 . 90f, 93w, 116t
 12 29t, 75u, 75rr,
 76d
 14 76d
 17 127a, 128a,
 146a
 22 1 91e, 150l
 2 75v, 91e, 117z,
 126e, 128x, 152d
 3 119w
 5 128a, 133l
 7 128r
 10 20m
 11 95v, 124k
 13 75n, 113d, 113f,
 113dd
 14 107c, 112ss, 149b,
 149e
 16 90m, 144p
 17 113r
 18 118r
 19 144p
 24 128w, 133h
 23 1 . . . 110k, 119y
 4 152z
 5 118u, 128h
 7 126z N.
 8 93pp
 11 20o, 53q

Isaiah

23 12 . 35b, 46e, 118f,
 130e, 132b
 13 136d N.
 15 . 44f, 116p, 118t
 17 72l, 91e
 24 2 . 35g, 116s, 127i
 3 67t
 10 119x
 12 121d
 16 117q
 19 67o, 113w
 22 117q
 25 6 75dd, 93ss
 7 72p
 10 72v
 26 4 119i N.
 9 144m
 10 159c
 11 47m
 16 44l, 72o
 18 124e
 19 95h, 122s
 20 75qq
 27 3 65a
 4 10h, 65b, 71,
 117x, 151b
 5 162a
 8 55f
 9 156f
 11 70a N., 124e
 18 152x
 28 1 124e, 128c
 2 125c
 3 47k
 4 91e, 128w, 135n,
 144e
 6 90i, 119hh
 7 72l, 118g
 8 127c
 9 130a
 10 102h, 147c
 11 116b
 12 23t, 114m N.
 16 71, 119i, 130f
 N., 155f
 17 29u, 142f
 18 145o
 20 133c
 21 118t, 132b
 24 144e
 26 112rr
 27 152z
 28 112m, 113w N.
 150a
 29 1 19c, 66f, 69h N.,
 130d
 4 120g
 5 . 126p, 133k N.
 6 84^as, 144b
 7 . 75qq, 116i, 118t

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Isaiah | Isaiah | Isaiah |
| 29 8 116 s | 34 6 54 h | 41 3 118 q |
| 9 55 g, 72 l | 10 102 i | 4 135 a N. |
| 13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d | 11 21 c, 80 g | 5 75 u |
| 14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f | 13 117 z | 7 29 f |
| 15 53 q, 112 n | 17 59 g | 8 138 d |
| 16 147 c, 150 f | 35 1 47 n | 10 75 bb |
| 19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h | 2 117 q, 130 b | 12 135 n |
| 23 131 o | 4 65 f | 15 96 |
| 30 1 69 h N. | 7 135 p | 17 20 i |
| 2 63 i, 72 q | 9 84 ^b f, 132 c | 23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v, 109 d |
| 5 78 b | 36 2 128 w N. | 24 155 n |
| 6 135 p | 8 127 f | 25 23 d, 76 d |
| 8 61 f, 135 p | 9 119 s, 119 u | 28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d |
| 11 102 b | 11 2 a | 42 4 67 q |
| 12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d, 114 r | 14 74 l | 5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k |
| 13 116 d | 16 110 f, 127 f | 6 . 107 b N., 109 k |
| 14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g | 17 114 r | 13 126 p |
| 18 67 cc, 130 a | 37 3 69 m, 152 k | 18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f |
| 19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 ll | 11 150 a | 20 75 n, 144 p |
| 20 131 c, 145 n | 14 124 b N. | 21 120 c |
| 21 56 | 17 10 g | 22 29 q, 72 y, 119 hh, 124 q |
| 22 135 n, 145 m | 19 113 f, 113 z | 24 113 d, 114 m N., 138 g |
| 23 93 ss | 22 130 e | 25 131 k |
| 24 52 s | 24 128 r | 43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d |
| 25 74 i | 25 124 e | 2 . . 159 dd, 159 ff |
| 26 114 r, 134 r | 26 75 qq, 114 k, 117 ii | 6 122 v |
| 28 72 z | 28 114 c | 8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l |
| 31 156 d | 29 112 nn | 9 . 51 o, 106 n N ² |
| 33 32 l | 30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b | 10 135 a N. |
| 31 2 141 f | 38 3 16 f N., 157 c | 25 141 h |
| 3 75 u | 5 50 e, 113 bb, 155 f | 44 3 71 |
| 5 67 p, 113 t | 9 114 r | 9 5 n |
| 6 . 138 f N., 144 p | 10 108 g, 121 d | 13 64 i |
| 8 125 c, 152 a | 14 . 48 i N., 61 f N. | 15 . . 66 e, 103 f N. |
| 32 1 143 e | 15 55 g | 16 67 ee |
| 7 154 a N. | 16 75 mm, 103 g, 135 p | 19 150 a |
| 9 44 o | 17 119 ff | 21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x |
| 11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 k | 18 116 h, 152 z | 24 65 d |
| 12 116 s, 144 i | 20 86 i, 114 i | 28 53 n, 114 p |
| 13 128 c | 39 1 124 b N. | 45 1 67 p |
| 17 113 c | 2 . . 15 e N., 126 x | 2 70 b |
| 18 124 e | 40 1 107 f | 4 . 111 b N., 131 g |
| 33 1 20 h, 53 q, 53 u, 67 v, 120 b, 156 f | 3 146 b | 9 152 u |
| 3 67 dd | 4 93 v | 10 47 o |
| 4 85 h | 6 112 qq, 127 c | 14 10 g |
| 5 116 s | 9 119 s | 46 5 75 dd |
| 6 130 b | 10 119 i | 47 1 120 c |
| 7 75 u | 11 93 x | 2 46 d, 63 l |
| 9 29 q, 145 t | 14 124 e | 5 . 100 g N ² , 118 o |
| 10 54 c, 133 l | 18 15 c, 75 dd | 7 94 g |
| 12 20 i | 19 119 hh | 8 90 l, 144 p |
| 14 . . 84 ^a s, 117 bb | 20 . . 155 f, 156 g | 10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v, 116 f |
| 15 117 r N., 119 z, 124 e | 22 126 b | 12 138 f |
| 16 124 b | 25 150 m | 14 28 b, 67 cc |
| 20 152 t | 26 124 e | 48 8 52 k, 157 a |
| 34 4 67 t, 126 o | 29 152 v | 9 119 hh |
| 5 52 k | 30 69 q | |
| | 31 8 k | |
| | 41 1 119 gg | |
| | 2 35 n N., 75 gg, 155 n | |

Isaiah

| | | | |
|----|----|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 48 | 11 | | 67 t |
| | 14 | | 119 hh |
| | 17 | | 61 h, 93 qq |
| | 18 | | 111 x, 151 e |
| 49 | 6 | 67 t, 115 a, 142 f N ² | |
| | 7 | | 111 q |
| | 11 | | 145 u |
| | 13 | | 126 o |
| | 15 | | 160 b |
| | 18 | | 12 c |
| | 19 | | 67 dd |
| | 21 | | 72 p |
| | 23 | | 122 f N., 156 c |
| | 26 | | 135 l |
| 50 | 2 | 133 c, 150 m, 152 y | |
| | 8 | | 15 c, 20 f |
| | 9 | | 136 c |
| | 10 | | 137 c |
| | 11 | | 20 n |
| 51 | 1 | | 155 k |
| | 2 | | 107 b N. |
| | 3 | | 146 e |
| | 9 | 72 s, 118 u, 124 q | |
| | 10 | | 93 pp, 138 k |
| | 12 | | 61 h, 111 m |
| | 13 | | 52 k |
| | 15 | | 65 d |
| | 17 | | 128 q |
| | 19 | | 47 b, 122 q |
| | 21 | | 50 f, 130 b |
| 52 | 1 | | 120 c |
| | 5 | | 55 b |
| | 7 | | 75 x, 106 g |
| | 8 | | 117 a N ² , 146 b |
| | 11 | | 67 t |
| | 12 | | 61 h |
| | 14 | | 93 q |
| 53 | 1 | | 151 a |
| | 2 | | 166 a |
| | 3 | | 96, 128 q |
| | 4 | | 116 l, 117 ii |
| | 5 | | 121 a, 128 q |
| | 8 | | 103 f N. |
| | 9 | | 160 c |
| | 10 | | 74 k, 75 ii |
| | 11 | | 117 n, 120 h, 132 b |
| 54 | 1 | 67 ff, 144 p, 155 f | |
| | 4 | | 91 l |
| | 5 | | 124 k, 124 k N. |
| | 6 | | 58 g |
| | 10 | | 103 b |
| | 11 | | 152 a N. |
| | 12 | | 21 d |
| | 14 | | 54 c, 110 c |
| | 15 | | 137 c, 159 w |
| 55 | 2 | | 152 a N. |
| | 3 | | 93 m |
| | 9 | | 161 b |
| 56 | 3 | | 138 k |

Isaiah

| | | | |
|----|----|-------------------|---------------|
| 56 | 4 | | 138 f |
| | 5 | | 112 mm |
| | 8 | | 20 m |
| | 9 | | 29 t |
| | 12 | | 29 t |
| 57 | 4 | | 93 m |
| | 5 | | 67 u |
| | 6 | | 20 h |
| | 8 | | 47 k |
| | 17 | | 113 h |
| | 20 | | 113 d |
| 58 | 3 | 19 c, 20 h, 150 m | |
| | 9 | | 115 b |
| | 13 | | 119 hh |
| 59 | 3 | | 51 h |
| | 5 | | 73 d, 80 i |
| | 9 | | 93 r |
| | 10 | | 152 v |
| | 12 | | 67 k |
| | 13 | 52 e, 75 n, 113 d | |
| | 14 | | 72 ee |
| | 21 | | 143 a |
| 60 | 3 | | 107 b N. |
| | 4 | | 51 m, 122 v |
| | 7 | | 60 e |
| | 9 | | 58 g |
| | 14 | | 118 q, 125 h |
| 61 | 1 | | 84 v n |
| | 7 | | 119 hh |
| 62 | 2 | | 16 f |
| | 9 | | 20 m, 52 p |
| | 12 | | 152 a N. |
| 63 | 3 | | 53 p, 76 c |
| | 11 | | 128 c |
| | 16 | | 60 d |
| | 19 | | 151 e, 155 m |
| 64 | 3 | | 75 hh |
| | 6 | | 72 cc |
| 65 | 1 | | 51 c, 155 n |
| | 2 | | 126 z |
| | 5 | | 117 x |
| | 11 | | 35 g |
| | 14 | | 70 d |
| | 17 | | 29 i N., 51 m |
| | 18 | | 110 c |
| | 20 | | 75 oo |
| | 24 | | 107 c |
| 66 | 13 | | 155 d |
| | 15 | | 119 i |
| | 18 | | 167 b |

Jeremiah

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------|-------------|
| 1 | 10 | | 45 g |
| | 13 | | 90 e |
| 2 | 2 | | 49 k |
| | 8 | | 155 n |
| | 11 | | 72 e, 155 n |
| | 12 | | 46 d |
| | 15 | | 44 m |

Jeremiah

| | | | |
|----|----|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 2 | 16 | | 117 u |
| | 17 | | 116 g N. |
| | 19 | | 60 a |
| | 20 | | 44 h N. |
| | 21 | | 126 z |
| | 24 | | 60 e, 122 d |
| | 27 | | 59 h, 69 s |
| | 31 | | 85 h |
| | 33 | | 44 h |
| | 35 | | 114 d |
| | 36 | | 68 h |
| 3 | 1 | | 113 ee, 159 w |
| | 5 | | 47 k, 66 f, 69 r |
| | 6 | | 75 ii, 132 b |
| | 7 | | 84 a k |
| | 8 | | 91 l |
| | 9 | | 112 ss |
| | 15 | | 113 h |
| | 22 | | 75 pp, 75 rr |
| 4 | 1 | | 143 d |
| | 2 | | 10 g |
| | 5 | | 120 h |
| | 7 | | 20 h, 93 t |
| | 11 | | 67 v |
| | 13 | | 67 ee |
| | 18 | | 75 n |
| | 19 | 44 h, 108 g, 133 l N. | |
| | 30 | | 145 t |
| 5 | 6 | | 20 b, 67 cc |
| | 7 | | 65 b |
| | 13 | | 52 o, 138 i |
| | 22 | | 58 i, 58 k, 60 e |
| | 26 | | 67 p |
| 6 | 4 | | 10 g |
| | 8 | | 51 c, 152 a N. |
| | 10 | | 108 g |
| | 17 | | 112 dd |
| | 20 | | 126 x |
| | 28 | | 133 i |
| | 29 | | 67 u |
| 7 | 4 | | 133 l N. |
| | 9 | | 112 o, 113 ee |
| | 19 | | 57 N ⁴ , 135 k |
| 8 | 4 | | 150 m |
| | 5 | | 128 c |
| | 11 | | 75 qq, 133 l |
| | 13 | | 72 aa, 113 w |
| | 14 | | 67 dd |
| | 19 | | 100 m, 102 m |
| 9 | 1 | | 108 f, 151 b |
| | 2 | | 53 n, 119 u |
| | 3 | | 63 c |
| | 4 | | 53 q, 113 d |
| | 11 | | 109 i |
| | 12 | | 114 r |
| | 17 | | 74 k |
| | 23 | | 113 d, 113 g, 144 e |
| 10 | 3 | | 145 u N ³ |
| | 4 | | 109 g |

Jeremiah

10 5 23 *i*, 47 *n*, 75 *oo*,
113 *b*
11 1 *c*
17 46 *d*, 90 *n*
18 67 *ee*
19 63 *c*, 126 *y*
22 146 *b*
23 72 *z*
11 7 113 *k*
15 53 *n*, 90 *g*, 91 *e*
16 84^a *a*
19 45 *g*
12 4 145 *k*
5 55 *h*
9 68 *i*
13 4 127 *e*
10 52 *s*
16 144 *c*
17 69 *p*
19 75 *m*, 118 *q*
20 145 *m*
21 64 *a*
14 1 138 *e N*.
16 103 *g*
18 155 *h*, 159 *p*
15 10 61 *h*, 91 *c N*.
18 50 *f*, 102 *l*
16 16 73 *b*, 132 *b*
17 2 28 *a*, 45 *g*
7 93 *oo*
11 161 *a*
17 75 *hh*
18 53 *m*, 72 *y*, 74 *l*
18 7 45 *g*
16 119 *q*
23 75 *ii*
19 5 144 *b*
11 75 *qq*
15 74 *k*
20 9 21 *d*, 112 *kk*, 132 *d*
15 59 *f*
17 111 *l*, 122 *n N*.
21 1 115 *t*
13 66 *f*
22 14 87 *g*
15 10 *g*, 55 *h*, 142 *g*
16 144 *p*
19 113 *h*
20 10 *h*, 46 *d*
22 22 *s*
23 23 *f N*., 80 *d*, 90 *n*
24 58 *i*
26 72 *k*
28 10 *g*
29 133 *l N*.
23 6 20 *d*, 60 *c*, 74 *e*
9 126 *p*
14 113 *h N*², 152 *x*
32 52 *s*
33 117 *m N*.

Jeremiah

23 37 58 *g*, 75 *U*
39 23 *l*
24 7 115 *c*
25 3 53 *k*
15 131 *k*
26 127 *g*
27 76 *h*
34 91 *l*
36 24 *e*
28 5 113 *k*
6 8 *k*, 37 *b*
9 75 *qq*
27 16 90 *e*
18 72 *o*, 76 *g*
20 53 *p*
29 1 53 *p*
8 53 *o*
17 132 *e*
23 64 *e*
25 124 *b N*.
30 11 113 *n*
16 67 *s*
26 134 *m*
31 1 75 *hh*
2 113 *dd*
3 117 *x*
8 119 *q*
15 145 *m*
18 51 *c*
21 44 *h*, 126 *y*
22 47 *o*
28 45 *g*
32 63 *o*, 138 *b N*.
33 60 *a*
38 17 *b*
40 127 *g*
32 4 51 *k*
10 126 *s*
12 127 *h*
14 124 *b N*.
35 74 *k*
33 20 128 *d*, 131 *r*
22 116 *g*
34 9 132 *d*
36 33 117 *l*
37 3 53 *q*
11 112 *uu*
12 53 *q*
15 112 *tt*
16 87 *i*
38 4 75 *rr*
6 127 *f*
9 111 *l*
11 8 *k*
12 93 *x*
14 126 *w*
16 17 *b*
23 144 *i*
26 115 *a*
28 112 *qq*

Jeremiah

39 7 53 *q*, 72 *z*
12 22 *s*
14 115 *c*
40 3 112 *qq*
4 35 *d*
5 72 *s*
16 75 *hh*
41 6 113 *u*
12 119 *g*
42 2 75 *ff*
6 17 *a*, 32 *d*
10 19 *i*
16 112 *y*
44 7 114 *o*
8 8 *k*
18 67 *c*
19 53 *k*, 58 *g*, 144 *u*
21 52 *o*
23 74 *g*
25 72 *k*, 146 *g*
46 1 138 *e N*.
5 117 *q*
8 68 *i*
16 126 *w*
20 84^b *n*
47 4 45 *g*, 67 *cc*
48 2 67 *t*
11 72 *dd*
15 145 *u*
31 70 *d*
32 127 *f*
36 80 *g*
44 131 *n N*¹
45 119 *w*
49 3 54 *b*
8 46 *a N*²
10 75 *pp*
11 47 *k*, 60 *a N*.
12 141 *h*
16 90 *l*, 147 *c*
25 80 *g*
28 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
30 20 *g*
36 20 *m*
37 67 *aa*
50 5 51 *o*
11 80 *h*
34 53 *l*, 73 *d*
51 3 17 *b*, 152 *h N*.
9 75 *qq*
13 90 *n*
14 163 *d*
29 111 *w N*.
33 53 *l*
56 20 *h*, 52 *k*
58 20 *i*
59 134 *p*
52 12 155 *d*
20 128 *d*

| Ezekiel | Ezekiel | Ezekiel |
|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 6 87 t, 88 f | 16 50 47 l | 26 2 67 t |
| 11 91 l | 51 96 | 10 130 b |
| 14 113 s N. | 52 52 p, 91 n, 95 p, 96 | 14 47 k |
| 20 123 d N ² | 53 91 e, 91 f | 15 51 l |
| 2 3 126 x | 54 103 b | 17 52 s, 138 k |
| 10 19 h | 55 72 k | 21 10 g |
| 3 3 49 e | 57 72 p | 27 3 90 m |
| 15 67 cc, 154 a N. (b) | 59 44 i | 7 121 b |
| 4 9 87 e | 17 5 19 i, 66 g | 19 20 i |
| 12 58 k, 95 e | 7 52 d | 31 80 h |
| 5 11 72 r, 109 d | 9 45 e, 93 m, 150 a | 32 23 k |
| 12 52 n, 75 hh | N ¹ | 34 116 g N. |
| 13 54 c | 15 29 i, 93 rr | 35 117 q |
| 16 109 d | 19 67 v | 28 4 32 g |
| 6 3 93 v | 21 117 m | 16 23 d, 68 k, 75 qq, |
| 6 67 p N., 67 dd | 18 6 131 c | 111 w N. |
| 8 91 l | 7 131 r | 17 75 n |
| 9 72 dd | 10 119 w N., 139 d | 23 55 d |
| 10 119 ii | 14 103 l | 24 72 p |
| 11 128 c | 28 75 t | 29 3 117 x, 124 e |
| 12 91 e | 29 145 u | 7 127 c |
| 14 133 l | 32 139 d | 30 9 93 y |
| 7 7 127 g | 19 1 124 e | 12 124 e |
| 14 72 z, 113 z N. | 2 80 h | 16 73 d |
| 24 93 oo | 12 53 u | 31 3 67 v |
| 8 2 90 f | 20 9 67 t | 5 44 f |
| 3 75 qq | 16 117 m | 7 76 f |
| 16 75 kk | 22 112 tt | 16 128 a N ¹ |
| 9 2 116 k | 37 23 f | 32 12 51 n |
| 3 116 k, 121 d N ¹ | 38 145 u | 19 46 a N ² |
| 7 112 tt | 41 119 i | 30 20 m, 72 n |
| 8 64 i | 21 12 67 t | 31 53 s |
| 11 116 k | 15 75 n | 33 17 143 a N ³ |
| 10 3 131 n, 131 n N ² | 18 64 d | 26 44 k |
| 15 72 dd | 21 73 a | 34 2 57 N ⁴ |
| 17 72 q, 72 dd | 22 124 o | 8 57 N ⁴ |
| 11 3 150 a N ¹ | 29 53 l | 10 57 N ⁴ , 149 c, 167 b |
| 13 150 a N ¹ | 31 113 bb N ³ | 21 103 b |
| 24 90 c | 32 133 l | 31 32 i |
| 18 2 93 oo | 33 45 c, 68 i | 35 6 10 h |
| 3 152 x, 155 n | 35 72 y | 9 72 k |
| 11 35 m | 22 4 47 k | 10 117 m |
| 18 87 f, 103 f N ² | 20 66 f | 12 84 b e |
| 19 72 k, 93 r | 23 5 63 m | 36 3 67 r, 75 y, 113 g |
| 20 32 i, 91 l | 20 48 d | 5 91 e |
| 14 3 51 k, 51 p | 28 91 e, 138 e | 11 70 e |
| 14 112 ll | 32 47 k | 12 69 s |
| 22 117 l, 126 w | 42 21 c | 25 34 f |
| 16 4 22 s, 52 q, 53 s, | 44 96 | 32 152 d |
| 64 e, 71 | 45 103 b | 37 2 112 pp |
| 5 71 | 47 103 b | 7 60 a N. |
| 6 123 d N ² | 48 55 k, 91 f | 8 9 u, 29 i |
| 10 49 c | 49 74 k, 76 b, 144 a | 11 116 t, 119 s |
| 27 131 r | 24 11 67 q | 16 66 g, 119 u |
| 31 91 l | 19 75 m | 17 52 n, 64 h |
| 32 117 d | 26 53 e, 54 k | 19 117 m N. |
| 33 20 l, 64 c | 25 3 67 u | 38 21 49 l |
| 34 121 a | 4 91 e | 23 54 k |
| 45 96 | 6 23 c, 74 e | 39 2 55 f |
| 47 103 m | 15 117 q | 9 66 e |

Ezekiel

| | | | |
|----|----|-----------|----------------------------|
| 39 | 26 | | 75 <i>qq</i> |
| 40 | 3 | | 74 <i>l</i> |
| | 4 | | 74 <i>d</i> |
| | 5 | | 134 <i>n</i> |
| | 16 | | 91 <i>l</i> |
| | 17 | | 121 <i>d</i> |
| | 19 | | 80 <i>k</i> |
| | 27 | | 134 <i>g</i> |
| | 28 | | 126 <i>w</i> |
| | 31 | | 93 <i>ss</i> |
| | 43 | | 20 <i>m</i> |
| | 45 | | 136 <i>d N.</i> |
| | 48 | | 92 <i>g</i> |
| 41 | 7 | | 67 <i>dd</i> |
| | 15 | | 91 <i>l</i> |
| | 18 | | 121 <i>d</i> |
| | 20 | | 5 <i>n</i> |
| | 22 | | 141 <i>b</i> |
| | 25 | | 131 <i>n N¹</i> |
| 42 | 5 | | 68 <i>h, 131 n</i> |
| 43 | 7 | | 117 <i>m</i> |
| | 17 | | 103 <i>o</i> |
| | 27 | | 75 <i>rr</i> |
| 44 | 3 | | 117 <i>m</i> |
| | 8 | | 58 <i>g</i> |
| | 9 | | 93 <i>hh, 143 e</i> |
| | 12 | | 112 <i>e N.</i> |
| 45 | 2 | | 65 <i>d</i> |
| | 12 | | 97 <i>e</i> |
| | 16 | | 127 <i>g</i> |
| 46 | 6 | | 132 <i>g N.</i> |
| | 9 | | 93 <i>q</i> |
| | 17 | | 72 <i>o</i> |
| | 19 | | 127 <i>f</i> |
| | 22 | | 53 <i>q, 53 s</i> |
| | 23 | | 121 <i>d</i> |
| | 24 | | 124 <i>r</i> |
| 47 | 3 | | 128 <i>n</i> |
| | 4 | | 131 <i>e</i> |
| | 7 | | 91 <i>e</i> |
| | 8 | | 75 <i>oo</i> |
| | 15 | | 127 <i>f and N.</i> |
| | 17 | | 117 <i>m</i> |
| 48 | 14 | | 72 <i>dd</i> |

Hosea

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | | 52 <i>o, 130 d</i> |
| | 6 | | 120 <i>c, 152 a N.</i> |
| | 7 | | 119 <i>o</i> |
| 2 | 1 | | 130 <i>c</i> |
| | 3 | | 96 |
| | 5 | | 72 <i>w</i> |
| | 6 | | 52 <i>n</i> |
| | 11 | | 120 <i>e</i> |
| | 14 | | 91 <i>e</i> |
| | 21 | | 133 <i>l</i> |
| | 25 | | 152 <i>a N.</i> |
| 3 | 1 | | 125 <i>c</i> |
| | 2 | | 20 <i>h</i> |

Hosea

| | | | |
|----|----|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 3 | 5 | | 2 <i>v N.</i> |
| 4 | 2 | | 113 <i>ff</i> |
| | 3 | | 119 <i>i</i> |
| | 8 | | 145 <i>m</i> |
| | 14 | | 155 <i>f</i> |
| | 15 | | 145 <i>m</i> |
| | 16 | | 150 <i>a</i> |
| | 18 | | 55 <i>e</i> |
| 5 | 2 | | 64 <i>a</i> |
| | 3 | | 135 <i>a</i> |
| | 8 | | 147 <i>c</i> |
| | 15 | | 60 <i>e</i> |
| 6 | 1 | | 109 <i>k</i> |
| | 2 | | 119 <i>y N., 134 s</i> |
| | 3 | | 155 <i>g</i> |
| | 4 | | 120 <i>g</i> |
| | 6 | | 119 <i>w, 133 b</i> |
| | 9 | | 23 <i>l, 75 aa, 93 s</i> |
| | 10 | | 114 <i>l</i> |
| 7 | 2 | | 157 <i>a</i> |
| | 4 | | 80 <i>k</i> |
| | 5 | | 93 <i>ss</i> |
| | 6 | | 91 <i>c</i> |
| | 12 | | 24 <i>f, 70 b</i> |
| | 14 | | 70 <i>d</i> |
| | 16 | | 34 <i>b N.</i> |
| 8 | 3 | | 60 <i>d</i> |
| | 4 | | 67 <i>v</i> |
| | 7 | | 90 <i>f</i> |
| | 9 | | 119 <i>s</i> |
| | 10 | | 20 <i>g, 111 w N.</i> |
| 9 | 6 | | 130 <i>a</i> |
| | 9 | | 120 <i>g</i> |
| | 11 | | 69 <i>m</i> |
| | 12 | | 159 <i>m</i> |
| | 15 | | 109 <i>d</i> |
| 10 | 4 | | 75 <i>n</i> |
| | 6 | | 121 <i>b</i> |
| | 10 | | 60 <i>a, 71</i> |
| | 11 | | 90 <i>l</i> |
| | 14 | | 9 <i>b, 23 g, 53 u, 72 p, 156 c</i> |
| | 15 | | 133 <i>i</i> |
| 11 | 1 | | 68 <i>f</i> |
| | 3 | | 19 <i>i, 55 h, 66 g</i> |
| | 4 | | 68 <i>c</i> |
| | 7 | | 75 <i>rr</i> |
| 12 | 1 | | 124 <i>h</i> |
| | 5 | | 58 <i>k</i> |
| | 11 | | 112 <i>dd</i> |
| | 14 | | 118 <i>q</i> |
| 13 | 2 | | 91 <i>e, 128 l</i> |
| | 3 | | 120 <i>g</i> |
| | 8 | | 122 <i>e</i> |
| | 10 | | 150 <i>l</i> |
| | 14 | | 93 <i>q</i> |
| | 15 | | 75 <i>rr</i> |
| 14 | 1 | | 84 ^a <i>a, 145 u</i> |
| | 3 | | 128 <i>e</i> |
| | 4 | | 68 <i>f</i> |

Hosea

| | | | |
|----|----|-----------|-----------------------|
| 14 | 5 | | 118 <i>g</i> |
| | 10 | | 69 <i>b, 166 a N.</i> |

Joel

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | | 100 <i>n, 126 e, 150 g</i> |
| | 5 | | 126 <i>e</i> |
| | 6 | | 152 <i>v</i> |
| | 7 | | 113 <i>n</i> |
| | 8 | | 63 <i>l, 116 k</i> |
| | 12 | | 102 <i>b</i> |
| | 15 | | 147 <i>d</i> |
| | 17 | | 20 <i>h</i> |
| | 18 | | 148 <i>a</i> |
| | 20 | | 145 <i>k</i> |
| 2 | 2 | | 109 <i>d</i> |
| | 4 | | 72 <i>u, 126 p</i> |
| | 6 | | 23 <i>d</i> |
| | 13 | | 152 <i>g</i> |
| | 17 | | 150 <i>e</i> |
| | 21 | | 46 <i>e</i> |
| | 22 | | 144 <i>a</i> |
| | 24 | | 93 <i>r</i> |
| | 26 | | 114 <i>o</i> |
| 4 | 1 | | 125 <i>k</i> |
| | 3 | | 69 <i>u</i> |
| | 11 | | 51 <i>o, 64 h</i> |
| | 14 | | 123 <i>e, 147 c</i> |
| | 18 | | 117 <i>z</i> |
| | 21 | | 49 <i>k, 75 z</i> |

Amos

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------|---------------------------|
| 1 | 3 | | 134 <i>s, 158 c</i> |
| | 4 | | 49 <i>m</i> |
| | 5 | | 145 <i>c</i> |
| | 8 | | 145 <i>e</i> |
| | 9 | | 114 <i>r, 158 c</i> |
| | 11 | | 58 <i>g, 112 t, 114 r</i> |
| 2 | 6 | | 61 <i>b</i> |
| | 7 | | 126 <i>b</i> |
| | 9 | | 53 <i>n</i> |
| | 10 | | 69 <i>x</i> |
| | 12 | | 51 <i>n</i> |
| | 16 | | 118 <i>n, 128 y</i> |
| 3 | 4 | | 163 <i>c</i> |
| | 5 | | 113 <i>q</i> |
| | 7 | | 163 <i>c</i> |
| | 8 | | 159 <i>h</i> |
| | 9 | | 124 <i>e</i> |
| | 11 | | 67 <i>t, 154 a N.</i> |
| | 12 | | 88 <i>f, 126 r</i> |
| | 13 | | 125 <i>h</i> |
| 4 | 1 | | 135 <i>o, 144 a</i> |
| | 2 | | 75 <i>oo, 112 x</i> |
| | 3 | | 44 <i>k</i> |
| | 4 | | 113 <i>z</i> |
| | 7 | | 112 <i>h N., 144 c</i> |

Amos

- 4 8 134 s
 9 126 n
 10 154 a N.
 11 115 d
 13 . 29 e N., 116 g N.
 5 2 128 k
 3 117 z, 129 g
 4 110 f
 5 122 h
 7 126 b
 8 111 u, 117 ii
 11 61 e
 14 109 k, 152 g
 15 67 cc
 18 152 d
 19 112 m, 126 r
 21 20 h, 106 g, 154 a
 N.
 26 112 x, 112 rr
 6 1 112 n
 2 125 h, 126 y
 6 63 e, 93 k, 119 m
 N.
 10 114 l, 145 m, 152 s
 12 . 123 a N., 144 d
 13 152 a N.
 14 125 c
 7 1 86 i, 147 b
 2 112 uu
 4 112 tt
 7 156 b
 14 128 v
 15 119 b
 8 4 53 q
 8 125 e
 9 49 l
 10 128 h, 135 p
 13 54 k, 146 g
 9 1 61 g, 144 e
 3 112 p
 7 150 e
 8 53 k, 113 n, 113 v
 11 116 d, 118 u
 13 54 k

Obadiah

- 3 90 l, 93 x
 10 128 h
 11 . 9 v, 61 f N., 69 u
 13 47 k

Jonah

- 1 3 116 d, 122 l, 135 p
 5 51 m
 6 120 b
 7 150 k
 9 2 b
 10 117 q
 11 113 u, 165 a

Jonah

- 1 14 16 f
 15 61 c
 2 2 122 s
 4 117 r
 3 5 133 g
 4 1 117 q
 2 16 f, 114 n N.
 6 117 q
 9 113 k
 10 96, 128 v
 11 20 m, 97 b, 150 a

Micah

- 1 2 109 k, 135 r, 144 p
 5 23 c, 137 a
 7 . 52 l, 67 y, 117 ii
 8 69 b N., 118 n
 10 113 v
 11 122 s, 131 c, 145 m
 13 110 k
 15 74 k
 2 3 118 q
 4 67 u, 144 d, 148 b
 6 72 dd, 145 o
 7 100 n, 118 n
 8 72 p, 116 h
 12 72 k, 127 i
 3 1 114 l, 150 e
 4 109 k
 6 119 w, 144 c
 12 87 e, 121 d
 4 3 91 n, 145 c
 6 68 h, 84^a s, 122 s
 8 68 f
 9 117 q
 10 . 10 k, 76 g, 145 n
 11 119 dd
 12 90 i
 13 . 44 h, 72 q, 117 ii
 14 119 o
 5 1 135 g, 142 g
 2 106 o, 155 l
 4 . 72 i, 128 l, 134 s
 6 1 138 e
 3 . 53 p, 75 ee, 163 b
 5 117 gg
 8 163 d
 9 146 b
 10 . . 47 b N., 118 g
 11 47 b
 13 115 c
 7 1 93 p
 2 117 ff, 119 i, 152 k
 3 135 f
 4 133 e, 133 g
 8 122 s
 10 75 p, 75 w, 75 hh
 145 n

Micah

- 7 11 126 x
 12 126 aa
 14 90 m
 17 116 h
 18 148 c
 19 129 g

Nahum

- 1 2 5 h, 128 u
 3 75 hh, 143 a
 4 69 u
 5 126 k
 12 67 t
 2 4 52 q
 5 55 g, 93 ss
 8 63 p, 91 c
 9 130 d N.
 11 67 t, 133 l
 14 91 l
 3 5 53 p
 7 52 q, 67 cc
 8 70 e, 133 b
 9 91 e
 10 69 u
 11 145 p
 15 110 a, 110 k
 17 20 h

Habakkuk

- 1 5 116 s
 6 13 c, 155 e
 8 67 ee
 11 138 h
 14 152 u
 15 63 p
 16 103 g
 17 114 k, 156 g
 2 1 37 b
 3 72 dd
 6 147 c
 10 116 s, 118 p
 12 112 n
 14 116 f N.,
 155 g
 15 90 m, 113 z
 17 . . 20 n, 60 d, 67 v
 19 . 100 g N., 152 p
 3 2 75 mm
 6 67 k, 67 ee
 8 131 r
 9 117 q
 10 91 l
 13 22 s, 75 aa, 75 n,
 113 h
 15 144 m
 17 95 f, 145 u
 19 86 i

Zephaniah

1 2 . 72 aa, 113 w N.
 14 52 s, 90 o
 2 2 152 y
 7 135 p
 9 8 k
 15 152 s
 3 1 75 rr
 7 120 g
 11 135 n
 16 145 p
 18 69 t
 20 91 l

Haggai

1 1 129 f
 4 126 z, 131 h N.,
 135 g
 6 113 z
 9 37 f
 2 5 44 o, 117 l
 7 145 e
 12 159 w
 17 . 117 m N., 152 n

Zechariah

1 2 117 q
 8 132 d
 13 131 c
 14 117 q
 17 72 k
 2 8 118 r
 10 154 b
 11 29 o N.
 17 72 v, 72 ee
 3 1 61 b, 115 c
 4 113 z
 7 53 o
 8 126 e
 9 . 88 f, 97 c, 122 n
 4 2 91 e, 97 c
 7 126 x
 10 72 dd, 127 h
 12 10 g
 5 2 134 n
 4 73 d, 75 mm,
 80 i
 7 74 i, 136 d N.
 9 74 k
 10 32 n
 11 . 23 k, 72 ee, 103 g
 6 7 54 k
 10 49 l
 12 155 e
 7 1 134 p
 5 59 a, 113 z, 117 x,
 135 e
 7 117 l

Zechariah

7 10 139 c
 14 52 n
 8 2 117 q
 5 132 d
 6 150 a
 17 117 l
 23 157 a
 9 5 75 p, 75 hh
 9 72 s, 124 o, 154 a
 N.
 11 135 f, 152 u
 12 116 s
 10 2 124 h
 5 72 p
 6 72 x
 11 2 126 w
 5 19 k
 7 96, 130 g, 132 c,
 133 h
 10 67 w
 17 90 l
 12 10 138 e N¹
 12 123 d
 13 7 . 72 s, 110 k, 144 a
 14 4 93 v, 128 w N.
 10 72 p, 126 w
 12 67 dd, 145 m

Malachi

1 2 68 f
 6 32 c
 10 151 a, 153
 13 37 c, 147 c
 14 80 d N.
 2 5 67 u
 14 95 k
 15 144 p
 16 116 s, 155 n
 3 1 150 g
 2 126 k
 9 67 u, 144 p
 14 100 g
 20 44 d

Psalms

1 2 163 a
 3 16 g, 107 g, 119 cc
 6 68 c
 2 1 106 l
 2 119 dd, 126 h
 3 91 l, 108 b
 4 126 h
 6 135 a, 135 n, 154 b
 7 44 d, 69 s
 10 126 h, 154 b
 12 . 118 g N., 130 a
 3 1 129 c
 2 67 ee

Psalms

3 3 90 g, 152 n N.
 5 144 m
 6 49 e
 8 72 s, 117 ll
 4 1 124 f
 3 . 37 e, 47 m, 156 d
 4 154 b
 7 76 b
 8 133 e N., 155 l
 5 4 118 i
 5 107 s, 116 f, 117 bb
 7 128 a, 128 t
 8 107 s
 9 24 f N., 70 b
 10 122 q, 124 e, 145 m,
 152 o
 11 29 e
 12 116 g, 156 d
 13 117 ee
 6 2 152 h
 4 147 c
 6 152 o
 7 106 g
 10 142 f
 7 3 152 l
 4 159 m
 5 49 e
 6 63 n
 7 72 s, 119 gg, 156 d
 10 124 g, 132 h, 158 a
 12 127 b
 13 120 g
 16 155 h
 17 10 h
 8 2 66 h
 3 128 a
 4 159 dd
 5 107 v, 111 m, 150 h
 6 117 cc
 9 1 5 h
 2 13 c
 7 135 f
 11 106 k
 14 20 b, 63 l
 15 91 l
 16 138 g
 19 152 z
 21 157 a
 10 1 5 h
 5 141 c
 9 91 e
 10 93 x, 154 N.
 11 106 g
 12 66 c, 76 b
 11 1 118 r, 129 c, 148 b
 2 47 m
 4 145 u, 155 e
 6 109 k
 7 103 f
 12 2 123 b

| Psalms | | Psalms | | Psalms | |
|--------|---|--------|--|--------|---|
| 12 | 3 . . . 117 <i>t</i> , 123 <i>f</i> | 21 | 4 . . . 117 <i>ff</i> | 34 | 2 21 <i>d</i> |
| | 4 122 <i>g</i> | | 7 . . . 117 <i>ii</i> , 124 <i>e</i> | | 6 109 <i>e</i> |
| | 7 10 <i>g</i> , 97 <i>h</i> | | 13 . 117 <i>ii</i> N., 156 <i>d</i> | | 9 155 <i>f</i> |
| | 8 126 <i>y</i> | 22 | 2 59 <i>h</i> | | 12 60 <i>f</i> , 126 <i>o</i> |
| | 9 54 <i>k</i> | | 3 152 <i>d</i> | 35 | 1 73 <i>d</i> |
| 13 | 4 117 <i>r</i> N. | | 4 117 <i>bb</i> | | 8 156 <i>g</i> |
| | 5 . 44 <i>e</i> , 59 <i>i</i> , 152 <i>z</i> | | 6 112 <i>h</i> | | 10 9 <i>u</i> |
| 14 | 1 154 <i>a</i> N. | | 7 116 <i>l</i> | | 14 93 <i>hh</i> |
| | 3 152 <i>o</i> | | 8 119 <i>g</i> | | 16 113 <i>h</i> |
| | 5 117 <i>p</i> | | 9 144 <i>p</i> | | 19 131 <i>q</i> N. |
| | 7 151 <i>b</i> | 14 | 118 <i>r</i> | 36 | 6 35 <i>n</i> |
| | 2 118 <i>n</i> | 15 | 67 <i>t</i> | | 8 75 <i>u</i> |
| 15 | 2 118 <i>n</i> | 16 | 121 <i>c</i> , 122 <i>n</i> | | 9 75 <i>u</i> |
| 16 | 1 . 48 <i>i</i> N ² , 61 <i>f</i> N. | 18 | 107 <i>s</i> | | 13 64 <i>d</i> |
| | 2 44 <i>i</i> , 152 <i>t</i> | 22 | 23 <i>f</i> , 119 <i>ff</i> | 37 | 1 . 5 <i>h</i> , 35 <i>b</i> , 75 <i>bb</i> |
| | 3 130 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>e</i> | 29 | 116 <i>s</i> | | 5 67 <i>n</i> |
| | 4 93 <i>m</i> , 145 <i>p</i> , 155 <i>f</i> | 32 | 116 <i>e</i> | | 9 20 <i>f</i> |
| | 5 50 <i>e</i> | 23 | 2 124 <i>e</i> , 128 <i>p</i> | | 14 45 <i>g</i> |
| | 6 80 <i>g</i> , 122 <i>q</i> | | 4 107 <i>x</i> , 159 <i>bb</i> | | 15 20 <i>h</i> |
| | 8 116 <i>s</i> | | 5 126 <i>n</i> , 141 <i>c</i> , 141 <i>d</i> | | 16 129 <i>b</i> |
| | 9 111 <i>r</i> | | 6 69 <i>m</i> N. | | 20 29 <i>o</i> , 75 <i>m</i> |
| | 10 114 <i>m</i> | 24 | 1 129 <i>c</i> , 130 <i>a</i> | | 23 121 <i>f</i> |
| | 11 122 <i>g</i> , 124 <i>e</i> | | 2 107 <i>b</i> , 124 <i>e</i> | | 24 159 <i>bb</i> |
| 17 | 3 59 <i>h</i> | | 4 128 <i>y</i> | | 31 145 <i>k</i> |
| | 4 143 <i>e</i> | 10 | 136 <i>c</i> | 38 | 11 55 <i>e</i> |
| | 5 113 <i>gg</i> | 25 | 1 5 <i>h</i> | | 13 124 <i>e</i> |
| | 9 138 <i>g</i> | | 10 141 <i>c</i> | | 21 61 <i>c</i> |
| | 10 91 <i>f</i> | 11 | 112 <i>nn</i> | 39 | 13 10 <i>h</i> |
| | 12 126 <i>p</i> | 14 | 114 <i>i</i> | | 14 75 <i>gg</i> |
| | 13 144 <i>m</i> | 26 | 2 48 <i>i</i> | 40 | 2 75 <i>aa</i> |
| 18 | 1 2 <i>r</i> , 53 <i>t</i> , 130 <i>d</i> , | | 3 112 <i>rr</i> | | 5 93 <i>oo</i> |
| | 154 <i>a</i> N. | | 4 128 <i>t</i> | | 6 108 <i>f</i> |
| | 3 93 <i>pp</i> , 155 <i>i</i> | | 7 53 <i>q</i> | | 15 29 <i>o</i> N. |
| | 4 116 <i>e</i> , 132 <i>b</i> | | 10 20 <i>f</i> | | 18 29 <i>g</i> |
| | 7 . 10 <i>g</i> N ³ , 107 <i>b</i> | 12 | 93 <i>qq</i> | 41 | 3 109 <i>e</i> |
| | 10 69 <i>p</i> | 27 | 7 144 <i>m</i> | | 5 74 <i>h</i> |
| | 12 109 <i>k</i> | | 13 5 <i>n</i> , 159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i> | | 8 54 <i>f</i> |
| | 17 117 <i>g</i> | 28 | 1 119 <i>ff</i> | 42 | 2 122 <i>f</i> , 155 <i>g</i> |
| | 18 126 <i>z</i> | | 7 53 <i>q</i> | | 4 115 <i>e</i> N. |
| | 22 119 <i>ff</i> | | 9 10 <i>g</i> | | 5 117 <i>x</i> |
| | 26 93 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>s</i> | 29 | 1 124 <i>g</i> , 128 <i>v</i> | | 6 111 <i>t</i> |
| | 28 132 <i>f</i> | | 4 141 <i>c</i> N ² | | 10 68 <i>g</i> , 102 <i>l</i> |
| | 30 67 <i>g</i> , 119 <i>o</i> | 10 | 111 <i>r</i> | 43 | 1 72 <i>s</i> |
| | 31 126 <i>c</i> , 140 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>a</i> | 30 | 2 60 <i>f</i> | | 2 102 <i>l</i> |
| | 33 116 <i>f</i> , 116 <i>x</i> , 117 <i>cc</i> | | 4 69 <i>m</i> | | 3 124 <i>b</i> |
| | 35 145 <i>k</i> | | 8 90 <i>n</i> , 93 <i>aa</i> | 44 | 3 144 <i>m</i> |
| | 38 107 <i>b</i> N ² | 31 | 2 108 <i>c</i> | | 6 119 <i>o</i> |
| | 40 116 <i>i</i> | | 21 93 <i>r</i> | | 18 156 <i>f</i> |
| | 41 117 <i>ii</i> N. | 32 | 1 75 <i>gg</i> , 116 <i>k</i> | | 20 119 <i>q</i> |
| | 49 116 <i>i</i> | | 2 155 <i>i</i> | | 23 128 <i>q</i> |
| 19 | 3 20 <i>f</i> | | 6 143 <i>e</i> , 153 | | 26 67 <i>k</i> |
| | 4 152 <i>t</i> | | 8 107 <i>q</i> , 138 <i>g</i> , 156 <i>c</i> | | 27 72 <i>s</i> |
| | 5 135 <i>p</i> | | 9 114 <i>a</i> , 114 <i>k</i> , 114 <i>s</i> | 45 | 1 124 <i>e</i> |
| | 6 122 <i>o</i> | 33 | 5 116 <i>s</i> | | 3 55 <i>e</i> |
| | 8 116 <i>g</i> | | 7 118 <i>w</i> | | 5 . 131 <i>c</i> , 154 <i>a</i> N. |
| | 10 126 <i>b</i> , 141 <i>c</i> | | 8 145 <i>e</i> | | 6 150, 29 <i>o</i> N. |
| | 11 116 <i>e</i> | | 10 67 <i>v</i> | | 7 128 <i>d</i> |
| | 14 49 <i>k</i> , 67 <i>p</i> | | 12 155 <i>h</i> | | 8 117 <i>ee</i> |
| 20 | 3 135 <i>m</i> | | 15 126 <i>b</i> | | 9 87 <i>f</i> , 141 <i>d</i> |
| | 4 48 <i>d</i> | 34 | 1 5 <i>h</i> | | 10 20 <i>h</i> N ² |
| 21 | 2 109 <i>k</i> , 126 <i>h</i> , 148 <i>b</i> | | | | |

Psalms

45 12 75 *bb*, 109 *h*, 124 *i*
 16 76 *g*
 18 53 *q*, 123 *c*
 46 3 115 *g*
 4 132 *h* N.
 5 124 *b*, 132 *c*
 7 119 *q*
 48 6 164 *b* N.
 11 93 *g*, 93 *x*
 15 126 *aa*
 49 6 102 *l*
 7 126 *b*
 8 113 *v*
 14 155 *e*
 15 10 *g*, 67 *ee*, 114 *k*
 N.
 50 3 109 *e*, 144 *c*
 4 115 *b*
 10 90 *n*
 12 159 *m*, 159 *r*
 17 142 *d*
 21 112 *cc*, 113 *x*, 157 *a*
 22 116 *b*
 23 58 *i*
 51 4 75 *gg*, 120 *g*
 5 142 *f*
 7 64 *h*
 9 165 *a*
 10 155 *h*
 14 117 *ff*
 18 108 *f*
 19 128 *h*
 52 5 119 *v*
 15 58 *i*
 53 6 91 *e*, 116 *i*
 54 6 119 *i*
 55 3 108 *g*
 10 52 *n*
 16 74 *k*
 18 108 *g*
 19 119 *gg*
 22 10 *g*
 23 117 *x*
 56 4 155 *l*
 57 2 75 *u*
 5 117 *bb*, 144 *m*
 58 2 52 *n*
 5 63 *n*
 9 69 *x*, 96, 118 *r*
 59 6 125 *h*, 128 *x*, 131 *s*
 8 151 *a*
 16 159 *s*
 60 4 75 *pp*
 5 131 *c*
 13 80 *g*, 158 *a*
 61 1 80 *f*
 8 75 *cc*
 62 4 52 *q*
 5 145 *m*
 8 13 *c*

Psalms

63 2 132 *d*
 4 60 *e*
 6 117 *t*
 64 5 69 *r*
 7 67 *e*
 8 117 *ff*
 9 130 *a*
 65 6 92 *g*
 10 53 *n*, 60 *g*
 11 117 *y*
 66 6 108 *g*
 13 119 *n*
 17 144 *m*
 68 3 19 *c*, 51 *k*, 67 *t*
 5 119 *i* N^s, 122 *t*
 7 117 *bb*, 124 *e*
 9 136 *d* N.
 17 131 *c*
 18 21 *c*, 97 *h*
 19 20 *f*, 117 *bb*
 22 128 *c*
 23 75 *u*
 24 10 *g*, 103 *m*
 34 119 *q*
 69 4 118 *p*
 5 131 *q* N.
 9 48 *i*
 10 95 *b* N.
 11 144 *l* N^s
 24 64 *h*
 33 69 *s*
 71 1 108 *c*
 7 131 *r*
 23 44 *o*
 72 2 107 *n*
 13 72 *r*
 14 69 *f*
 17 10 *g*
 20 52 *q*
 73 2 75 *u*
 7 145 *o*
 9 63 *n*, 69 *x*
 14 123 *c*
 16 49 *e*, 108 *e*
 17 108 *h*
 20 53 *q*, 119 *y* N.
 27 119 *ff*
 28 73 *d*
 74 7 119 *gg*
 8 76 *f*
 10 64 *e*
 19 80 *f*
 75 4 116 *w*, 146 *g*
 76 6 54 *a* N²
 11 124 *e*
 77 2 63 *o*
 4 75 *l*, 75 *u*
 10 67 *r*
 11 67 *r*
 16 20 *g*, 125 *c*

Psalms

77 18 55 *b*, 93 *bb*
 20 20 *h*
 78 6 107 *k*
 15 132 *h* N.
 16 74 *l*
 21 66 *e*
 44 75 *u*, 124 *e*
 54 138 *g*
 80 8 131 *s*
 11 52 *q*, 121 *d*
 14 5 *n*, 56
 15 125 *h*
 19 72 *t*
 81 9 109 *b*
 11 116 *f*
 83 12 131 *o*
 19 144 *l* N²
 84 9 125 *h*
 86 2 9 *v*, 48 *i* N., 61 *f* N.
 9 117 *n*
 87 3 121 *d* N¹, 145 *u*
 5 123 *c*
 88 5 152 *u*
 6 116 *h*
 17 55 *d*
 89 7 124 *g*, 128 *v*
 10 76 *b*
 40 64 *e*
 48 135 *f*
 51 132 *b*
 52 20 *h*
 90 2 107 *c*, 152 *r*
 3 109 *k*, 111 *t*
 4 118 *r*
 5 155 *g*
 6 112 *m*
 8 73 *d*
 10 49 *e*
 13 147 *c*
 15 87 *n*, 130 *d*
 91 4 67 *p*, 109 *k*
 6 67 *q*, 118 *i*
 9 117 *ii*
 11 20 *c*
 12 60 *e*
 92 12 132 *b*
 93 5 75 *x*
 94 1 53 *m*, 69 *v*
 9 93 *qq*
 12 20 *g*
 20 60 *b*, 63 *m*
 99 6 74 *i*, 75 *oo*, 119 *i*
 100 3 103 *g*
 101 5 55 *b*, 64 *i*, 90 *m*
 102 4 67 *u*
 9 116 *i*
 14 67 *cc*
 19 106 *e*
 28 67 *g*, 135 *a* N¹
 103 1 10 *g*

Psalms

| | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------------------|
| 103 | 3 | . . . 91 e, 91 l |
| | 4 | . . . 58 g |
| | 5 | . . . 145 k, 156 d |
| | 9 | . . . 117 g |
| 104 | 1 | . . . 106 g |
| | 3 | 20 m N ² , 35 b, 126 b |
| | 8 | . . . 138 g |
| | 11 | . . . 90 n |
| | 12 | . . . 93 z |
| | 18 | . . . 20 m, 126 a |
| | 20 | . . . 109 h, 159 d |
| | 21 | . . . 114 p |
| | 25 | . . . 136 d |
| | 26 | . . . 138 g |
| | 28 | . . . 47 m, 159 c |
| 105 | 12 | . . . 118 x |
| | 28 | . . . 53 n |
| | 43 | . . . 78 l |
| 107 | 23 | . . . 5 n, 17 e |
| | 43 | . . . 93 m |
| 108 | 7 | . . . 144 m |
| 109 | 2 | . . . 117 t |
| | 3 | . . . 57 N ² |
| | 10 | . . . 64 e |
| | 13 | . . . 75 y |
| 110 | 1 | . . . 164 f |
| | 2 | . . . 110 c |
| | 3 | . . . 141 c |
| | 4 | . . . 90 l |
| 111 | 1 | . . . 5 h |
| 112 | 1 | . . . 5 h |
| | 8 | . . . 164 f |
| | 9 | . . . 120 g |
| 113 | 5 | . . . 90 m |
| | 7 | . . . 90 m |
| | 8 | . . . 90 n |
| | 9 | . . . 90 n |
| 114 | 1 | . . . 128 a N ² |
| | 8 | . . . 90 m, 90 n |
| 115 | 7 | . . . 143 d, 147 e |
| 116 | 1 | . . . 90 n |
| | 4 | . . . 16 f |
| | 6 | . . . 53 q |
| | 7 | . . . 72 s, 91 l |
| | 12 | . . . 91 l |
| | 15 | . . . 90 f |
| 118 | 5 | 20 g, 59 f, 119 g g |
| | 7 | . . . 119 i |
| | 10 | . . . 60 d |
| | 11 | . . . 67 cc |
| | 13 | . . . 113 p |
| | 14 | . . . 80 g |
| | 18 | . . . 20 g, 59 f |
| | 23 | . . . 74 g |
| | 25 | . . . 53 m |
| | 26 | . . . 59 e |
| 119 | 1 | . . . 5 n, 75 oo |
| | 18 | . . . 75 cc |
| | 28 | . . . 91 n |

Psalms

| | | |
|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| 119 | 117 | . . . 75 l |
| | 128 | . . . 130 f N. |
| | 136 | . . . 155 n |
| | 137 | . . . 145 r |
| 120 | 1 | . . . 90 g, 127 e |
| | 5 | . . . 117 bb |
| | 6 | . . . 119 s |
| | 7 | . . . 141 c N ³ |
| 121 | 1 | . . . 127 e |
| | 3 | . . . 107 p, 109 e |
| | 5 | . . . 124 k |
| 122 | 6 | . . . 75 u |
| 123 | 1 | . . . 90 m |
| | 4 | . . . 119 s, 127 g |
| 124 | 4 | . . . 90 f |
| 125 | 1 | . . . 155 g |
| 126 | 6 | . . . 113 p, 113 u |
| 127 | 1 | . . . 118 i |
| | 2 | 23 l, 80 h, 114 n |
| 128 | 3 | . . . 75 v, 96 |
| | 5 | . . . 110 i |
| 131 | 1 | . . . 72 l |
| 132 | 1 | . . . 52 r |
| | 3 | . . . 128 m |
| | 4 | . . . 80 g |
| | 12 | 34 b, 91 n, 138 g |
| 133 | 2 | . . . 126 x |
| 135 | 7 | . . . 53 o |
| 136 | 1 | . . . 2 r |
| | 3 | . . . 102 m |
| | 6 | . . . 65 d |
| 137 | 1 | . . . 124 e |
| | 3 | . . . 117 gg |
| | 5 | . . . 159 m |
| | 6 | . . . 58 g |
| | 7 | . . . 75 cc, 116 d |
| 138 | 2 | . . . 16 f |
| | 6 | . . . 69 b N., 69 p |
| 139 | 1 | . . . 59 h |
| | 2 | . . . 73 a N. |
| | 5 | . . . 91 e |
| | 8 | . . . 66 e, 159 m |
| | 11 | 103 d, 111 x, 159 f |
| | 12 | . . . 133 b N ² |
| | 14 | . . . 75 qq, 118 p |
| | 18 | . . . 159 c N. |
| | 20 | 23 i, 68 h, 75 oo |
| | 21 | . . . 72 cc |
| | 22 | . . . 117 q, 128 r |
| 140 | 4 | . . . 91 l |
| | 10 | . . . 75 mm |
| | 13 | . . . 44 i |
| 141 | 3 | . . . 20 h, 48 i |
| | 4 | . . . 96 |
| | 5 | . . . 74 k |
| | 8 | . . . 75 bb |
| | 10 | . . . 145 m |
| 142 | 5 | . . . 113 bb |
| 143 | 6 | . . . 106 g |
| 144 | 2 | . . . 87 f |

Psalms

| | | |
|-----|----|-------------|
| 144 | 14 | . . . 122 e |
| 145 | 1 | . . . 5 h |
| | 7 | . . . 132 b |
| | 13 | . . . 123 c |
| 147 | 1 | . . . 52 p |
| | 2 | . . . 20 m |
| 149 | 2 | . . . 124 k |

Proverbs

| | | |
|---|----|------------------------|
| 1 | 9 | . . . 91 n |
| | 10 | . . . 68 h, 75 hh |
| | 16 | . . . 145 u |
| | 19 | . . . 29 f |
| | 20 | . . . 47 k, 48 d, 86 l |
| | 21 | . . . 75 v |
| | 22 | . . . 63 m, 93 t N. |
| | 23 | . . . 159 d |
| | 28 | . . . 60 e |
| 2 | 8 | . . . 114 i N. |
| | 10 | . . . 145 u |
| | 11 | . . . 58 i |
| | 14 | . . . 128 w |
| | 19 | . . . 116 i |
| | 22 | . . . 144 g |
| 3 | 3 | . . . 110 f |
| | 8 | . . . 22 s |
| | 12 | . . . 16 b |
| | 25 | . . . 109 e |
| | 26 | . . . 119 i |
| 4 | 4 | . . . 75 n |
| | 8 | . . . 60 f, 67 l |
| | 13 | . . . 20 h |
| | 21 | . . . 72 ee |
| | 25 | . . . 70 b |
| 5 | 2 | . . . 145 u |
| | 4 | . . . 96 |
| | 6 | . . . 72 l |
| | 13 | . . . 75 ee |
| | 16 | . . . 150 a |
| | 17 | . . . 152 o |
| | 22 | . . . 60 e, 131 m N. |
| 6 | 24 | . . . 114 i N., 128 w |
| 7 | 2 | . . . 75 n |
| | 5 | . . . 114 i N. |
| | 7 | . . . 108 h |
| | 8 | . . . 91 e |
| | 11 | . . . 94 d |
| | 13 | . . . 67 dd, 68 e |
| | 26 | . . . 116 l |
| 8 | 3 | . . . 47 k |
| | 4 | . . . 96 |
| | 12 | . . . 117 bb |
| | 13 | . . . 122 v |
| | 17 | . . . 68 f |
| | 22 | . . . 59 f |
| | 25 | . . . 107 c, 152 r |
| | 26 | . . . 124 l |
| | 27 | . . . 67 r |
| | 28 | . . . 93 v |
| | 30 | . . . 122 f |

Proverbs

8 32 . . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*
 9 1 86 *l*
 5 119 *m*
 9 109 *h*
 10 124 *h*
 12 159 *ff*
 13 . 137 *c*, 152 *u* *N.*
 18 116 *l*
 10 4 . 23 *g*, 72 *p*, 117 *t*
 26 124 *k*
 31 117 *z*
 11 3 67 *n*
 14 123 *b*
 15 67 *t*
 21 22 *s*
 25 69 *w*
 12 1 16 *f*
 10 145 *h*
 17 159 *c*
 18 75 *qq*
 19 108 *h*
 28 152 *g*
 13 4 131 *n*
 6 142 *f*
 10 153
 21 117 *c*
 23 23 *g*
 24 117 *ff*
 14 1 . 86 *l*, 145 *k* *N.*
 2 116 *k*
 3 47 *g*
 7 152 *u* *N.*
 10 22 *s*
 13 131 *n* *N*^{*I*}
 14 72 *p*
 20 121 *f*
 30 124 *d*
 34 72 *bb*
 35 114 *i* *N.*
 15 1 20 *c*, 22 *s*
 5 63 *n*
 20 107 *f*
 16 3 124 *e*
 4 127 *i*
 11 128 *a* *N.*
 30 141 *i* *N.*
 33 121 *b*
 17 4 68 *i*
 10 66 *f*
 12 113 *cc*, 133 *b* *N.*,
 152 *g*
 15 154 *a* *N.* (*c*)
 21 114 *i* *N.*
 26 153
 18 6 145 *u*
 16 92 *g*
 22 159 *h*
 24 47 *b*
 19 7 9 *u*
 8 114 *i*

Proverbs

19 25 63 *n*, 144 *h*
 20 2 128 *h*
 9 107 *t*
 10 123 *f*
 13 110 *h*
 16 63 *l*
 22 22 *s*
 25 114 *i*
 21 6 128 *c*
 12 125 *c*
 22 21 10 *k*, 124 *k*, 131 *c*
 23 1 73 *a*, 73 *d*
 7 152 *t*
 2 138 *g*
 24 159 *i*
 29 131 *q*
 35 120 *c*
 24 1 5 *h*
 4 29 *o*
 14 48 *l*
 17 51 *l*
 22 151 *a*
 31 117 *z*
 25 2 53 *k*
 3 29 *i* *N.*
 5 126 *n*
 9 75 *bb*
 11 93 *r*
 12 161 *a* *N.*
 13 124 *k*
 16 76 *h*, 91 *d*
 17 69 *v*
 19 . 52 *s*, 67 *s*, 92 *g*
 23 72 *bb*
 26 53 *s*
 27 113 *b*
 26 7 75 *u*
 8 67 *cc*
 17 155 *e*
 23 145 *u*
 28 122 *n*
 27 6 63 *c*
 7 143 *a*
 9 146 *e*
 15 75 *x*
 24 150 *g* *N.*
 25 20 *h*
 28 6 88 *e* *N.*
 22 10 *h*
 29 6 67 *q*
 30 1 96
 3 124 *h*, 166 *a*
 6 10 *k*, 69 *v*
 13 72 *l*
 14 114 *i* *N.*
 17 10 *g* *N.*, 20 *h* *N.*
 18 134 *s*
 24 133 *g*
 28 144 *h*
 30 152 *b*

Proverbs

30 31 35 *m*
 31 1 128 *h*
 2 37 *f*
 3 53 *q*, 87 *e*
 4 75 *n*
 10 2 *r*, 5 *h*
 30 54 *g*

Job

1 1 155 *e*, 156 *b*
 3 123 *a*
 4 97 *c*, 112 *dd*
 5 107 *e*, 112 *f*, 118 *h*
 164 *d*
 6 119 *cc*, 126 *s*, 128 *v*
 7 107 *h*
 12 136 *d*
 14 116 *r*, 119 *cc*, 122 *c*,
 135 *o*, 141 *i*, 145 *c*
 15 . 49 *e*, 122 *i*, 135 *o*
 16 116 *u*, 164 *a*
 18 116 *u*
 19 122 *g*
 21 . 23 *f*, 74 *k*, 118 *n*
 2 1 128 *v*
 3 111 *l*
 9 110 *f*
 10 150 *a*, 153
 3 2 68 *e*
 3 29 *e*, 68 *d*, 107 *k*,
 155 *f*, 155 *i*
 4 141 *c* *N.*
 6 75 *r*
 8 114 *m*
 9 . 109 *a* *N.*, 152 *k*
 11 152 *z*
 13 . 106 *p*, 159 *dd*
 15 155 *e*
 17 106 *l*
 19 135 *a* *N.*
 20 128 *y*
 24 145 *p*
 25 75 *u*
 4 2 . 28 *b*, 87 *e*, 150 *m*
 3 107 *e*, 132 *f*
 5 111 *t*, 144 *b*
 6 143 *d*
 7 136 *c*
 17 107 *f*, 133 *b* *N.*,
 150 *h*
 19 144 *g*, 145 *t*
 20 . 29 *l*, 67 *g*, 67 *y*
 21 150 *m*
 5 1 61 *h*, 91 *d*
 2 117 *n*
 3 135 *a*
 5 119 *w*
 7 128 *v*, 161 *a*
 8 107 *x*

Job

| | | |
|----|----|---------------------------|
| 5 | 10 | 126 b |
| 12 | | 166 a |
| 13 | | 91 e |
| 14 | | 118 u |
| 16 | | 90 g |
| 18 | | 75 qf |
| 19 | | 134 s |
| 22 | | 109 e |
| 24 | | 159 g |
| 27 | | 20 g |
| 6 | 2 | 113 w, 144 g |
| 5 | | 150 h |
| 7 | | 66 b, 106 g |
| 8 | | 95 h, 151 d |
| 9 | | 120 d |
| 10 | | 108 f |
| 12 | | 141 d, 150 f |
| 13 | | 150 g N. |
| 16 | | 126 b |
| 17 | | 130 d, 155 l |
| 19 | | 119 s |
| 20 | | 135 p, 145 u |
| 21 | | 75 t, 152 a |
| 22 | | 22 p, 64 a, 69 o |
| 25 | | 154 a |
| 26 | | 65 f, 69 v |
| 28 | | 120 g |
| 7 | 2 | 155 g |
| 3 | | 121 c, 144 g |
| 4 | | 124 f |
| 6 | | 133 b |
| 13 | | 112 hh, 119 m |
| 14 | | 58 i, 60 d |
| 15 | | 133 b |
| 18 | | 123 c |
| 20 | | 102 l, 119 aa, 159 h |
| 21 | | 37 f |
| 8 | 5 | 159 r |
| 7 | | 145 u |
| 9 | | 141 d |
| 10 | | 125 c |
| 11 | | 75 rr, 150 h, 152 a N. |
| 14 | | 72 r, 93 oo |
| 18 | | 29 g, 64 g |
| 19 | | 145 d |
| 21 | | 23 e, 75 pp |
| 9 | 6 | 54 k |
| 7 | | 109 g, 165 a |
| 8 | | 87 s |
| 11 | | 117 n, 159 w |
| 15 | | 55 b, 159 n, 160 a |
| 16 | | 111 x |
| 18 | | 20 h, 114 m |
| 19 | | 147 b |
| 20 | | 53 n, 107 x |
| 22 | | 106 i |
| 24 | | 150 l N. |
| 26 | | 155 g, 161 a N. |
| 27 | | 159 u |

Job

| | | |
|----|----|-----------------------------|
| 9 | 29 | 107 n |
| 31 | | 126 r |
| 32 | | 116 s, 152 d, 166 a |
| 33 | | 109 i, 152 d |
| 34 | | 60 d |
| 10 | 1 | 72 dd |
| 7 | | 119 aa N. |
| 8 | | 111 e |
| 15 | | 159 ff |
| 16 | | 109 h, 120 g |
| 17 | | 154 a N. |
| 18 | | 107 n |
| 19 | | 17 n |
| 21 | | 107 c |
| 22 | | 90 g, 152 a N. |
| 11 | 2 | 128 t |
| 3 | | 111 t |
| 5 | | 151 b |
| 6 | | 110 i, 134 r N. |
| 9 | | 91 e |
| 11 | | 128 t |
| 12 | | 51 g, 131 c N. |
| 15 | | 119 w, 159 ee |
| 17 | | 48 d, 108 e, 133 e 144 c |
| 20 | | 103 m |
| 12 | 3 | 152 d |
| 4 | | 111 u |
| 6 | | 29 t, 75 u, 124 e |
| 7 | | 145 k |
| 11 | | 135 i, 161 a |
| 12 | | 141 d |
| 14 | | 159 w |
| 15 | | 15 c |
| 17 | | 116 s, 116 x, 118 o |
| 23 | | 117 n |
| 24 | | 128 a, 152 u |
| 13 | 3 | 53 k, 113 d |
| 7 | | 150 h |
| 9 | | 67 g |
| 13 | | 119 ff, 131 c |
| 15 | | 153 |
| 16 | | 152 e |
| 17 | | 113 r |
| 21 | | 29 g, 60 d, 64 h |
| 25 | | 117 c |
| 26 | | 124 e |
| 27 | | 54 f, 93 r |
| 28 | | 144 p, 155 h |
| 14 | 1 | 116 l |
| 2 | | 111 s |
| 3 | | 150 b, 153 |
| 4 | | 151 b |
| 6 | | 109 f, 156 g |
| 9 | | 65 e, 112 m |
| 10 | | 111 t |
| 11 | | 161 a |
| 19 | | 145 k |
| 22 | | 153 |
| 15 | 3 | 113 h, 119 hh |

Job

| | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|
| 15 | 6 | 145 u |
| 7 | | 121 d |
| 10 | | 131 q |
| 11 | | 133 c |
| 13 | | 125 c |
| 15 | | 67 ee |
| 16 | | 116 e |
| 17 | | 75 bb, 138 h, 143 d |
| 20 | | 146 a |
| 21 | | 118 f |
| 22 | | 75 v |
| 23 | | 147 c |
| 26 | | 128 r |
| 16 | 3 | 150 g |
| 4 | | 103 l, 108 f, 119 g |
| 5 | | 60 f |
| 6 | | 63 f, 108 e, 159 ff |
| 7 | | 53 p, 75 ee, 144 p |
| 8 | | 120 c |
| 9 | | 118 q, 119 q |
| 10 | | 54 k, 119 q |
| 12 | | 112 tt |
| 13 | | 95 h |
| 14 | | 126 p |
| 16 | | 44 m, 55 e |
| 17 | | 152 a N., 160 a |
| 19 | | 124 b |
| 22 | | 69 x, 75 u, 145 u |
| 17 | 1 | 124 c |
| 2 | | 20 h, 73 e, 75 ff |
| 4 | | 72 cc |
| 5 | | 75 w |
| 7 | | 75 p |
| 9 | | 10 h |
| 10 | | 120 e, 135 r |
| 13 | | 124 b |
| 16 | | 47 k |
| 18 | 2 | 130 a |
| 3 | | 75 qq |
| 4 | | 51 n, 139 f |
| 7 | | 67 dd, 135 n |
| 8 | | 54 k |
| 12 | | 109 k |
| 18 | | 144 g |
| 21 | | 130 d |
| 19 | 2 | 21 d, 60 e, 75 gg, 75 oo |
| 3 | | 53 n, 120 c |
| 7 | | 63 h N., 159 w |
| 10 | | 69 p, x |
| 15 | | 60 a |
| 17 | | 67 ee |
| 18 | | 159 e |
| 19 | | 138 h |
| 23 | | 53 u, 67 y, 126 s, 151 d |
| 24 | | 51 m |
| 25 | | 118 n |
| 26 | | 119 w, 144 g |
| 28 | | 117 n |

Job
 20 4 150 e
 9 122 l
 10 72 k
 12 159 q
 17 109 e, 130 e
 19 154 a N.
 22 74 h, 118 e
 23 103 f N.
 24 159 c
 26 . 68 f, 145 u, 156 f
 29 131 c, 135 m
 21 4 100 n, 135 f, 143 a,
 150 g
 5 67 v
 7 117 z
 9 . 119 w, 141 c N^s
 11 52 n
 13 20 i, 66 f
 16 20 f, 106 n N²
 17 150 h
 21 37 d, 146 a
 22 142 d
 23 139 g
 25 119 m
 27 155 k
 29 44 d, 64 f
 32 124 c
 22 2 103 f N^s
 3 67 y
 7 152 e
 9 121 b
 12 20 i, 117 h, 141 c,
 158 a
 16 121 d, 149 a
 18 106 n N.
 20 91 f, 149 e
 21 48 d, 110 f, 135 p
 23 159 ff
 29 23 f
 30 152 q
 23 2 119 aa
 3 120 e
 6 100 l
 9 109 k
 11 76 c
 12 143 d
 13 119 i
 16 67 v
 24 1 75 m, 121 f
 5 118 r, 145 m
 7 118 o
 10 118 o, 152 u
 14 109 k, 118 x, 120 c
 19 161 a
 21 70 d
 22 87 e, 156 f
 23 91 l
 24 . 51 m 67 m, 67 y
 25 . 150 l N., 152 a
 25 2 116 z

Job
 25 3 91 d
 5 67 ee
 26 2 152 a N., 152 u,
 152 v
 4 117 gg
 5 119 c
 7 116 s
 9 56
 14 119 m
 27 3 128 e
 5 149 a
 6 119 w N.
 7 118 x
 12 117 q
 19 68 h, 120 d N.
 23 103 f N.
 28 1 155 h
 2 121 d, 127 ii
 4 126 b
 5 118 w
 6 124 l
 11 119 x
 12 119 ff
 17 152 z
 25 114 r
 27 60 d
 29 2 118 u, 130 d, 151 b
 3 67 p, 118 h, 131 o
 6 23 f
 8 120 g N.
 10 44 c, 146 a
 12 152 u, 155 n
 15 141 d
 16 130 d, 155 n
 21 20 i, 24 e, 67 g
 23 118 w
 25 10 g, 126 p
 30 3 126 b, 133 l
 6 114 k, 133 h
 10 106 g
 13 152 u, 155 n
 14 75 u
 15 121 b
 19 59 f, 75 ll
 20 72 bb
 26 49 e, 108 e
 28 118 n, 120 c
 31 1 148 a
 5 72 ff
 7 23 c, 108 f
 9 159 m
 10 87 e
 11 32 l, 131 s
 12 155 f
 15 58 k, 72 cc
 18 117 x, 126 p, 163 b
 22 91 e
 26 67 p, 111 q, 118 n,
 118 q
 27 75 q

Job
 31 28 159 dd
 29 112 e
 31 151 b
 34 156 f
 35 151 b
 32 6 68 c, 69 m
 7 146 a
 11 68 i
 12 103 o
 17 63 f
 18 23 f, 74 k
 22 120 c
 33 4 16 h, 75 mm
 5 48 i, 54 k
 21 14 d, 64 e
 25 56
 30 51 l, 72 v
 32 61 d
 34 13 90 f
 18 113 ee N.
 22 115 g
 36 159 cc
 35 10 124 k
 11 68 k
 15 152 k
 36 2 65 e
 7 111 b N.
 18 145 u
 32 122 o
 36 143 d
 37 5 118 p
 6 75 hh
 12 90 f
 14 117 w
 16 124 e
 18 150 b
 24 59 i
 38 2 136 c
 3 126 p
 5 159 dd
 6 137 b
 7 67 n, 128 v
 12 119 w N.
 13 5 n, 114 r
 14 118 w, 134 r
 16 150 h
 18 122 q, 150 b
 19 155 k
 21 107 c, 146 a
 24 165 a
 26 152 u, 155 e
 27 133 l
 28 150 g
 30 118 w
 32 145 m
 39 1 64 d
 2 91 f, 150 b
 3 135 o
 9 22 s
 13 150 f

Job

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 39 | 15 | 135 p |
| | 17 | 119 m |
| | 24 | 75 oo |
| | 26 | 53 n |
| | 30 | 55 f |
| 40 | 2 | 113 ee, 113 gg |
| | 5 | 134 r, 134 ss |
| | 8 | 150 g |
| | 19 | 116 g N., 127 l |
| | 22 | 67 n |
| | 23 | 159 w |
| | 24 | 66 f |
| | 25 | 150 a N ¹ |
| | 30 | 150 b |
| | 32 | 69 v |
| 41 | 1 | 93 ss, 150 a N ¹ |
| | 2 | 72 cc |
| | 4 | 103 g, 124 e |
| | 7 | 118 r |
| | 12 | 154 a N. |
| | 15 | 156 g |
| | 17 | 76 b |
| | 20 | 128 v |
| | 22 | 133 h |
| | 25 | 24 b, 75 v, 126 b |
| | 26 | 16 f, 117 a N ⁴ |
| 42 | 2 | 44 i |
| | 3 | 133 d, 156 f |
| | 5 | 75 mm |
| | 7 | 164 d |
| | 8 | 163 d |
| | 10 | 91 k |
| | 13 | 97 c |
| | 15 | 135 o, 145 o |
| | 16 | 75 t |

Canticle

| | | |
|---|--------------|----------------|
| 1 | 1 | 133 i |
| | 6 | 60 u, 75 x |
| | 7 | 36, 75 v |
| | 8 | 20 h |
| | 10 | 75 x, 141 c |
| | 15 | 141 d |
| 2 | 7 | 144 a |
| | 12 | 85 u N. |
| | 13 | 141 d |
| | 14 | 69 v, 93 ss |
| | 17 | 119 s |
| 3 | 7 | 131 n |
| | 8 | 50 f |
| | 11 | 75 n |
| 5 | 5 | 135 b |
| | 8 | 137 b N. |
| | 9 | 59 h |
| | 16 | 85 g N., 141 c |
| 6 | 8 | 32 n |
| | 11 | 67 dd |
| 7 | 1 | 137 b N. |
| | 2 | 93 x |

Canticle

| | | |
|---|--------------|----------------|
| 7 | 10 | 126 x, 133 h |
| 8 | 2 | 87 f, 131 c N. |
| | 4 | 137 b N. |
| | 5 | 59 g N. |
| | 6 | 93 m |
| | 10 | 74 i |
| | 14 | 119 s |

Ruth

| | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | 49 b N. |
| | 8 | 135 o, 144 a |
| | 9 | 46 f, 74 h, 74 k, 110 i |
| | 12 | 106 p, 107 x |
| | 13 | 51 m, 103 f N., 152 g |
| | 14 | 76 b |
| | 16 | 138 e |
| | 19 | 91 f |
| | 20 | 46 f, 80 h |
| | 21 | 118 n |
| | 22 | 32 n, 138 k |
| 2 | 2 | 10 h, 64 i |
| | 3 | 129 d |
| | 6 | 138 k |
| | 8 | 47 g, 47 o |
| | 9 | 75 qq, 112 kk |
| | 14 | 53 n, 66 c, 69 v, 103 g |
| | 15 | 35 k |
| | 16 | 67 o |
| | 20 | 121 f |
| | 21 | 47 o, 122 g |
| 3 | 2 | 91 f, 141 c |
| | 3 | 44 h, 104 g |
| | 4 | 47 o, 109 k, 112 z |
| | 6 | 59 g |
| | 12 | 163 d |
| | 14 | 107 c |
| | 15 | 64 c, 69 o, 134 n |
| | 18 | 163 c and N. |
| 4 | 1 | 69 p, 72 t |
| | 3 | 129 h, 138 k |
| | 4 | 29 i N., 152 o |
| | 7 | 112 h |
| | 15 | 59 g |

Lamentations

| | | |
|---|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 1 | 5 h, 90 l |
| | 4 | 69 l, 87 e |
| | 8 | 67 y, 72 ee, 117 p |
| | 9 | 124 f |
| | 10 | 120 c, 155 f |
| | 14 | 130 d, 155 n |
| | 16 | 75 v, 117 z |
| | 19 | 107 q, 165 a |
| 2 | 7 | 64 e |
| | 11 | 51 l |
| | 16 | 15 c |

Lamentations

| | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|
| 2 | 18 | 80 f |
| 3 | 1 | 144 p |
| | 5 | 53 n |
| | 12 | 80 h |
| | 14 | 87 f |
| | 22 | 20 o |
| | 26 | 100 g N., 107 q |
| | 33 | 69 u |
| | 48 | 29 q, 69 p, 117 z |
| | 50 | 109 k |
| | 53 | 69 u |
| 4 | 1 | 54 k, 75 rr |
| | 2 | 75 rr |
| | 5 | 117 n |
| | 14 | 51 h, 120 g |
| | 17 | 100 o |
| | 21 | 90 n |
| 5 | 5 | 72 ee N., 121 a |
| | 10 | 145 u |

Ecclesiastes

| | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1 | 122 r |
| | 2 | 133 i |
| | 4 | 116 l |
| | 6 | 113 u |
| | 9 | 137 c |
| | 13 | 112 pp N. |
| | 16 | 135 b |
| | 17 | 86 l |
| 2 | 1 | 135 b |
| | 5 | 112 pp N. |
| | 7 | 145 u |
| | 8 | 122 v |
| | 13 | 24 e, 133 b |
| | 15 | 93 rr, 135 e |
| | 19 | 150 g |
| | 20 | 64 e |
| | 21 | 131 m |
| | 22 | 36 |
| | 26 | 75 oo |
| 3 | 2 | 2 s |
| | 4 | 114 b |
| | 11 | 152 y |
| | 14 | 165 b |
| | 15 | 114 i |
| | 18 | 36, 67 p |
| | 19 | 93 rr |
| | 21 | 100 m, 150 i N. |
| | 22 | 102 k |
| 4 | 2 | 113 gg |
| | 3 | 117 l |
| | 10 | 124 o, 131 n |
| | 14 | 35 d |
| | 17 | 133 e |
| 5 | 5 | 53 q |
| | 6 | 143 d |
| | 7 | 124 h |
| | 8 | 32 l |

Ecclesiastes

5 11 69 *n*
 14 109 *i*
 15 161 *b*
 16 147 *e*
 18 . 112 *pp N.*, 141 *h*
 7 7 117 *c*
 16 . 54 *c*, 54 *k*, 131 *q*
 24 133 *k*
 26 75 *oo*
 27 122 *r*
 8 1 35 *n*, 75 *rr*
 10 54*g*, 119*ii*, 128*w N.*
 9 1 93 *w w*
 4 143 *e*
 12 52 *s*
 14 112 *pp N.*
 10 5 75 *qq*, 155 *h*
 15 145 *m*
 17 91 *l*
 18 88 *b*
 20 53 *n*
 11 2 134 *s*
 3 23 *i*, 75 *s*
 12 1 124 *k*
 4 72 *t*, 128 *v*
 5 73 *g*
 6 67 *q*, 67 *t*
 7 109 *k*
 9 145 *h*

Esther

1 4 93 *w w*
 5 74 *h*
 8 123 *c*
 17 93 *m*
 2 9 75 *v*
 11 123 *c*
 3 4 157 *c*
 8 100 *o N.*
 4 2 114 *l*
 8 93 *w w*
 6 13 20 *g*
 7 2 109 *f*
 5 74 *g*, 137 *a*
 8 114 *i*
 8 1 137 *c*
 8 63 *c*
 9 1 135 *a N.*
 6 113 *z*
 7 2 *s*
 23 . 124 *c*, 145 *o N.*

Daniel

1 4 23 *c*, 128 *a N.*
 5 135 *o*
 10 93 *ss*
 12 75 *cc*
 13 75 *hh*

Daniel

1 15 93 *ss*
 2 1 124 *o*
 4 1 *c*
 3 15 167 *a*
 8 3 93 *n*
 9 135 *o*
 11 72 *ee*
 13 125 *b*, 126 *z*, 127 *f*
 22 47 *k*, 87 *i*, 95 *u*,
 116 *w*
 9 5 91 *n*
 13 117 *m*
 19 48 *i*
 11 6 116*f*, 127 *i*, 139 *h*
 11 131 *n*
 20 93 *dd*
 23 53 *l*, 54 *k*
 35 53 *q*
 12 2 102 *b*, 124 *e*
 7 93 *aa N.*
 11 134 *g*
 13 87 *e*

Ezra

2 62 131 *r*
 69 97 *g*
 3 3 124 *q*, 147 *a*
 6 134 *p*
 12 126 *aa*
 4 7 55 *h*
 8 1 *c*
 6 21 8 *k*
 7 12 1 *c*
 28 49 *e*
 8 1 64 *i*
 18 14 *d*
 23 51 *n*
 25 93 *oo*, 138 *i*
 29 127 *g*
 30 92 *g*
 36 112 *rr*
 9 6 22 *s*
 10 13 141 *d*
 14 127 *i*, 138 *i*
 16 45 *g*
 17 127 *c N.*

Nehemiah

2 3 67 *dd*
 7 68 *g*
 12 131 *e*, 137 *c*
 13 5 *n*
 3 8 124 *o*, 128 *v*
 13 35 *d*
 31 128 *v*
 4 3 49 *e N.*, 53 *n*
 4 119 *m*
 7 20 *h*

Nehemiah

4 9 49 *c N.*, 67 *x*
 12 116 *k N.*
 17 152 *n*
 5 14 91 *e*
 6 6 90 *k*
 8 23 *c*, 74 *i*
 10 144 *i*
 11 100 *m*
 7 2 118 *x*
 64 64 *i*
 66 23 *i*
 8 2 74 *l*
 8 2 *t*
 10 . 85 *g N.*, 128 *p*,
 152 *v*, 155 *n*
 11 105 *a*
 9 13 132 *d*
 35 126 *x*
 10 37 123 *r N.*
 39 53 *k*
 11 17 53 *q*
 12 44 95 *n*
 47 95 *n*
 13 9 165 *a*
 13 53 *g*, 53 *n*
 16 9 *b*
 21 73 *f*
 24 2 *a*, 2 *w*

1 Chronicles

2 13 47 *b*
 30 152 *u*
 48 145 *u*
 3 5 69 *t*
 4 10 61 *a*, 167 *a*
 42 131 *n*
 5 1 114 *k*
 2 141 *a*
 20 63 *c*
 6 63 90 *f*
 7 5 124 *q*
 8 8 52 *o*
 38 29 *q*
 9 13 128 *c*
 22 . 135 *a N*¹, 155 *d*
 25 134 *m*
 27 123 *c*
 33 147 *a*
 10 2 53 *r*
 13 114 *k*
 11 6 116 *w*
 39 23 *f*
 12 2 24 *f N.*, 70 *b*
 8 114 *b*
 17 61 *c*
 23 155 *d*
 33 123 *f*
 38 23 *f*

1 Chronicles

| | | |
|----|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 15 | 12 | 155 <i>n</i> |
| | 19 | 131 <i>d</i> |
| | 24 | 53 ^o , 55 <i>e</i> |
| | 26 | 63 <i>i</i> |
| | 27 | 56, 127 <i>g</i> |
| 16 | 8 | 2 <i>s</i> |
| 19 | 8 | 131 <i>b</i> |
| 20 | 8 | 69 <i>t</i> |
| 21 | 1 | 125 <i>f</i> |
| | 17 | 141 <i>h N.</i> |
| 22 | 7 | 143 <i>a N.</i> |
| 23 | 6 | 63 <i>n</i> |
| | 26 | 114 <i>k</i> |
| 24 | 3 | 63 <i>n</i> |
| 26 | 28 | 138 <i>i</i> |
| 27 | 12 | 127 <i>d</i> |
| 28 | 2 | 143 <i>a N.</i> |
| | 11 | 96 |
| | 15, 18 | 131 <i>d</i> |
| 29 | 1 | 155 <i>d</i> |
| | 3 | 155 <i>n</i> |
| | 8 | 138 <i>i</i> |
| | 33 | 65 <i>f</i> |

2 Chronicles

| | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | 4 | 138 <i>i</i> , 155 <i>n</i> |
| 2 | 12 | 117 <i>n</i> |

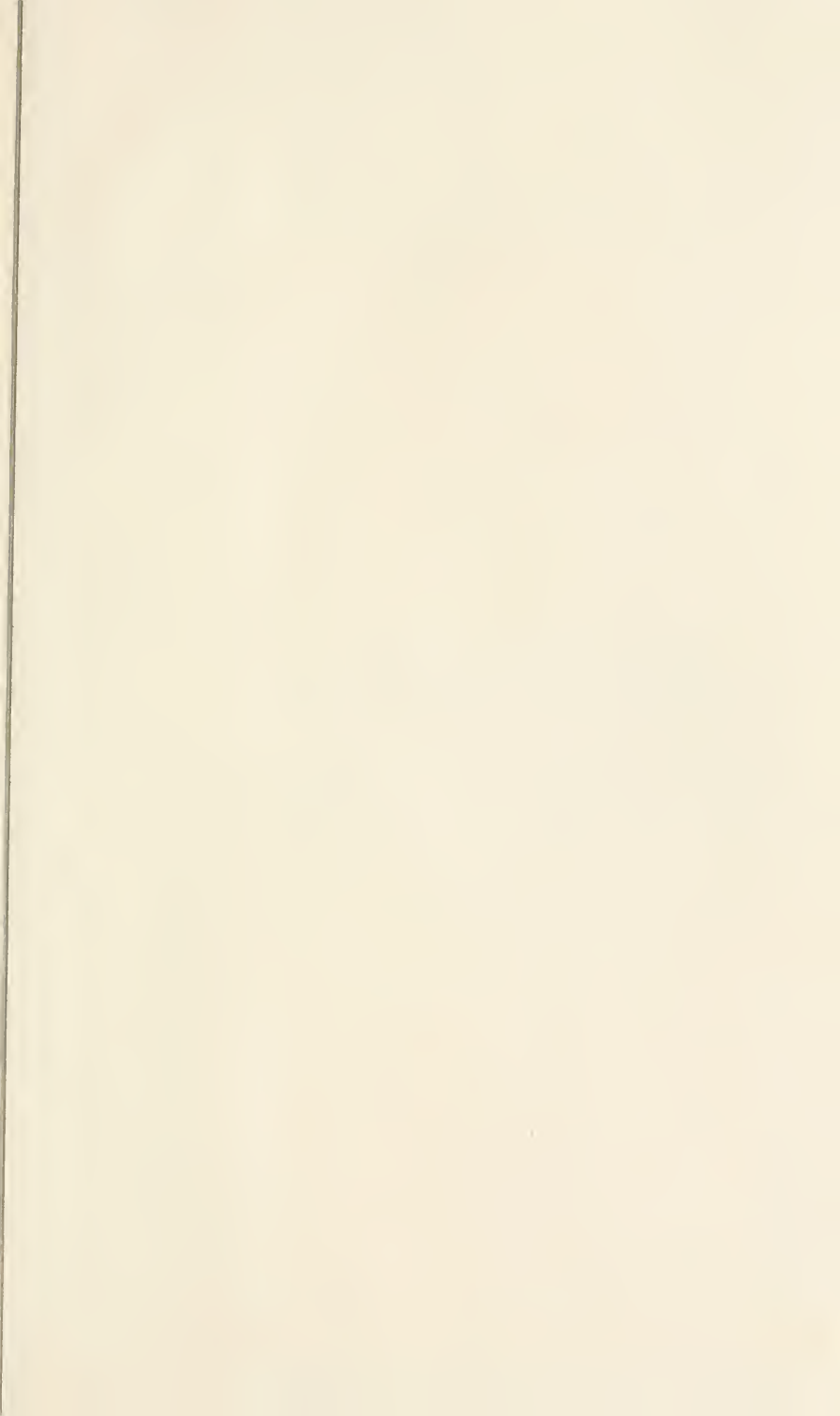
2 Chronicles

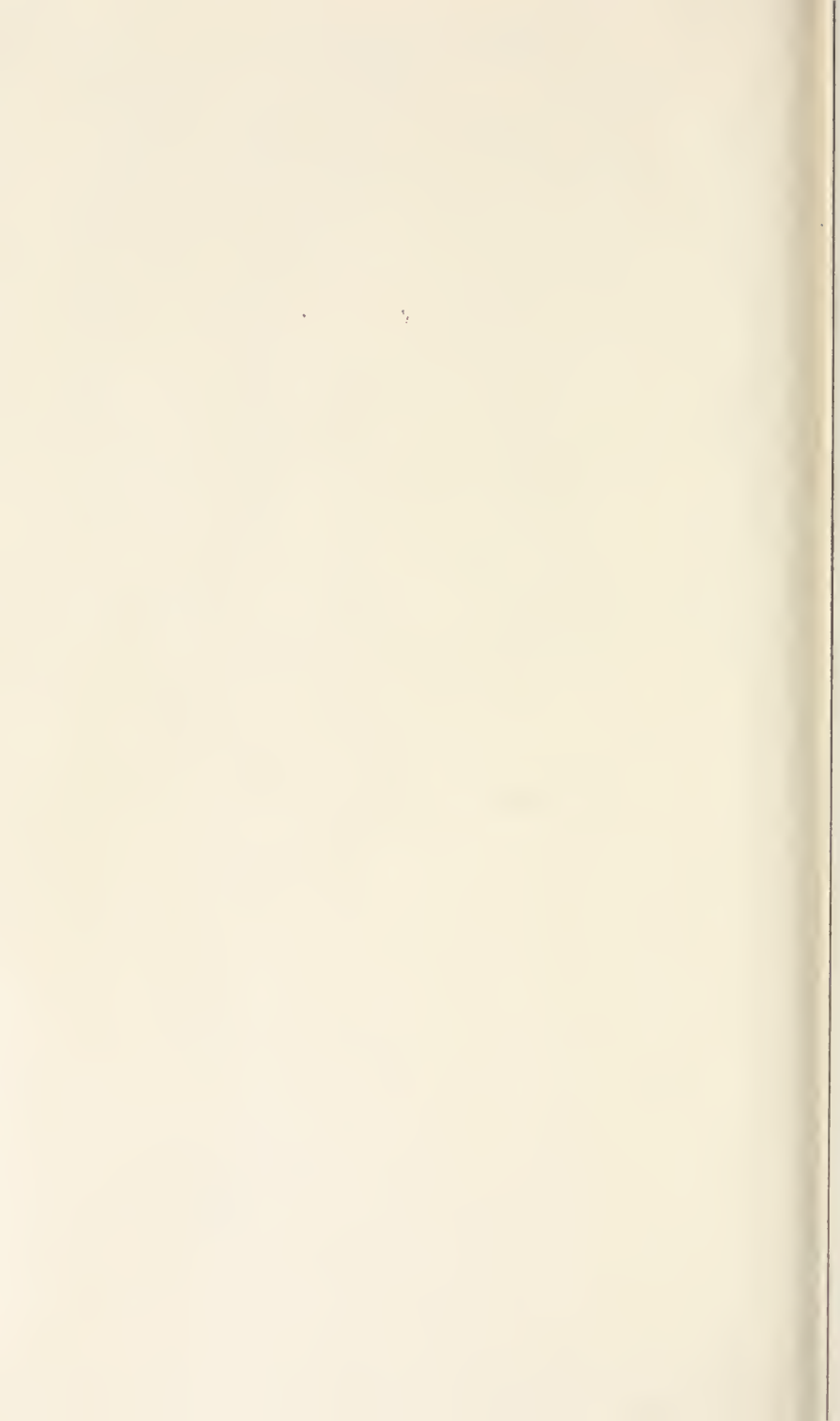
| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 3 | 17 | 126 <i>k</i> |
| 4 | 3 | 123 <i>a N.</i> |
| | 13 | 131 <i>d</i> |
| 5 | 11 | 114 <i>k</i> |
| 8 | 18 | 93 <i>r</i> |
| 11 | 22 | 114 <i>k</i> , 147 <i>a</i> |
| 15 | 3 | 147 <i>a</i> |
| | 8 | 127 <i>f</i> |
| 16 | 4 | 125 <i>h</i> |
| | 9 | 155 <i>n</i> |
| | 10 | 147 <i>a</i> |
| | 12 | 75 <i>rr</i> , 147 <i>a</i> |
| | 14 | 124 <i>c</i> |
| 17 | 11 | 93 <i>x</i> |
| 18 | 3 | 147 <i>a</i> |
| | 23 | 155 <i>d</i> |
| | 26 | 131 <i>c</i> |
| 19 | 2 | 114 <i>k</i> |
| | 6 | 147 <i>a</i> |
| 20 | 1 | 102 <i>b</i> |
| | 19 | 128 <i>v</i> |
| | 22 | 155 <i>l</i> |
| | 34 | 63 <i>p</i> |
| | 35 | 54 <i>a N.</i> |
| 21 | 4 | 119 <i>w N.</i> |
| | 17 | 133 <i>g</i> |
| 22 | 5 | 35 <i>d</i> |
| 23 | 1 | 117 <i>n</i> |
| 25 | 17 | 156 <i>c N.</i> |

2 Chronicles

| | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|
| 26 | 5 | 114 <i>c</i> |
| | 10 | 22 <i>s</i> |
| | 15 75 <i>rr</i> , 114 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>x</i> | |
| | 18 | 114 <i>l</i> |
| 28 | 10 | 142 <i>f N.</i> |
| | 21 | 147 <i>a</i> |
| | 23 | 53 <i>o</i> |
| 29 | 6 | 67 <i>y</i> |
| | 10 | 165 <i>a</i> |
| | 17 | 134 <i>p</i> |
| | 18 | 117 <i>n</i> |
| | 27 | 155 <i>l</i> |
| 30 | 9 | 114 <i>p</i> , 147 <i>a</i> |
| | 17 | 155 <i>d</i> |
| | 18 | 130 <i>d N</i> ² |
| | 19 | 155 <i>n</i> |
| 31 | 7 69 <i>n</i> , 71, 142 <i>f N</i> ² | |
| | 10 | 121 <i>d N</i> ¹ |
| | 17 | 117 <i>m</i> |
| 32 | 9 | 101 <i>a</i> |
| | 13 | 8 <i>k</i> |
| | 30 | 69 <i>u</i> |
| 34 | 10 | 45 <i>g</i> |
| | 11 | 16 <i>f</i> |
| | 12 | 10 <i>h</i> |
| 35 | 4 | 93 <i>wv</i> |
| | 21 109 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>g</i> , 147 <i>a</i> | |
| | 23 | 69 <i>r</i> |
| 36 | 23 | 137 <i>c</i> |

117
260





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