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Wilhelm

GESENIUS'

HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE

E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

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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 A Ts 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 Kuczkow, 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. Hyvernat, 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. 2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.15.16.17 (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* אֲנָּא *read* אֲנָּא (as § 105 *a*).

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

Page 79, § 22 *s*, *before* הִזְדִּיפָהוּ *insert* exceptions to *b* are. *After* Jer 39[12] *add* ψ 52[5]; *and for* Ez 9[6] *read* Ezr 9[6].

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

Page 111, line 12, *for* הַהוּה *read* הַהוּא.

Page 123, § 45 *e*, *add*: cf. also עַהְפַּכָה followed by את, Is 13[19], Am 4[11] (§ 115 *d*).

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

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

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

a tri-literal appearance. (Possibly aided by the analogy of verbs פ״ן, as P. Haupt has suggested to me in conversation.) But cf. Kautzsch, 'Die sog. aramaisierenden 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. יָגֻר, but יְנֹהֲגוּ, יָחֵל and יַחֵל, יָסֹב and יְסֹב, יָשֹׂם and תְּשִׁשֵׂם), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as יָגֻר, יְדַל, never יָגַר יְדַל, &c.): (2) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often appears to be occasioned by the nature of the first letter of the stem, especially when it is a sibilant. Whether the masoretic pronunciation is based on an early tradition, or the Masora has arbitrarily adopted aramaizing forms to attain the above objects, must be left undecided.

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

Page 200, § 72 *z*, line 2, *after* Est 2^{18} *add* 4^{14}.

Page 232, § 84^{a} *s*, *add* שִׁמְמָה 2 S 13^{20}.

Page 236, § 85 *c*, *add* הַנְוָקָה Ezr 4^{22}.

Page 273, § 93 *qq* end, *add* מוֹסְרוֹת Jer 5^{5}, רִבְּעִים, שְׁלֹשִׁים Ez 20^{5}, שִׁמְמוֹת Is 49^{8}, שִׁמְמִים La 1^{16} (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 Ḥayyim 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.

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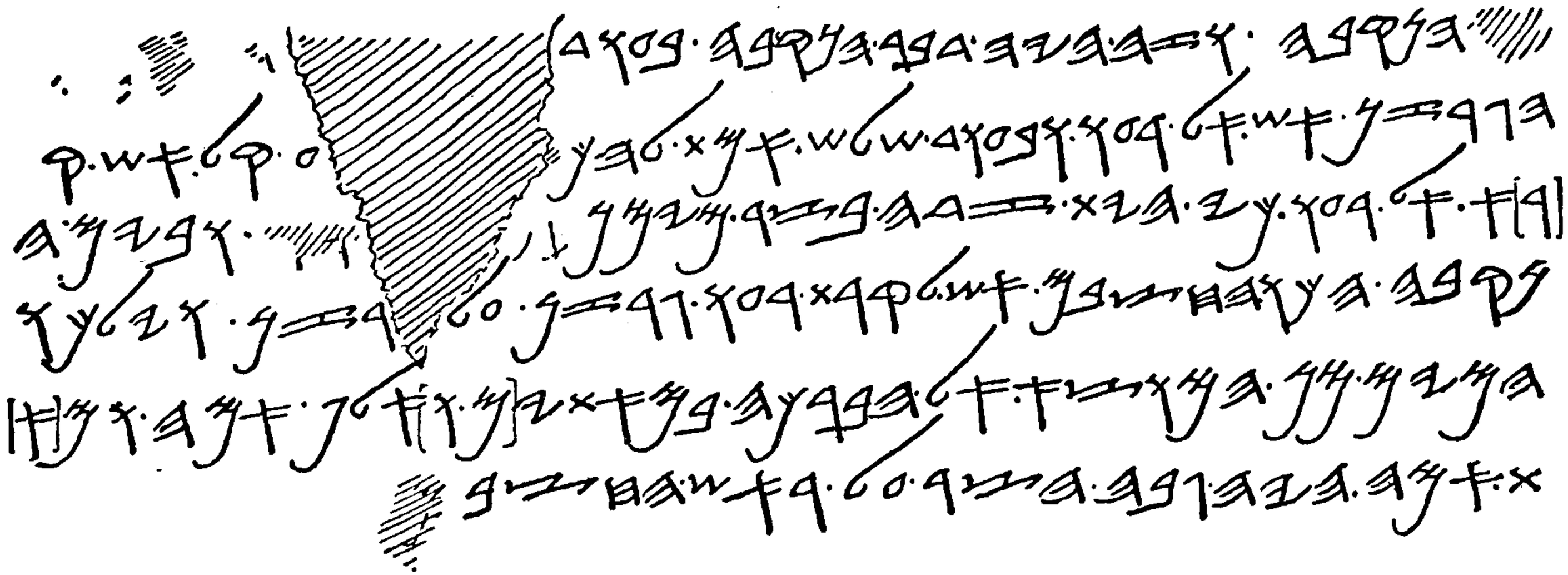
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[תם .] הנקבה . וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד . . . .
הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . להנ[קב] . . קל . אש . ק
רא . אל . רעו . כי . היה . זדה . בצר . מימן . . . . . ובים . ה
נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . על . גרזן . וילכו
המים . מן . חמוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומ(א)
ת . אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . החצב[ם]

Rem.—Line 1 probably began with תם, cf. § 145 *o*, since there is hardly room for תַּמָּה.

Line 2. The reading להנקב is supported by the fact that a trace of the top of the ק is visible; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53. The next word was probably, as P. Haupt suggests, וישמע, the imperf. consec. Qal or Niph'al.

Line 3. זדה, not found in the Old Testament, most probably means a *cleft*, *crack*, but the etymology and consequently the pronunciation of it [זְדָה?] are still doubtful.

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*, Cambr. 1890; H. Reckendorf, 'Zur Karakteristik 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 lan- *a*
guages 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 10^21 ff. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.[2]

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

[2] From Shem are derived (Gn 10^21 ff.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6.15 ff.), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10^22) is included among the sons of Shem.

b **2.** The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided[1] 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 Sabaean 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 Mêša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraeans, 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 31^{47}, by the verse Jer 10^{11}, and the sections Dn 2^4 to 7^{28}; Ezr 4^8 to 6^{18}, and 7^{12-26}, 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*

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[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]

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

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic[2] 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.* xlvi, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

f **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

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[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 (onomatopoetica), 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 onomatopoetic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e.g. לָקַק, לָחַךְ *λείχω*, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; גָּלַל (cf. אָגַל, עָגַל) *κυλίω*, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַד, חָרַם, חָרַת *χαράττω*, Pers. *khârîdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A.T.'s*, Braunschw. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth*, *six*, *seven*, *horn*, *to sound*, *to measure*, *to mix*, *to smell*, *to place*, *clear*, *to kneel*, *raven*, *goat*, *ox*, &c. An example of a somewhat different kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the sense of the German *samt*, *zusammen*, *together*; in Hebrew אָמַם (whence אֻמָּה *people*, properly *assembly*), עִם (*with*) *samt*, גַּם *also*, *moreover*, Arab. جمع *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (*at the same time*); Skt. *samâ* (*with*), Gk. *ἅμα* (*ἄμφω*), *δμός*, *δμοῦ* (*ὅμιλος*, *ὅμαδος*), and harder *κοινός*, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, *cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. *σύν*, *ξύν*, *ξυνός* = *κοινός*, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt*, *sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

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

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 Mêša', 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 Mêša'. 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 Shalmanezer II, 859–829 B.C. (cf. A. Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, Lpz. 1902, p. 26), and those found in 1888–1891 at Zenjîrlî in N. Syria, including the Hadad inscription of thirty-four lines (early eighth cent. B.C.) and the Panammu inscription (740 B.C.), are not in pure Aramaic. The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (cf. Ezr $6^{3\,ff.}$), 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. (Sabaean 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. *n*

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

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

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

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

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

a **1.** The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3*a*). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19^{18} the term *language of Canaan*,[1] and יְהוּדִית *in the Jews' language* 2 K $18^{26.28}$ (cf. Is $36^{11.13}$) Neh 13^{24}. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews, Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names *Hebrew* (עִבְרִים Ἑβραῖοι) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40^{15}, Ex $2^{6\,f.}$ 3^{18} &c., Jon 1^{9}) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn $39^{14.17}$ 41^{12} &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14^{13} 43^{32}, Ex $2^{11.13}$ 21^{2}). In 1 S $13^{3.7}$ and 14^{21} 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 gentilic 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

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[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, *nègeb* (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 *'ebrāyā*, '*the* Hebrew.'

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10^{21} (Nu 24^{24} does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn $11^{14\,ff.}$ and $10^{25\,ff.}$ Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentilic *'ibrî* 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]

c The term *ἑβραϊστί* is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B.C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9^{11}. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5^{2}, $19^{13.17}$ perhaps also in 19^{20} and Rv 16^{16} to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression *ἑβραΐς διάλεκτος* in Acts 21^{40}, 22^{2}, and 26^{14} 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.

d **2.** With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the 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 Dîbôn (now Dîbân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Mêša' (about 850 B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K $3^{4\,ff.}$), his buildings, and other matters.[2] Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

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[1] We may also leave out of account the linguistically possible identification of the 'Ibriyyîm with the Ḫabiri 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 Me), p. 39 ff. The useful reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin (Freiburg in Baden, 1886) was afterwards revised and improved by Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Lpz. 1896; by Socin and Holzinger, 'Zur Mesainschrift' (*Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Dec. 1897); and by Lidzbarski, 'Eine Nachprüfung der Mesainschrift' (*Ephemeris*, i. 1, p. 1 ff.; text in his *Altsemitische Texte*, pt. 1, Giessen, 1907); J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, pp. 236 ff., 289 ff., 1901, p. 297 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Revue biblique internationale*, 1901, p. 522 ff.; F. Prätorius in *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 33 ff., 1906, p. 402. Its genuineness was attacked by A. Löwy, *Die Echtheit der Moabit. Inschr. im Louvre* (Wien, 1903), and G. Jahn in *Das Buch Daniel*, Lpz. 1904, p. 122 ff. (also in *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 723 ff.), but without justification, as shown by E. König in *ZDMG.* 1905, pp. 233 ff. and 743 ff. [Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxxv ff.; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.]

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.[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 names[2]; (4) coins of the Maccabaean 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 Phoenician[4] 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. מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, &c.;

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[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 שִׁלֹחַ (i.e. *emissio*) Is 8[6] 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 לשמע עבד ירבעם from the castle-hill of Megiddo, found in 1904; [Cooke, p. 362].

[3] De Saulcy, *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] כְּנַעַן, כְּנַעֲנִי is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phoenicians, while they called themselves כנען 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. Winckler, '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 Ešmûnazar 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.

g Phoenician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל *God*, אדם *man*, בן *son*, בת *daughter*, מלך *king*, עבד *servant*, כהן *priest*, זבח *sacrifice*, בעל *lord*, שמש *sun*, ארץ *land*, ים *sea*, אבן *stone*, כסף *silver*, ברזל *iron*, שמן *oil*, עת *time*, קבר *grave*, מצבת *monument*, מקם *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחר *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*, חנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. See the complete vocabulary in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 204 ff.

h Variations from Hebrew in Phoenician orthography and inflection are, e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 *b*), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קוֹל *voice*, צדן for צִידוֹן, כהנם for כֹּהֲנִים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 *b*) as well as א (*ô*), the relative אש (Hebr. אֲשֶׁר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the ו was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שֻׁפֶט *sûfeṭ* (judge), שֻׁלֹשׁ *sālûs* (three), רש *rûs* = רֹאשׁ *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. הִנֵּנוּ *ynnynnu* (ecce eum), אֵת (איתּ) *yth*; the ע as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (cf. מַעֲכָה LXX, Gn 22[24] Μωχά). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoenicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

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

[1] Cf. inter alia: *aparu*, also *ḫaparu* (Assyr. *epru*, *ipru*) = עָפָר; *ḫullu* = עֹל (with hard ע; cf. § 6 *c*, and Assyr. *ḫumri* = עָמְרִי, *ḫazzatu* = עַזָּה); *iazkur* = יִזְכֹּר, *zuruḫu* = זְרוֹעַ, *abadat* = אֲבַדָּה, *šaḫri* = שַׁעַר, *gate*; *baṭnu* = בֶּטֶן, *belly*; *kilūbi* = כְּלוּב, *net*; *ṣaduk* = צָדֹק (צַדִּיק), &c. [Cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache d. Amarnabriefe*, Lpz. 1909.]

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

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

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms[1] 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.

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.

r 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.; *Psalmenprobleme, &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.; Döller, *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. Miszellen* (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.*[5], 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 *Psalmentexte 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. Propheten-schriften,' 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. Weltschöpfungsepos*, 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

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[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 18^{26} (Is 36^{11}).

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 prophetical 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. Responsion*, ibid. 1898, and *Komposition u. Strophenbau*, ibid. 1907), is a study of the most important monuments of early Semitic poetry from the point of view of strophic structure and the use of the refrain, i. e. the repetition of the same or similar phrases or words in corresponding positions in different strophes.

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15^{1-19}; Dt 32^{1-43}; Ju 5; 1 S 2^{1-10}; 2 S 22, 23^{1-7}; ψ 18, 136; Pr. 31^{10-31}; 1 Ch 16^{8-36}: cf. also Jo 12^{9-24}; Ec 3^{2-8}; Est 9^{7-10}) 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. אֱנוֹשׁ *man* = אָדָם; אֹרַח *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דָּבָר; חָזָה *to see* = רָאָה; אָתָה *to come* = בּוֹא.

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

Of word-forms, we may note, e. g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 *n*) עֲלֵי = עַל, אֵלֵי = אֶל, עֲדֵי = עַד; the endings יִ__, וֹ in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מֹו_, מֹו_ for ם, ם_, ם_ (§ 58); the plural ending יִן_ 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 *i*); 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 8^8, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

u The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetical 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. אֲחָוָה *declaration*, אָנַס *compel*, בַּר *son*, גִּיר *chalk*, זְמָן = עִדָּן *time*, זָקַף *raise up*, חסד Pi. *reproach*, טלל 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*, כֵּף *rock*, מלך *advise*, סוֹף = יָם *end*, לָקַח = קִבֵּל *take*, רָעַע = רָצַץ *break*, שָׂגָא *be many*, שָׁלַט = מָלַךְ *rule*, תָּקַף = אָמַץ *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 וֹ and יִ֫, e.g. דָּוִיד[1] (elsewhere דָּוִד), even קוֹדֶשׁ for קֹדֶשׁ, רוֹב for רֹב; the interchange of ה֫ and א֫ final; the more frequent use of substantives in וֹן, וֹת, &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 שֶׁ֫, a common form in Phoenician (as well as אֵשׁ), for אֲשֶׁר (§ 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 12[6]), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ש as ס. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13[24] 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 Mêša' (see above, *d*). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwickelung 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] דָּוִיד in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3[5], &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

[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 se-division in the O. T.

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

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

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[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 20[37] (מַסֹּרֶת הַבְּרִית; מסרה, i.e. מָוֹסֵרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מָסֹרָה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מַסֹּרֶת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מְסוֹרֶת (*JQR.* xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l.c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מסורת 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 מסר *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. 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. Ḥayyîm [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 Yeṣira (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 Ḥayyûǵ (also called Abu Zakarya Yaḥya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abu 'l-Walîd Merwân ibn Ǵanâḥ, 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 פעל, certain *voces memoriales*, as בְּגִדְכְּפַת 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 century[3] 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

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[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-ṭᵉamim 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 of the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliogr. Handb. f. hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

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, *Deuterojesaja*, 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. Ḥayyîm (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

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[1] This *scriptio continua* is also found in Phoenician inscriptions. The inscription of Mê$^{\text{s}}$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. Gramm.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern, PRE.*[3], 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 kanaan. 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, &c.*, 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* (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּ׳ אַשּׁוּרִי),[1] are not those originally employed.

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

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[1] The name אַשּׁוּר (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 Mêša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Maccabaean coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 *d*). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 *k*, § 2 *f*, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually[1] (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-Emîr (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[4 f.], 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. Yiṣḥāqî, in the twelfth century) with its straight strokes, square corners and 'tittles' (tāgîn), in German and Polish MSS., and the *foreign* character with rounded letters and tittles in Spanish MSS. See further E. König, *Einl. in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 16 ff.

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grounds for believing that the South Semitic alphabet is derived not from the Mêša' 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 טוביה.

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	*'Ālĕph*	*' spiritus lenis*	1
ב	*Bêth*	*b* (*bh*, but see § 6 *n*)	2
ג	*Gimĕl* (*Giml*)	*g* (*gh*, „ „ „)	3
ד	*Dālĕth*	*d* (*dh*, „ „ „)	4
ה	*Hē*	*h*	5
ו	*Wāw* (*Wāu*)	*w* (*u*)[1]	6
ז	*Záyĭn*	*z*, as in English (soft *s*)	7
ח	*Ḥêth*	*ḥ*, a strong guttural	8
ט	*Ṭêth*	*ṭ*, emphatic *t*	9
י	*Yôd*	*y* (*i*)[1]	10
כ, final ך	*Kaph*	*k* (*kh*, but see § 6 *n*)	20
ל	*Lāmĕd*	*l*	30
מ, final ם	*Mêm*	*m*	40
נ, final ן	*Nûn*	*n*	50
ס	*Sāmèkh*	*s*	60
ע	*'Áyĭn*	*'* a peculiar guttural (see below)	70
פ, final ף	*Pê*	*p* (*f*, see § 6 *n*)	80
צ, final ץ	*Ṣādê*	*ṣ*, emphatic *s*	90
ק	*Qôf*	*q*, a strong *k*[2] formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	*Rêš*	*r*	200
שׂ	*Śîn*	*ś*	300
שׁ	*Šîn*[3]	*š*, pronounced *sh*	300
ת	*Tāw* (*Tāu*)	*t* (*th*, but see § 6 *n*)	400

[1] Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten ו und 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 שׂ, שׁ.

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 כַּמְנְפָּ֫ץ *Kamnèphäṣ*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade, כַּמְנִפָּ֫ץ i. e. *as the breaker in pieces.*[1] Of these, ך, ן, ף, ץ 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: א ה ל ת ם (mnemonic word אֲהַלְתֶּם *'ahaltèm*). In some MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as ד, כ, 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 *Yôd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. יָ֫ד), but as a letter simply the sound י (*y*), with which this word begins; *'Ayin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (עַ֫יִן), stands for the consonant ע. 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, ם, 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: אָלֶף *ox*, *f*

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

[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 Sabaean, and in the Safa-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. Mêša', 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, *Praep. Evang.* 10. 5) in La 1–4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e. g. the

בַּיִת *house*, גָּמָל *camel* (according to Lidzbarski, see below, perhaps originally גַּרְזֶן *axe* or *pick-axe*), דָּלֶת *door* (properly *folding door*; according to Lidzbarski, perhaps דַּד *the female breast*), הֵא *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), וָו *hook, nail*, זַיִן *weapon* (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek ζήτα, rather זַיִת *olive-tree*), חֵית *fence, barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from ה by the left-hand stroke), טֵית *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but perhaps only differentiated from ת by a circle round it), יוֹד *hand*, כַּף *bent hand*, לָמֶד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נוּן *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נָחָשׁ *snake*,' as in Ethiopic), סָמֶךְ *prop* (perhaps a modification of ז), עַיִן *eye*, פֵּא (also פֵּי) *mouth*, צָדֵי *fish-hook* (?), קוֹף *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head* (Lidzb., 'perhaps קֶשֶׁת *bow*'), רֵישׁ *head*, שִׁין *tooth*, תָּו *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 dargel.*, 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

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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*, *Šin*. Cf. the tables in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 126 f. In his opinion (and so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 134) the form and meaning of the names point to Phoenicia as the original home of the alphabet, since *alf*, *bêt*, *dalt*, *wāw*, *tāw*, *pei* = *pê*, *pi*, mouth, and the vowel of ῥῶ = *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 לה, which he dates (probably too early) about 1500 B. C.

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces, has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the Century Bible, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Ecclus 51[13–30], with the omission of the ו-verse and with פ[1] at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from ג to ל is partly disturbed or obscured. If ו before ז 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 ב, ג, ד, and of the three liquids ל, מ, נ, indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yôd*, *Kaph*), as also two (if *Qôph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, *'Ayĭn* and *Pê*), stand next to one another.

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

k 3. *a*. In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs; cf. G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen*, Giessen, 1899, p. 6 f., and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 106 ff. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2 *d*, end). These numerical letters were afterwards commonly employed, e.g. for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א–ט, the tens by י–צ, 100–400 by ק–ת, the numbers from 500–900 by ת (=400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. תק 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 יו, which in compound proper names, like יוֹאֵל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

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

l *b*. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה *after the creation*) follows either the *full chronology* (לִפְרָט גָּדוֹל or לפ׳ ג׳), with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* (לפ׳ קָטוֹן), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240 (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]

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[1] See note 3 on p. 29.

[2] On the rise of this custom (יה having been originally used and afterwards הי), 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 יִשְׂרָאֵל, פ׳ for פְּלֹנִי *aliquis*, ד׳ for דָּבָר *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 *vox memorialis* (cf. e. g. § 15 *d* תא״ם). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41 *d* onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs.—Note also יי׳ or י״י (also ה׳) for יְהוָה.

5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the O. T. text, which are already *n* mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The 15 *puncta extraordinaria*, about which the tradition (from Siphri on Nu 9^{10} onwards) differs considerably, even as to their number; on particular consonants, Gn 16^{5}, 18^{9}, $19^{33.35}$, Nu 9^{10}; or on whole words, Gn 33^{4}, 37^{12}, Nu 3^{39}, 21^{30}, 29^{15}, Dt 29^{28}, 2 S 19^{20}, Is 44^{9}, Ez 41^{20}, 46^{22}, ψ 27^{13},—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. בּ Gn 1^{1}, וֹ Lv 11^{42} as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, ׳ Nu 14^{17}), and *minusculae* (e. g. ה Gn 2^{4}). (3) The *literae suspensae* (Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 334 ff.) נ Ju 18^{30} (which points to the reading מְנַשֶּׁה for מֹשֶׁה), ע ψ 80^{14} (the middle of the Psalms [1]) and Jb $38^{13.15}$. (4) The 'mutilated' *Wāw* in שָׁלוֹם Nu 25^{12}, and ק Ex 32^{25} (בְּקָמֵיהֶם), and Nu 7^{2} (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mêm clausum* in לְמַרְבֶּה Is 9^{6}, and *Mêm apertum* in הַמְּ פְרוּצִים Neh 2^{13}. (6) *Nûn inversum* before Nu 10^{35}, and after ver. 36, as also before ψ 107^{23-28} 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 *Nûns* 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 *a* consonant is of the greatest importance, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§ 18 ff.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange

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Oceano delle abbreviature e sigle[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 ע, called *t'lûyā* 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 (ט, ע, צ, ק, שׁ) 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 ט 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 *'āmár*, יַאְשִׁם *yä'šám*. Even *before* a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habit, homme*. *After* a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e. g. קָרָא *qārā* for an original *qārä'*, Arab. *qărä'ă*; see further, § 23 *a*, 27 *g*.

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

e ע is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. עַזָּה, LXX Γάζα, עֲמֹרָה Γόμορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus* (*lenis* or *asper*), e. g. עֲלִי Ἡλί, עֲמָלֵק Ἀμαλέκ.[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 ע

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[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 *Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro geneseos*, 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 (עֵלִי *Eli*, עֲמָלֵק *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*.

f ח is the strongest guttural sound, a deep guttural *ch*, as heard generally 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 י it was, however, pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

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

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

i שׁ and שׂ were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed texts) by only *one* form שׂ; 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. wissensch. 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]

k The original difference between the sounds שׂ and ס[2] sometimes marks a distinction in meaning, e.g. סָכַר *to close*, שָׂכַר *to hire*, סָכַל *to be foolish*, שָׂכַל *to be prudent, to be wise*. Syriac always represents both sounds by ס, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָכַר for שָׂכַר *to hire*, Ezr 4[5]; שִׂכְלוּת for סִכְלוּת *folly*, Ec 1[17].

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

m 3. מ, ק, and probably צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ת and כ, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and 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 *ṣ*; cf. G. Hüsing, 'Zum Lautwerte des צ,' in *OLZ.* x. 467 ff.

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

ב ג ד כ פ ת (בְּגַדְכְּפַת)

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

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

[2] The original value of ס, 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 ז 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. בּ *b*, גּ *g*, דּ *d*, כּ *k*, פּ *p*, תּ *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphè* (§ 14 *e*), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: כ κ, כּ χ; פ π, פּ φ; ת τ, תּ θ. In the same way גּ should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage*, *Wagen*, and דּ 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 בּ as *v*, the aspirated תּ as *s*, e.g. רַבּ *rav* (or even *raf*), בַּיִת *bais*. The customary transcription (used also in this Grammar) of the spirants ב, כ, ת by *bh*, *kh*, *th* is only an unsatisfactory makeshift, since it may lead (esp. in the case of *bh* and *kh*) to an erroneous conception of the sounds as real aspirates, *b*–*h*, *k*–*h*.

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

(*a*)	Gutturals	א ה ע ח;
(*b*)	Palatals	ג כ ק;
(*c*)	Dentals	ד ט ת;
(*d*)	Labials	ב פ;
(*e*)	Sibilants	ז שׂ שׁ ס צ;
(*f*)	Sonants	נ מ, ר ל, ו י.

In the case of ר 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-ṭ^eamim*, 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.

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[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:	...	ו	שׂ שׁ ס	צ		
3. Sonants:	...	וי	ר ל	נ 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 י 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 = שׂ, 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. *q*

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

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

§ 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. *ĕ* by modification from *ĭ* or *ă*; short *ŏ* from *ŭ*; *ê* by contraction from *ai* (properly *ay*); and *ô* sometimes by modification (obscuring) from *â*, 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. שׁוֹט Arab. *sauṭ*, and עֵינַיִם Arab. *ʿainain*. It was

[1] In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *aὐ* where the Hebrew form has *ê* or *ô*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *aὐ* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT.*, on 1 Ch 1[2.20].

only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation *ê* and *ô*, at least after weaker or softer consonants; cf. בֵּין Arab. *bain, bên*, יוֹם Arab. *yaum, yôm*. 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 stages[2]:—

(*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 Mêša' 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 ל״ה, the vowels *ā*,[3] *ē*, *è*). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for *ô* and *û*, and of י for *ê* and *î*, 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 *ô* (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g. עִירֹה, סוּסֹה Gn 49[11], cf. § 91 *e*; so throughout the Mêša' inscription אַרְצֹה, בִּיתֹה (also בָּתֹּה), הִלְּחֲמֹה, לֹה, בֹּה, בְּנֹה; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription ימה Mêša', l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also רשה l. 20 if it is for ראשיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read וַיִּחְלְפֵהּ (l. 6), וְאֶסְחָבֵהּ (l. 12 f.) and וַיִּגְרְשֵׁהּ (l. 19).[4]

d As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the י of the constr. state plur. masc. if its *ê* (according to § 89 *d*) is

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[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 *ā* probably took place first in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in הָ֫—, as אַרְצָה, קָרְיָמָה.

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

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 וֹ to mark an *ô* or *û*, arising from contraction, and of וֵ for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal א 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 ־ִים and ־וֹת) 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

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[1] Thus e.g. קטל can be read *qāṭal*, *qāṭāl*, *qāṭôl*, *qᵉṭōl*, *qôṭēl*, *qiṭṭēl*, *qaṭṭēl*, *quṭṭal*, *qèṭel*, 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.*[3], xii. 393 ff. (a good outline); A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistenkongresses zu Berlin*, i. Berlin, 1881, p. 164 ff. and p. 188 ff.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 ff. and 395 ff.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punktation*, 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.

i **4.** To complete the historical vocalization of the consonantal text 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.

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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 ◌ָ, ◌ֵ, ◌ֹ are merely signs for *ä*, *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 Masoretes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as possible, by means of writing. For a long time only שִׁבְעָה מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים), Šureq and Qibbuṣ being counted as one vowel. The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 *a*, distinguishes the five long as *mothers* from their five daughters).'

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 *î*, *ê*, *ô* when written *plene*) in a very great number of cases, since not only does ◌ָ stand, according to circumstances, for *ā̆* or *ă̄*, and ◌ַ for *ā̈* or *ă̈*, but also ◌ֶ for *ē* or *ĕ*, and ◌ֹ for *ō* or *ŏ*, e. g. כָּבֵד and קָטֹן, out of pause *kā̆bĕ́d*, *qă̈ṭŏ́n* (form קָטַל), but in pause *kā̆bḗd*, *qā̆ṭṓn*.

I readily admit, with regard to *Qameṣ* and *Segol*, that the account formerly given in § 8 f. was open to misconstruction. With regard to *Ṣere* and *Ḥolem*, 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 Pathaḥ) in a final syllable with the tone. To me כָּבֵד = *kā̆bĕ́d*, &c., is as impossible as e. g. עָנָב = *'ĕnab* or בָּרַךְ = *bŏrakh*, in spite of the analogy cited by Sievers (p. 18, note 1) that 'in old German e. g. original *ĭ* and *ŭ* often pass into *ĕ* and *ŏ* 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. ◌ָ [1] *Qāmĕṣ* denotes either *ā*, *â*, more strictly *ā̆* (the obscure Swedish *å*) and *ô̆*,[2] as יָד *yā̆d* (hand), רָאשִׁים *rā'šîm* (heads), or *ă̄* (in future transcribed as *ŏ*), called *Qāmeṣ ḥāṭûph*, i.e. hurried Qameṣ. The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of *ŭ*; cf. *c* and § 9 *u*.

2. ◌ַ *Páthăḥ*, *ă*, בַּת *băth* (daughter).

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[1] In early MSS. the sign for Qameṣ is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG.* 1892, p. 411 f.), Pathaḥ with *Ḥolem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameṣ* as *å*. Cf. also Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 609.

[2] Instead of the no doubt more accurate transcription *ā̆*, *ô̆* we have

Also 3. ◌ֶ *Seᵉgôl*, an open *e*, *è* (*ā̆* or *ă̆*), as a modification of *ă*,[1] either in an untoned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of יָדְכֶם *yädkhèm* (your hand) from *yădkhèm*—or in a tone-syllable as in פֶּסַח *pĕsaḥ*; cf. *πάσχα*, and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 *e*. But *Seᵉgôl* in an open tone-syllable with a following י, as in גְּלֶינָה *gᵉlènā* (cf. § 75 *f*), יָדֶיךָ *yādèkhā* (cf. § 91 *i*), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

I
1. ◌ִי *Ḥîrĕq* with *yod*, almost always *î*, as צַדִּיק *ṣaddîq* (righteous). *b*
2. ◌ִ either *î* (see below, *i*), as צַדִּיקִים *ṣaddîqîm*, only orthographically different from צדיקים (צדיקם),—or *ĭ*, as צִדְקוֹ *ṣĭdqô* (his righteousness).

E
3. ◌ֵי *Ṣerî* or *Ṣērê* with *yod* = *ê*, e. g. בֵּיתוֹ *bêthô* (his house).
◌ֵ either *ê*, but rarely (see below, *i*), or *ē* as שֵׁם *šēm* (name). *Ṣere* can only be *ĕ*, in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 *f*.
4. ◌ֶ *Seᵉgôl*, *ă̆*, a modification of *ĭ*, e.g. חֲפָצִי *ḥäfṣî* (ground-form *ḥĭfṣ*); שֶׁן *šän* (ground-form *šĭn*).

Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

U
1. ◌ֽוּ *Šûrĕq*, usually *û*, מוּת *mûth* (to die), rarely *ŭ*. *c*
2. ◌ֻ *Qibbûṣ*, either *ŭ*, e.g. סֻלָּם *sŭllām* (ladder), or *û*, e.g. קֻמוּ *qūmū* (rise up), instead of the usual קוּמוּ.

O
3. ◌ֹ and ◌ֹו *Ḥōlĕm*, *ô* and *ō*, קוֹל *qôl* (voice), רֹב *rōbh* (multitude). Often also a defective ◌ֹ for *ô*; rarely ◌ֹ for *ō*.
On the question whether ◌ֹ under some circumstances represents *ŏ*, see § 93 *r*.
4. ◌ָ On *Qāmĕṣ ḥāṭûph* = *ŏ*, generally modified from *ŭ*, as חָק *ḥŏq* (statute), see above, *a*.

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retained *ā*, *â* in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qameṣ ḥaṭuph*, in the previous German edition expressed by *ă̆*, we have, after careful consideration, returned to *ŏ* The use of the same sign ◌ָ for *ā̆* (*â̆*) and *ă̆*, 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 *Qāmeṣ rāḥāb*, or broad Qameṣ, and *Qāmeṣ ḥaṭûph*, or light Qameṣ. It is quite impossible that in the living language an *ā* lengthened from *ă*, as in *dābār*, should have been indistinguishable from e.g. the last vowel in וַיֹּשֶׁב or the first in קָדְשִׁים.—The notation *â*, *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; *ă̆*, *ĕ*, *ŏ* the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into *i* and *ĭ*, *û* and *ŭ* 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. יֹשֵׁב.

[1] These *Seᵉgôls*, modified from *ă*, 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 פַּתַח *opening*; צֵרִי *a wide parting* (of the mouth), also שֶׁבֶר (= *ĕ*) *breaking, parting* (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); חִירִק (also חִרֵק) *narrow opening*; חֹולֶם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i. e. of the mouth (also מְלֹא פוּם [1] *fullness of the mouth*). קָמֶץ [2] also denotes a slighter, as שׁוּרֵק and קִבּוּץ (also קבוץ פּוּם) a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth. *Segôl* (סְגוֹל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדוֹת (*three points*) is another name for *Qibbûṣ*.

e Moreover the names were mostly so formed (but only later), that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable (קָמֶץ for קֹמֶץ, פַּתַח for פָּתַח, צֵרִי for צֵרְי); in order to carry this out consistently some even write *Sägôl, Qomeṣ-ḥaṭûf, Qübbûṣ*.

f **2.** As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly *under* the consonant, *after* which it is to be pronounced, בָ *rā*, בַ *ră*, בֵ *rē*, בֶ *rĕ*, &c. The *Pathaḥ* called *furtivum* (§ 22 *f*) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced *before* the consonant, רוּחַ *rû^{a}ḥ* (wind, spirit). The *Ḥōlĕm* (without *wāw*) stands on the left above the consonant; בֹ *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 בֹּא, רֹאשׁ; but e.g. בֹּאֵם, since א here begins a syllable.

g No dot is used for the Ḥolem when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *śin* or before *šin*. Hence שִׂנְאָה *śônē* (hating), נְשֹׂא *n^{e}śō* (to bear), מִשֶּׂה *môšè* (not מֹשֶׂה); but שֹׁמֵר *śômēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *śin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יִרְפֹּשׂ *yirpōś* (he treads with the feet), הַנֹּשְׂאִים *hannôś^{e}'îm* (those who carry).

In the sign וֹ, the ו may also be a consonant. The וֹ is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e. g. לֹוֶה *lôwè*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the ו, e. g. עָוֹן *'āwôn* (iniquity) for עָוְוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between וֹ (*wo*) and וֹ (i. e. either *ô* or, when another vowel follows the *wāw*, *ôw* [3]).

Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 *g*, note 1) has only one sign for it and tone-bearing Pathaḥ; 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 *šûreq* (hence also pronounced *melu pum* to indicate *û*), see E. Nestle, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 597 ff.; Bacher, ibid., p. 799 ff., Melopum; Simonsen, ibid., p. 807 ff.

[2] The usual spelling קָמֶץ and פַּתַח takes the words certainly rightly as Hebrew substantives; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קָמֵץ and פָּתַח are rather Aram. participles, like *Dageš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated *Qāmēṣ* and *Pâthaḥ*.

[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 וֹ, are there placed *above* the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form,

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of ◌ִ in the middle and ה◌ָ, א◌ָ, ה◌ָ 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 *h*

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and some even as regards the sound which they denote: ◌ָ = *â, ā*, ◌ַ = tone-bearing *ă* and *è*, ◌ֵ = *ê, ē*, ◌ִ = *î*, ◌ִי = *ô, ō*, ◌ֹ or ◌ׄ = *û*. In an unsharpened syllable ◌ַ = toneless *ă* and *è*, and also Ḥaṭeph Pathaḥ; ◌ֵ = toneless *ĕ* and Ḥaṭeph S^{e}ghôl; ◌ִ = *ĭ*, ◌ֻ = *ŭ*, ◌ָ = *ŏ*, and Ḥaṭeph Qameṣ. Lastly in toneless syllables before Dageš, ◌ַ = *ă*, ◌ֵ = *ĕ*, ◌ִ = *i*, ◌ֻ = *ŭ*, ◌ָ = *ă̆*. Š^{e}wâ is ◌ְ 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* (נְקוּד בַּבְלִי), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersb.*, St. Petersb. and Lpz., 1875, parts i and ii, p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (St. Petersb., 1876, la. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea. The MS. has been shown by Ginsburg (*Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire . . . de Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, p. 149, and *Introd.*, pp. 216 ff., 475 f.) to contain a recension of the Biblical text partly Babylonian and partly Palestinian; cf. also Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, London, 1896, p. 6 f. Strack edited a fragment of it in *Hosea et Joel prophetae ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, St. Petersb. 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 ◌ֿ = ׄ). 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 אהי (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. Punktation,' 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—

א may be combined with *Ḥîrĕq*, *Ṣērê*, *Seḡôl* (אִ, אֵ, אֶ).

ו with *Šûrĕq* and *Ḥōlĕm* (וּ and וֹ).[1]

In Arabic the long *a* also is regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. *'Alĕph* (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 *î*, *û*, *ê*, *ô* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קוֹל, קוּם are written *plene*, קֹלֹת, קֻם *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 *û*, *ô*, *ō*, *î*, *ê*, *ē*, as well as for *è* in חֹוָה &c. (§ 9 *f*), also generally with *â*, *ā* (cf. however § 9 *d*), e.g. קָטָלוּ, קִטַּלְתִּי, יָדִי, מַלְכֵי. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26[6], 44[8]; Ezr 6[21]; 2 Ch 32[13] גּוֵי instead of גּוֹיִי; Zp 2[9] גּוֵי [perhaps an error due to the following י] for גּוֹיִי; Is 40[31] וְקוֵּי [followed by י] for וְקוֹיֵי; Jer 38[11] בְּלוֵּי for בְּלוֹיֵי.) 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, מִצְוֹת (*commandments*) for מִצְוֹוֹת.

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 *g*), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הֲקִימוֹתִי Ez 16[60]: הֲקִמֹתִי and also הֲקִמוֹתִי Jer 23[4]; cf. § 25 *b*. Only it may be observed,

(*a*) That the scriptio plena in two successive syllables was generally avoided; cf. e.g. נָבִיא but נְבִיאִים; צַדִּיק, but צַדִּקִים; קוֹל, קלוֹת; יְהוֹשָׁעַ; מְצָאֲהוּ.

(*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 precèdes a vowel-letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. וֶ, וֻ, יִ, יֵ, 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.).

a consonant, as יָד, כּוֹכָב (vulgar Arab. *yăd, kaukăb*). In a closed syllable, however, it can only stand when this has the tone, דָּבָר, עוֹלָם; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. דָּבָר, זָקֵן, לָכֶם. 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 *ă* (*Pathaḥ*) is retained in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable it becomes *Šewâ* (§ 27 *i*): חָכָם, constr. state חֲכַם (*ḥakhăm*); דָּבָר, דִּבַר (*debhăr*); קָטַל, קָטָלָם. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *ă*, see § 93 *xx*.

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

On ָ for *ŏ* see below, *f*.

e **2.** *Pathaḥ*, or short *ă*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone (קָטַל, קִטַּלְתֶּם). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and a helping vowel (*ă*, *ĭ*) has been inserted after the second radical merely to make the pronunciation easier, e.g. נַחַל (ground-form *naḥl*), בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28 *d*, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26 *g*, *h*. Otherwise *ă* in an open syllable has almost without exception passed into *ā* (ָ), see above, *c*.

On the very frequent attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ*, cf. below, *h*. On the rare, and only apparent union of Pathaḥ with א (אַ), see § 23 *d*, end. On *ă* as a helping-vowel, § 22 *f* (*Pathaḥ furtivum*), and § 28 *e*.

f **3.** Segôl (*ĕ*, *è* [*ē̆*]) 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. יֶדְכֶם (for *yadkhèm*), or with the tone, e.g. אֶרֶץ from *'arṣ*, קֶרֶן Arab. *qărn*, קֶמַח Arab. *qămḥ*. This *Segôl* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of an important clause (in *pause*), as מֶלֶךְ, צֶדֶק (*mălăkh*, *sădăq*). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathaḥ* which underlies the *Segôl* is lengthened into *Qameṣ*, e.g. קָמַח, קָרֶן. A *Segôl* apparently lengthened from *Šewâ*, but in reality traceable to an original *ă*, stands in pausal forms, as פֶּרִי (ground-form *păry*), יֶהִי (*yăhy*), &c. On the cases where a י (originally consonantal) follows this Segôl, see § 75 *f*, and § 91 *k*.

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

4. The long *î* is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated *g*
by ◌ִי (a *fully* written *Ḥireq* ◌ִי); but a naturally long *î* can be also
written *defectively* (§ 8 *i*), e.g. צַדִּיק (*righteous*), plur. צַדִּיקִים *ṣaddîqîm*;
יִירָא (*he fears*), plur. יִרְאוּ. Whether a *defectively* written *Ḥireq* is long
may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the
nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in יִרְאוּ from the *Metheg* attached to
it (§ 16 *f*).

5. The *short Ḥireq* (always[1] written *defectively*) is especially frequent *h*
in sharpened syllables (קִטֵּל, אִמִּי) and in toneless closed syllables (מִזְמוֹר
psalm); cf. however וַיִּשְׁבְּ in a closed tone-syllable, and even וַיִּפֶן, with
a helping Segôl, for *wayyíphn*. It has arisen very frequently by
attenuation from *ă*, as in דִּבְרֵי from original *dăbărê*, צִדְקִי (ground-form
ṣădq),[2] or else it is the original *ĭ*, which in the tone-syllable had
become *ē*, as in אֹיְבֵךְ (*thy enemy*) from אֹיֵב (ground-form *'âyĭb*).[3] It
is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in בֵּיִת, § 28 *e*.

The earlier grammarians call every *Ḥireq* written *fully*, *Ḥireq magnum*; every one written *defectively*, *Ḥireq parvum*,—a misleading distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest *ê* ◌ֵי (more rarely defective ◌ֵ, e.g. עֵנְבִי for עֵינְבִי *i*
Is 3[8]; at the end of a word also ◌ֵה) is as a rule contracted from ◌ַי *ay*
(*ai*), § 7 *a*, e.g. הֵיכָל (*palace*), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Ṣere* without Yôdh mostly represents the tone-long *ē*, which, *k*
like the tone-long *ā* (see *c*), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before*
the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original *ĭ*. It
stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e.g. סֵפֶר (ground-
form *sĭphr*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *sĭnăt*) *sleep*, or with Metheg (see § 16 *d*, *f*)
in the secondary tone-syllable, e.g. שְׁאֵלָתִי *my request*, נֵלְכָה *let us go*.
On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the
tone, as בֵּן *son*, אִלֵּם *dumb*.

Exceptions: (*a*) *ē* is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in *l*
monosyllabic words before Maqqeph, e.g. עֵץ־ Nu 35[18], as well as in the
examples of *nāsôg 'āḥôr* mentioned in § 29 *f* (on the quantity cf. § 8 *b* 3 end);
(*b*) in a toneless open final syllable, Ṣere likewise occurs in examples of the
nāsôg 'āḥôr, as יֵצֵא Ex 16[29]; cf. Ju 9[39].

8. The Segôl of the I(E)-class is most frequently an *ĕ* modified from *m*
original *ĭ*, either replacing a tone-long *ē* which has lost the tone, e.g.

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

[2] Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives *ă* for *ĭ*.

[3] Cf. the remarks of I. Guidi, 'La pronuncia del ṣērē,' in the *Verhandl. d.s Hamburger Orient.-Kongr.* of 1902, Leiden, 1904, p. 208 ff., on Italian *e* for Latin *i*, as in *fede* = *fĭdem*, *pece* = *pĭcem*.

תֵּן from תֵּן (*give*), יְצֻרְךָ (*thy creator*) from יֹצֵר, or in the case discussed in § 93 *o*, חֶלְקִי, עֶזְרִי from the ground-forms *ḥilq*, *'izr*; cf. also § 64 *f*. *Seǵôl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סֵפֶר for *siphr*, יֶגֶל 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, וּ *Šureq*, e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (*b*) defectively written ֻ *Qibbûṣ* גְּבֻלוֹ, יְמֻתוּן;

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

o Sometimes also *ŭ* in a sharpened syllable is written וּ, e.g. הוּכָה ψ 102[5], יוּלָד Jb 5[7], כּוּלָּם Jer. 31[34], מְשׁוּכָתוֹ Is 5[5], עֲרוּמִּים Gn 2[25] for הֻכָּה, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write *o*, e.g. עֲדֻלָּם Ὀδολλάμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *ŭ* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Ḥireq* by ε, e.g. אֶמֻּר = Ἐμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbûṣ* like the German *ü*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ü* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine[1]; cf. the Turkish *bülbül* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyā* in Syria as *dünyā*.

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

(1) The *ô* which is contracted from *aw* (=*au*), § 7 *a*, and accordingly is mostly written fully; וֹ (*Ḥolem plenum*), e.g. שׁוֹט (*a whip*), Arab. *sauṭ*, עַוְלָה (*iniquity*) from עָוַל. More rarely *defectively*, as שׁרְךָ (*thine ox*) from שׁוֹר Arab. *ṯaur*.

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. קֹטֶל Arab. *qâtĭl*. Aram. *qâṭēl*, אֱלוֹהַּ Arab. *'ĭlâh*, Aram. *'ĕlâh*, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *găbbâr*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *ḫâtăm*; רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rŭmmân*; שִׁלְטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שִׁלְטָן and שָׁלְטָן Arab. *sŭlṭân*; שָׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sălâm*. Sometimes the form in *â* also occurs side by side with that in *ô* as שִׁרְיָן and שִׁרְיוֹן (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 *u*). Cf. also § 68 *b*.

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

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

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

laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. קֹדֶשׁ (ground-form *qŭdš*) *sanctuary*; בֹּרֵךְ for *burrakh*, יִלְקֹטוּן ψ 104[28], as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; אָהֳלִים, בְּעֲלוֹ. But the original *ŏ* (*ŭ*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *Šᵉwâ*. Cf. כֹּל *all*, but כָּל־ (*kŏl*), כֻּלָּם (*kŭllām*); יִקְטֹל, יִקְטָלְךָ and יִקְטְלוּ, where original *ŭ* is weakened to *Šᵉwâ*: *yiqṭᵉlû*, Arab. *yaqtŭlû*. This tone-long *ō* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) ֫ *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph* represents *ŏ* (properly *ă*, cf. § 8 *a*, note 2) modified *s* from *ŭ* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Ḥolem* as the *Sᵉgôl* of the second class to *Sere*, כָּל־ *kŏl*, וַיָּקָם *wayyāqŏm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameṣ*, 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 *â* (Arabic ا).	ֵי *ê*, from original *ay* (*ai*). ִי or ִ long *î*.	וֹ *ô*, from original *aw* (*au*). וֹ or ָ *ô* obscured from *â*. וּ or ֻ *û*.
ָ tone-long *ā* (from original *ă*) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	ֵ tone-long *ē* (from *ĭ*) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	ֹ tone-long *ō* (from original *ŭ*) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
ֲ (as a modification of *ă*) sometimes a tone-long *è*, sometimes *ĕ*. ַ short *ă*. [ִ *ĭ* attenuated from *ă*; see *h*.] Utmost weakening to ֲ[a], ֱ[ĕ], ֶ[e].	ֶ *ĕ*. ִ short *ĭ*. Utmost weakening to ֲ[a], ֱ[ĕ], or ֶ[e].	ָ *ŏ*, modified from *ŭ*. ֻ short *ŭ*, especially in a sharpened syllable. Utmost weakening to ֲ[a], ֱ[ĕ], ָ[o], or ֶ[e].

Rem. *On the distinction between Qameṣ and Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*.[1] *u*

According to § 8 *a*, long *ā* or *å̄* (*Qameṣ*) and short *ŏ* or *å̆* (*Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign (ָ), e.g. קָם *qām*, כָּל־ *kŏl*. 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 ŏ in a toneless closed syllable*, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26 *o*). The above case occurs—

(*a*) When *Šᵉwâ* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חָכְמָה *ḥŏkh-mā́* (wisdom), אָכְלָה *'ŏkh-lā́* (food). With *Metheg* ◌ָ is *ā* (*ā̆*) and according to the usual view stands in an open syllable with a following *Šᵉwâ mobile*, e.g. אָכְלָה *'ā-khᵉlā́* (she ate); but cf. § 16 *i*.

(*b*) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e.g. חָנֵּנִי *ḥŏnnēnî* (have mercy upon me); but בַּתִּים (with *Metheg*, § 16 *f ζ*) *bâttîm*.

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

In ψ 35[10] and Pr 19[7] *Maqqēph* with כָּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Merᵉkha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19[5] with סְעָד, and Ez 37[8] with וַיָּקֻרוּ (so Baer after Qimḥi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel ויקרם).

(*d*) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיָּקָם *wayyā́qŏm* (and he stood up).—In the cases where *â* or *ā* in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16 *a*) and yet remains, e.g. כְּחֻב־הַדָּת Est 4[8], שְׁתִ־לִי Gn 4[25], it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

In cases like הָלְאָה, לָמָּה *lā́mmā*, the tone shows that ◌ָ is to be read as *ā*.

ט 2. The cases in which ◌ָ appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as *ŏ* require special consideration. This is the case, (*a*) when *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ* follows, e.g. פָּעֳלוֹ *his work*, or simple vocal *Šᵉwâ*, e.g. דָּרְבֹן *ox goad*; בְּעַבְרוֹ Jo 4[7]; שָׁמְרָה (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) *preserve* ψ 86[2], cf. 16[1] and the cases mentioned in § 48 *i*, n., and § 61 *f*, n.; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14[16]); *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* follows in לְמִשְׁחֵךְ (so Ginsburg; Baer לִמְשׁחֵךְ) 1 S 15[1], לַהֲרָגֵךְ 24[11], and יִפְנָשֵׁךְ (so Baer, Gn 32[18], others יְפַגְּשֵׁךְ); (*b*) before another *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*, e.g. פָּעֳלֵךְ *thy work*; on אָרְהִי and קָבְהִי Nu 23[7], see § 67 *o*; (*c*) in the two plural forms קָדָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שָׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קָדְ and שָׁרְ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the ◌ָ as indicating a Qāmeṣ raḥabh (broad Qameṣ) and therefore read the ◌ָ as *ā*; thus *pā-ᵒlô*, *dā-rᵉbān*, *pā-ŏlᵉkhā*, *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

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[1] In the Babylonian punctuation (§ 8 *g*, note) *ā* and *ŏ* 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 *ŏ* as well as for *ᵒ*. Cf. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, p. 43. But the identity of the two signs is certainly original, and the use of ◌ָ for *ŏ* is misleading.

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qameṣ is here used loosely for *ā̆*, as the equivalent of *ō*, on the analogy of בְּעָלוֹ &c., § 93 *q*. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read *pŏʿᵒ-lô* (for *pŏʿ-lô*), *pŏʿŏ-lᵉkhā*, *qŏdā-šîm*.—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into *ā* in בְּחָרְיֵאךְ (Ex 11⁸), although it is so in בְּאָנִי *bā-ʾᵒnî* (in the navy), since here the *ā* of the article appears under the ב.

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

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 Šᵉwâ. Under some circumstances, however, the original short vowel may reappear.

b 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 *ĕ* (ֶ). It is called *Šᵉwâ*,[1] which may be either *simple Šᵉwâ* (*Šᵉwâ simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal Šᵉwâ* (*Šᵉwâ mobile*) as distinguished from *Šᵉwâ quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

c The vocal *Šᵉwâ* stands under a consonant which is closely united, as a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, either (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as קְטֹל *qᵉṭōl* (to kill), מְמַלֵּא *mᵉmallē* (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as קוֹטְלָה *qô-ṭᵉlā*, יִקְטְלוּ *yiq-ṭᵉlû*.

d In former editions of this Grammar *Šᵉwâ* was distinguished as *medium* when it followed a short vowel and therefore stood in a supposed 'loosely closed' or 'wavering' syllable, as in מַלְכִּי, בִּנְפֹל. 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 Bᵉgadkᵉphath 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 ̈ (= Hebr. Zaqeph). The form שְׁבָא, customary in Spain since the time of Menaḥem b. Sarûq, is due to a supposed connexion with Aram. שְׁבַת *rest*, and hence would originally have denoted only *Šᵉwâ quiescens*, like the Arabic *sukūn* (rest). The derivation from שְׁבָה, שִׁיבָה (stem יָשַׁב, 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 כְּסָאוֹ (from כִּסֵּא), יְקָחוּ (from יִקַּח) the dropping of the *Dageš forte* shows that the original vowel is completely lost.

e The sound *ĕ* has been adopted as the normal transcription of simple *Šᵉwâ 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, כְּרוּבִים Χερουβίμ, הַלְלוּיָהּ ἀλληλούια, more frequently by α, שְׁמוּאֵל Σαμουήλ, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e.g. סְדֹם Σόδομα, שְׁלֹמֹה Σολομών (as well as Σαλωμών), צְבָאוֹת Σαβαώθ, נְתַנְאֵל Ναθαναήλ.[1] A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šᵉwâ* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages.[2]

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

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

(ֲ) *Ḥâṭēph-Páthăḥ*, e.g. חֲמוֹר *ḥᵃmôr*, ass.

(ֱ) *Ḥâṭēph-Sᵉgôl*, e.g. אֱמֹר *'ᵉmōr*, to say.

(ֳ) *Ḥâṭēph-Qāmĕṣ*, e.g. חֳלִי, *ḥᵒlî*, sickness.

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

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

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

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

[2] See especially *Yehuda Ḥayyûǵ*, 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 *Ṣaḥoth*, 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 *Šᵉwâ mobile*: so too the *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 ff. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW*. vi. 236 ff.

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following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after א in similar cases *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with לְקֻחָה cf. also סְבֻלוֹ Is 9[3], 10[27], 14[25], where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šᵉwâ* immediately following.) In וְטֹהַר (*û-ṭᵒhŏr*) Jb 17[9] it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In קָמְמִי 1 S 28[8] *Qᵉrê*, the original form is קָמֹם, where again the *ō* represents an *ŏ*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נִקְרָאָה Est 2[14]; נִבְהָל Pr 28[32]; נִסְרָחָה Jer 49[7]; אֶפְשָׁעָה Is 27[4]; וְאֶשְׁמְעָה Dn 8[13]; שְׁמֻעָה ψ 39[13]; בַּסְעָרָה 2 K 2[1] (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); הַקְּהָתִים 2 Ch 34[12] (ed. Mant., Opitius, &c. הַקְּ׳). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (ק, ט, cf. also אֶלְקְטָה Ru 2[2.7]), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

i 3. The sign of the *simple Šᵉwâ* ◌ְ serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šᵉwâ quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in *final* ך (to distinguish it better from final ן), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in נֵרְדְּ *nard*, אַתְּ *thou* fem. (for *'ant*), קָטַלְתְּ *thou* fem. *hast killed*, וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he watered*, וַיִּשְׁבְּ *and he took captive*, אַל־תִּשְׁתְּ *drink thou not*; but וַיִּרָא, חֵטְא.[1]

k However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šᵉwâ* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šᵉwâ*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. אַתְּ *'attᵉ* from אַתִּי *'attî* (*'anti*), קָטַלְתְּ from קָטַלְתִּי (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאתְ, after a vowel, Gn 16[8], Mi 4[10], &c., according to the readings of Baer), יִשְׁבְּ *yišbᵉ* from יִשְׁבָּה, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נֵרְדְּ borrowed from the Indian, as also in קִשְׁטְ (*qōšṭ*) Pr 22[21]; and in אַל־תּוֹסֶף *ne addas* (for which we should expect תּוֹסֶפְ) Pr 30[6] the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

l Rem. The proper distinction between *simple Šᵉwâ mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šᵉwâ* is always *mobile* (*a*) at the beginning of a word (except in שְׁתַּיִם, שְׁתֵּי § 97 *b*, note); (*b*) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e.g. גִּדְּפוּ *gid-dᵉphû*; (*c*) after another *Šᵉwâ*, e.g. יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭᵉlû* (except at the end of the word, see above, *i*). (2) *Šᵉwâ* is *quiescens* (*a*) at the end of a word, also in the ךָ; (*b*) before another *Šᵉwâ*.

§ 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 שׁ and שׂ, a point is placed *within* a consonant

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[1] On יתְ◌ as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs ל״ה, see § 75 *m*.

to show that it has a stronger sound. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphè*) *over* a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of strengthening (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the harder pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappîq*, 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 *qiṭṭēl* (§ 20); or (*b*) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters בְּגִדְכְּפַת (*Dageš lene*). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 *c*.

The root דגשׁ 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 דגשׁ 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. דָּגֵשׁ *acuens* (*literam*) would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like *Mappîq* מַפִּיק *proferens*, as *signum prolationis*), for which purposes a *prick* of the *pen*, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is רָפֶה *soft*, § 14 *e*, and § 22 *n*. *b*

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

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

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[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 *Šûrĕq* (וּ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ *û* 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 בְּגַדְכְּפַת letters (§ 6 *n*) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlĕkh*, but מַלְכּוֹ *mal-kô*; תָּפַר *tāphár*, but יִתְפֹּר *yith-pōr*; שָׁתָה *šāthā*, but יִשְׁתֶּה *yiš-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 אַפַּי *'appî*, רַבִּים *rabbîm* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַּל *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 Ḥaṭefs discussed in § 10 *g*. It is inserted in consonants other than the *B^egadk^ephath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (*a*) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g. בִּבְלִלְבָבִי ψ 9[2], where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (*b*) in cases like מַחְסִי ψ 62[8] = *maḥ-sî* (not *măḥ^a-sî*); (*c*) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לֹא in the combination לוֹ לֹא Dt 32[5], or לֹא לוֹ Hb 1[6], 2[6] &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38[9]); see also § 20 *e* and *g*.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonicum* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on ψ 94[12]); 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^egadk^ephath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e. g. אַפַּי, from אַנְפִּי.

§ 14. *Mappîq and Rāphè.*

a **1.** *Mappîq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters א ה ו י 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. גָּבַהּ *gābháh* (to be high), אַרְצָהּ *'arṣāh* (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from אַרְצָה *'árṣā* (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 Mappîq of course disappearing too), so that it remains only as a vowel letter; cf. § 91 *e* on the 3rd fem. sing.**

c **The name מַפִּיק 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.

d 2. In MSS. Mappîq is also found with א, ו, י, to mark them expressly as consonants, e. g. גּוֹי (*gôy*), קָוּ (*qāw*, *qāu*), for which וּ is also used, as עָשְׂוּ, &c. For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, *letter* א, § 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 א should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with א (אֹ or אָ), Gn 43[26], Lv 23[17], Ezr 8[18] and Jb 33[21] (רְאוּ; 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.

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

§ 15. *The Accents.*

a On the ordinary accents (see below, *e*), cf. W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפְּטֵי הַטְּעָמִים [*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 אמ"ת), ed. by Heinemann, Frankf. a. M. 1896; Prätorius, *Die Herkunft der hebr. Accente*, Berlin, 1901, and (in answer to Gregory's criticism in the *TLZ.* 1901, no. 22) *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelgriech. Neumen durch die Juden*, Berlin, 1902; P. Kahle, 'Zur Gesch. der hebr. Accente,' *ZDMG.* 55 (1901), 167 ff. (1, on the earliest Jewish lists of accents; 2, on the mutual relation of the various systems of accentuation; on p. 179 ff. he deals with the accents of the 3rd system, see above, § 8 *g*, note); Margolis, art. 'Accents,' in the *Jewish Encycl.* i (1901), 149 ff.; J. Adams, *Sermons in Accents*, London, 1906.—On the accents of the Books תא"ם (see below, *h*), S. Baer, תורת אמת [*Accentual Laws of the Books* אמ"ת], 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 אמ"ת [*Accents of the Poet. Books*], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 17 ff.

b 1. As Prätorius (see above) has convincingly shown, the majority of 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. מִלְרַע i.e. accented below[3]), e.g. קָטַל *qāṭál*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'êl* (Aram. מִלְעֵיל, accented *above*), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlĕkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Mèthĕg* (cf. § 16). Examples such as נַעֲמָרָה יִחַר Is 50[8] (cf. 40[18], Ex 15[8], Jb 12[15], La 2[16]) 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 אֱמֶת, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלִּים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אִיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, תא״ם (תְּאוֹם *twin*), so that טַעֲמֵי תא״ם 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.

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[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. *'Athnâḥ* as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1[4]); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1[1]).

[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 40[18].

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*). *e*

A. Disjunctive Accents (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).[1] *f*

1. (֫) סִלּוּק Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (׃), the verse-divider, e.g. הָאָרֶץ׃.
2. (֪) אַתְנָח 'Athnâḥ or אַתְנַחְתָּא 'Athnaḥtā (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
3 *a*. (֬) סְגוֹלְתָּא Segôltā, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâḥ (e.g. Gn 1[7.28]).
3 *b*. (֭) שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת Šalšèleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšèleth, distinguished by the following stroke[2] from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

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[1] All the disjunctives occur in Is 39[2].—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מְלָכִים *Reges* and מְשָׁרְתִים *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which 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, ט׳ כ״א p. 12 ff.—The name טְעָמִים (later = *accents* in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

[2] This stroke is commonly confused with *Paṣeq*, which has the same form. But Pâsēq (= *restraining, dividing*, also incorrectly called Pᵉsîq) 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 Pâsēq is divided into *distinctivum*, *emphaticum*, *homonymicum*, and *euphonicum*. The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 f.), that Pâsēq 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 *Lᵉgarmēh*) besides being a divider (used especially for the sake of greater clearness) also served as a sign of abbreviation. For further treatment of *Paseq* see H. Grimme, 'Pasekstudien,' in the *Bibl. Ztschr.*, i. 337 ff., ii. 28 ff., and *Psalmenprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902, p. 173, where it is argued that *Paseq* indicates variants in a difficult sentence; J. Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Paseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennedy the 'note-line', of which he distinguishes sixteen different kinds, is intended to draw attention to some peculiarity in the text; it existed long before the Masoretes, and was no longer understood by them. See, however, the reviews of E. König, *Theol.*

Segôltā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19[16], &c.

4 *a*. (֫) זָקֵף גָּדוֹל Zâqēph gādôl, and

4 *b*. (֪) זָקֵף קָטוֹן Zâqēph qāṭôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqēph is by nature stronger than Great Zâqēph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.

5. (֒) טִפְחָא Ṭiphḥā or טַרְחָא Ṭarḥā, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillûq and 'Athnâḥ, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnâḥ; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is 2[13]), but also in longer verses (Gn 3[21]).

6. (֣) רְבִיעַ Rebhîa'.

7. (֓) זַרְקָא Zarqā, *postpositive*.

8 *a*. (֡) פַּשְׁטָא Paštā, *postpositive*,[1] and

8 *b*. (֜) יְתִיב Yethîbh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehuppākh. Yethîbh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.

9. (֥) תְּבִיר Tebhîr.

10 *a*. (֧) גֵּרֵשׁ Gèreš or טֵרֵס Ṭères, and

10 *b*. (֞) גְּרַשַׁיִם Gerāšáyim[2] or Double Gèreš, used for Gèreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.

11 *a*. (֠) פָּזֵר Pâzēr, and

11 *b*. (֭) פָּזֵר גָּדוֹל Pâzēr gādôl (Great Pâzēr) or קַרְנֵי פָרָה Qarnê phārā (*cow-horns*), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.

12. (֮) תְּלִישָׁא גְדוֹלָה Telišā gedôlā or Great Telîšā, *prepositive*.

13. (֯) לְגַרְמֵהּ Legarmēh, i.e. Mûnaḥ (see below) with a following stroke.

Stud. u. Krit., 1904, p. 448 ff., G. Beer, *TLZ.* 1905, no. 3, and esp. A. Klostermann, *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, 1904, no. 13, with whom Ginsburg agrees (*Verhandlungen des Hamb. Or.-kongresses von 1902*, Leiden, 1904, p. 210 ff.) in showing that the tradition with regard to the 479 or 480 uses of *Paseq* is by no means uniform. The purpose of *Paseq* is clearly recognizable in the five old rules: as a divider between identical letters at the end and beginning of two words; between identical or very similar words; between words which are absolutely contradictory (as *God* and *evil-doer*); between words which are liable to be wrongly connected; and lastly, between heterogeneous terms, as 'Eleazar the High Priest, and Joshua'. But the assumption of a far-reaching critical importance in *Paseq* is at least doubtful.—Cf. also the important article by H. Fuchs, '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, Paštā is placed over it also, e.g תֹהוּ Gn 1[2]; cf. below, *l*.

[2] Wickes requires Geršáyim (גְּרְשַׁיִם).

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10. (֫) Pâzēr (see above, I, 11 *a*).

11 *a*. (֪) Mᵉhuppākh lᵉgarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with a following stroke.

11 *b*. (֬) 'Azlā lᵉgarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with a following stroke.

i **B. Conjunctivi.**

12. (ֵ) Mêrᵉkhā (see above, I. 16 *a*).

13. (ֽ) Mûnaḥ (see above, I. 14).

14. (ֿ) עִלּוּי 'Illûy or Mûnaḥ superior.

15. (֖) טַרְחָא Ṭarḥā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).

16. (ֶ) Galgal or Yèraḥ (see above, I. 20).

17. (ֶ) Mᵉhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above, I. 15).

18. (֭) 'Azlā (see above, I. 18).

19. (֮) Šalšèleth qᵉṭannā (Little Šalšèleth).

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

[20. (֒) Ṣinnôrîth, 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 εἶμι, *cómpact* and *compáct*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. בָּנוּ *banú* (they built), בָּנוּ *bánu* (in us); קָמָה *qáma* (she stood up), קָמָה *qamá* (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. שָׁם יִשְׁכָּבוּ Gn 19⁴; so the prepositive sign in cases like וַיְהִי 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 Sillûq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditio*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 ff).—When two or more *equivalent* accents (Zâqēph, Rᵉbhîa') occur consecutively, the accent which precedes marks a greater division than the one which follows; cf. e.g. the Zâqēph, Gn 1²⁰ *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 חא"ם, the *Rᵉbhîaʿ mugrāš* before *Sillûq*, and the *Dᵉḥi* before *'Athnâḥ*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose *Šᵉwâ mobile* after Qameṣ, Sere, or Ḥolem (with Metheg) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After 'Ôlè wᵉyôrēd the 'Athnâḥ does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on ψ 45⁶). 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 *P* 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 עֲבָדִים 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 Rᵉbhiaʿ. Again פני, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed פָּנָי (pausal Qameṣ with Silluq), but in the upper accentuation it is פָּנַי with Paṭaḥ because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring עֲבָדִים and פָּנָי, 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 Mèthĕg.*

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

1. Maqqēph (מַקֵּף 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. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֵת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gn 1²⁹, אֵת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ *all that he had*, Gn 25⁵.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אֶל־ *to*, עַד־ *b*
until, עַל־ *upon*, עִם־ *with*, אַל־ *ne*, אִם־ *if, whether*, מִן־ *from*, פֶּן־ *lest*, are almost always found with a following Maqqēph, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל, מֵעִם, 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 47⁵, 60², Pr 3¹² in the case of אֵת־, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

nected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הִתְהַלָּךְ־נֹחַ Gn 6⁹, וַיְהִי־כֵן Gn 1⁷; or two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *seventeen*, Gn 7¹¹. Cf. the Greek proclitics ἐν, ἐκ, εἰς, εἰ, ὡς, οὐ, which are *atonic*, and lean on the following word.

c **2.** Mètheg (מֶתֶג i.e. *a bridle*), a small perpendicular stroke under the consonant to the left of the vowel, indicates most frequently the secondary stress or counter-tone, as opposed to the principal tone marked by the accents. It serves, however, in other cases to point out that the vowel should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation, but should be allowed its full sound. Hence other names of *Mèthĕg* are *Ma'ᵃʀîkh*, 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 Mèthĕg*. This is subdivided again into (*a*) the ordinary Mèthĕg of the counter-tone, as a rule in the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. הָאֹדֶם (cf. also such cases as מֶלֶךְ־צֹר); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאַרְבָּעִים (also in such cases as עֶבֶד־הַמֶּלֶךְ), and when the third is not suitable for it, even in the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This Mèthĕg may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone, when it already stands in the second, e.g. שִׁבְעָתֵיכֶם. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open ultima, which is joined by Maqqēph to a word beginning with a toneless syllable and so without Mèthĕg (e.g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קֶשֶׁת, לֹא־אֶהְיֶה), or to a word beginning with *Šᵉwâ* before the tone-syllable, e.g. שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי, מִי־לִי, &c.; the object being to prevent the *Šᵉwâ* from becoming *quiescent*.

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

f (*b*) The *firm* or *indispensable Mèthĕg*. (*a*) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, וְ *copulative*, see above), which are followed by a *Šᵉwâ mobile* preceding the tone-syllable, e.g. יִרְאוּ, יִשְׁנוּ, &c. (*β*) To emphasize a long vowel in a closed syllable immediately before Maqqēph, e.g. שִׁתְ־לִי Gn 4²⁵ (not *šŏth-lî*); hence also with כֹּל־ *ψ* 138², and אֵת־ Jb 41²⁶ (for כָּל־ and אֶת־; cf. also מֵאֵת־ Jo 15¹⁸, &c.). (*γ*) With Ṣere, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Sᵉghôl*, e.g. אֹהֵב דֵּעַת Pr 12¹ (not *'ôhĕbh*). (*δ*) With all vowels before composite *Šᵉwâ*, e.g. יַעֲמֹד, נֹעֲקִים, &c. (except when the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יְקֻבָּנוּ Is 62², because the strengthening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mèthĕg*); so in the cases discussed in § 28 *c*, where a short vowel has taken the place of a Ḥaṭeph, as יַעַמְדוּ, &c. (*ε*) In the preformative syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, when *Šᵉwâ quiescens* stands under the ה or ח, e.g. יִהְיֶה, תִּחְיֶה (*yih-yè*, *tiḥ-yè*), &c., cf.

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[1] Cf. as the source of this account of *Mèthĕg*, the exhaustive treatment by S. Baer, 'Mèthĕg-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-ṭᵉamim*, p. 30 ff.

§ 63 *q*. (ʕ) With the Qameṣ of the plural forms of בַּיִת *house* (thus בָּתִּים *bâttîm*, cf. § 96 under בַּיִת), and with אָנָּה [1] *prithee!* to guard against the pronunciation *bŏttîm*, *ŏnnā*.—Every kind of light Mèthĕg may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. בְּתִּים 2 Ch 34[11], &c.

g 2. The *grave Mèthĕg* (*Ga'yā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed in the following cases in order more distinctly to emphasize a short vowel or an initial Šᵉwâ: (*a*) with the Pathaḥ of the article or of the prefixes ב, כ, ל, when followed by *Šᵉwâ* under a consonant without *Dageš*, e. g. הַמְּסִלָּה, לַמְּסִלָּה, &c., but not before יְ (before which וַ also remains without *Mèthĕg*, with the exception of וַיְהִי and וַיְחִי, when they are followed by *Maqqēph*, or accented with *Pašṭā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common *Mèthĕg*; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (*b*) with the interrogative הַ with *Pathaḥ* (except when it precedes יְ, *Dageš forte* or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g. הַאֵלֶךְ. When a *Šᵉwâ* follows the הַ and after the *Šᵉwâ* there is an untoned syllable, Baer places the *Mèthĕg* to the right of the *Pathaḥ*, e. g. הַבְרָכָה Gn 27[38] (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הָבְ֫); (*c*) with the Pathaḥ or Sᵉgol of the article before a guttural (which cannot take Dageš), e. g. הַחַיִּים, הֶהָרִים.—The *Šᵉwâ-Ga'yā* (ְ֫) is especially important in the accentuation of the תא״ם, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. וְהָיָה ψ 1[3].

h 3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of those consonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone, or because they close a syllable, might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gn 24[9]; פַּדָּנָה אֲרָם (here to avoid a hiatus) 28[2], or in such cases as רוּחַ־אֵל Jb 33[4], &c.; תַּדְשֵׁא Gn 1[11].

i *Mèthĕg* (especially in the cases mentioned in 1, *b*, *a*) is a guide to correct pronunciation, since it distinguishes *ā* from *ŏ* (except in the case noted in § 9 *v*, *b*) and *î* from *ĭ*; e. g. אָכְלָה *'ā-khᵉlā* (she has eaten), but אֹכְלָה *'ŏkhlā* (food), since the ֹ stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ *yî-rᵉ'û* (they fear), but יִרְאוּ *yir'û* (they see), יִשְׁנוּ (they sleep), but יִשְׁנוּ (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians, however, do not consider the syllables lengthened by Mèthĕg as open. They regard the Šᵉwâ as *quiescent* in cases like אָכְלָה, 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-ṭᵉamim*, p. 13.

§ 17. *Of the Qᵉrê and Kᵉthîbh. Masora marginalis and finalis.*

On Qᵉrê and Kᵉthîbh see Ginsburg, *Intr.*, p. 183 ff.]

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

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[1] The common form is אָנָּא, with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimḥi, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone cf. Is 38[3], Jon 1[14], 4[2], ψ 116[4].

[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 *Qᵉrê*) 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 *Kᵉthîbh*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42[6] אֲנַנוּ occurs in the text, in the margin אנחנו קרי. Read אֲנוּ *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנוּ) in the text, in the margin אֲנַחְנוּ. 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 קְרִי (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. את Jer 38[16], אם 39[12], ירך 51[3]. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב, e.g. 2 S 8[3], Jer 31[38]. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, §§ 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 *Kᵉthîbh*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Qᵉrê* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Qᵉrê perpetuum* occurs in the Pentateuch in הִוא (Qᵉrê הִיא) wherever הוא stands for the feminine (§ 32 *l*), and in נַעֲרָ֫ (Kᵉthîbh נער, Qᵉrê נַעֲרָ֫ה) always, except in Dt 22[19] (but the Sam. text always has היא, נערה). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek ὁ παῖς and ἡ παῖς, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; נער for נערה is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in קָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 2 *n*.— Other instances are: יִשְׁשָׂכָר (Q. יִשָּׂכָר) Gn 30[18] &c., see the *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 *b*; יְרוּשָׁלִַם (Q. יְרוּשָׁלַ֫יִם), properly יְרוּשָׁלֶ֫ם; יְהוָה (Q. אֲדֹנָי *the Lord*), or (after אֲדֹנָי) יְהוִה (Q. אֱלֹהִים) properly יַהְוֶה *Yahwè* (cf. § 102 *m*, and § 135 *q*, note); on שְׁנֵים, שְׁתֵּים for שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, see § 97 *d*, end.

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

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instead of קְרִי *Qᵉri*, 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 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.

אוֹת *letter*. אֶלָּא *nisi, except*. אֶמְצַע *middle*. אַתְנַח סוֹף פָּסוּק = אס״ף in the formula בְּלֹא אס״ף *without 'Athnaḥ* or *Soph-pasuq* i.e. *although no 'Athnaḥ or Soph-pasuq is written*.

בְּ *with*, before names of vowels or accents, as קָמֶץ בְּזָקֵף *Qameṣ with Zaqeph* used instead of Pathaḥ (§ 29 *i*).—ב׳ as a numeral = *two*, as in ב׳ טְעָמִים *two accents*. במקצת, see מִקְצָת. בנ״א = בְּנוּסְחָא אַחֲרִינָא (Aramaic) *in another copy*; pl. בְּנוּסְחָן אַחֲרִינָן.—בס״א = בְּסִפְרִים אֲחֵרִים *in other books*. בָּתַר (Aram.) *after*.

דָּגוּשׁ fem. דְּגוּשָׁה *marked with Dageš* (or *Mappiq*). דַּף *leaf, page*.

זְעֵיר fem. זְעֵירָא (Aram.) *small*.

חוֹל *profane, not sacred*, e.g. אֲדֹנָי Gn 19[2] because not referring to God. חוּץ *except*. חָסֵר written *defectively*, also *wanting* as א׳ ח׳ *'aleph is omitted*.

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

יֶתֵר *superfluous*.

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

לֵ׳ = לֵית (Aram., from לָא אִית *non est*) = the form *is not* found elsewhere.

מְדוּיָק *accurately corrected*. מְלֵא *full* i.e. written *plene*. מִלְּמַטָּה *below* = מִלְּרַע (§ 15 *c*). מִלְּמַעְלָה = מִלְעֵיל (§ 15 *c*). מְנוּזָרוֹת *separated*, the name of the strangely formed Nûns before ψ 107[23 ff.] (§ 5 *n*). מִקְרָא *that which is read*, the name for all the O. T. scriptures. מִקְצָת *part*.

נָח fem. נָחָה *quiescent*, i.e. not sounded. נֶעְלָם *concealed*, i.e. only retained orthographically. נְקוּד *a point*. נָקוּד *pointed*.

ס״א see בְּ. סִימָן *σημεῖον, sign*, esp. *a mnemonic word* or, frequently, *sentence*. סְכוּם = סְךָ׳ *total*. סוֹף פָּסוּק = ס״ף (§ 15 *f*).

עַמּוּד *column* of a page.

פָּסוּק a masoretic *verse*. פְּסָקָא *a space*, esp. in the phrase פ׳ בְּאֶמְצַע פָּסוּק *a space within a verse*, e.g. Gn 35[22]; cf. H. Grätz, *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1878, p. 481 ff., and H. Strack, ibid. 1879, p. 26 ff.

קְרִי = ק׳, see above, *c*. קוֹדֶם properly קָדָם *before*. קָמוּץ fem. קְמוּצָה *poin'ed with Qameṣ*. קוֹרֵא *reader* of the sacred text.

רַבְּתָא, רַבְּתָה, רַבְּתִי (Aram., all fem. sing.) *large*.

תֵּיבָה *word* (consisting of more than one letter). תְּלוּיָה *suspensa* (§ 5 *n*, 3). תְּרֵי (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. עָלַץ, עָלַם, עָלַז *to exult*, לָאָה, לָהָה, Aram. לְעָא *to be weary*, לָחַץ and נָחַץ *to press*, סָגַר and סָכַר *to close*, מָלַט and פָּלַט *to escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, e.g. צָחַק into שָׂחַק *to laugh*, גָּעַל into גָּאַל *to reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ד, שׂ into ת, צ into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems[2] than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ת and ט in *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 54 *b*); (*b*) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), יָלַד for וָלַד, &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 συνλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

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

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

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§ 68 *b–k*), e.g. in מוּם for מְאוּם. As a rule in such cases, however, the א is orthographically retained, e.g. לִקְרַאת for לִקְרָאת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לַמֶּלֶךְ for לְהַמֶּלֶךְ (§ 23 *k* and § 35 *n*), יַקְטִיל for יְהַקְטִיל (§ 53 *a*).

Syncope of א with Šᵉwâ occurs in such cases as בַּאֲרָנִי for בַּאֲאֲרָנִי (cf. § 102 *m*); וְאֶעְשֶׂה 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. גִּלֹה pr. name of a city (cf. גִּילֹנִי Gilonite); וַיַּרְא, where א though really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל״ם, see § 24 *g*, and § 75 *a*.

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

m **4.** To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic[2] with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e. g. אֱזוֹב and זוֹב *arm* (cf. χθές, ἐχθές; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עַקְרָב *scorpion*; cf. Arab. *ʿuṣfûr* bird (stem *ṣafara*).

n **5.** *Transposition*[3] occurs only seldom in the grammar, e. g. הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for הִתְשַׁמֵּר (§ 54 *b*) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּשֶׂב *lamb*, שִׂמְלָה and שַׂלְמָה *garment*), but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.

o **6.** *Softening* occurs e.g. in כּוֹכָב *star*, from *kaukabh*=*kawkabh* for *kabhkabh* (cf. Syriac *raurab*=*rabrab*); טוֹטָפוֹת *phylacteries* for *ṭaphṭāphôth*; 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

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in בָּלָה Jos 19³ for בִּבְעָלָה (as in 15²⁹). Probably, however, ונשקה and בלה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly בָּאֹר Am 8⁸ for בַּיְאֹר (9⁵).

[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 protheticum* 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 *Šᵉwâ mobile*; thus we have נָתַנּוּ for נָתַנְנוּ *nāthăn-nû* and שַׁתִּי for שַׁתְתִּי.

(*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*, לִמַּד *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. גְּמַלִּים *camels* for *gᵉmālîm*; cf. § 93 *ee* and *kk*, § 93 *pp*.

b This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place when the first has a vowel or *Šᵉwâ mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a *compound Šᵉwâ* should be used, preceded by *Mĕthĕg*, e.g. הוֹלֲלִים, קִלְלַת, &c. (cf. §§ 10*g*, 16*f*). This pointing is not used before the suffix ךָ, e.g. תְּבָרְכֶךָּ Gn 27⁴, but the first כ has a *vocal Šᵉwâ*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lene*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a *vocal Šᵉwâ*, 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 הַלְלְוּ = *hal-lᵉlû*. The form חָנְנֵנִי ψ 9¹⁴ (not חָנֵּנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'ēl = חָנְנֵנִי; if it were imperat. *Qal* the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׁדְדוּ Jer 49²⁸, and in the imperf. יְשָׁדְדֵם Jer 5⁶.

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 *Qameṣ* (ה־ָ) with *Šᵉwâ mobile* preceding, or a tone-bearing ה־ֹ,—called דְּחִיק (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in *f* (by § 28 *e*) includes Segholates like כֶּסֶף, שֹׁחַד, &c., as well as forms like פְּרִי, שְׁאֹל, שְׁמוֹ, and even כְּנַעַן.

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

[2] לֵאמֹר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when מֹשֶׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6¹⁰·²⁹, 15²⁴, &c.

Some limit the use of the *Dᵉḥîq* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *Bᵉgadkᵉphath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכָה־נָּא Nu 22⁶; לְקָחָה־זֹּאת Gn 2²³; יְצַוֶּה־לָּךְ ψ 91¹¹; and even with *Rêš*, מַעֲנֵה־רַךְ Pr 15¹; וּמִשְׁנֵה־כֶּסֶף 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 זֶה *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 וְזֶה־שְּׁמוֹ Jer 23⁶, but also in וְזֶה־פְּרִיהָ Nu 13²⁷, 1 Ch 22¹. In הִנֵּה־נָא Gn 19² (where Maqqēph is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 *u*, 1 *c*, and § 16 *b*), the Sᵉghôl coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מַה־ (for מָה) *what?*, see § 37 *b*, *c*.

e 2. Such cases as נֹאמָה נְאֻמָה Ex 15¹·²¹, the 2nd כְּמֹכָה in ver. 11, נֹאלַתָּ ver. 13, כֹּאבֵן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lene*, see § 21 d.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *milʿêl* ending in ה֫— or ה֬—. Such a milʿêl is called by the Jewish grammarians אָתֵי מְרַחֵיק (Aram. = Heb. אֹתָה מֵרָחוֹק) *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. שָׁבִיתָ שָּׁבְיִ ψ 68¹⁹; הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא ψ 118²⁵ (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא); הִרְחִיבָה שְׁאוֹל Is 5¹⁴; אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן Gn 11³¹. The Milʿêl may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsôg ʾaḥôr*, § 29 *e*), as in עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי Gn 1¹¹.—The prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ and וְ alone do not take a Dageš in this case, except in לְךָ, always, and לְלֵילָה ψ 19³. Such forms as הִשְׁבִּיעָה לִּי Gn 21²³, מָלְאָה שְׂחַר ψ 26¹⁰, רָחֲקָה מֶּנִּי Jb 21¹⁶, and even נַעֲמְדָה 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 *milʿêl*. On the other hand, e. g. חָרָה לָךְ Gn 4⁶, not לָךְ since the first *ā* of חָרָה could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עָשִׂיתָ־פְּרִי Gn 1¹²; הַגִּידָה־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*, הֲמָה יִירָשׁוּ ψ 37⁹; אֵלָה יַעֲלֹב Is 44²¹; עָשִׂיתָ קְעָרֹתָיו Ex 25²⁹, provided that the second word does not begin with a *Bᵉgadkᵉphath* letter (hence e. g. אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2⁴).

g Rem. Such cases as קָנְךָ Dt 32⁶, and כָּשִׂיתָ 32¹⁵, and נָעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1¹³ are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B°gadk°phath, בֶּאֱלֹם Ex 15[11] (cf. however above, *e*); תֶּל־ Jos 8[28]; בְּוּרוֹעַ ψ 77[16]; כֶּן־הֵיא Jb 5[27].—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 קוּמוּ צְאוּ Gn 19[14], Ex 12[31]; Ex 12[15] (שְׁאוֹר), Dt 2[24]; also לוֹא Gn 19[2], 1 S 8[19]; לוֹ Ju 18[19], Est 6[13] (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לו); מְעַט Ho 8[10]; גְּרוּ Jer 49[30]; יְרוּ 1 S 15[6]. 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 *Šᵉwâ*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the אָתְיְ מְרַחְיִק, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in ו after a preceding *î* (ψ 118[5.18]), and even after *û* (ψ 94[12]), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 *b*.

(*b*) When a consonant with *Šᵉwâ* is strengthened by *Dageš forte* *h* *dirimens* to make the *Šᵉwâ* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qôph*; cf. עִנְּבִי Lv 25[5], Dt 32[32] (for עִנְבִי); כַּנְּחָךְ Is 33[1] (where, however, כְּכַלּוֹתְךָ is to be read); cf. Na 3[17], Jb 9[18], 17[2], Jo 1[17] (with מ); Is 57[6] (with ל); Ju 20[43],[1] 1 S 1[6] (with ר); Gn 49[10.17] (and so always in עִקְּבִי Ju 5[22], Ct 1[8] and עִקְּבוֹת ψ 77[20], 89[52]); Ex 15[17], Dt 23[11], Ju 20[32], 1 S 28[10] (ק)[2]; Ex 2[3], Is 58[3], Am 5[21], ψ 141[3], Pr 4[13] (צ); Pr 27[25] (שׁ); Is 5[28], ψ 37[15], Jer 51[56], Neh 4[7] (שׂ). Also, with כ Ho 3[2]; with ב Is 9[3], Jer 4[7]; with ת 1 S 10[11]. 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 *i* the principal *pause*, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5[7] (חָדְלּוּ), Jb 29[21] (וְיִחֲלּוּ), 22[12] (רָמּוּ); Ez 27[19] (in נ); in ת Is 33[12], 41[17], Jer 51[58], perhaps also Jb 21[13] (יְתַמּוּ).

(*d*) When the sonants ל, מ, נ are strengthened by *Dageš forte firma-* *k* *tivum* in the pronouns הַמָּה, הַנָּה, אַלָּה, and in לָמָּה *why?* cf. also בַּמָּה, 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* *l* *forte* occurs,

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

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

[2] Also in ψ 45[10] read בְּיִקְרוֹתֶיךָ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30[17] לְיִקְהַת (Ben Naphthali בִּיקְּ and לִיקְּ).

consonant cannot easily be sounded.[1] In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 *d*), e. g. רֹב *multitude*, from רבב; עָם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עָם, from עמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions אַתְּ *thou* (fem.) and נָתַתְּ *thou* (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16[33], 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 וְ and יְ after the article, see § 35 *b*; on יְ after מַהֲ, § 37 *b*); and in the sonants מ,[2] נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62[9], מְאַסְפָיו, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מְאֵסְפָיו with compensatory lengthening, and others even מְאָסְפָיו; מִשְׁמַנֵּי Gn 27[28.39]; מִשְׁלַשׁ 38[24] for מִשְׁשׁ, הַשְׁלַבִּים 1 K 7[28]; אֶשְׁקָהּ 1 K 19[20] from נָשַׁק, הַשְׁפַתַּיִם Ez 40[43] and לִשְׁפַנִּים ψ 104[18]; מִשְׁתִּים Jon 4[11], הַצְפַרְדְּעִים Ex 8[1] &c.);—and finally in the emphatic ק.[3]

Of the *Bᵉgadkᵉphath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מִבְצִיר Ju 8[2]; ג in מִגְבוּרָתָם Ez 32[30]; ד in נִדְחֵי Is 11[12] 56[8], ψ 147[2] (*not* in Jer 49[36]), supposing that it is the Participle Niphʿal of נָדַח; lastly, ת in תִּתְצוּ Is 22[10]. Examples, עִוְרִים, וַיְהִי (so always the preformative יְ in the *imperf.* of verbs), מְלֵאוּ, כְּסָאִי, יִשְׁאוּ, יִקְחוּ, הַלְלוּ, הִנְנִי, לַמְנַצֵּחַ, מִלְמַעְלָה, מַקְלוֹת, מִקְצֵה, &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 *ḥireq* (cf. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יְחִיתֵן *he makes them afraid*, for יְחִתֵּן Hb 2[17] (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs ע״ו, and moreover to read יְחִיתֵךְ with the LXX), וְיקוֹת Is 50[11] for וְקוֹת.

o 2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the strengthening is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following ו. Thus for

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[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 מְ when it is the prefix of the participle Piʿel or Puʿal, hence ψ 104[3] הַמְקָרֶה *who layeth the beams*, but הַמְקֶרֶה *the roof* Ec 10[18] (cf. הַמְלָאכָה *the work*, &c.).

[3] According to some also in מ in תִּטְעֵי Is 17[10]; but see Baer on the passage.

מְעֻנָּיְהָ Is 23[11], read מְעֻנְּיָהּ (or מְעוֹנֶיהָ); and for חָמְנוּ La 3[22], read חַמּוּ. In Nu 23[13] קְבֹנוֹ is not an instance of compensation (see § 67 o, end).

§ 21. *The Aspiration of the Tenues.*[1]

The *harder* sound of the six *B^egadk^ephath* letters, indicated by *Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6 *n* and § 13). The original hard sound is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Šᵉwā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e.g. פָּרַץ *pāraṣ*, יִפְרֹץ *yiphrōṣ*, כֹּל *kōl*, לְכֹל *l^ekhōl*. Hence the *B^egadk^ephath* take *Dageš lene* *a*

(1) at the beginning of words: (*a*) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e.g. עַל־כֵּן *ʿal-kēn* (*therefore*), עֵץ פְּרִי *ʿēṣ p^erî* (*fruit-tree*); (*b*) at the beginning of a section, e.g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gn 1[1], or at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15 *d*), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel from influencing the following tenuis, e.g. וַיְהִי בַּאֲשֶׁר *and it was so, that when*, Ju 11[5] (but וַיְהִי־כֵן Gn 1[7]). *b*

Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, י, ו, א, as such, naturally do not close a *C* syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B^egadk^ephath*, e.g. וּמְצָאָהּ, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (except קַרְתָּהוּ Is 34[11]; שְׁנֵיהֶן Ez 23[42]; אֲדֹנָי בָּם ψ 68[18]), and by ה with *Mappiq*; hence e.g. there is *Dageš lene* in עָלַי פִּיהֶם and always after יְהוָה, since the *Qᵉrê perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) assumes the reading אֲדֹנָי.

2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in close connexion. This almost always occurs with the prefixes בְּ and כְּ in the combinations בְּבְ, כְּכְ, בְּפְ (i.e. when a *B^egadk^ephath* with Šᵉwā precedes the same or a kindred aspirate) and בְּמ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*, 1880, p. 92,[2] on ψ 23[3]); cf. e.g. 1 S 25[1], Is 10[9], ψ 34[2], Jb 19[2]; כְּג is uncertain; כְּד, בְּד, and בְּכ according to David Qimḥi do not take Dageš, nor כְּג, כְּכ, and כְּפ according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B^egadk^ephath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ח in בַּחֲמִשָּׁה 1 K 12[32]); cf. the instances mentioned above, § 20 *e* (mostly *tenues* before א). In all these cases the object is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the כ and *d*

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[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 ff.

[2] Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 62).

פ, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Χαλδαῖοι, Φαρφάρ, &c.—The forms בָּרְכוֹ (after וְשַׁמְתִּי) Is 54[12], and בָּלְכֶל (after וְנִלְאֵיתִי) Jer 20[9] are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Šᵉwâ quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,[1] e.g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (*he heals*), קְטַלְתֶּם *ye have killed*; but after *Šᵉwâ mobile*, e.g. רְפָא *rᵉphā* (*heal thou*), כָּבְדָה *she was heavy*.

f On קָטַלְתְּ, וַיִּשְׁבְּ and similar forms, see § 10 *i*.

Whether *Šᵉwâ* 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. רִדְפוּ *pursue ye* (not רְדְפוּ) from רָדַף; מַלְכֵי (not מַלְכֵי), because originally *mălăkhê*, but מַלְכִּי from the ground-form *malk*.

(*b*) With the כ of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. ־ךְ, ־כֶם, ־כֶן, since Šᵉwâ mobile is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 *f*; § 91 *l b*).

Rem. Forms like שָׁלַחְתְּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ח after the vowel, cf. וַיַּחַזְ Ex 18[9], have arisen from שָׁלַחְתְּ, יַחְזְ, &c.; Pathaḥ being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the tenuis; cf. § 28 *e*.

§ 22. *Peculiarities of the Gutturals.*

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

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]

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[1] The exceptions יַקְהֵאל Jos 15[38] (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), 2 K 14[7], and יִקְרְעָם Jos 15[56] may perhaps be due to the character of the ק.

[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.

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final it necessarily takes Mappîq), but e. g. רוּחִי, &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ă* is no longer heard.

g *I[a]ch* for *ich*, &c., in some Swiss dialects of German, is analogous; a *furtive Pathaḥ* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesîaḥ*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. *ZAW.* iv. 79) write ε, sometimes α, instead of *furtive Pathaḥ*, e. g. נֹחַ Νῶε, יְהוֹעַ Ἰεδδούα (also Ἰαδδού).

h Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the *following* vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e. g. נַעַר (not *na'ĕr*) *a youth*, פֹּעַל (not *pō'ĕl*) *deed*. The only exceptions are אֹהֶל, בֹּהֶן, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם.

i 2. Where in the present form of the language an *ĭ*, whether original or attenuated from *Pathaḥ*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S[e]ghôl* as being between *ă* and *ĭ* is frequently used instead, e. g. יֶחְבַּשׁ (also יַחְבֹּשׁ), יֶהְגֶּה, חֶבְלִי, נֶאְדָּר, עֶזְרִי, &c.

k On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Ḥireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e. g. חִטָּה, הִגֶּה, הִלֵּל; but when this sharpening is removed, S[e]ghôl is again apt to appear, e. g. הֶגְיוֹן constr. הֶגְיוֹן, חֶזְיוֹן constr. חֶזְיוֹן.

l 3. Instead of *simple Šewâ mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a *compound Šewâ*, e. g. שֶׁחֱטוּ, אֲקַטֵּל, אֶמֹר, אֲנִי, &c.

m 4. When a guttural with *quiescent Šewâ* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent Šewâ*) may remain; necessarily so with ח, ע, and ה at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ, יָדַעְתָּ, 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 *Ḥaṭeph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent Šewâ*, and in particular that *Ḥaṭeph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יַחְשֹׁב (also יַחְשֹׁב); יַחְזֵק (also יַחְזֵק); פֹּעֳלוֹ *pŏ[o]lô* (for *pŏ'lô*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Ḥaṭeph* is weakened into *Šewâ mobile*, then instead of the *Ḥaṭeph* its full vowel is written, e. g. יַעַמְדוּ (from יַעֲמֹד), נַעַרְמוּ, פָּעָלְךָ (from פָּעַל). The original forms, according to § 28 *c*, were *ya'medhû*, *ne'remû*, *pŏ'lekhā*. Hence יַעַמְדוּ, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יַעֲמֹדוּ, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'amedhû*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound Šewâ in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62–65.

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *Ḥaṭephs*, it may be remarked:

(*a*) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer ֲ, but א prefers ֱ, e. g. חֲמוֹר *ass*, הֲרֹג *to kill*, אֱמֹר *to say*; when farther from the tone syllable, however, the ֱ even under א changes into the lighter ֲ, e. g. אֲלֵי (poetic for אֶל) *to*, but אֲלֵיכֶם *to you*, אֱכֹל *to eat*, but אֲכַל- (*'akhŏl*, toneless on account

of Maqqēph). Cf. § 27 *w*. The 1st pers. sing. imperf. Pi'ēl regularly has ֲ֫. Likewise ֲ֫ is naturally found under א in cases where the *Ḥaṭeph* arises from a weakening of an original *ă* (e.g. אֲרִי *lion*, ground-form *'ary*), and ֳ֫ if there be a weakening of an original *u* (e.g. אֳנִי *a fleet*, עֳנִי *affliction*, cf. § 93 *q*, *z*).

(*b*) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* takes the *p* place of a *simple Šᵉwâ mobile*, e.g. הָעֲלָה מֵאֲנָה (see § 63 *p*); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Ḥaṭeph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.* הֶעֱמִיד (see above, *i*), *Infin.* הַעֲמִיד (regular form הַקְטִיל); *Perf. Hoph.* הָעְמַד (regular form הָקְטַל); but cf. שֻׁחֲדוּ Jb 6²² (§ 64 *a*).

5. The ר, 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. בָּרַךְ *he has blessed* for *birrakh*, בָּרֵךְ *to bless* for *barrēkh*.

(*b*) The preference for *ă* as a preceding vowel, e.g. וַיַּרְא *and he saw* *r* (from יִרְאֶה); וַיָּסַר both for וַיָּסָר *and he turned back*, and for וַיָּסֶר *and he caused to turn back*.

The exceptions to *a* are מָהַר *mŏrrăth*, Pr 14¹⁰; כָּהַת *khŏrrăth* and שָׁחַךְ *šŏrrēkh*, *S* Ez 16⁴ (cf. Pr 3⁸); שֶׁהֶאשִׁי Ct 5²; הַהֶעָמָה 1 S 1⁶; הַהֶאָיִתָם 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³²; הַהֶדִיפָהוּ Ju 20⁴³ (cf. § 20 *h*); מְהֶרֹף 1 S 23²⁸, 2 S 18¹⁶; also on account of רחיק (§ 20 *c*), Pr 15¹, 20²², 2 Ch 26¹⁰; and on account of אתי מרחיק (§ 20 *f*) 1 S 15⁶, Jer 39¹², Hb 3¹³, Pr 11²¹, Jb 39⁹, Ez 9⁶. A kind of virtual strengthening (after מִ for מִן) is found in מֵרָנֵחַ Is 14³. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g. Σάρρα for שָׂרָה.

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

1. The א, 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. מָצָא, מָלֵא, הוֹצִיא (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to *b* below, we have, e.g. מְצָאַנִי, הוֹצִיאַנִי, since the א then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not מְצָאנִי, הוֹצִיאנִי), מְצֹא, בָּלוֹא (cf., however, § 74 *a*), מָצָאתָ (for *māṣa'tā*), תִּמְצָאנָה. Similarly in cases like חִטְּאוּ, וַיִּרְא, שָׁוְא, &c. (§ 19 *l*), and even in פָּשְׁאוּ, פָּלְאִי (see above, § 22 *e*), the א only retains an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand, א is in general retained as a strong con- *b* sonant whenever it begins a syllable, e.g. אָמַר; מְאֹסוּ, or when it is protected by a *Ḥaṭeph* after a short syllable, e.g. לֶאֱכֹל, and finally,

when it stands in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šᵉwâ* after a preceding *Sᵉghôl* or *Pathaḥ*, e.g. וַיֶּאְסֹר, נֶאְדָּר *nä'dār*, יַאְדִּימוּ *ya'dîmû*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of א may be entirely lost, viz.

c (*a*) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of a word after *Šᵉwâ mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šᵉwâ*, and the א is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. רָאשִׁים *heads* (for *rᵉ'āšîm*), מָאתַיִם *two hundred* (for *mᵉ'āthâyim*), שָׁאטְךָ Ez 25⁶ for שְׁאָטְךָ; בוֹרָאם Neh 6⁸ for בְּוֹרְאָם; מאום Jb 31⁷, Dn 1⁴ for מְאוּם; פֵּארָה for פְּאֵרָה Is 10³³; חטאים *ḥôṭîm*, 1 S 14³³ for חֹטְאִים (cf. § 74 *h*, and § 75 *oo*); הָרְאוּבֵנִי Nu 34¹⁴, from רְאוּבֵן; so always חַטֹּאת or חַטֹּאוֹת 1 K 14¹⁶, Mi 1⁵, &c., for חַטְּאוֹת. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the א occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלָאכָה *work* for מַלְאָכָה (as in the Babylonian punctuation), יִשְׁמָעֵאל for יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; שְׁמֹאל or שְׂמֹאול *the left hand*, ground form *sim'âl*.

d (*b*) When it originally closed a syllable. In these cases א is generally (by § 22 *m*) pronounced with a *Ḥaṭeph*, ֲ or ֳ. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following א only orthographically, e.g. וַיָּאצֶל Nu 11²⁵ for וַיַּאְצֶל (cf. Ju 9⁴¹), and פָּארוּר Jo 2⁶ for בַּיְאָרוּר; לָאמֹר for לֶאֱמֹר; לָאלֹהִים for לֶאֱלֹהִים; but the contraction does not take place in לֶאֱלִילֵיהֶם Is 10¹¹. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וַארֹנָי, &c. (see § 102 *m*), וַיָּאת Is 41²⁵, וָאַבְּדֵךְ Ez 28¹⁶ for וְאַאַבְּדֵךְ; cf. Dt 24¹⁰, 1 K 11³⁹, Is 10¹³.

e Instead of this א which has lost its consonantal value, one of the vowel letters ו and י is often written according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ô* and the latter with *ê* and *î*, e.g. רֵים *buffalo* for רְאֵם. At the end of the word ה also is written for א, יְמַלֵּהוּ *he fills* for יְמַלֵּא Jb 8²¹ (see below, *l*).

f **3.** When א is only preserved orthographically or as an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19 *k*), e.g. יָצָתִי Jb 1²¹ for יָצָאתִי; מָלֵתִי Jb 32¹⁸ for מָלֵאתִי; מָצָתִי Nu 11¹¹; וַתֹּהֲזִי 2 S 20⁹; וַיִּרַפּוּ Jer 8¹¹ for וַיִּרְפְּאוּ; וַתְּזָרֵנִי 2 S 22⁴⁰, but וַתְּאַזְּרֵנִי ψ 18⁴⁰; תּוֹמִם Gn 25²⁴ for תְּאוֹמִם; אֲחַטָּאנָה 31³⁹ for אֲחַטְּאֶנָּה; שְׁלָחֵךְ 1 S 1¹⁷ for שְׁאֵלָתֵךְ; רֵמִים ψ 22²² for רְאֵמִים; גָּוָה Jb 22²⁹ for גְּאָוָה; הַבֵּרְתִּי 1 Ch 11³⁹ for הַבְּאֵר, and so 2 S 23³⁷; שֵׁרִית 1 Ch 12³⁸ for שְׁאֵרִית; לַהֲשׁוֹת 2 K 19²⁵ *Kᵉthîbh* for לְהַשְׁאוֹת (cf. Is 37²⁶); חֵמָה Jb 29⁶ for חֵמְאָה.[1] In מַכֹּלֶת

[1] In Jer 22²³, נָחַנְתְּ is unquestionably a corruption of נחת for נְאֲנַחַתְּ.

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l Rem. In connexion with *ō* and *ē*, a ה which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into ו or י (רָאוֹ=רָאֹה, חַכִּי=חַכֵּה Ho 6⁹), and with any vowel into א in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with *ā*, e.g. שְׁנָא *sleep*, ψ 127² for שְׁנָה; נָשָׂא Jer 23³⁹ for נָשָׂאת, &c. Thus it is evident that final ה as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

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

Philippi, *Die Aussprache der semit. Konsonanten* ו *und* י (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 ו and י 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 ו or י occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 ff., § 85, § 93).

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

The instances may be classified under two heads:

b (*a*) When either ו or י with *quiescent* *Šᵉwâ* 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 (ו as *u*, י 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 הוּשַׁב for *huwšab*; יִיקַץ for *yiyqaṣ*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עִבְרִי *a Hebrew*, properly *ʿibrîy*, fem. עִבְרִיָּה, pl. עִבְרִיִּים (and עִבְרִים); עָשׂוּ Jb 41²⁵ for עָשׂוּא (cf. עֲשׂוּאוֹת 1 S 25¹⁸ *Kᵉthîbh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, ו and י are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 *m*), e.g. שָׁלֵו *quiet*, וְו *the month of May*, גּוֹי *nation*, גָּלוּי *revealed*. But with a preceding *ă* the ו and י are mostly contracted into *ô* and *ê* (see below, *f*), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, *g*).

Complete syncope of ו before *î* occurs in אִי *island* for אִיִּוּ; עִי *ruins* for עִיִּוּ; רִי *watering* Jb 37¹¹ for רִוְיוּ; [כִּי *burning* Is 3²⁴ for כִּוְיוּ, cf. §§ 84ᵃ *c*, *e*, 93 *y*].

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[1] Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as *u̯*, *i̯*, following the practice of Indogermanic philologists. וְ for וְ *and*, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. 1 and § 104 *e*. On י=*i* at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 *b*, note. According to § 19 *a*, end, *initial* ו in Hebrew almost always becomes י; always in verbs originally פ״ו, § 69 *a*. Apart from a few proper names, initial ו occurs only in וָו *hook*, יֶלֶד *child* Gn 11³⁰, 2 S 6²³ *Kᵉthîbh* [elsewhere יַלְדָה], and the doubtful וָזָר Pr 21⁸.

Thus an initial יְ after the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ, which would then be *c* pronounced with *ĭ* (see § 28 *a*), and also almost always after מִ (see § 102 *b*), coalesces with the *ĭ* to *î*, e. g. בִּיהוּדָה *in Judah* (for בִּיְ׳), וִיהוּדָה *and Judah*, כִּיאֹר *as the Nile*, לִיהוּדָה *for Judah*, מִידֵי *from the hands of*.

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

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *e* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of יְ or יִ. 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 Šᵉwâ*, e. g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali [1]) וְיִלַּלְתָּ Jer 25³⁶ for וְיִלַּלְתָּ (so Baer), כִּיתְרוֹן Ec 2¹³ for כְּיִתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 *h*, note 2; even וְיִחֲלוּ Jb 29²¹ (in some editions) for וְיִחֲלוּ. According to Qimḥi (see § 47 *b*) יִקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqṭōl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *ĭ* for *ă* 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 (*û* or *î*), see above, *b*.

(*b*) With short *ă* they form the diphthongs *ô* and *ê* according to § 7 *a*, e.g. מֵיטִיב from מַיְטִיב; יוֹשִׁיב from יַוְשִׁיב, &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 (*ă*), if according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in

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[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 *ă* are, מַיְמִינִים 1 Ch 12²; אַיְסִירֵם Ho 7¹² (but cf. § 70 *b*); הַיְשַׁר ψ 5⁹ *Qᵉrê*; the locatives בַּיְתָה, מִצְרַיְמָה, &c.—On the suffix יְכִי for יְךָ see § 91 *l*.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עַוְלָה and עוֹלָה; cf. חַי *living*, constr. state חֵי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form *mawt*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form *ʿayn* [*ʿain*]) *eye*, constr. עֵין.

verbs ל״ה, e.g. originally גָּלַי = (י)גָּלַ = גָּלָה, since *ă* after the rejection of the י stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to *ā*. The ה is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also שָׁלָה for *šālaw*.[1] On the origin of יִגְלֶה, see § 75 *e*; on קָם as perf. and part. of קוּם, see § 72 *b* and *g*; on יֶלֶד, &c., from ולד, see § 69 *b*.—On the weakening of ו and י to א, see § 93 *x*.

§ 25. *Unchangeable Vowels.*

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

b **1.** The essentially long and consequently, as a rule (but cf. § 26 *p*, § 27 *n*, *o*), unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, *î*, *ê*, *û*, *ô*, can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (יִ—, יֵ—, וּ, וֹ); e.g. יֵיטִיב *he does well*, הֵיכָל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8 *i*) is indeed common enough, e.g. יֵיטֵב and יֵטִיב for יֵיטִיב; גֵּבֶל for גְּבוּל; קֹל for קוֹל, but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the *û* in גֵּבֶל is just as necessarily long, as in גְּבוּל.

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

c **2.** The essentially or naturally long *â* (*Qameṣ impure*),[2] unless it has become *ô* (cf. § 9 *q*), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by ا; 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.

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[1] The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically גَلَى, but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX Σινᾶ, Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic شلا is written for שָׁלָו and pronounced *salā*.

[2] By *vocales impurae* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus כְּתָב *kᵉthâbh* was regarded as merely by a licence for כְּתָאב, &c.

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especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לָהֶם, יָקוּם, קָטַל, לָבַב.[1]

f *Short* vowels in *open* syllables occur:

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

g (*b*) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (־ַנִי *me*), e. g. קְטָלַנִי (Arab. *qătălăni*). The uncommon form ־ְנִי, however (Gn 3c[6], cf. § 59*f*), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathaḥ* 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 וַאֲרָנִי (§ 102 *m*) *Pathaḥ* is retained in the counter-tone after the א has become quiescent.

h (*c*) Sometimes before the toneless ־ָה *local* (§ 90 *c*), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19[15]), since the toneless suffix ־ָה does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is מִדְבָּרָה.

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 וַאֲרָנִי above, *g*; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

i (*d*) In the combinations ־ֲ ־ָ, ־ֱ ־ֶ, ־ֳ ־ֹ, e. g. נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*, יֶאְסֹר *he will bind*, פָּעֳלוֹ *his deed*. In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Ḥaṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but cf. e. g. יֶאֱסֹר and יֶאְסֹר). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition בְּ, כְּ, לְ, or וְ copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Ḥaṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel

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in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic *bĭkă*, *qătălă*, *ʿĭnăb*. 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 *ĭ* and *ŭ* 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 (Syriac) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic 'Ibrâhîm = אַבְרָהָם. 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 (*lăhŭm*, *yăqûm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šᵉwâ* (לְהוֹן, יְקוּם, קְטַל, לְבַב); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Šᵉwâ*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Šᵉwâ* 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 *Šᵉwâ*.

contained in the *Ḥaṭeph* (see § 102 d and § 104 d). To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with Ḥireq stand before a consonant with simple Šᵉwâ mobile, e.g. בִּרְבַר, כִּרְבַר, &c.

k (*e*) In forms like יְחֻזְקוּ *yäḥă-zᵉ-qû* (they are strong), פָּעָלְךְ *pŏʿŏ lᵉkhā* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יְחֻזְקוּ also occurs); פָּעָלְךְ is properly *pŏʿlᵉkhā*; cf. generally § 22 *m*, end, and § 28 *c*.

l Such cases as הַחֹדֶשׁ, אַחִים (§ 96), הַחִטָּה (§ 67 *w*) do not come under this head, since they all have *ă* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *Sᵉghôl* in suffixes (e.g. דְּבָרֶךָ), nor *Sᵉghôl* for *ă* before a guttural with *Qameṣ* (§ 22 *c*). On שְׁרָשִׁים and קְדָשִׁים, see § 9 *v*.

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

n The *Šᵉwâ mobile* is no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original full vowel (e.g. יִקְטְלוּ Arab. *yaqtŭlû*, בְּךָ Arab. *bĭkă*, &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.

o **5.** *Closed* syllables ending with one consonant, when without the tone, necessarily have *short* vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words,[1] e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, חָשְׁבּוֹן *understanding*, חָכְמָה *wisdom*, וַיָּסָר *and he turned back*, וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם (*wayyāqŏm*).

p A *tone-bearing* closed syllable may have either a long or short vowel, but if the latter, it must as a rule be either Pathaḥ or Seghôl.[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*, *ŭ*, *ŏ* (but on *ĭ* and *ŭ*, see § 29 *g*). Thus יַקְטִלוּ (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תַּקְטֹלְנָה 3rd pl. fem., and קוּמוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קֹמְנָה fem.

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[1] In exceptions such as שָׁת־לִי Gn 4[25] (where *šāt* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following Maqqeph), Metheg is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before Maqqeph, e.g. שֵׁם־ Gn 2[13]; עֵין־ Gn 2[16].

[2] See § 9 *e*, *f*. *ĭ* occurs thus only in the particles אִם, עִם, מִן; but these usually (מִן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Cf. also such forms as וַיִּשְׁבְּ § 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 *'ĭm-mî*, כֻּלּוֹ *kŭl-lô*. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as קַלּוּ, הִנֵּנִי, or long, as שַׁמָּה, הֵמָּה.

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, קָטַלְתְּ, וַיִּשְׁבְּ; but sometimes *Sere*, as נֵרְדְּ, וַיִּבְכְּ, or *Ḥolem*, תּוֹסֶפְתְּ קִשְׁטְ. Cf., however, § 10 *i*. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28 *e*).

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

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

b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šᵉwâ mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגָלָה (ground-form *'ăgălăt*) *a waggon*, צְדָקָה (ground-form *ṣădăqăt*) *righteousness*, קְטֹלִי (Arab. *qătălû*), יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. *jŭqattĭlû*).

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, *ă* into *ā*, *ĭ* into *ē*, *ŭ* into *ō* (see § 9, *a–e*, *k*, *r*). If, however, the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, or reduced to mere *Šᵉwâ mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מָטָר (Arab. *măṭăr*) *rain*, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*), becomes מְטַר; עָקֵב (Arab. *'ăqĭb*) *heel*, dual עֲקֵבַיִם, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ă* of the first syllable to *ĭ*) עִקְבֵי [on the ק, see § 20 *h*]; יִקְטֹל (Arab. *yăqtŭl*), plur. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. *yăqtŭlû*). For instances of complete loss, as in כַּסְפֵּי, cf. § 93 *m*.

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

Thus the change into *Šᵉwâ* takes place in—

k (*a*) The *ā* and *ē* of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גָּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוֹלָה; לֵבָב *heart*, לְבָבִי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, plur. תְּשׁוּבֶינָה, 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 *ă* 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. קָטְלָה *qāṭᵉlā*; יִקְטֹל, יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭᵉlû*; but note also יִלְקְטוּן, תִּרְבְּקִין, &c., according to § 47 *m* and *o*. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e.g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מַלְכִּי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Ḥaṭeph, e.g. נַעַר *boy*, נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e.g. יִקְטֹלוּ pausal-form for יִקְטְלוּ.

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 *Šᵉwâ*. Cf. דָּבָר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דִּבְרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 *a*) *their words*. On the attenuation of the *ă* to *ĭ*, see further, *s*, *t*.

n Rem. 1. An *ô* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *â* (see § 9 *b*), sometimes becomes *û*, when the tone is moved forward, e.g. נָקוֹם, נְקוּמוֹתָי (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קוּם); מָנוֹס *flight*, fem. מְנוּסָה, with suffix, מְנוּסִי. The not uncommon use of וּ in a sharpened syllable, as בְּחוּקַּי Ez 20[18] (for בְּחֻקַּי, cf. also the examples in § 9 *o*), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *û* may really have been intended by the *Kᵉthîbh*.

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

closed final syllable, and *ŏ* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקוּם *he will arise*, יְקֻם jussive, *let him arise*, וַיָּקָם *and he arose*. The only instance of *ŭ* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַיָּרֻם Ex 16[20] (see § 67 *n*). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *ê*, *î*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ĕ* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקֵם *let him raise*, וַיָּקֶם *and he raised*. The only instance of *ĭ* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַתֵּרֶץ Ju 9[53] (see § 67 *p*).

p 2. In the place of a *Pathaḥ* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 *f*) a *Seghôl* (*ĕ*, *è*) as a modification of *ă*:

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

q (*b*) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ* or *Ḥaṭeph Qameṣ*, where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathaḥ* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e.g. אֲחָיו *his brothers*, for *'ahāw*; בָּחָשׁ *false*, for *kaḥāš*; פָּחָה *governor*, constr. st. פַּחַת; פֶּחָם *coal*; הָחָי *the living* (with the article, הָ for הַ); יִתְנָחֶם Nu 23[19], &c., and so always before ח and ע, as הֶחֳרָשִׁים *the months*, see § 35 *k*. Before ה and ע *Seghôl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הֶהָרִים *the mountains*; הֶעָוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathaḥ* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e.g. הָהָר, הָעָם; but cf. also הִטֶּהָרוּ Nu 8[7]. Before the weak consonants א and ר (cf. § 22 *c*, *q*), the lengthening of the *Pathaḥ* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרָאשִׁים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14[10], in the tone-syllable, for *hárrā*; יְבָרְכְיָהוּ (pr. name) for יְבָרֶכְיָהוּ. On הֶ as a form of the interrogative הַ (הֲ), see § 100 *n*; on מֶה for מָה (מַה), § 37 *e*, *f*. Finally, אַכְלֶךָּ Ex 33[3] also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אֶכַּלְךָ, and יְחֻזְקֵאל *Ezekiel* for יְחַזְקֵאל = יְחַזְקְאֵל *God strengthens*.

r (*c*) As a modification of the original *Pathaḥ* 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 *Seghôl*, is modified into כֶּלֶב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),[1] *yarḥ* (*month*), with a helping *Pathaḥ*, יֶרַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יֶגֶל (jussive of the Hiph'îl of גָּלָה), with a helping *Seghôl*, for *yagl*.

s 3. The attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* is very common in a toneless closed syllable.

(*a*) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מַדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יְלִדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יָלַדְתִּי with the suffix ךָ; cf. Lv 11[44], Ez 38[23], and § 44 d. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

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[1] So the LXX write Μελχισεδέκ for מַלְכִּיצֶדֶק.

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

t (*b*) In a loosely-closed syllable, i.e. one followed by an aspirated *Begadk*^{e}*phath*, as דְּמֶכֶם *your blood*, for דַּמְכֶם, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *qaṭl*, e. g. בִּגְדֵי from בֶּגֶד (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper places.[1]

u 4. *S*^{e}*ghôl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in *o* and *p*, also from the weakening of *ā* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (ה֫ for ה֗) in 1 S 28^{15} (? see § 48 *d*), ψ 20^{4} (?), Is 59^{5}, Pr 24^{14} (see § 48 *l*); for examples of Locative forms in ה֫ see § 90 *i* end.

v 5. Among the *Ḥaṭeph*-sounds ֱ is shorter and lighter than ֲ, and consequently the vowel group ֱ ֶ is shorter than ֲ ֵ; e.g. אֱדוֹם *Edom*, but אֲדֹמִי (*Edomite*), shortened at the beginning because the tone is thrown forward; אֱמֶת (*^{e}mèth*) *truth*, אֲמִתּוֹ *his truth*; נֶעֱלָם *hidden*, pl. נֶעֱלָמִים; הֶעֱבַרְתִּי but וְהֶעֱבַרְתִּי; but also conversely נֶעֱשָׂה fem. נֶעֱשְׂתָה, cf. § 63 *f*, 3.

w 6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation* of vowels, i. e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word.[2] Hence לוּלֵא for *lû lô* (unless). Cf. also חִיצוֹן from חוּץ; רִאשׁוֹן from רֹאשׁ; תֵּיכוֹן from תָּוֶךְ; נִכְחוֹ from נֹכַח; עֵירֹם from stem עֹר; most probably also יֶלֶד *offspring*, קִפּוֹד *porcupine*, for יְלִי, קְפִי, see § 68 *c*, note.—On the proper names יְהוֹא and יְשׁוּעַ, which were formerly explained in the same way, see now Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 341 f.

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

a 1. According to § 26 *m* a half-syllable, i. e. a consonant with Š^{e}wâ mobile (always weakened from a short vowel), can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple Š^{e}wâ follows, the first takes a full short vowel again.[3] This vowel is almost always *Ḥireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ă*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *ĭ*. Thus, according to § 102 *d*, the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ before a consonant with *Šewâ mobile* become בִּ, כִּ, לִ, e. g. בִּכְתָב, כִּכְתָב, לִכְתָב; before יְ they are pointed as in בִּיהוּדָה (from *bi-y^{e}hûdā*, according to § 24 *c*); so too with *Wāw copulative*, e. g. וִיהוּדָה for וְיְ attenuated from וַיְ. The first half-

[1] Analogous to this attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* is the Lat. *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus*; to the transition of *ă* to *ĕ* (see above, *a*), the Lat. *carpo, decerpo*; *spargo, conspergo*.

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

[3] Except וְ *and*, which generally becomes וּ before a simple Š^{e}wâ, cf. § 104 *c*.

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Seghôl, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathaḥ*,[1] and after י a *Ḥireq*, e. g. וַיִּגֶל *and he revealed*, for *wayyiyl*; יִרְבּ *let it multiply*, for *yirb*; קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, ground-form *qudš*; נַחַל *brook*, ground-form *naḥl*; שָׁלַחְתְּ[2] for יָשַׁלַחְתְּ *thou hast sent*; בַּיִת *house*, ground-form *bayt*. These helping vowels are, however, to be regarded as exactly like *furtive Pathaḥ* (§ 22 *f*, *g*); they do not alter the monosyllabic character of the forms, and they disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קָדְשִׁי *my holiness*, בֵּיתָה *home-ward*.

f 5. On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Šewâ*, under the influence of the *pause*, see § 29 *m*; on initial אֲ for אְ, 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. קָטַל, דָּבָר, דִּבְרוֹ, דְּבָרִים, קְטָלוֹ, קְטָלָם, קִדְרוֹן—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה *night*, קָטַלְתָּ, קָלוּ, קָמוּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, לִבְנָה, קֹמָה), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם; see also below, *e*.

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

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

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

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[1] On the apparent exceptions דְּשֵׁנָה, &c., cf. § 22 *e*; other instances in which א has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are חֵטְא *sin*, גֵּיְא *valley* (also גַּי), שָׁוְא *vanity* (Jb 15[31] *Kᵉthîbh* שָׁו).

[2] In this form (§ 65 *g*) the *Dageš lene* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathaḥ* 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 יְחַדְּ *yiḥăd* from חָדָה (§ 75 *r*).

(*a*) In many forms of the Imperfect, under the influence of a prefixed *Wāw consecutive* (וְ see § 49 *c–e*), e. g. יֹאמַר *he will say*, וַיֹּאמֶר *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 (נָסוֹג אָחוֹר *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. לַיְלָה קָרָא Gn 1[5], 4[17], 27[25], Ex 16[29], ψ 5[11], 104[14], Dn 11[13], or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e. g. תֹּאכַל לָחֶם Gn 3[19], Jb 3[3], 22[28].[2] The *grave* suffixes -כֶם, -כֶן, -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. Qimḥi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4[b], line 13 ff.

f Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it 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 *Seghôl*, e. g. לְבַעֵר קֵן Nu 24[22]; cf. Nu 17[23], Ju 20[2], Is 66[3], Jer 23[29], Ez 22[25], ψ 37[7], and even with a following *furtive Paṯaḥ* Pr 1[19], 11[26], &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *Seghôl* does take place, e. g. הוֹלֶם פָּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is 41[7], for הוֹלֵם פָּעַם; מֵאָת שֶׁמֶר 1 K 16[24].—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a Šewâ mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e. g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19[5], and frequently; יוֹרְדֵי בוֹר ψ 28[1]; מָמְנוּ לִי

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[1] Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of Metheg.—Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, 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. וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ Is 45[7], where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4[13]. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nasog 'aḥor*.

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

ψ 31[5]; מְטַּעֲנִי חָרֵב Is 14[19]; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e. g. עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי Gn 1[11] (on the *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 *f*); לָאֶחֹת לְךָ Gn 15[7] (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 svllable with a short vowel, e.g. אַחַר כֵּן 1 S 10[5], § 101 *a*; וְכִחֵשׁ בּוֹ Jb 8[18], cf. Lv 5[22], Ho 9[2]; לְצַחֵק בָּנוּ 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 הַקָם עָל 2 S 23[1]; נְכַר שׁוּעַ Jb 34[19]; cf. also יָקָם־קָיִן Gn 4[24], with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הָקֵם, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הָקֵם. Other abnormal forms are וַיַּחֲזֵק בּוֹ Ex 4[4] (for similar instances see § 15 *c*, end) and וַיְהִיוּ שָׁם Dt 10[5].

h (*c*) In *pause*, see *i–v*.

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

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*, *'Athnâḥ*, and in the accentuation of the books חא"ם, *'Ôlè w^eyôrēd* (§ 15 *h*). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *S^egolta*, *Zaqeph qaṭon*, *R^ebhîa'*, and even with *Pašṭa*, *Tiphḥa*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30[4]) *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, קָטָל; מַיִם, מָיִם; קַטַּלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ă* which has been modified to *S^eghôl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e. g. קֶשֶׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשֶׁר 2 K 11[14]; אֶרֶץ אָרֶץ Jer 22[29];

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[1] In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ר (cf. e.g. Ex 21[31], Jer 3[9] [but Ginsb. וּתחנַף], Ru 4[4], Ec 11[6] [but Ginsb. יכשַׁר]; before ו Jer 17[11]) [see also § 29 *w*]. שָׁפַט אֶת־ 1 S 7[17], וְאָרֶץ Is 65[17], Pr 25[3], where *ā* has *munaḥ*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphăṭ 'ĕt*. In the same way וַיִּצְלַח Ez 17[15] (with Mahpakh before הַ) and וַיִּקְרַם Ez 37[8] (with Darga before עַ) 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 קָטָלָה, יִקְטֹלוּ, 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.

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תִּסְפְּדוּ 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* וַיָּמֹת.

q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *ĭ*) to the more distinct *ă* (see above, *l*), e. g. הֵתָּז for הֵתִּז Is 18[5] (cf. § 67 *v*; § 72 *dd*); קָמַל Is 33[9]; אָצַל 1 Ch 8[38] (beside אֶצֶל [, see *v.* 37. Cf. טָבְאֵל Is 7[6] (טֻבְאֵל Ezr 4[7]); שָׁשָׁר Jer 22[14]; סַפָּרַד Ob 20; וַיִּנָּפַשׁ Ex 31[17]; וַיֹּאנַשׁ 2 S 12[15] (below, § 51 *m*)—S. R. D.]); הַפַּר Gn 17[14]; הַפְצַר 1 S 15[23]; תְּאַחַר ψ 40[18]; הַרְחַק Jb 13[21], mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁב Is 42[22], and without the *pause* תֵּרַד La 3[48]). So also וַיֵּלֶךְ (shortened from יֵלֵךְ) becomes in *pause* וַיֵּלַךְ; cf. וַיֵּלַךְ La 3[2]; תֵּלַן for תָּלִן Ju 19[20]. On *Seghôl* in *pause* instead of Ṣere, cf. § 52 *n*, 60 *d*, and especially § 75 *n*, on וְחִיָּה Pr 4[4] and 7[2].

r (2) The transition from *ă* to *è* in the ultima; so always in the formula לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד (for עַד) *for ever and ever.*

s (3) The *pausal Qameṣ* (according to § 54 *k*, lengthened from original *ă*) in *Hithpa'ēl* (but not in *Pi'ēl*) for *Ṣere*, e. g. יִתְהַלָּךְ Jb 18[8] for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. But pausal forms like סָתָר, שָׁבָט (in the *absol. st.* סֵתֶר, שֵׁבֶט) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* סָתְר, שָׁבְט.

t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e. g. בָּעָיו, אֻחָיו Is 21[12], for בְּעוֹ, אֻחוֹ, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56[9.12]; cf. Jb 12[6], and the same occurrence even in the word *before* the *pause* Dt 32[37], Is 21[12].

u (5) The transition from *ô* or *ō* to *ā* in *pause*: as שְׁאָלָה Is 7[11], if it be a locative of שְׁאוֹל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׁאַל; שָׁכָלְתִּי Gn 43[14] for שָׁכַלְתִּי; עָז Gn 49[3]; יְטָרָף Gn 49[27]; perhaps also שִׁרָּיִן 1 K 22[34], Is 59[17], and מִשְׁקָלָת Is 28[17], cf. 2 K 21[13]. On the other hand the regular pausal form יֶחְפָּץ (ordinary imperfect יַחְפֹּץ) corresponds to a perfect חָפֵץ (see § 47 *h*).

v (6) When a *Pathaḥ* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes *ā* in *pause*, and the first *Seghôl*, according to § 22 *c* and § 27 *q*, e. g. אַחַי *my brothers*, in *pause* אֶחָי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathaḥ* after a guttural has been attenuated to *i* out of *pause*, and then lengthened to *ē* with the tone (cf. § 54 *k*), e. g. יִתְנַחֵם, but in pause יִתְנֶחָם Dt 32[36]; cf. Nu 8[7], 23[19], Ez 5[13], ψ 135[14].—On pausal *Ṣere*, for *Seghôl*, in infin., imperat., and imperf. of verbs ל״ה, see § 75 *hh*.

w [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser pause, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15[14] יעבדו, Is 8[15], 40[24], Ho 4[12], 8[7], Dn 9[15], 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 *a* 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 (עָמֵק or עָמֹק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עָמֹק *deep*, עֹמֶק *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*, חָכָם *a wise man.* For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the *3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal* (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קָדַשׁ *he was holy*, קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy.*

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal *b* stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun sometimes exists without the corresponding verb, e. g. אֶבֶן *stone*, נֶגֶב *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 *'ăbĭnă* (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to אֶבֶן, and the Aramaic verb *n^{e}gab* (*to be dry*) to נֶגֶב.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i.e. the 3rd pers. sing. *c* Perf. Qal) שֹׁרֶשׁ *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 *g*.

[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 triliteral 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. קָטַל. 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. קָם from *qăwăm*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צַר and צָרַר (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 *qătălă*, as it is in literary Arabic.

f 2. The law of the triliteral 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 triliteralism in monosyllabic stems, e.g. שֶׁבֶת for the inf. constr. of verbs פ״ו; cf. § 69 *b*. Conversely such nouns, as אָב *father*, אֵם *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 triliteral stem.

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

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[1] Cf. Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69–106.

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

l (*c*) Stems with the harder, stronger consonants are in general (§ 6 *r*) to be regarded as the older, from which a number of later stems probably arose through softening of the consonants; cf. פזר and בזר, צחק and שחק, צעק and זעק, עלץ and עלז, עלם; רקק and רכך, and the almost consistent change of initial ו to י. In other instances, however, the harder stems have only been adopted at a later period from Aramaic, e.g. טעה, Hebr. תעה. Finally in many cases the harder and softer stems may have been in use together from the first, thus often distinguishing, by a kind of sound-painting, the intensive action from the less intensive; see above קצץ *to cut*, גזז *to shear*, &c.

m (*d*) When two consonants are united to form a root they are usually either both emphatic or both middle-hard or both soft, e.g. קץ, קט, כם, גז, גד never כץ, גץ, גט, גם, קז. Within (triliteral) stems the first and second consonants are never identical. The apparent exceptions are either due to reduplication of the root, e.g. דדה (ψ 42[5], Is 38[15]), Arabic דאדא, or result from other causes, cf. e.g. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants are very seldom identical except in what are called concave stems (with middle ו or י), e.g. נון, צוץ; note, however, נגן, נתן, שׁמשׁ, שׁרשׁ, and on עלע Jb 39[30] see § 55 *f*. The second and third consonants on the other hand are very frequently identical, see § 67.[1]

n (*e*) The softening mentioned under *l* is sometimes so great that strong consonants, especially in the middle of the stem, actually pass into vowels: cf. § 19 *o*, and עָוְאוֹל Lv 16[8 ff.] if it is for עַוְלוֹל.

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

p **3.** Stems of *four*, or even (in the case of nouns) of *five* consonants[2] are secondary formations. They arise from an extension of the triliteral stem: (*a*) by addition of a fourth stem-consonant; (*b*) in some cases perhaps by composition and contraction of two triliteral stems, by which means even *quinquiliterals* are produced. Stems which have arisen from reduplication of the biliteral root, or from the mere repetition of one or two of the three original stem-consonants, e.g. כִּלְכֵּל from כול or כיל, סְחַרְחַר from סחר, are usually not regarded as *quadriliterals* or *quinqueliterals*, but as *conjugational* forms (§ 55); so also the few words which are formed with the prefix שׁ, as שַׁלְהֶבֶת *flame* from לָהַב, correspond to the Aramaic conjugation *Šaph'ēl*, שַׁלְהֵב.

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

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[1] Consonants which are not found together in roots and stems are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly consonants belonging to the same class, e.g. גכ, גק, כק, דט, חט, בף, מף, זד, זס, זץ, צס, אע, חע, &c., or in the reverse order.

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

to be hot. Cf. Aram. עַרְגֵּל *to roll*, expanded from עַגֵּל (conjugation *Pa'ēl*, corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'ēl*). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the commonest expansion is by means of ל and ן, e.g. גַּרְזֶן *axe*, כַּרְמֶל *garden-land* (from כֶּרֶם), גְּבִעֹל *corolla* (גָּבִיעַ *cup*); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (*b*). Forms such as צְפַרְדֵּעַ *frog*, חֲבַצֶּלֶת *meadow-saffron*, צַלְמָוֶת *shadow* *r*
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 *s*
stems of three or four consonants, are (*a*) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (*b*) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation[2] 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. Dörwald, '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.

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[1] So expressly Nöldeke in *ZAW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.; but most probably it is to be read צַלְמוּת *darkness* from the stem צלם [Arab. *ẓalima*, 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, קָטֵל, קָטֹל; קִטֵּל, קִטַּל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטֵּל, הִקְטִיל, נִקְטַל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הָתְקַטַּל, הָקְטַל. 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).

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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. אֲנָא, Arab. *'ána*). The pausal form אָנִי occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in חַי אָנִי *as I live!* also Is 49[18] with Munaḥ, ψ 119[125] with Merkha (which, however, has been altered from D[e]ḥî), and twice in Mal 1[6]. 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 אנו (אֲנוּ) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42[6] *K[e]thîbh*. The form נַחְנוּ (cf. § 19 *h*) only in Ex 16[7.8], Nu 32[32], La 3[42]; נְחְנוּ in *pause*, Gn 42[11]; in Arabic *năḥnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אנו (אֲנוּ) 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 אַתָּה, אַתְּ, אַתֶּם, אַתֶּנָה, &c., are contracted from *'antā*, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the ת, e. g. Arab. *'ántā*, fem. *'ánti*, thou; pl. *'ántum*, fem. *'antúnna*, ye. In Syriac אַנְתְּ, fem. אַנְתִי are written, but both are pronounced *'at*. In Western Aramaic אַנְתְּ is usual for both genders.

g אַתְּ (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 6[4], always as *K[e]thîbh*, with אַתָּה as *Q[e]rê*. In three places אַתְּ appears as a masculine, Nu 11[15], Dt 5[24], Ez 28[14].

h The feminine form was originally אַתִי as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *K[e]thîbh* (Ju 17[2], 1 K 14[2], 2 K 4[16.28], 8[1], Jer 4[30], Ez 36[13]) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 *f*), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as קְטַלְתִּינִי, § 59 *a* [*c*]; cf. also *î* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *î* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, *f*) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The י therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 *k*), and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אַתִי to indicate the *Q[e]rê* אַתְּ (see § 17). The same final י appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix כִּי, יְכִי (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אַתֶּם (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and אַתֵּן (אַתֶּן), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms *'antumū*, fem. *'antinnā*, Arab. *'ántŭm* (Aram. אַתּוּן, אַנְתּוּן) and *'ántŭnna* (Aram. אַתֵּין, אַנְתֵּין). The form אַתֵּן is found only in Ez 34[31] (so Qimḥi expressly, others אַתֶּן); אַתֶּנָה (for which some MSS. have

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[1] In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Mêša', line 1) it is written אנך, without the final י. 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*.

אַתֶּנָּה) only four times, viz. Gn 31[6], Ez 13[11.20], 34[17]; in 13[20] אַתֶּם (before a מ) is even used as feminine.

III. *Third Person.*

6. (*a*) In הוּא and הִיא (*hû* and *hî*) the א (corresponding to the *'Elif of prolongation* in Arabic, cf. § 23 *i*) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in לוּא, נָקִיא, &c. The א is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns,[1] and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33 *a*) does הוּא appear as הוּ, while הִיא becomes הִי. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הו and הי but pronounced *húwă* and *híyă*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *húwwa* and *híyya*. 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'etû* (=*hu'a-tû*) for הוּא, *ye'etî* (=*hi'a-tî*) for הִיא (cf. also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for יְהוּא) 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.) הוּא arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-ra*, הִיא from *ha-ya*. *k*

(*b*) The form הוּא also stands in the consonantal text (*Kethîbh*) of the Pentateuch [2] (with the exception of eleven places) for the *fem.* הִיא. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation הִוא, has indicated the *Qerê* הִיא (*Qerê perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20[5], 38[25], Nu 5[13.14] הִוא and הִיא are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the הִיא 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 הוּא. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of הוּא for הִיא 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 חִיא for הוּא in 1 K 17[15], Is 30[33], Jb 31[11], or הוּא for הִיא in ψ 73[16], Ec 5[8], 1 Ch 29[16]. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *Kethîbh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally הא was written for both forms (see *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into הוּא. On the whole question see Driver, *Leviticus* (in Haupt's Bible), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads הא.

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֵמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *prefixes* הֵן, הֶן) are of doubtful origin, but הֵם, הֵמָּה have probably been assimilated to הֵנָּה which goes back to a form *hinnā*. In Western Aram. הִמּוֹן, הִמּוֹ (הִנּוּן, אִנּוּן), Syr. *henûn* *m*

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[1] In the inscription of King Mêša' (see § 2 *d*), lines 6 and 27, we find הא for הוּא, and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for הִיא, but in the Zenjirli inscriptions (see § 1 *m*) both הא and הו occur (Hadad i, l. 29).

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

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

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

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 וֹ (from *āhû*) *eum* and *eius*, קְטָלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him* (also קְטַלְתִּיו), קְטָלָ֫תְהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קְטָלְתָּ֬ו *thou hast killed him*; אוֹרוֹ (also אוֹרֵ֫הוּ) *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 *πατὴρ 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. קְטָלְתִּיהוּ I have killed *him*.

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

d (*c*) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינִי, literally *interstitium mei*, *between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנֵּנִי *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, בְּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e. g. לוֹ *to him* (*ei*) and *to himself* (*sibi*), בּוֹ *in him*, מִנִּי (usually מִמֶּ֫נִּי) *from me*.

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[1] On apparent exceptions see § 135 *d*.

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d 2. The secondary form זוּ 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 (הַזֶּה, הַזֹּאת, הָאֵלֶּה, הָאֵל) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 *u*; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, but זֶה הָאִישׁ *this is the man.*

f 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַלָּזֶה Gn 24^{65}, 37^{19}; הַלָּזוּ *fem.* Ez 36^{35}; and shortened הַלָּז, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6^{20}, 1 S 17^{76}, 2 K 23^{17}, Zc 2^{8}, Dn 8^{16}, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4^{25}: cf. 1 S 14^{1} [and 20^{19} 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 *ă* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e. g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיְאֹר *the river*, הַלְוִיִּם *the Levites* (according to § 20 *m* for הַיְאֹר, הַלְוִיִּם).

b Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in יְ after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ע follows the יְ, e. g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעֵפִים *the weary* (כַּיְעֵנִים La 4^{3} *Qerê* is an exception), but הַיְאוֹר, הַיְלָדִים, הַיְסוֹד, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix מְ in certain nouns and in the participles *Pi'ēl* 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 הַמְּהוּמָה Ez 22^{5}, הַמְּעָרָה *the cave*, בַּמְּרָעִים ψ 37^{1} (cf. Jb 38^{40}, 1 Ch 4^{41}); but הַמְהַלֵּךְ ψ 104^{3} (Ec 4^{15}, 2 Ch 23^{12}; before עַ ψ 103^{4}); הַמְעַשְּׂקָה Is 23^{12}; חַמְרַגְּלִים Jos 6^{22}. Before letters other than gutturals this מְ 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 *Pathaḥ* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qameṣ*; e. g. הָאָב *the father*, הָאַחֵר *the other*, הָאֵם *the mother*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הָאוֹר *the light*, הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός, הָרֶגֶל *the foot*, הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked.*

d So also הָאַשְׁפּוֹת Neh 3^{13}, because syncopated from הָאַשְׁפּוֹת (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); הָאוֹקִים (as in Nu 11^{4}, Ju 9^{41}, 2 S 23^{33}, with the א

orthographically retained), for הָאֵזְן Jer 40[4] (cf. בְּאָזְן verse 1); הָסוּרִים Ec 4[14] for הָאֲסוּרִים; הָרַמִּים 2 Ch 22[5] for הָאֲרַם (cf. 2 K 8[28]).

(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 *Pathaḥ* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathaḥ* is either modified to *Seghôl* or fully lengthened to *Qameṣ*. That is to say:— *e*

A. When the guttural has any other vowel than *ā* (ָ) or *ŏ* (ָ), *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ח and ה the article regularly remains הַ; e.g. הַהוּא *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחַיִל *the force*, הַחָכְמָה *the wisdom*. Before ח, *ā* occurs only in הָחַי Gn 6[19] [not elsewhere], הָחֲרִיטִים Is 3[22], הָחַמָּנִים Is 17[8] [not elsewhere]; before ה, always in הָהֵם, הָהָמָּה.

(2) before ע the *Pathaḥ* is generally lengthened to *Qameṣ*, e.g. הָעַיִן *g* *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶד *the servant*, plur. הָעֲבָדִים; לָעֲגָלִים 1 K 12[32]; also in Gn 10[17] הָעַרְקִי is the better reading. Exceptions are בַּעוֹפֶרֶת Ex 15[10], הַעֲוִרִים 2 S 5[6.8], Is 42[18], בַּעֶבֶד Is 24[2], הַעֲרֻכִים Is 65[11], בַּעשֶׁק Ez 22[7], הַעֹבְדִים Pr 2[13] and הַעֹבֶדֶת Pr 2[17], לָעֵינַיִם 1 S 16[7], Ec 11[7]; but לָעַיִן Gn 3[6], Pr 10[26]. Cf. Baer on Is 42[18].

B. When the guttural has *ā* (ָ) then *h*

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing הָ or עָ the article is always הָ, otherwise it is הָ; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעַיִן (in *pause*) *the eye*, הָהָרָה *towards the mountain*; but (according to § 22 *c*) הֶהָרִים *the mountains*, הֶעָוֹן *the iniquity*.

(2) before חָ the article is invariably הֶ without regard to the tone; *i* e.g. הֶחָכָם *the wise man*, הֶחָג *the festival*.

C. When the guttural has ָ the article is הֶ before חָ; e.g. *k* הַחֳדָשִׁים *the months*; בֶּחֳרָבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article בְּחָרְבוֹת *bŏḥorābhôth*) Ez 33[27], הֶחֳרָבוֹת Ez 36[35.38], cf. 2 Ch 27[4]; but הָ before עָ, as הָעֳמָרִים *the sheaves* Ru 2[15].

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 הַ *l* is generally considered to have been הַל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יַקַּח from *yilqaḥ*, § 19 *d*. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article אַל (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ל of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. *'al-Qur'án* but *'as-sănă* (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. *hāḏa*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after לְ consecutive (§ 49*f*; cf. also cases like בַּמָּה, כַּמָּה, &c., § 102*k*), from the close connexion of the *ha* 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 אַלְמֻגִּים 1 K 10[11.12] (also אַלְגּוּמִּים 2 Ch 2[7], 9[10.11]), *sandal-wood* (?), and in אֶלְגָּבִישׁ *hail*, *ice* = גָּבִישׁ (Arab. *ǵibs*) Ez 13[11.13], 38[22], but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name אַלְמוֹדָד Gn 10[26] the first syllable is probably אֵל *God*, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see Lexicon, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. אַלְקוֹם Pr 30[31], commonly explained as = Arab. *al-qaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes בְּ, לְ, כְּ (§ 102) come before the article, the ה is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Šᵉwâ (§ 19*k*, and § 23*k*), e. g. בַּשָּׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so ψ 36[6]); לָעָם for לְהָעָם *to the people*, בָּהָרִים *on the mountains*, בַּחֳדָשִׁים *in the months*; also in Is 41[2], read כְּעָפָר instead of the impossible כַּעֲפָר. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40[25], 47[22], Ec 8[1], Dn 8[16], Neh 9[19], 12[33], 2 Ch 10[7], 25[10], 29[27]; cf., however, 1 S 13[21], 2 S 21[20]. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7[12], the Masora requires the elision in the *Qᵉrê*. A distinction in meaning is observed between כָּהֵיוֹם *about this time* (Gn 39[11], 1 S 9[13], &c.) and בַּיּוֹם *first of all* (Gn 25[31], &c.). After the copula וְ (*and*) elision of the ה does not take place, e. g. וְהָעָם.

o 3. The words אֶרֶץ *earth*, הַר *mountain*, חַג *feast*, עַם *people*, פַּר *bull*, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאָרֶץ, הָהָר, הֶחָג, הָעָם, הַפָּר; cf. also אֲרוֹן *ark* (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12[10], 2 Ch 24[8], 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. (1[7]), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7[12], 8[26], 2 K 6[11]), שֶׁ is used instead; more rarely שַׁ Ju 5[7], Ct 1[7] (Jb 19[29]?); once שֶׁ before א Ju 6[17] (elsewhere שֶׁ before a guttural), before ה even שֶׁ Ec 3[18], and according to some (e. g. Qimḥi) also in Ec 2[22].[3] [See Lexicon, s. v.]

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[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 Liḥyanitic 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 אשר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אש (= אֲשֶׁ?), pronounced *asse*, *esse* (also *as*, *es*, *is*, *ys*, *us*), or—especially in the later Punic

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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. קָטַל *he has reigned.*

b (*b*) *Verbal derivatives*, i.e. *secondary* verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קִדַּשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from קָדַשׁ *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'ēl*, *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שִׁרֵּשׁ *to root out*, from שֹׁרֶשׁ *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. לְבֵנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגָה *to be prolific*), denomin. דּוּג *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קוּץ *to pass the summer* (from קַיִץ *summer*, stem קִיץ *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. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטֹן *he was little.*[2] From this form the other

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[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. קְטֹל or קְטַל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

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

c **2.** From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד *to learn*, לִמֵּד *to teach*; שָׁכַב *to lie*, הִשְׁכִּיב *to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, נִשְׁפַּט *to contend*. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or *derivative* verbs, e. g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *fällen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *saugen*), *lactare* (to suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacĕre* (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 בִּנְיָנִים, i.e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.[1]

d **3.** The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קִטֵּל, קִטַּל; קוֹטֵל, קוֹטַל; cf. *to lie, to lay*; *to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קִטְלַטַל, קִטְלַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִתְקַטֵּל, הִקְטִיל). 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, אֶתְ 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*).

e **4.** Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these 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* (קַל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (כְּבֵדִים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of פָּעַל *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:

	Active.		*Passive.*
f	1. Qal	קָטַל *to kill.*	(Cf. § 52 *e*.)
	2. Niph'al	נִקְטַל *to kill oneself* (rarely passive).	
	3. Pi'ēl	קִטֵּל *to kill many, to massacre.*	4. Pu'al קֻטַּל.
	5. Hiph'îl	הִקְטִיל *to cause to kill.*	6. Hoph'al הָקְטַל.
	7. Hithpa'ēl	הִתְקַטֵּל *to kill oneself.*	[Very rare, Hothpa'al הָתְקַטַּל.]

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'ēl* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Pô'ēl* and *Pô'al* (see § 55 *b*); 4. *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'ēl* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpô'ēl* (see § 55 *b*); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'ēl* (see § 54 *l*); 9. *Pi'lēl* (see § 55 *d*). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'ēl* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*. (2) The causative *Hiph'îl* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Šaph'ēl* and *Tiph'ēl*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

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[1] This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalîd. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for פָּקַד, after the example of Moses Qimḥi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e. g. פְּקַדְתָּ, פְּקַדְתֶּם. 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. קתל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (ψ 139[19], Jb 13[15], 24[14]); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קטל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dageš* in the *B^egadk^ephath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

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§ 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* פ״ן, ע״ע, and ע״ו, as נָגַשׁ, נָפַל, קוּם, §§ 66, 67, 72).

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

d Taking the old paradigm פָּעַל as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem פ, the second ע, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* פ״א for a verb whose first radical is א (*primae radicalis* [*sc. literae*] א); ע״ו for *mediae radicalis* ו; ע״ע 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 afformatives given in § 40 *c*, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43–55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e. g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

A. The Pure Stem, or Qal.

§ 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

a The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is קָטַל, with *ă* (*Pathaḥ*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs (but see § 44 *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Ṣere*, originally *ĭ*), and another with *ō* (*Ḥolem*, originally *ŭ*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*[1] meaning,

[1] But cf. such instances as Jer 48[5]. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. כָּבֵד *to be heavy*, קָטֹן *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 כָּבֵד is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

b Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameṣ* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ă* (cf. Arabic *qătălă*), 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 *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. קְטָלְתֶּם and *plur. masc.* In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to Šᵉwâ, as קְטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qătĭlă*, *qătŭlă*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ĭ* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ŭ* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: חָמַר *to cover with pitch*, from חֵמָר *C pitch*; מָלַח *to salt*, from מֶלַח *salt*; שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy* or *sell corn*, from שֶׁבֶר *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 *affformatives*) 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* = קטל אַתָּה; יָרֵא *he was fearing*, יְרֵאתֶם *ye were fearing* = יראי אַתֶּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נוּ—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנַחְנוּ, אנו *we* (§ 32 *b*, *d*). The affformative 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 אָנֹכִי, I.[2] In the *third* person ה_ (originally ת_, cf. below, *f*) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 *c*), and ו is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ûna* in Arabic and *û* (often also וּן)

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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 *kû*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*.

in Hebrew, also *ûna* (in the construct state *û*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

b **2.** The characteristic *Pathaḥ* of the second syllable becomes *Šᵉwâ* before an afformative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ; but in *pause* קָטָלָה, קָטָלוּ). Before an afformative beginning with a consonant the *Pathaḥ* remains, whether in the tone-syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְנוּ; in *pause* קָטָלְתָּ &c.) or *before* it. In the latter case, however, the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*; as קְטַלְתֶּם, קְטַלְתֶּן; cf. § 27 *i* and § 43 *b*. On the retention of *ā* with *Metheg* of the counter-tone in the *Perf. consecutive*, cf. § 49 *i*.

c Rem. 1. Verbs *middle ē* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathaḥ* (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 *Ṣere*, and never of *Ḥireq*, of which the *Ṣere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 *p*). On the other hand, *Ṣere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems לא (§ 74 *g*), before suffixes (§ 59 *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e. g. דְּבֵקָה *it cleaveth*, Jb 29[10] (not דְּבָקָה), cf. 2 S 1[23], Jb 41[15]; even (contrary to § 29 *q*) in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. שֶׁכֵּן, Dt 33[12] (out of pause שָׁכַן, Is 32[16]); but קָמַץ Is 33[9], &c., according to § 29 *q*.

d **2.** In some weak stems *middle a*, the *Pathaḥ* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes ֶ, and, in one example, ֵ. Thus from יָרַשׁ: וִירִשְׁתָּהּ *and thou shalt possess it*, Dt 17[14]; וִירִשְׁתֶּם Dt 19[1]; וִירִשְׁתֵּם Dt 4[1], and frequently; from יָלַד *to bring forth, to beget*; יְלִדְתִּיךָ ψ 2[7] (cf. Nu 11[12], Jer 2[27], 15[10]); from פּוּשׁ; וּפִשְׁתֶּם Mal 3[20]; from שָׁאַל; שְׁאִלְתִּיו *I have asked him*, 1 S 1[20] (Ju 13[6]), and three times שְׁאֵלְתֶּם 1 S 12[13], 25[5], Jb 21[29]. Qimḥi already suggests the explanation, that the *i* (*ĕ*) of these forms of שׁאל and ירשׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ are also found שָׁאֵל and יָרֵשׁ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יָרַשׁ, see § 69 *s*); the *i* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ă* (§ 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 *i* 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 *Ḥolem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e. g. יָגֹרְתָּ *thou didst tremble*; יָכְלוּ in *pause* for יָכְלוּ *they were able*; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qameṣ ḥaṭuph*; יְכָלְתִּיו *I have prevailed against him*, ψ 13[5]; וְיָכָלְתָּ (see § 49 *h*) *then shalt thou be able*, Ex 18[23]; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. יְכָלָה, יְכָלוּ.

f **4.** Rarer forms[1] are: *Sing.* 3rd *fem.* in ת_ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

[1] Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

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plur. by the termination הֵן־, as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 38 [1884], p. 411) referred doubtfully to the textual readings in Dt 21^{7}, Jos 15^{4}, $18^{12.14.19}$, Jer 2^{15}, 22^{6}, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination *û*, and to Gn 48^{10} in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49^{22}, 1 S 4^{15}, ψ 18^{35}, Neh 13^{10}. In his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 19, however, he observes that the construction of a fem. plural with the 3rd sing. fem. is not unexampled, and also that הֵן is often found as a mistake for וּ. On the other hand Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qeré ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 ff.) explains all these K^{e}thîbh, as well as ψ 73^{2}, Jer 50^{6} (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22^{49} (where הֵ is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16^{16} (where the *masc.* פָּנַי requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48^{41}, 51^{56}, Ez 26^{2}, ψ 68^{14}, as remains of the 3rd *fem. plur.* in הָ־. The form was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd *fem. sing.*, but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs ל״ה, as הָיָה *K^{e}thibh* six times in the above examples.

n 5. The afformatives תְּ, (תְ), תִּי, נוּ are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mil'êl* (קָטַלְתְּ, &c.); with all the other afformatives they are *Milra'* (§ 15 *c*). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (*a*) by the *pause* (§ 29 *i–v*), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Š^{e}wâ under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as קָטַלָה for קָטְלָה (דָּבְקָה for דָּבְקָה), and קָטְלוּ for קָטְלוּ (מָלְאוּ for מָלְאוּ); (*b*) in certain cases after *wāw consecutive* of the *Perfect* (see § 49 *h*).

o 6. Contraction of a final ת with the ת of the afformative occurs e. g. in בָּרַתִּי Hag 2^{5}, &c.; cf. Is 14^{20}, &c., in the *Perf. Po'el*; Dt 4^{25} in the *Hiph'il* of שִׁחַת; Is 21^{2}, &c., in the *Hiph'il* of שִׁבַת. Contraction of a final נ with the afformative נוּ occurs in נָתַנּוּ Gn 34^{16}; in *Niph.* Ezr 9^{7}, cf. 2 Ch 14^{10}; in *Hiph.* 2 Ch 29^{19}; with the afformative נָה in the *Imperfect Qal* Ez 17^{23}; *Pi'ēl* ψ 71^{23}, where with Baer and Ginsburg תְּרַנֵּנָה is to be read, according to others תְּרַנֵּנָה (cf. in *Polel* תְּקוֹנֵנָה Ez 32^{16}), but certainly not תְּרַנֵּנָה with the Mantua ed., Opitius and Hahn; with נָה in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gn 4^{23}, Is 32^{9}.

§ 45. *The Infinitive.*

F. Prätorius, 'Ueber den sog. Inf. absol. des Hebr.,' in *ZDMG.* 1902, p. 546 ff.

tt 1. The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent *nouns* (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, *the Infinitive construct* (in Qal קְטֹל,[1] sometimes incorrectly קְטוֹל), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions (לִקְטֹל *to kill*, § 114 *f*), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in Qal קָטוֹל, sometimes also קָטֹל, obscured from original *qāṭâl*), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes

[1] Cf. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93 *t*.

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 *h–s*).[1]

b The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity and inflexibility of the Infin. absol. are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *ō* of the Infin. constr. may be lost. For קְטֹל, according to § 84*a*, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qŭṭŭl*.

c Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—

(*a*) קִטַל, e.g. שְׁכַב *to lie*, Gn 34[7]; שְׁפַל *to sink*, Ec 12[4]; especially with verbs which have *ă* 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 שְׁכַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 *c*). In Ez 21[33] the Masora seems to treat לְטָבְחָ (verse 20, in *pause* לְטָבַח) as an Infinitive = לִטְבֹחַ; probably לַטָּבַח should be read.

d (*b*) קִטָלָה and, attenuated from it, קִטְלָה; קָטְלָה and קִטְלָה (which are feminine forms[2] of קִטַל and קִטֹל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e.g. לְאַשְׁמָה *to be guilty*, Lv 5[26], אֲהֵבָה *to love*, שִׂנְאָה *to hate*; לִירְאָה, often in Dt., *to fear*; זִקְנָה *to be old*; קִרְאָה *to meet* (in לִקְרַאת § 19*k*); לִרְבְּעָה *to lie down*, Lv 20[16]; לִמְשְׁחָה *to anoint*, Ex 29[29]; לִרְחְצָה *to wash*, Ex 30[18], &c.; לִטְמְאָה (also a subst. = *uncleanness*, like טָמְאָה) *to be unclean*, Lv 15[32]; לִקְרְבָה *to approach*, Ex 36[2], &c.; cf. Lv 12[4.5], Dt 11[22], Is 30[19], Ez 21[16], Hag 1[6]; also רָחְקָה *to be far off*, Ez 8[6]; חָמְלָה *to pity*, Ez 16[5]; cf. Ho 7[4]. On the other hand in חָמְלָה Gn 19[16], the original *ă* has been modified to *ĕ*; cf. חָזְקָה Is 8[11], &c.

e (*c*) In the Aramaic manner (מִקְטַל but cf. also Arab. *maqtal*) there occur as *Infin. Qal*: מִשְׁלוֹחַ *to send*, Est 9[19]; מִקְרָא *to call* and מַסַּע *to depart*, Nu 1*c*[2] (Dt 10[11]); מִקַּח *to take*, 2 Ch 19[7], &c.; מַשָּׂא *to carry*, Nu 4[24], &c. (cf. even לְמַשְׂאוֹת Ez 17[9]); also with a feminine ending מַעֲלָה *to go up*, Ezr 7[9], &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4[24].

(*d*) קְטֹלֶת in יִבְּשֶׁת Gn 8[7]; יִכֹּלֶת Nu 14[16]; probably also חֲרֹשֶׁת Ex 31[5], 35[33].

f **2.** A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition לְ; as לִקְטֹל *ad interficiendum*, לִנְפֹּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 *a*).

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[1] The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קְטֹל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קָטוֹל ground-form *qăṭâl*). 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 Qimḥi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 *a*, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition לְ.

g The blending of the לְ with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לִשְׁבַּב Gn 34⁷; לִנְפֹּל ψ 118¹³, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin-pōl*; hence, also *liq-ṭōl*, &c.; but בִּנְפֹל *bin^{e}phōl*, Jb 4¹³; כִּנְפֹל 2 S 3³⁴. Exceptions לְצֵאת Nu 4²³, 8²⁴; לְנָתוֹשׁ וְלִנְתוֹץ Jer 1¹⁰, 18⁷, 31²⁸; לְשָׁרוֹד Jer 47⁴; לְטָבוֹחַ Jer 11¹⁹, &c., ψ 37¹⁴; לְבָרוֹק 2 Ch 34¹⁰; according to some also לְסָבֵב Nu 21⁴ and לְכָבֵשׁ 2 Ch 28¹⁰ (Baer לְכִבֵּשׁ); on the other hand בְּשָׁכֵן Gn 35²²; כְּוָכֵר Jer 17². For the meaningless לְדָרְיוֹשׁ Ezr 10¹⁶ read לדרשׁ.

§ 46. *The Imperative.*

a 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קְטֹל (properly *q^{e}ṭŭl*, which is for an original *qŭṭŭl*), 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־תִּקְטֹל *ne occidas* (not אַל־קְטֹל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Nipḥ'al and Hithpa'ēl.[2]

b 2. The Afformatives 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 ה֫ *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 קְטֹל (sometimes also *plene*, e. g. שְׁמוֹר Ec 12¹³; before *Maqqeph* קְטָל־ with *Qameṣ ḥaṭuph*), 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. לָבַשׁ and לָבֵשׁ); שְׁכַב *lie down!* in *pause* שְׁכַב֫ 1 S 3⁵·⁶·⁹.

d 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Šewâ mobile* (*qĭṭ^{e}lî*, *qĭṭ^{e}lû*, and so שִׁפְכִי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even מִשְׁכוּ with *Metheg*, Ex 12²¹; but cf. אִסְפִי Jer 10¹⁷, and with the same phonetic combination חִשְׁפִי Is 47²; see analogous cases in § 93 *m*); less frequently we find an *ŏ* instead of the *ĭ*, e. g. מָלְכִי *rule*, Ju 9¹⁰; מָשְׁכוּ *draw*, Ez 32²⁰; חָרְבוּ Jer 2¹² (cf. חָרְבִי Is 44²⁷); on קָמְמִי 1 S 28⁸ *Q^{e}rê*, צָעֲקִי Jer. 22²⁰ (cf. 1 K 13⁷), see § 10 *h*. This *ŏ* arises (see above, *a*) from a singular ground-form *qŭṭŭl*, not from a retraction of the original *ŭ* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *ĭ* in the first syllable (cf. also

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[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.

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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 *affformatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 *c*.

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

In the *first* pers. אֶקְטֹל, plur. נִקְטֹל, א is probably connected with אֲנִי, and נ with נַחְנוּ; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *'ăqṭŭl* and *năqṭŭl*: the *ă* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *Seghôl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the א 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 אֶקְטֹל (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and יִקְטֹל, which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭōl*.[1]

c The preformative ת of the *second* persons (תִּקְטֹל, ground-form *tăqṭŭl*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the ת of אַתָּה, אַתֶּם, &c., and the *affformative* ִי— of the 2nd fem. sing. תִּקְטְלִי with the *i* of the original feminine form אַתְּי (see § 32 *h*). The *affformative* וּ of the 2nd masc. plur. תִּקְטְלוּ (in its more complete form, וּן, 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 affformative נָה (also ֶן) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with הֵנָּה *eae* and אַתֶּנָה *vos* (fem.).

d The preformatives of the *third* persons (י in the masc. יִקְטֹל, ground-form *yăqṭŭl*, plur. יִקְטְלוּ, ground-form *yăqṭŭlû*; ת in the fem. תִּקְטֹל, plur. תִּקְטֹלְנָה) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With ת might most obviously be compared the original feminine

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[1] Cf. § 24 *e*. In favour of the above view of Qimḥi may be urged the phonetic orthography אִשׁ (in Pr 18[24] אִישׁ), 2 S 14[19] (unless, with Perles, אָשֵׁב is to be read), Mi 6[10], for יֵשׁ, and אִישֵׁי 1 Ch 2[13] for יִשַׁי (as verse 12). Also הַאֻכָּה Mi 6[11] is probably for הַיְּהִין = הַאִין, אפקד Is 10[12] for יִפְקֹד; אנחמך Is 51[19] for יְנַחֲמֶךָּ; and conversely יששכר is for אשש = אִישׁ שָׂכָר. Similarly, ישוי 1 S 14[49] is probably for אִשְׁיוֹ or אִשְׁיָה; in 2 S 23[8] ישב בשבת is, according to the LXX, an error for ישבשת = אִשְׁבַּעְשֶׁת. In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew י as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

[2] This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *û*, *ûn*. 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 *qᵉṭálû*, *qᵉṭálûn*, with the feminine form *qᵉṭálên*, in Western Aram. *qᵉṭálû*, fem. *qᵉṭálā*; in Arab. *qătălû*, fem. *qătálnă*, Eth. *qătălû*, *qătălâ*.

ending ת_ of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the afformatives נ (ין) and נָה, see *c*.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šᵉwâ e* before tone-bearing afformatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless afformative נָה. Thus: תִּקְטְלִי, יִקְטְלוּ, תִּקְטֹלְנָה (but in *pause* תִּקְטֹלִי, &c.), תִּקְטֹלְנָה. *e*

Rem. 1. The ō of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), being lengthened from an original *ŭ* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 9 *r*). Hence it follows that: (*a*) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (*b*) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel appears as *Qameṣ ḥaṭuph*, e. g. וַיִּכְתֹּב־שָׁם *and he wrote there*, Jos 8³² (but cf. also Ex 21³⁷, Jos 18²⁰); (*c*) it becomes *Šᵉwâ* before the tone-bearing afformatives י_ and נ (see above, *e*; but Jerome still heard e. g. *iezbuleni* for יִזְבְּלֵנִי; cf. *ZAW*. iv. 83). *f*

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *Šᵉwâ*, exhibit a long *û*: יִשְׁפּוּטוּ הֵם Ex 18²⁶, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. *Rittenb*. p. 18ᵇ), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise לְאׇ־תַעֲבוּרִי מִזֶּה Ru 2⁸; תִּשְׁמוּרֵם (in principal pause) Pr 14³. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפּוֹטוּ and תַּעֲבוֹרִי (for יִשְׁפְּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14³ תִּשְׁמְרוּם is to be read, with August Müller. *g*

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 *ă* (*Pathaḥ*)[1] in the impf., e. g. רָבַץ, יִרְבַּץ *to couch*, שָׁכַב, יִשְׁכַּב *to lie down* (לָמַד, יִלְמַד *to learn* is also originally intransitive = *to accustom oneself*); גָּדַל, יִגְדַּל *to become great* (but cf. שָׁכַן and שָׁכֵן imperf. יִשְׁכֹּן *to dwell* and *to inhabit*, נָבֵל imperf. יִבֹּל *to wither*); also from verbs *middle ō*, as קָטֹן *to be small*, the imperf. has the form יִקְטַן. *h*

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with ō having a transitive, and those with *ă* an intransitive meaning, e. g. יִקְצֹר *he cuts off*, יִקְצַר *he is cut off*, i. e. *is short*; חָלַשׁ impf. ō, *to overcome*, Ex 17¹³; impf. *ă*, *to be overcome*, Jb 14¹⁰. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e. g. יִשַּׁךְ and יִשֹּׁךְ *he bites*, יִחַפַּץ and יִחְפֹּץ *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 פ״א (§ 68 *c*), and in יִתֵּן for *yintēn* from נָתַן *to give*, instead of *ă* or ō a movable *Ṣere* (originally *ĭ*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects[2] 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*. *i*

3. For the *3rd sing. fem.* תִּקְטֹל (= *tiq-ṭōl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25²⁰ תִּפְנֹשׁ (but read with ed. Mant., &c. תִּפְגֹּשׁ). For the *2nd sing. fem.* (תִּקְטְלִי) the form *k*

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[1] This *ă* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive *strong* verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 *b*), it is to be found in פ״ן and ע״ע, and in many verbs פ״א and פ״י (§§ 69–71).

[2] Cf. Barth, 'Das *ĭ*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' *ZDMG*. 1889, p. 177 ff.

תִּקְטֹל is found in Is 57[8], Jer 3[5], Ez 22[4], 23[32], in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26[14]. In Is 17[10], where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably תִּזְרָעִין וּבִ׳ is to be read with Marti for תִּזְרָעֵנִי.—For the *3rd plur. fem.* תִּקְטֹלְנָה we find in Jer 49[11], in pause תִּבְטָחוּ (for תִּבְטַחְנָה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטֹלְנָה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assyr.), in Gn 30[38], 1 S 6[12], Dn 8[22]. On the other hand, תִּקְטֹלְנָה 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 תִּשְׁלַחְנָה Ju 5[26] (where, however, perhaps תִּשְׁלָחְנָה is to be read), and Ob[13], for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of תִּשְׁלַח יָד; in Pr 1[20], 8[3] for תָּרֹנָּה read תְּרֹנָּה as in Jb 39[23]; in Ex 1[10] read תִּקְרָאֻנָּה with the Samaritan.—In Is 27[11], 28[3], as also in Jb 17[16] (if we read טוֹבָתִי with LXX for the 2nd תקותי), 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 *ănnă*.

l For נָה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutive*, simply נָ *nā*, e.g. Gn 19[33.36], 37[7], Ex 1[18.19], 15[20], Nu 25[2], Ez 3[20], 16[55]; in Arab. always *nă*. According to Elias Levita תִּלְבַּשְׁנָה (2 S 13[18]) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form וַתִּגְבַּהְנָה (so also Qimḥi and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. וַתִּגְבְּהֶינָה) for וַתִּגְבַּהְנָה *they were high*, Ez 16[50], is irregular, with ◌ֶי inserted after the manner of verbs ע״ע and ל״ע, § 67 *d*; § 72 *i*; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m **4.** Instead of the plural forms in וּ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms[1] with the fuller ending וּן (with *Nûn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 *m* and § 44 *l*; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 *e*; also defectively יִרְבֻן Ex 21[18], 22[8], &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְקְטֻן *they collect*, ψ 104[28]; יִרְגְּזוּן *they tremble*, Ex 15[14]; תִּשְׁמְעוּן *ye shall hear*, Dt 1[17]; cf. Ex 34[13], with Zaqeph qaṭon, Athnaḥ, and Silluq; Jos 24[15], with Segolta; Is 13[8] and 17[13] with Zaqeph qaṭon, 17[12] with Athnaḥ and Silluq, 41[5] after *wāw consec.* Without the pause, e.g. ψ 11[2] יִדְרְכוּן קָשֶׁת, cf. 4[3], Gn 18[28.29.30 ff.], 44[1], Nu 32[23], Jos 4[6] (יִשְׁאָלוּן); Is 8[12], 1 S 9[13], Ru 2[9] (יִקְצְרוּן and יִשְׁאֲבוּן); Ju 11[18] after *wāw consec.*

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17[2], Nu 16[29], 32[20], 1 S 9[13], 1 K 9[6], and often, to avoid a hiatus before א or ע. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159 *c*, note), as is manifest from Is 26[11]: בַּל־יֶחֱזוּן יֶחֱזוּ וְיֵבֹשׁוּ *they see not; may they see and become*

[1] [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 2[15].]

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jussive, *yăqtŭl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yăqtŭlănnă* and *yăqtŭlăn*, in pause *yăqtŭlā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

c 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (ָה_) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. אֶקְטְלָה from אֶקְטֹל.[1] It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final ָה_ has the tone wherever the afformatives ָה and ִי_ would have it. As before these endings, so also before the ָה_ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šewâ*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el נְנַתְּקָה *let us break asunder*, ψ 2[3]; on אֶשְׁקְטָה Is 18[4] *Qerê* (cf. also 27[4], Ezr 8[25], &c.), see § 10 *h*; with the *Kethîbh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases ישפוטו, &c., § 47 *g*.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the ָה_, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אַוֹדֶנָּה *I will praise*. In pause (as before *û* and *î*), the vowel which became *Šewâ* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמָרָה ψ 59[10]; cf. Gn 18[21], Is 41[26].

d The change of ָה_ into the obtuse ֳה_ seems to occur in 1 S 28[15], unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרֳה; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20[4], in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; cf. similar cases of the change of ָה_ into the obtuse ֳה_ in *l* and in §§ 73 *d*, 80 *i*, 90 *i*. In ψ 20[4], however, יְדַשְּׁנֶהָ—with suffix—is probably intended. An ָה_ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5[19] (twice); Ez 23[20], and again in verse 16 according to the *Qerê*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11[17], although there תְּעֻפָּה might also, with Qimḥi, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form תְּבֹוּאתָה Dt 33[16] (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תבואת in verse 14), read תְּבֹוּאָנָה. For תְּבוּאָתְךָ Jb 22[21] the noun תְּבוּאָתְךָ *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of ָה_, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 *a*; on ותבאתי 1 S 25[34], 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

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[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 § 58 *i*) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

g In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative only in *Hiph'îl* (juss. יַקְטֵל, ind. יַקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *î* in the second syllable, e. g. from יָשַׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשֵׁב; from מוּת, יָמִית and יָמֵת; also in *Qal* of the verbs ע״ו and ע״י, as יָמֹת, ind. יָמוּת; יָגֵל, ind. יָגִיל; in all conjugations of verbs ל״ה, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה־ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יִגְלֶה, juss. יִגֶל; *Hiph.* ind. יַגְלֶה, juss. יַגֶל; and in the *Pi'ēl* יְצַו from the indic. יְצַוֶּה (called apocopated imperfects). But almost all[1] the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending ון. Neither do the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תַּקְטִילִי, תָּמוּתִי, תְּגִלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תְּמִיתֵנִי as ind. Jer 38[15], as jussive Jer 41[8].

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

i **5.** The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by ה־, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending *-ănnă* or *-ăn*, in pause *-ā*) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שְׁמֹר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה[2] (*šŏmᵉrâ*, cf. קָטְלִי *qāṭᵉlî*, § 46 *d*); עֲזֹב, עָזְבָה Jer 49[11]; שְׁכַב, שׁכְבָה *lie down*; שְׁמַע, שִׁמְעָה *hear*, in lesser pause שִׁמְעָה

[1] Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as נִשָּׁאֵר 1 S 14[36], parallel with cohortatives; and נִרְאֶ֫ Is 41[23] *Kᵉth.*

[2] On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. *šāmᵉra*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in ψ 86[2], 119[167] (cf. also Is 38[14], and שָׁמְרֵנִי ψ 16[1]), see § 9 *v*; on מלוכה, Ju 9[8] *Kᵉth.*, see § 46 *e*.

Dn 9[19]; in Niph'al הִשָּׁבְעָה Gn 21[23]. Cf., however, also מִכְרָה *sell*, Gn 25[31], notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכֹּר; עֶרְכָּה Jb 33[5] (cf. עִרְכוּ Jer 46[3]), but impf. יַעֲרֹךְ; אֶסְפָּה *collect*, Nu 11[16] (for אִסֹּף cf. § 63 *l* and the plural נֶאֱסְפוּ), but 2nd masc. אֱסֹף; נִצְּרָה ψ 141[3]. Barth (see above, § 47 *i* note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 *n*. On the other hand, קָרְבָה ψ 69[19] (also Imperat. קְרַב Lv 9[7], &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לֵךְ *go*, Nu 23[13], Ju 19[13], 2 Ch 25[17]. The form קְטֹל in pause becomes קְטֹלָה, the form קְטַל becomes קְטָלָה, e. g. יְרָשָׁה Dt 33[23]. But also without the pause we find מְלוֹנָה Ju 9[8] *Keth.* and צְרוֹפָה ψ 26[2] *Keth.*, on which see § 46 *e*. On the other hand רְגָזָה, פְּשָׁטָה, עֹרָה, חֲגוֹרָה Is 32[11] are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for חִרְדוּ v. 11 read חֲרָרָה, and for סְפֻדִים v. 12 read סְפֹדָה.

k The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל״ה, e. g. in *Pi'ēl* גַּל from גַּלֵּה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with ה֫ 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!* תֵּן *give*, תְּנָה *give up!*

l Rem. The form דְּעֵה for דְּעָה, best attested in Pr 24[14] (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., דַּעַת) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31[2]); for other examples of this change of *a* to S[e]ghol, see above, under *d*, § 73 *d*, and § 80 *i*. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רַבֵּה Ju 9[29] (from רָבָה) is intended for רַבֵּה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'ēl* רַבֵּה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative צְאֵה (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה֫, with imperatives of verbs ל״ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24[14]).

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

a **1.** The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew *consecution* of tenses[1] is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

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[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 ואשׂא ידי *and I lifted up my hand*, ויענני *and he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

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יָקָם, with *wāw consec.* וַיָּקָם *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 (*û* to *ō*, *î* to *ē*, and then to *ŏ* and *ĕ*) are not usual,[2] at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs ל״ה occurs more rarely; e.g. always וָאָקוּם (or וָאָקֻם, a merely orthographic difference) *and I arose*; *Hiph.* וָאָקִים (but generally written וָאָקֵם, implying the pronunciation *wā'ā́qem*, as וָאָקֵם implies *wā'āqŏm*); וָאֶרְאֶה *and I saw*, more frequently than וָאֵרֶא, § 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. וָאֲשַׁלְחָה *and I sent*, Gn 32[6], 41[11], 43[21], Nu 8[19] (וָאֶתְּנָה, as in Ju 6[9], 1 S 2[28], and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost נ); Ju 6[10], 12[3], 2 S 22[24], ψ 3[6], 7[5], 90[10], 119[55], Jb 1[15 ff.], 19[20], Ez 7[28], 8[25], 9[3], Neh 2[13], 5[7.8.13], 6[11], 13[7-11.21 f.], &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3[6], with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10[12], וָאוֹשִׁיעָה before א, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8[2] וָאָעִידָה may have been originally intended; in ψ 73[16] וָאֶחְ֫ and in Jb 30[26] וָאֲיַ֫. In Ez 3[3] read וָאֹכְלָה or וָאֹכְלָה.

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 (*wă*).[3] The close connexion of this *wă* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ă* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. בַּמָּה, כַּמָּה, לָמָּה (for לַמָּה), where the prepositions בְּ and לְ, and the particle כְּ, are closely connected with מָה in the same way (§ 102 *k*).

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in לָמָּה (for לַמָּה § 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

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[1] The plural forms in ן also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive*; cf., however, וַיְרִיבוּן Ju 8[1], 11[18], Am 6[3], Ez 44[8], Dt 4[11], 5[20]. The 2nd fem. sing. in ִי_ never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

[2] In the 1st plur. וְנַעֲמִיד Neh 4[3] is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. ונשוב, i. e. וְנָשׁוּבָה, 4[9] *Kᵉth.*; *Qᵉrê* וְנָשֻׁב). 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 *fă* (*wāw apodosis*, see § 143 *d*) as well as *wă*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (וְ, וַ, וָ, as 2 K 7^4, and וּ); e. g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., *and so it happens* = *and it will happen*. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e.g. הָלַכְתִּי *I went*, consecutive form וְהָלַכְתִּי *and I will go*, Ju 1^3, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

i As innumerable examples show, the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable is retained 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 ŏ, e.g. וַיִּכְלֶתָּ Ex 18^{23}.

k The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(*a*) always in the 1st *pers. pl.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁבְּנוּ Gn 34^{16}; (*b*) regularly in Hiph'il before the afformatives הָ— and וּ, see § 53 *r*; and (*c*) in many cases in verbs ל״א and ל״ה, almost always in the 1st sing. of ל״א (Jer 29^{14}), and in ל״ה if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17^6, $26^{4.6.7.10\,ff.}$, Ju 6^{26}, &c., except in *Qal* (only Lv 24^5, before א) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before א, Nu 20^8, Dt 20^{13}, 1 S 15^3, 2 K 13^{17}; similarly in Pi'ēl before א, Ex 25^{24}, Jer 27^4. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *ê* (in ל״א Gn 27^{10} &c., in ל״ה Ex 40^4, Jer 33^6, Ez 32^7); but cf. also וַיִּרְאֶתָ Lv $19^{14.32}$ and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4^{21}, ψ 19^{14}.[1] With *ā* in the penultima the form is וְנִשְׁאֶתָ Is 14^4, and probably also וְקִרְאֶתָ Jer 2^2, 3^{12}, 1 S 10^2 with little Tᵉlîšā, a postpositive accent.

l But before a following א the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e.g. וּבָאתָ אֶל־ Gn 6^{13}, Ex 3^{18}, Zc 6^{10} (by the side of וּבָאתָ), &c. (cf., however, וְקָרָאתָ, before א, Gn 17^{19}, Jer 7^{27}, Ez 36^{29}); וְהִכִּיתָ אֶת־ Ju 6^{16}, cf. Ex 25^{11}, Lv 24^5 (but also וְצִוִּיתִי אֶת־ Lv 25^{21}). Likewise, before ה, Am 8^9, and ע, e.g. Gn 26^{10}, 27^{12}, Lv 26^{25} (cf., however, וְקָרָאתִי עָלָיו, Ez 38^{21}); on verbs ע״ע, see § 67 *k* and *ee*.

m (*d*) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, e.g. וְשָׂבַעְתָּ Dt 6^{11}, 11^{15}; וְאָמַרְתָּ Is 14^4, Ju 4^8; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2^{28}, Ez 3^{26}, 1 S 29^8 (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaṭon*; and frequently also immediately *before* a tone-syllable (according to § 29 *e*), as in וְיִשְׁבַתָּה בָּהּ Dt 17^{14}, Ez 14^{13}, 17^{22}, Am $1^{4.7.10.12}$—but also וְחִשַּׁקְתָּ בָּהּ Dt 21^{11}, 23^{14}. 24^{19}, 1 K 8^{46}.

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[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 *Pôʿēl* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pāʿûl* (פָּעוּל).[1]

Pāʿûl 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 *Piʿēl* and *Hiphʿil* 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 פָּעוּל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 173 ff.

b **2.** In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e. g. יָשֵׁן *sleeping*, from יָשֵׁן; יָגוֹר (only orthographically different from the perf. יָגֹר) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niphʿal*, § 51 *a*. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קֹטֵל (so even from the *transitive* שָׂנֵא *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *ô* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *â*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 *q*. The form קָטָל (with a changeable *Qameṣ* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms יָשֵׁן and יָגוֹר, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84[a] *f*. The formation of the participle in *Piʿēl*, *Hiphʿîl*, and *Hithpaʿēl* follows a different method.

c **3.** Participles form their feminine (קֹטְלָה or קֹטֶלֶת) 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 יָשֵׁן is lengthened from *ă*, and consequently changeable (e.g. *fem.* יְשֵׁנָה); and that the *ô* of קֹטֵל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *â*.[1] In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qăṭĭl* corresponds to the form *qāṭēl*, and the part. *qâṭĭl* to *qôṭēl*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *ĭ*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קֹטֵל, plur. קֹטְלִים; כָּבֵד, constr. pl. כִּבְדֵי).

e תּוֹמִיךְ ψ 16[5], instead of the form *qôṭēl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that תּוֹמֵךְ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סֹבִיב 2 K 8[21]), or even the *imperfect Hiphʿil* of יָמַךְ. The form יִסְף in Is 29[14], 38[5] appears to stand for יֹסֵף, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יוֹסִיף Ec 1[18]) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. Hiph., for which the better form would be יוֹסֵף; אוֹבִיל 1 Ch 27[30], being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אֹבַד (constr. state of אֹבֵד), with *ă* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32[28] (cf. moreover, § 65 *d*). On הֹלֵם Is 41[7] (for הוֹלֵם), see § 29 *f*.

f 2. A form like the pass. ptcp. *Pāʿûl*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from *intransitive verbs*, to denote an inherent quality, e. g. אָמוּן *faithful*; אָנוּשׁ *desperate*, Jer 15[18], &c.; בָּטוּחַ *trustful*, Is 26[3], ψ 112[7]; עָצוּם *strong*; שָׁכוּר *drunken*, Is 51[21]; and even from transitive verbs, אָחוּז *handling*, Ct 3[8]; זָכוּר *mindful*, ψ 103[14]; יָדוּעַ *knowing*, Is 53[3]; cf. § 84[a] *m*.

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[1] The constr. st. נְאֻם in the formula נְאֻם יהוה, *the word* (properly the *whispering*) *of the Lord*, &c., is always written defectively.

[2] Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qâtil-partizipium,' in *ZA.* 1903, p. 312 ff.

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self, e. g. נִשְׁאַל *to ask* (something) *for oneself* (1 S 20[6.28], Neh 13[6]), cf. *αἰτοῦμαί σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, to put on* (oneself) *a tunic.*

f (*d*) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the *passive*[1] of *Qal*, e. g. יָלַד *to bear*, Niph. *to be born*; קָבַר *to bury*, Niph. *to be buried.* In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi"ēl* and *Hiph'îl*, e. g. כָּבֵד *to be in honour*, Pi'ēl *to honour*, Niph. *to be honoured* (as well as Pu'al כֻּבַּד); כָּחַד Pi'ēl *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, נִזְכַּר *to be born a male*, Ex 34[19] (from זָכָר; but probably הַזָּכָר should here be read); נִלְבַּב *cordatum fieri*, Jb 11[12] (from לֵבָב *cor*); doubtless also נִבְנָה *to obtain children*, Gn 16[2], 30[3].

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 (*'inqătălă*) 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 נִגְאֲלוּ Is 59[3], La 4[14], 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, נִגְאֲלוּ, perf. Niph., and גֹּאֲלוּ, 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.* נִקְטוֹל is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as קָטוֹל to קָטַל in Qal, the *ô* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *á*. Examples are, נִכְסֹף Gn 31[30]; נִלְחֹם Ju 11[25]; נִשְׁאֹל 1 S 20[6.28], all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form הִקָּטֵל (in connexion with imperfects) are, הִנָּתֵן Jer 32[4]; הֵאָכֵל Lv 7[18]; once אִדָּרֵשׁ Ez 14[3], where, perhaps, the subsequent אִדָּרֵשׁ has led to the substitution of א for ה.—Moreover, the form הִקָּטֵל is not infrequently used also for the infin. absol.,[2] e. g. Ex 22[3], Nu 15[31], Dt 4[26], 1 K 20[39]. On the other hand, כְּהִנָּדֵף should simply be read for the wholly abnormal כְּהִנָּדֹף ψ 68[3] (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent תִּנָּדֹף, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings כְּהִנָּדֵף and כִּנְדֹף).

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[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 qāṭûl) 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 הִקָּטֵל, *only* in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7[9]. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic נִקְטוֹל), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּכִשְׁלוֹ Pr 24[17] (for בְּהִכָּ֫), בְּהָרֵג Ez 26[15] and בְּעָמְקָ֫ La 2[11]; also in verbs ל״ה Ex 10[3] (לַעֲנוֹת); 34[24], Dt 31[11], Is 1[12] (לְרָאוֹת); in verbs ע״ו Jb 33[30] (לְאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *K^ethîbh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2[11], cf. ψ 61[3]. *l*

2. Instead of the *Ṣere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathaḥ* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּגְמַל Gn 21[8]; cf. Ex 31[17], 2 S 12[15] (with final שׁ); 17[23] (with ק); Jon 1[5] (with מ); see § 29 *q*. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathaḥ* predominates, e.g. תִּזְכַּרְנָה Is 65[17]; *Ṣere* occurs only in תֵּעָגֵנָה Ru 1[13], from עגן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תֵּעָגְנָה; cf. even תֵּאָמַנָה Is 60[4].—With *Nûn paragogicum* (see § 47 *m*) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, יִלָּכְדוּן, תִּלָּחֲמוּן, &c., in *pause* יִבָּהֲלוּן, תִּשָּׁמְדוּן, &c.; but Jb 19[21] (cf. 24[24]) יֵחָצֵבוּן. *m*

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. וַיֵּאָבֵק אִישׁ Gn 32[25]), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S^eghôl* instead of *Ṣere*; e.g. יִכָּשֵׁל בָּהּ Ez 33[12]; וַיֵּעָתֶר לוֹ Gn 25[21]; in the imperative, 13[9].—So always הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ (since לְךָ counts as *one* syllable) Gn 24[6], &c., cf. 1 S 19[2]; and even with *Pathaḥ* in the ultima, תֵּעָוַב אֶרֶץ Jb 18[4] (but cf. וַיֵּעָתֵר אֱלֹהִים 2 S 21[14]). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32[25], Ezr 8[23]) 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 ו *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשָּׁאֶר Gn 7[23]; וַיִּלָּחֶם Nu 21[1] and frequently, וַיִּצָּמֶד 25[3]; and always so in the imperative הִשָּׁמֶר Ex 23[21], Jb 36[21], and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Dt 24[8], 2 K 6[9]. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2[12] with *Silluq*, Zc 2[11] with *Athnaḥ*), and imperfect (Pr 24[4], &c.), see § 29 *o*, and note; on the other hand, always הִמָּלֵט, יִמָּלֵט, &c. *n*

In the *imperative*, נִקָּבְצוּ, for הִקָּבְצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, occurs in Is 43[9], and in Joel 4[11] in *pause* נִקָּבֶצוּ (cf. נִלּוֹד Jer 50[5]); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה֫ *paragogicum*) הִשָּׁבְעָה לִי *swear to me*, Gn 21[23], &c. (also הִשָּׁבְעָה לִי Gn 47[31], 1 S 30[15]). *o*

4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶקְטֹל is as frequent as אֶקְטֳלָ֫, e.g. אִדָּרֵשׁ *I shall be inquired of*, Ez 14[3]; אִשָּׁבֵעַ *I will swear*, Gn 21[24]; cf. 16[2], Nu 23[15], Ez 20[36], and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אִנָּקְמָה *I will avenge me*, Is 1[24]; cf. 1 S 12[7], Ez 26[2], and in the impf. Niph. of פ״ו (§ 69 *t*). The Babylonian punctuation admits only *ĭ* under the preformative of the 1st person. *p*

§ 52. *Pi'ēl and Pu'al.*

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation consists in the strengthening of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qaṭal* (cf. § 43 *b*) the form קִטֵּל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qăttălă*) would naturally follow as *a*

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi̯ēl*). The *Pathaḥ* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *ĭ* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ă* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi̯al*; but very frequently [1] this *ă* also is attenuated to *ĭ*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קְטֵל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קִטֵּל. On the three cases in which *ă* before a final ר or ם has passed into *Segholt*, see below, *l*.—Hence, for the *3rd sing. masc. perfect*, there arise forms like אֲבַד, לְמַד, קִדַּשׁ; גֻּדַּף, כְּבֵד, &c.—Before afformatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ă* is always retained, thus קִטַּלְתָּ, קִטַּלְתֶּם, קִטַּלְנוּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קַטֹּל, obscured from *qaṭṭâl*; *constr.* קְטֹל), *imperfect* (יְקַטֵּל), *imperative* (קַטֵּל), and *participle* (מְקַטֵּל) the original *ă* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Šewâ* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yŭqăttĭl*, participle *mŭqăttĭl*.

b The *passive* (*Pu̯al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ŭ*, or very rarely *ŏ*, in the first syllable, and *ă* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ŭ* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

c Rem. 1. The preformative מְ, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun מִי *quis? quicunque* (fem. i. e. neuter, מָה); cf. § 85 *e*.

d 2. The Dageš *forte*, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi̯ēl* and *Pu̯al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64 *d*) when the middle radical has *Šewâ* under it (cf. § 20 *m*), e. g. שְׁלָחָה for שִׁלְּחָה Ez 17[17]; בְּקְשֵׁהוּ 2 Ch 15[15] (but in the *imperative* always בַּקְּשׁוּ 1 S 28[7], &c.), and so always in הַלְלוּ *praise*. The vocal character of the *Šewâ* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 *h*) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Ḥaṭeph*, as in לָקָחָה Gn 2[23], with ֳ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעֳלוּ for פָּעְלוּ, &c.; Gn 9[14], Ju 16[16]. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Šewâ* under the preformatives (*Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* under א in the *1st sing. imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26[14 f.]).

e 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher[2] (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed perfects of *Pu̯al* are in reality

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[1] So in all verbs which end in *Nûn*, 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 Ǵanâḥ (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.

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עָנַן *to gather the clouds together* (from עָנָן), שִׁלֵּשׁ *to divide in three parts*, or *to do a thing for the third time* (from שָׁלֹשׁ); probably also דִּבֵּר *to speak*, from דָּבָר *a word*. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'ēl*, cf. our *to skin, to behead, to bone*), e.g. שִׁרֵּשׁ, from שֹׁרֶשׁ *to root out, to extirpate*, זִנֵּב prop. to *injure the tail* (זָנָב), hence *to rout the rear* of an army, *to attack it*; לִבֵּב *to ravish the heart*; דִּשֵּׁן *to remove the ashes* (דֶּשֶׁן), חִטֵּא *to free from sin* (חֵטְא), עִצֵּם *to break any one's bones* (עֶצֶם; cf., in the same sense, גִּרֵּם from גֶּרֶם); סִעֵּף *to lop the boughs*, Is 10[33] (from סְעִיף *a bough*). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. סִקֵּל *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. בִּקֵּשׁ Pi'ēl *to seek*, Pu'al *to be sought*.

i In *Pi'ēl* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, e.g. גָּלָה, Pi'ēl *to uncover*, Qal *to reveal*, also *to emigrate*, i.e. to make the land bare.

k Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'ēl* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. חתת in Pi'ēl *to be broken in pieces*, Jer 51[56]; פִּחֵד *to tremble*, Is 51[13], Pr 28[14]; רִוָּה *to be drunken*, Is 34[5.7]; [מִעֵּט *to be few*, Ec 12[3]]; but in Is 48[8], 60[11] instead of the Pi'ēl of פתח the Niph'al is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathaḥ* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Ec 9[15], 12[9]) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Ṣere* is more common. Cf. גִּדֵּל Is 49[21] with גִּדַּל Jos 4[14], Est 3[1]; מִלֵּט Ez 33[5] with מִלַּט Ec 9[15]; קִצֵּץ 2 K 8[16] with קִצַּץ ψ 129[4]; but Qameṣ never appears in this pausal form. The *3rd sing. fem.* in *pause* is always of the form קִטְּלָה, except קִבְּצָה Mi 1[7]; the 3rd plur. always as קִטְּלוּ; the *2nd* and *1st sing.* and *1st plur.* of course as קִטַּלְתָּ, קִטַּלְתְּ, קִטַּלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and לִמַּדְתִּי), קִטְּלָנוּ. In the *3rd sing. perf.* דִּבֶּר *to speak*, כִּפֶּר *to pardon*, and כִּבֶּס *to wash clothes* (also כִּבֵּס Gn 49[11]) take *Seghôl*, but become in *pause* דִּבֶּר, כִּפֶּר (2 S 19[25]); the *pausal* form of כִּפֶּר does not occur.

m *Pathaḥ* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41[51], נַשַּׁנִי *he made me forget*, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשֶּׁה.

n 2. In the *imperfect* (and *jussive* Ju 16[25]), *infinitive, and imperative Pi'ēl* (as also in *Hithpa'ēl*) the *Ṣere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maqqeph*, is usually shortened into *Seghôl*, e.g. יְבַקֵּשׁ־לוֹ *he seeks for himself*, Is 40[20]; קַדֵּשׁ־לִי *sanctify unto me*, Ex 13[2]. *Pausal-forms* with *Seghôl* instead of *Ṣere*, as יְרַחֵף Dt 32[11], אֲרַחֵם Ho 2[6] (cf. Ex 32[6] in the infinitive, and Gn 21[9] in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 *n* and *hh*. If the final syllable of the *imperfect Pi'ēl* has Pathaḥ (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 *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, under the preformative א; אֶזְרֶה Lv 26^{33}, Ez 5^{12}, 12^{14} and וְאֶסְעֲרֵם Zc 7^{14} (in accordance with § 23 *h*).—Before the full plural ending ון (see § 47 *m*) the *Ṣere* is retained in *pause*, e. g. תְּדַבְּרוּן *ψ* 58^{2} (but Gn 32^{20} תְּדַבְּרוּן), cf. 2 K 6^{19}, Dt 12^{3}; so before *Silluq* *ψ* 58^{3}, Jb 21^{11} and even before *Zaqeph qaṭon* Dt 7^{5}. Instead of תְּקַטַּלְנָה, forms like תְּקַטַּלְנָה are also found, e. g. Is 3^{16}, 13^{18}, in both cases before a sibilant and in pause. Also פַּלַּג *ψ* 55^{10} occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בַּלַּע) and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37^{17}.

3. The *infinite absolute* of *Pi'ēl* has sometimes the special form קַטֹּל given in *O* the paradigm, e. g. יַסֵּר *castigando*, *ψ* 118^{18}; cf. Ex 21^{19}, 1 K 19^{10} (from a verb ל״א); *ψ* 40^{2} (from a verb ל״ה); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קַטֵּל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קִטֵּל (with *ă* attenuated to *ĭ* as in the *perfect*), e. g. in 1 Ch 8^{8} שִׁלְּחוֹ; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קִטֵּר Jer 44^{21}; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12^{14} (נִאֵץ נִאַצְתָּ). On the other hand, שִׁלֵּם Dt 32^{35} and דִּבֵּר Jer 5^{13} are better regarded as substantives, while דִּבֶּר Ex 6^{28}, Nu 3^{1}, Dt 4^{15} (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Ho 1^{2} (after תְּחִלַּת), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimḥi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really perfect of *Pi'ēl*.

p The infinitive construct *Pi'ēl*, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 *d*), occurs in יַסְּרָה Lv 26^{18}; זַמְּרָה *ψ* 147^{1}; with ת of the *fem.* before a suffix צַדֶּקְתֵּךְ Ez 16^{52}. On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. *Pa'il* (קַטָּלָה), see § 84^{b} *e*.

Instead of the abnormal מְאַסְּפִין (so Baer, Is 62^{9}) as ptcp. Pi'el, read מְאַסְּפִי with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

q 4. In Pu'al *ŏ* is sometimes found instead of *ŭ* in the initial syllable, e. g. מְאֻדָּם *dyed red*, Ex 25^{5}, &c., Na 2^{4}, cf. 3^{7} שֻׁדְּדָה; Ez 16^{4}, *ψ* 72^{20}, 80^{11}. According to Baer's reading also in תְּרֻצָּחוּ *ψ* 62^{4}, and so also Ben Ašer; but Ben Naphtali תְּרֻצָּחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ŭ* is written fully, e. g. יוּלַּד Ju 18^{29}.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find גֻּנֹּב Gn 40^{15}.—No instance of the *inf.* *γ* *constr.* occurs in the strong verb in *Pu'al*; from ל״ה with suffix עֻנּוֹתוֹ *ψ* 132^{1}.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle Pu'al* without the preformative (מְ), *S* e. g. אֻכָּל Ex 3^{2}; יוּלָּד (for מְיֻלָּד) Ju 13^{8}; לֻקָּח 2 K 2^{10}; סֻעָרָה Is 54^{11}. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30^{24}, Ec 9^{12} (where יוּקָשִׁים, according to § 20 *n*, stands for יֻקָּשׁ = מְיֻקָּשׁ); but, according to the Masora, *not* Ez 26^{17}, since הַהֻלָּלָה as *Mil'êl* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is $18^{2.7}$ (but also מְמֻשָּׁךְ); Pr 25^{19} (where, however, read מוֹעֶדֶת); so also in the participle *Pi'ēl* מָאֵן Ex 7^{27}, 9^{2} (always after אִם, but cf. also הַמְאֲנִים Jer 13^{10}, where, however, הַמְאֲנִים = הַמְמָאֲנִים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מַהֵר Zp 1^{14} (and Is $8^{1.3}$?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אֻכָּל only occurs in *Qal*, they are perfect participles of former *passives* of Qal (see *e*), and in Jer 13^{10}, 23^{32}, perfect participles of Pi'ēl.—On מְרֻבַּע Ez 45^{2}, see § 65 *d*.

§ 53. *Hiphʿîl and Hophʿal.*

a **1.** The characteristic of the active (*Hiphʿîl*) is a prefixed הַ (on its origin see § 55 *i*) in the perfect הִ (with the *ă* attenuated to *ĭ*, as in *Pi"ēl*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ă*; cf. the Arabic conj. IV. *'aqtălă*, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathaḥ* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטַלְתָּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ă* to *ĭ*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic אַקְטֵל, beside הַקְטֵל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *î*,[1] יִ֫—, but sometimes written defectively יִ—; cf. § 9 *g*. Similarly in the infinitive construct הַקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle יַקְטִיל and מַקְטִיל, which are syncopated from יְהַקְטִיל and מְהַקְטִיל; § 23 *k*. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtĭl* and *muqtĭl*) point to an original *ĭ* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *ĭ* 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 הַקְטֵלְנָה, תַּקְטֵלְנָה cf. § 26 *p*. On the return of the original *ă* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c, under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 *f*.

b In the *passive* (*Hophʿal*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ă* (in pause *ā*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הָקְטַל or הָקְטֶל, *Imperf.* יָקְטַל (syncopated from יְהָקְטַל) or יָקְטֶל, *Part.* מָקְטָל or מָקְטֶל (from מְהָקְטָל); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הָקְטֵל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle Hiphʿil*, Pathaḥ under the preformatives, in the *Hophʿal* *ŏ* or *ŭ*.

c **2.** The *meaning* of *Hiphʿîl* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi"ēl* (§ 52 *g*), *causative* of *Qal*, e. g. יָצָא *to go forth*, Hiph. *to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth*; קָדַשׁ *to be holy*, Hiph. *to sanctify*. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi"ēl*) the *declarative* sense, e. g. הִצְדִּיק *to pronounce just*; הִרְשִׁיעַ *to make one an evil doer* (*to pronounce guilty*); cf. עקשׁ, in *Hiphʿîl*, Jb 9[20], *to represent as perverse*. If Qal has already a transitive meaning, *Hiphʿîl* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 *cc*). In some verbs, *Piʿēl* and *Hiphʿîl* occur side by side in the same sense, e. g. אָבַד *periit*, Piʿēl and Hiphʿîl, *perdidit*; as a rule,

[1] This *î* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs ל"י, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and jussive, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiphʿîl*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, *ZAW.* 1883, p. 52 f.

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Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אזן (scarcely *to prick up the ears*, but) *to act with the ears, to hear*; cf. לשׁן *to move the tongue, to slander*, and the German *äugeln* (to make eyes), *füsseln, näseln, schwänzeln*; שׁבר *to sell corn*; שׁכם *to set out early* (to load the back [of the camel, &c.]?); opposed to הַעֲרִיב.

h 3. The meaning of *Hophʿal* is (*a*) primarily that of a *passive* of *Hiphʿîl*, e.g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit*, הָשְׁלַךְ or הֻשְׁלַךְ *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 *î* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiphʿîl* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *ē* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *ă*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *î* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *Šᵉwâ* (see *n* and *o*).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Ṣere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הַקְדֵּשׁ Ju 17³; less frequently it takes יְ—, e.g. הַשְׁמֵיד 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 אַשְׁפֵּים Jer 25³. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Ṣere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Dt 32⁸ (Sam. בְּהַנְחִיל; read perhaps בְּהַנְחֵל), Jer 44¹⁹·²⁵, Pr 25², Jb 13³ (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֵׂר Dt 26¹² (which looks like an infinitive Hiphʿîl with elision of the ה, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לְעַשֵּׂר, since elsewhere the Piʿēl alone occurs with the meaning *to tithe*; for בַּעֲשֵׂר Neh 10³⁹ perhaps the inf. Qal (בַּעְשֹׂר) was intended, as in 1 S 8¹⁵·¹⁷ (=*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 Piʿēl.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הַקְטִיל the form הִקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e.g. הִשְׁמִיד *to destroy*, Dt 7²⁴, 28⁴⁸; cf. Lv 14⁴⁶, Jos 11¹⁴, Jer 50³⁴, 51³³ and הִקְצוֹת for הַקְצוֹת Lv 14⁴³ from קָצָה; 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 הִשְׁאִיר appears after prepositions[1]; [cf. Driver on Dt 3³, 4¹⁵, 7²⁴, 28⁵⁵].

With *ă* in the second syllable there occurs הַזְכַּרְכֶם Ez 21²⁹ (cf. the substantival infin. הַפְצַר 1 S 15²³).—In the Aram. manner לְהַשְׁמָעוּת is found in Ez 24²⁶ (as a construct form) for the *infinitive Hiphʿil* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpaʿel*, Dn 11²³). On the elision of the ה after prefixes, see *q*.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *î* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 *g*) and ה֫— *paragogic*, e.g. הַקְשִׁיבָה *attend to*, הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא ψ 118²⁵, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הַצְלִיחָה ibid. v. 25ᵇ. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *ĭ* (cf. Arabic *ʾáqtĭl*) is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הַשְׁמֵן *make fat*, and becomes *Sᵉghôl* before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הַסְכֵּן־נָא Jb 22²¹.—The form הַקְטִיל for הַקְטֵל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94¹, Is 43⁸, Jer 17¹⁸ (cf. § 69 *v* and § 72 *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הַקְטֵיל, e.g. 2 K 8⁶; cf. ψ 142⁵.—In La 5¹ הַבִּיטָה is required by the *Qᵉrê* for הביט.

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[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'îl* the *shorter* form with *Ṣere* prevails for the jussive *n* in the *3rd masc.* and *fem.* and *2nd masc. sing.*, e. g. אַל־תַּגְדֵּל *make not great*, Ob [12]; יַכְרֵת *let Him cut off!* ψ 12[4]; even incorrectly תַּגִּיד Ex 19[3] and יַגִּיד Ec 10[20]; cf. also יַבְעֵר Ex 22[4], where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 *h*, and יַאֲבֵר Jb 39[26] before the principal pause. Similarly, after ו consec., e. g. וַיַּבְדֵּל *and He divided*, Gn 1[4]. On the other hand, *î* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e. g. וְאַשְׁמִיד Am 2[9] (but generally without י, as וְאַסְתִּר Ez 39[23 f.], &c.); cf. § 49 *e* and § 74 *l*, but also § 72 *aa*; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4[3]; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105[28]. With *ă* in the principal pause וַתּוֹתַר Ru 2[14], and in the lesser pause, Gn 49[4]; before a sibilant (see § 29 *q*) וַיִּגַּשׁ Ju 6[19]; in the lesser pause וַיִּקַּח La 3[5]. Before *Maqqeph* the Ṣere becomes *Seghôl*, e. g. וַיַּחֲזֶק־בּוֹ Ju 19[4]. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *î* remains in the forms יַקְטִילוּ, תַּקְטִילוּ, even in the jussive and after ו consecutive, e. g. וַיַּדְבִּיקוּ Ju 18[22]. The only exceptions, where the *î* is weakened to *Šewâ*, are וַיִּדְרְכוּ Jer 9[2]; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 S 14[22], 31[2], 1 Ch 10[2]; יַעַבְרוּ Jer 11[15]; וְאוֹצְרָה Neh 13[13], if it is *Hiph'il* of אצר, but probably וְאֶצְּוֶה is to be read, as in 7[2]; perhaps also תַּהְכְּרוּ Jb 19[3] (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17[25], 1 K 20[33], ψ 65[10], and in Jb 9[20], unless the form be *Pi'ēl*=וַיְעַקְּשֵׁנִי, since the *Hiph'îl* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yaqtîl*, or an Aramaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יְשַׁלֵּם Is 44[28]), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 1[11] תַּדְשֵׁא, with euphonic Ga'ya (see § 16 *h*).

5. In the *participle*, מֹוצֵא ψ 135[7] appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *O maqtîl*; yet the Ṣere may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *Šewâ* (see above, *n*) in מַהְלְכִים Zc 3[7] (probably, however, מַהֲלָכִים should be read), also in מַחְלְמִים Jer 29[8], מַעְוְרִים 2 Ch 28[23] (but as ם precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle Qal is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'il*, see above, *n*), and in the *Qerê* מַחְצְרִים 1 Ch 15[24] &c. (where the *Kethîbh* מַחֲצֹצְרִים is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מַזְכֶּרֶת Nu 5[15], מַשְׁגֶּת Lv 14[21]; in pause מַשְׁכֶּלֶת Pr 19[14].

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הֶכְלַמְנוּ 1 S 25[7]; *p* cf. Gn 41[28], 2 K 17[11], Jer 29[1], Mi 6[3], Jb 16[7]; with the original *ă* in the first syllable וְהַרְאֵיתִי Na 3[5].—In אֲנַאלְתִּי [1] *I have stained*, Is 63[3], א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, *k*, on אַשְׁכִּים. On the other hand, וְהַאֲזִנְיחוּ

[1] Most probably, however, גֹּאַלְתִּי (*perfect Pi'ēl*) 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, וְאֶרְכֶם and וַיַּן (instead of וְאָרְ and וַיָּן) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i. e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

Is 19[6] (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 יַקְטִיל, מַקְטִיל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e.g. לְהַקְטִיל. The exceptions are in the imperfect, יְהוֹשִׁיעַ *He will save* for יוֹשִׁיעַ 1 S 17[47], ψ 116[6] (in *pause*); יְהוֹדֶה *He will praise* for יוֹדֶה Neh 11[17], ψ 28[7], 45[18] (cf. the proper name יְהוֹכַל Jer 37[3], for which 38[1] יוּכַל [and יְהוֹסֵף ψ 81[6]]); [יְהֵילִילוּ (§ 70 *d*) Is 52[5], יְהֵתֵּלוּ Jer 9[4], תְּהֵתֵּלוּ Jb 13[9]] and מְהֵקְצָעוֹת Ez 46[22]; in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51 *l*, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לַסְתִּיר Is 29[15] for לְהַסְתִּיר; לַנְפֹּל and לַצָּבוֹת Nu 5[22]; לַעֲבִיר 2 S 19[19]; לַהֲלֹךְ Jer 37[12]; לַחֲמִיא Ec 5[5]; לַלְבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהַלְבִּין) Dn 11[35]; לַשְׁמֵעַ ψ 26[7]; לַאֲדִיב 1 S 2[33]; לַשְׁחֵד Is 23[11]; וְלַשְׁבִּית Am 8[4] (certainly corrupt); בָּעִיר for בְּהָעִיר ψ 73[20] (but *in the city* is probably meant); לָבִיא Jer 39[7] (2 Ch 31[10]); לַמְרוֹת Is 3[8], ψ 78[17]; לַנְחוֹתָם Ex 13[21]; בַּגְלוֹת (see, however, § 20 *h*) Is 33[1]; לַרְאֹתְכֶם Dt 1[33]: cf. further, from verbs ל״ה, Nu 5[22], Jer 27[20]; on Dt 26[12] and Neh 10[39], see above, *k*; for לַמְחוֹת Pr 31[3] read לִמְחוֹת or לְמַמְחוֹת.

r 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the afformatives וּ and הָ__ in Hiph'îl have *not* the tone, even in the *perfect* with *waw consecutive* (except in Ex 26[33] before ה, Lv 15[29] before א, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending וֹן (see § 47 *m*) always has the tone, e.g. תַּקְרִבוּן Dt 1[17].

s 9. The passive (Hoph'al) has *ŭ* instead of Qameṣ ḥaṭuph in the first syllable (הָקְטַל), 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. מָשְׁחַת Pr 25[26]); e.g. הָשְׁכַּב Ez 32[32] (beside הָשְׁכְּבָה 32[19]); הָשְׁלַךְ *impf.* יָשְׁלַךְ, *part.* מָשְׁלָךְ 2 S 20[21] (beside הָשְׁלַכְתְּ Is 14[19]) הָמְלַחַתְּ Ez 16[4]; in the partic. Hoph. without elision of the ה: מְהֻקְצָעוֹת Ez 46[22]; on the other hand, verbs פ״נ always have *ŭ* (in a sharpened syllable): הֻגַּד, יֻגַּד (cf. § 9 *n*).

t 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in *Hoph'al* (as in *Hiph'îl*) *Ṣere* in the last syllable, e.g. הָחְתֵּל and הָמְלֵחַ Ez 16[4]; הֻגֵּד Jos 9[24]. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.

11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46 *a*, note.

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'îl), nor the other tense of the same conjugation (i. e. here the perfect Hoph'al) is found; so with יֻקַּם (for יְנֻקַּם, cf. *yuqtălŭ* as imperfect Qal in Arabic) and יֻתַּן, from נָקַם and נָתַן; יֻקַּח from לָקַח (cf. § 66 *g*); יוּאָר Nu 22[6] from אָרַר; יֻחַן from חָנַן; יוּשָׁד Ho 10[14] (cf. Is 33[1]) from שָׁדַד; Barth adds the verbs פ״ן: תֻּחַשׁ Ez 19[12] from נחשׁ; יֻתָּץ Lev 11[35] from נתץ; the verbs ע״ע: יֻחָקּוּ Jb 19[23] from חקק; יֻכַּת &c. from כתת; the verb ע״ו: יוּדַשׁ from דוּשׁ; the verbs ע״י: יוּחַל, יוּשַׁר, יוּשַׁת from חִיל, שִׁיר and שִׁית. On וַיֻּישַׂם &c., § 73 *f*. In point of fact it would be very strange, especially in the case of יֻתַּן and יֻקַּח, that of these frequently used verbs,

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affect to be of a certain character. E.g. הִתְגַּדֵּל *to make oneself great, to act proudly*; הִתְחַכֵּם *to show oneself wise, crafty*; הִתְחַלָּה *to pretend to be ill*; הִתְעַשֵּׁר *to make*, i.e. *to feign oneself rich*; הִשְׂתָּרֵר Nu 16[13], *to make oneself a prince*; הִתְנַבֵּא 1 S 18[10], *to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave*. The meaning of *Hithpa'ēl* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e.g. אָבַל *to mourn*, in Qal only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'ēl* in prose. On the accusative after Hithpa'ēl (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 *w*.

f (*b*) It expresses *reciprocal* action, like *Niph'al*, § 51 *d*, e.g. הִתְרָאָה *to look upon one another*, Gn 42[1]; cf. ψ 41[8];—but

(*c*) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed *with regard to* or *for* oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 *e*). Hithpa'ēl in such cases readily takes an accusative, e.g. הִתְפָּרֵק Ex 32[3] and הִתְנַצֵּל Ex 33[6] *to tear off from oneself*; הִתְפַּשֵּׁט *exuit sibi* (*vestem*), הִתְפַּתֵּחַ *solvit sibi* (*vincula*); הִצְטַיֵּד Jos 9[12], *to take* (*something*) *as one's provision*; without an accusative, הִתְהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for oneself* (*ambulare*); הִתְפַּלֵּל *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is 1[15]); הִתְחַקָּה *to draw a line for oneself*, Job 13[27]; on Is 14[2], see § 57, note.

g (*d*) Only seldom is it *passive*, e.g. הִיא תִתְהַלָּל Pr 31[30] *she shall be praised*; הִשְׁתַּכַּח *to be forgotten*, Ec 8[10], 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: הִטַּמָּא *to be defiled*, Dt 24[4]; *infinitive* הִכַּבֵּס *to be washed*, Lv 13[55.56]; הִתְדַּשְּׁנָה (for הִתְדַּשְּׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the afformative of the *fem. plur.*) *it is made fat*, Is 34[6]. On הָתְפֻקְדוּ, see *l*.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הִתְיַהֵד *to embrace Judaism*, from יְהוּד (יְהוּדָה) *Judah*; הִצְטַיֵּד *to provision oneself for a journey*, from צֵידָה *provision for a journey* (see § 72 *m*).

k Rem. 1. As in *Pi'ēl*, so in *Hithpa'ēl*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in ג, ק, מ, פ) has retained the original *Pathaḥ* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Pi'ēl*, to *i* and then lengthened to *ē*), e.g. הִתְאַנַּף Dt 4[21], &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13[7], 15[8]; with וְ *consecutive* Is 8[21]; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e.g. תִּתְחַכַּם Ec 7[16]; cf. Dt 9[8.18], 1 S 3[10], 2 S 10[12], 1 K 11[9], Is 55[2], 58[14], 64[11], ψ 55[2]; הִתְחַזַּק 1 K 20[22], ψ 37[4], Est 5[10]; וְאִתְאַפַּק 1 S 13[12].—In Lv 11[44], 20[7] and Ez 38[23], *i* takes the place of *ă* in the final syllable of the stem before שׁ (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before ל. In the *perfect*, *imperfect* (with the exception of Ec 7[16]), and *imperative* of *Hithpa'ēl* (as well as of *Hithpô'ēl*, *Hithpa'lēl*, *Hithpalpēl*, § 55) the original *ă* always returns in *pause* as *Qameṣ*, e.g. הִתְאַזָּר ψ 93[1]; יִתְאַבָּל Ez 7[27]; יִתְהַלָּךְ Jb 18[8]; יִתְלַבָּדוּ 38[33]; הִתְקוֹשָׁשׁוּ Jos 3[5]; cf. Jb 33[5] and § 74 *b*.—The *ā* also appears before the fuller ending וּן in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 *m*) in ψ 12[9], Jb

9^{6}, 16^{10}.—Like the *Pi'ēl* תְּקַטְּלָנָה (§ 52 *n*), forms occur in *Hithpa'ēl* like תִּתְהַלַּכְנָה Zc 6^{7}; cf. Am 8^{13}, and so in *Hithpo'ēl*, Jer 49^{3}, Am 9^{13}; with *ē* only in La 4^{1}.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive Hithpa'ēl* הִתְחַבְּרוּת occurs in Dn 11^{23} (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הַשְׁמָעוּת in Ez 24^{26}).

l 2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַטֵּל (connected with *Pi'ēl*) a few reflexive forms of the verb פָּקַד (*to examine*) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a *Pathaḥ* in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take *Qameṣ* in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְפָּקְדוּ Ju $20^{15.17}$, *imperfect* יִתְפָּקֵד 20^{15}, 21^{9}. The corresponding passive form הָתְפָּקְדוּ also occurs four times, Nu 1^{47}, 2^{33}, 26^{62}, 1 K 20^{27}. 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'ēl* (Western Aramaic אִתְקְטַל, Syr. ܐܶܬܩܛܰܠ) and the Ethiopic *taqat^{e}la*, Arab. *'iqtatala*, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (cf. above, *b*); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as *Hithpa'ēl* forms, the doubling of the ק being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, with the ת transposed, occurs in הלתחם (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלָּתֵחַם) in the inscription of the Moabite king *Mêša'*, 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* וְאֶלָּתֵחַם; in line 19 in the *infinitive* with suffix, בְּהִלָּתְחָמֹה בִי *in his fighting against me*.

§ 55. *Less Common Conjugations.*

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39 *g*) some may be classed with *a* *Pi'ēl*, others with *Hiph'îl*. 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'ēl* are included the *passive* forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of *Hithpa'ēl*.

The following conjugations are related to *Pi'ēl*, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. *Pô'ēl* קוֹטֵל, passive *Pô'al* קוֹטַל, reflexive *Hithpô'ēl* הִתְקוֹטֵל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. *qâtălă*, pass. *qûtĭlă*, and conj. VI. reflexive *tăqâtălă*; *imperfect* יְקוֹטֵל, *participle* מְקוֹטֵל, *imperfect passive* יְקוֹטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ô* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *â*, 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* מְשׁוֹפְטִי *mine adversary, who would contend with me*, Jb 9^{15}; מְלוֹשְׁנִי (denominative from לָשׁוֹן *the tongue*) *slandering* (as if *intent on injuring with the tongue*) ψ 101^{5} *K^{e}th.* (The *Q^{e}ré* requires מְלָשְׁנִי *m^{e}lŏšnî* as Na 1^{3} וּגְדוֹל־); זְרְמוּ *they have poured out*, ψ 77^{18} (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹדַעְתִּי *I have appointed*, 1 S 21^{3} (unless הוֹדַעְתִּי should be read); יִסַּר Ho 13^{3}; שֹׁרֵשׁ *to take root*, passive

שׁוֹרֵשׁ, *denominative* from שֹׁרֶשׁ *root* (but שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*); in Hithpô'ēl הִתְגּוֹעֲשׁוּ *they shall be moved*, Jer 25[16]; imperf. 46[8]; from a verb ל"ה, שׁוֹשַׁחְתִּי Is 10[13]. The *participle* מְנֹאָץ Is 52[5] is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנָאָץ and מִתְנָאֵץ.

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'ēl*) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing *aim* (Ziel-stamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9[15], ψ 101[5], and עוֹיֵן 1 S 18[9] *Qerê* (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 52 *s*; § 55 *f*: *seeking to cast an evil eye*).

With קוֹטֵל is connected the formation of quadriliterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30 *p*, § 56).

d 2. *Pa'lēl*, generally with the *ă* attenuated to *ĭ* = *Pi'lēl*[1] (*Pi'lal*), קִטֵּל and קִטֵּלֵל; the *ē* in the final syllable also arises from *ĭ*, and this again from *ă*; passive *Pu'lal* קֻטַּל, reflexive *Hithpa'lēl* הִתְקַטֵּל, like the Arabic conjugations IX. *'iqtăllă* and XI. *'iqtâllă*, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e. g. of colours; cf. שַׁאֲנַן *to be at rest*, רַעֲנַן *to be green*, passive אֻמְלַל *to be withered*, all of them found only in the *perfect* and with no corresponding *Qal* form. (For the barbarous form צְמִתְּתוּנִי ψ 88[17] read צִמְּתוּנִי; for נִפְלַל Ez 28[23], which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חלל, read נָפַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע"ו, where they take the place of *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 72 *m*). Cf. also § 75 *kk*.

e 3. *Pe'al'al*: קִטַלְטַל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e. g. סְחַרְחַר *to go about quickly, to palpitate* (of the heart) ψ 38[11], from סָחַר *to go about*; passive חֻמַּרְמַר *to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red*, Jb 16[16], La 1[20], 2[11]. Probably this is also the explanation of חֲצוֹצַר (denom. from חֲצוֹצְרָה *a trumpet*, but only in the *participle*, 1 Ch 15[24] &c. *Kethibh.*) for חִצְרֵצַר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ă* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ā* to *ô*. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֲהַבּוּ וְהַבּוּ Ho 4[18] (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֲהַבְהַבּוּ) read אֲהַבוּ; and for the equally meaningless יְפַיְּפִיתָ ψ 45[3] read יְפִיתָ. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the *Kethibh.* On the employment of *Pe'al'al* in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84[b] *n*. Closely related to this form is—

f 4. *Pilpēl* (pass. *Pŏlpal*), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ו, and ע"י, e. g. גִּלְגֵּל *to roll*, from גַּל = גָּלַל; *reflexive* הִתְגַּלְגֵּל *to roll oneself down*; כִּלְכֵּל from כּוּל, *passive* כֻּלְכַּל; cf. also טִאטֵא (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimḥi; others טִאטֵא) Is 14[23], and with *ă* in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קַרְקַר from קוּר Nu 24[17] (cf. however, in the parallel passage, Jer 48[45] קָרְקֹר) and Is 22[5], in the *participle*; שִׁנְשֵׁג Is 17[11] *to hedge in*, acc. to others *make to grow*. Probably to this form also belongs יְלַעְלְעוּ, the emended reading of Jb 39[30] instead of the impossible יְעַלְעוּ; also

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

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(*a*) On the analogy of Pi'ēl: בִּרְסֵם, *imperfect* יְכַרְסְמֶנָּה *he doth ravage it*, ψ 80[14] from כָּסַם, cf. גָּוַם. *Passive* רָטַפַּשׁ *to grow fresh again*, Jb 33[25]. *Participle* מְכֻרְבָּל *girt, clothed* (cf. Aramaic כְּבַל *to bind*), 1 Ch 15[27]. It is usual also to include among the quadriliterals פַּרְשֵׁז Jb 26[9], as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathaḥ* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'lel* formation, from פָּרַשׁ *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to שׂ, and the second to ז. Moreover, the reading פַּרְשֵׂז 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 הִשְׁמִאיל and הִשְׁמִיל *to turn to the left* (denom. from שְׂמֹאל) Gn 13[9], Is 30[21], &c. On הֶאֱנִיחוּ 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, אֵת the accusative sign (before a suffix אֶת, אֵת) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. קָטַל אֹתוֹ *he has killed him*; or (2) by a mere suffix, קְטָלָהוּ or קְטָלוֹ *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'ēl (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. וְיִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself*, not קִדְּשׁוֹ, 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).

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[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 109[3] (since נִלְחָם is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is 44[21]; with *Hithpa'ēl* Is 14[2] (הִתְנַחֵל to appropriate somebody *to oneself as a possession*); cf. above, § 54 *f*, and § 117 *w*.

[3] On the cases where אֵת is necessary, see § 117 *e*.

[4] The exceptions in Jer 7[19], 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 5[19] 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 נביאים ראשנים, 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.

a 1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

	A. *To a form ending in a Vowel.*	B. *To a form in the perf. ending in a Consonant.*	C. *To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.*	
Sing.	1. com. ־ִנִי	־ֵנִי (in *pause* ־ֵנִי)	־ְנִי	*me.*
	2. m. ־ָךְ	־ְךָ (in *pause* ־ֶךָ, also ־ָךְ)		*thee.*
	f. ־ֵךְ	־ֵךְ, rarely ־ָךְ	־ֵךְ	
	3. m. ־ֵהוּ, ־וֹ	־ֵהוּ, ־וֹ (ה)	־ֵהוּ	*him.*
	f. ־ָהּ	־ָהּ	־ָהּ	*her.*
Plur.	1. com. ־ֵנוּ	־ֵנוּ	־ֵנוּ	*us.*
	2. m. ־ֶכֶם		־ְכֶם	*you (vos).*
	f. . . . .[1]			
	3. m. ־ָם,[1] ־ֵמוֹ	־ָם (from ־ֵהֶם), ־ֵמוֹ	־ָם (from ־ֵהֶם)	*eos.*
	poet. ־ִמוֹ	־ִמוֹ	־ֵמוֹ	
	f. ־ָן	־ָן, ־ֵן	. . . . .[1]	*eas.*

b 2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding *forms of the personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

c The suffixes ־ִנִי, ־ֵנוּ, ־ֵהוּ, ־ָהּ (and ־ָךְ, when a long vowel in an open syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, ־ֶכֶם and ־ָם always take the tone.

d In the 3rd pers. masc. ־ֵהוּ, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the rejection of the weak ה, frequently gives rise to *ô* (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written ־וֹ, much less frequently ־וֹה (see § 7 c). In the *feminine*, the suffix ־ָהּ should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as ־ָהּ or ־ָהּ, on the analogy of *āhû*; instead of ־ָהּ, however, it was simply pronounced ־ָה, with the rejection of the final vowel,

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[1] According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, ־ֶכֶם occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. אֶתְכֶם occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.—־ָם occurs only once as a *verbal* suffix (Dt 32[26], unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, אַפְאִיהֶם from פְּאֵה is to be read), while the forms ־ָכֶן (*2nd f. pl.*) and ־ָן and ־ָהֶן (*3rd f. pl.*), added by Qimḥi, never occur.

and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to ה֫ 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 נִי֫, הוּ֫, וֹ (only after *î*), נוּ֫, (הֶם) ם, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. יְקַטְּלוּנִי; קִטַּלְתִּיהוּ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get קִטַּלְתִּיו, pronounced *qᵉṭaltîu*; cf. § 8 *m*.

f (*b*) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*[1] (נִי֫, נִי֫), 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. קְטָלַנִי, קְטָלָנוּ, קְטָלָם (on קְטָלָךְ, 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. יְקַטְּלֵהוּ, קְטֹלֵם; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form î also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from הִי֫ (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With ךָ, כֶם, the connecting sound is only a vocal *Šᵉwâ*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus ךָ, כֶם, e.g. קְטָלְךָ (*qᵉṭālᵉkhā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, ךָ, e.g. שְׁלָחֲךָ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ă*) reappears as *Sᵉghôl* with the tone ךָ (also ךָ, see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final ין of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

g Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* כָה Gn 27^{7}, 1 K 18^{44}, &c., in *pause* also כֶה (see below, *i*); *fem.* כִי, כִי Ps 103^{4}, 137^{6}. Instead of the form ךָ, which is usual even in the perfect (e.g. Ju 4^{20}, Ez 27^{26}), ךְ occurs as *fem.* Is 60^{9} (as *masc.* Dt 6^{17}, 28^{45}, Is 30^{19}, 55^{5} always in *pause*); with *Munaḥ* Is 54^{6}, Jer 23^{37}.—In the 3*rd masc.* וֹ Ex 32^{25}, Nu 23^{8}; in the 3*rd fem.* ה without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2^{3}, Jer 44^{19}; Am 1^{11}, with

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[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. קִטַּלְתִּיהוּ. Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *qᵉṭāl-ani* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *qᵉṭālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective ē, ā̈, 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 ל״י (מְחִינִי = מְחֵינִי from *mᵉḥainî*), in which the final *é* 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.

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1*st pers.* נִי־ (even in pause, Jb 7[14], &c.), נִי֫ (for נִנִי־, נִנִי֫).
2*nd pers.* ךָ֫ (Jer 22[24] in pause ךָ֑) and, only orthographically different,
כָה֫ (Is 10[24], Pr 2[11] in *pause*).
3*rd pers.* נּוּ֫ (for נֵהוּ֫),[1] *fem.* נָּה֫ for נָהּ֫.
[1*st pers. plur.* נוּ֫ (for נֵנוּ֫), see the Rem.]

In the other persons Nûn energetic does not occur.

k Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15[2], Dt 32[10] [*bis*], Jer 5[22], 22[24]); they are never found in the *3rd fem. sing.* and *1st plur.* On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of נּוּ֫ as *1st plur.* occurs perhaps in Jb 31[15] [but read נּוּ and cf. § 72 *cc*], hardly in Ho 12[5]; cf. הִנָּנוּ *behold us*, Gn 44[16], 50[18], Nu 14[40] for הִנֵּנוּ (instead of הִנְנוּ; see § 20 *m*).— In Ez 4[12] the Masora requires תְּעֻגֶּנָּה, without Dageš in the Nûn.

l That the forms with *Nûn energicum* are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in *pause*. Apart from the verb, however, *Nûn energicum* occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 *o*).

This Nûn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two *energetic moods* (see § 48 *b*) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaqtulan-ka* or *yaqtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

§ 59. *The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.*

a 1. The endings (*affformatives*) 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 תְ־ or תַ־ is used for הָ־.

(*b*) In the *2nd sing. masc.* besides תָּ֫ we find תְּ, to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with נִי־.[2]

(c) In the *2nd sing. fem.* תִּי֫, the original form of תְּ, appears; cf. אַתְּי, קָטַלְתִּי֫, § 32 *f*; § 44 *g*. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(*d*) *2nd plur. masc.* תּוּ for תֶּם֫. The only examples are Nu 20[5], 21[5], Zc 7[5]. The *fem.* קְטַלְתֶּן֫ never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

b We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'îl*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see *c*).

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[1] On יֹ֫=וּ֫ Nu 23[13], see § 67 *o*.

[2] On the *ă* as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 *f*, note.

Singular.	*Plural.*
3. *m.* הִקְטִיל	3. c. הִקְטִילוּ
3. *f.* הִקְטִילַת	
2. *m.* הִקְטַלְתָּ, הִקְטַלְתְּ	2. *m.* הִקְטַלְתּוּ
2. *f.* הִקְטַלְתְּ, הִקְטַלְתִּי	
1. c. הִקְטַלְתִּי	1. c. הִקְטַלְנוּ

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*).

c **2.** The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the Perfect *Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (*a*) the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*; (*b*) the original *Pathaḥ* of the second syllable, which in the *3rd sing. fem.* and *3rd plur.* had become *Šᵉwâ*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qameṣ*; similarly original *ĭ* (as in the *3rd sing. masc. without* a suffix) is lengthened to *ē*, e. g. אֲהֵבֹךְ 1 S 18[22], Pr 19[7].

d The forms of the perfect of Qal consequently appear as follows:—

Singular.	*Plural.*
3. *m.* קָטַל	3. c. קָטְלוּ
3. *f.* קָטְלָה (קָטְלָת, see *g*)	
2. *m.* קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתְּ, see *h*)	2. *m.* קְטַלְתֶּם
2. *f.* קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתִּ, see *h*)	
1. c. קָטַלְתִּי	1. c. קָטַלְנוּ

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Ṣere* in the Perfect *Pi'ēl* changes sometimes into *Sᵉghôl*, and sometimes into *vocal Šᵉwâ*.

e Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶם and הֶם, since they end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms כֶן and הֶן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶם alone occurs, ψ 118[26]. The form קָטַל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd sing. masc. before כֶם and כֶן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

f 2. In the *3rd sing. masc.* קִטְּלָהוּ (especially in verbs ל״ה; in the strong verb only in Jer 20[15] in *Pi'ēl*) is mostly contracted to קִטְּלוֹ, according to § 23 *k*; likewise in the 2nd sing. masc. קִטַּלְתָּהוּ to קִטַּלְתּוֹ.—As a suffix of the 1st sing. נִי occurs several times with the 3rd sing. masc. perf. Qal of verbs ל״ה, not only in *pause* (as עָנָנִי ψ 118[5]; קָנָנִי Pr 8[22] with *Dᵉḥi*), but even with a con-

junctive accent, as הוֹדָנִי Jb 30[19]; עָנָנִי 1 S 28[15] (where, however, the reading עָנַנִי is also found). With a sharpened נ: דָּנַנִי Gn 30[6], יְסֻרַּנִי ψ 118[18].

g 3. The *3rd sing. fem.* קְטָלָת (=קְטָלָה) has the twofold peculiarity that (*a*) the ending *ath* always takes the tone,[1] and consequently is joined to those suffixes which form a syllable of themselves (נִי, ךָ, הוּ, הָ, נוּ), without a connecting vowel, contrary to the general rule, § 58 *f*; (*b*) before the other suffixes the connecting vowel is indeed employed, but the tone is drawn back to the *penultima*, so that they are pronounced with shortened vowels, viz. ךָ—ְ, ם—ֶ, e.g. אֲהֵבָתְךָ *she loves thee*, Ru 4[15], cf. Is 47[10]; גְּנֵבָתַם *she has stolen them*, Gn 31[32]; שְׂרֵפָתַם *it burns them*, Is 47[14], Jos 2[6], Ho 2[14], ψ 48[7]. For תְּנִי—ֵ, תְּךָ—ְ, &c., in *pause* תְּנִי—ֵ֑ is found, Jer 8[21], ψ 69[10], and תְּךָ—ְ֑ Ct 8[5]; and also without the *pause* for the sake of the assonance חֲבָלַתְךָ, *she was in travail with thee*, ibid. The form קְטָלַתּוּ (e.g. Ru 4[15]) has arisen, through the loss of the ה and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נּוּ—ֵ and נָּה—ֶ for נְהוּ—ֵ and נְהָ—ֶ, cf. § 58 *i*), from the form קְטָלַתְהוּ, which is also found even in *pause* (אֲהֵבַתְהוּ֑ 1 S 18[28]; elsewhere it takes in *pause* the form סְמָכַתְהוּ֑ Is 59[16]); so קְטָלַתָּה from קְטָלַתְהָ; cf. 1 S 1[6], Is 34[17], Jer 49[24], Ru 3[6]; in *pause* Ez 14[15], always, on the authority of Qimḥi, without *Mappîq* in the ה, which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

h 4. In the *2nd sing. masc.* the form קְטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e.g. וְנַחְתָּנוּ פָּרַצְתָּנוּ *thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down*, ψ 60[3]; but with the suff. of the 1st sing. the form קְטַלְתַּנִי is used, e.g. חְקַרְתַּנִי ψ 139[1]; in *pause*, however, with *Qameṣ*, e.g. עְזַבְתָּנִי֑ ψ 22[2]; Ju 1[15] (with *Zaqeph qaṭon*); but cf. also צְרַפְתָּנִי ψ 17[3] with *Merᵉkha*.—In the *2nd sing. fem.* תִּי—ְ is also written defectively, רְמִיתְנִי 1 S 19[17], Ju 11[35], Jer 15[10], Ct 4[9]. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the ordinary form ת—ְ, viz. הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנוּ *thou (fem.) dost adjure us*, Ct 5[9], Jos 2[17.20]; cf. Jer 2[27], and, quite abnormally, with *Ṣere* הוֹרַדְתָּנוּ *thou (fem.) didst let us down*, Jos 2[18], where הוֹרַדְתָּנוּ would be expected. In Is 8[11] וְיִסְּרֵנִי is probably intended as an *imperfect*.

i 5. In verbs *middle ē*, the *ē* remains even before suffixes (see above, *c*), e.g. אֲהֵבְךָ Dt 15[16], אֲהֵבַתְהוּ 1 S 18[28], cf. 18[22]; יְרֵאוּהוּ Jb 37[24]. From a verb *middle ō* there occurs יְכָלְתִּיו *I have prevailed against him*, ψ 13[5], from יָכֹל with *ŏ* instead of *ō* in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44 *e*).

§ 60. *Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.*

a In those forms of the *imperfect* Qal, which have no afformatives, the vowel *ō* of the second syllable mostly becomes —ְ (simple *Šᵉwâ mobile*), sometimes —ֳ; thus in the principal *pause*, Nu 35[20], Is 27[3], 62[2], Jer 31[33], Ez 35[6], Ho 10[10]; before the principal *pause*, ψ 119[33]; before a secondary *pause*, Ez 17[23]; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos 23[5]. Before ךָ—ְ,

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

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retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is וְיַגֵּדְךָ Dt 32[7]. Less frequently *Ṣere* is sharpened to *Ḥireq*, e.g. אַאַמִּצְכֶם Jb 16[5], cf. Ex 31[13], Is 1[15], 52[12]; so in *Po'lēl*, Is 25[1], ψ 30[2], 37[34], 145[1], and probably also in *Qal* אֹסִפְךָ 1 S 15[6]; cf. § 68 *h*.

g 5. In *Hiph'il* the *i* remains, e.g. תַּלְבִּישֵׁנִי Jb 10[11] (after *wāw consecutive* it is often written defectively, e.g. וַיַּלְבֵּשֵׁם Gn 3[21] and often); but cf. above, *f*, Dt 32[7]. Forms like תַּעְשִׁרֶנָּה *thou enrichest it*, ψ 65[10], 1 S 17[25], are rare. Cf. § 53 *n*.

h 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (ן), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (ם) is affixed to the afformative וּ, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending ון; cf. וַיְמַלְאוּם Gn 26[15] (previously also with a perf. סִתְּמוּם); Gn 26[18], 33[13], Ex 2[17] (where וַיּוֹשִׁעָן occurs immediately after); 39[18.20], 1 S 6[10] (where also בְּנֵיהֶם is for בְּנֵיהֶן, a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 *o*).—For יַהַרְגֵן Zc 11[5] read perhaps יַהַרְגֵן 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. לְדָרְשֵׁנִי *to inquire of me*, Jer 37[7]. 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*; מָלְכוֹ *his reigning*, see § 115 *a* and *e*. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qŏṭl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qŭṭŭl*, see § 46 *a*). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following Begadkephath to be spirant, e.g. בִּכְתֹבוֹ *in his writing*, Jer 45[1]; cf., however, הָפְכִי Gn 19[21]; נָגְפוֹ (so ed. Mant.; others נָגְפוֹ) Ex 12[27]; עָצְבִי 1 Ch 4[10]; before ךָ— and כֶם— also the syllable is completely closed, e.g. בְּאָסְפְּךָ Ex 23[16], Lv 23[39] (but in pause לְהָרְגֶךָּ Gn 27[42]), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see *d*. With the form קְטֹל generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form קֹטֶל (before a suffix קָטְלָ or קִטְלָ), § 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 *qiṭl* before suffixes, e.g. בִּבְגֹדוֹ Ex 21[8]; מִכְרָם Am 2[6] (but מָכְרָה Ex 21[8]), נִפְלוֹ 2 S 1[10] (but נָפְלוֹ 1 S 29[3]), לְשַׁטְנוֹ Zc 3[1], שִׁבְרִי Lv 26[26], Ez 30[18] &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 *i* with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

c Infinitives of the form קְטַל (§ 45 *c*) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also שָׁכְבָה Gn 19[33.35]—elsewhere שָׁכְבְּךָ and שָׁכְבוֹ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qaṭl*, as וַעְפוֹ Jon 1[15] (and, with the syllable loosely closed.

פַּעֲמוֹ Ju 13[25]), מַחֲאַךְ and רַקְּעֵךְ Ez 25[6]; sometimes *qiṭl*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as בְּטִחֵךְ, בִּלְעִי, בִּקְעָם, בִּגְעוֹ, פִּתְחִי, רִבְעָהּ.—Contrary to § 58 *f* נִי֫ (1 Ch 12[17]) and נוּ֫ (Ex 14[11]) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי֫ and נוּ֫. On רדופי *my following* ψ 38[21] (but *Qᵉrê* רָדְפִי), cf. the analogous examples in § 46 *e*.

d 2. With the suffixes ךָ֫ and כֶם֫, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אֲכָלֵךְ *thy eating*, Gn 2[17]; אֲכָלְכֶם Gn 3[5]; עֲמָדֵךְ (others עָמְדֵךְ) Ob [11], i.e. with *ō* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קְצֻרְכֶם *your harvesting*, Lv 19[9], 23[22] (with retention of the original *ŭ*), and מְאָסְכֶם (read *mŏ'ŏsᵉkhèm*) *your despising*, Is 30[12]; cf. Dt 20[2]; on בְּמֹצַאֲכֶם Gn 32[20] (for בְּמָצְאִי), see § 74 *h*.—Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with נ *energicum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the imperfect, § 58 *i*), as יַסְּרֶךָּ Dt 4[36], cf. 23[5], Jb 33[32], all in principal pause.

c Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, הִנָּבְדִי Ex 14[18]; הִשָּׁמְדֵךְ Dt 28[20] (in *pause*, הִשָּׁמְדֵךְ verse 24); הִשָּׁפְטוֹ ψ 37[33]; הִזָּכְרְכֶם Ez 21[29]; הִשָּׁמְדֶם Dt 7[23]. In the *infinitive* of *Pi'ēl* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 *f*) the *ē* before the suff. ךָ֫, כֶם֫ becomes *Sᵉghôl*, e.g. דַּבֶּרְךָ Ex 4[10], and with a sharpening to *ĭ* פִּרְשְׂכֶם Is 1[15] (see § 60 *f*). In the *infinitive Pô'ēl*, בּוֹשַׁסְכֶם occurs (with *a* for *ĕ* or *ĭ*) Am 5[11], but probably בּוֹסְכֶם, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction ס has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* ש.

f 2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before *suffixes* (קָטְל) is due probably (see § 46 *d*) to the retention of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qŭṭŭl*). In the *imperative* also *ŏ* is not followed by *Dageš lene*, e.g. כָּתְבֵם *kŏthbhēm* (not *kŏthbēm*), &c.[1] As in the *imperfect* (§ 60 *d*) and *infinitive* (see above, *c*), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e.g. כָּתְבָהּ Is 30[8]; cf. 2 S 12[28].—The forms קִטְלִי, קִטְלוּ, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קִטְלָנָה, the masc. form (קִטְלוּ) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

g In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שְׁלַח (to which class belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qameṣ* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60 *c*), e.g. שְׁלָחֵנִי *send me*, Is 6[8], בְּחָנֵנִי ψ 26[2], קְרָאֵנִי ψ 50[15], שְׁמָעֵנִי Gn 23[8]. In Am 9[1], בְּצָּעֵם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בְּצַּעֵם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL.* xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בְּצַעְמוֹ, as וְהַרְגֵתֵם Am 9[4] from original וְהַרְגֵתְמוֹ.—In the imperative *Hiph'îl*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd *sing. masc.*

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[1] שִׁמְרֵנִי *šāmᵉrēnî* required by the Masora in ψ 16[1] (also שְׁמָרֵהוּ ψ 86[2], 119[167]; cf. Is 38[14] and עָמְדֵךְ Ob [11]), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 *e* and § 48 *i* note.

הַקְטֵל, but הַקְטִיל (with *î* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 *g*), e. g. הַקְרִיבֵהוּ *present it*, Mal 1[8].

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 *Šewâ* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קֹטֵל: רֹדְפִי, רֹדְפוֹ, &c.; but before *Šewâ mobile* יֹצְרְךָ, &c., or with the original *ĭ*, אֹיְבְךָ Ex 23[4], &c., אֹסְפְךָ 2 K 22[20] (coinciding in form with the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal*, 1 S 15[6]; cf. § 68 *h*); with a middle guttural (גֹּאֲלִי), גֹּאֲלְךָ; with a third guttural, בֹּרַאֲךָ Is 43[1], but שֹׁלַחֲךָ, מְשֻׁלַּחֲךָ Jer 28[16], cf. § 65 *d*. The form מְקַטֵּל, with suffix מְקַטְּלִי; before *Šewâ* sometimes like מְלַמֶּדְךָ Is 48[17], מְנַחֲמְכֶם 51[12], sometimes like מְאַסְּפְכֶם 52[12]. In Is 47[10] רֹאֵנִי is irregular for רֹאֲנִי; instead of the meaningless בִּלְּהֹ מְקַלְלֻנִי Jer 15[10] read בִּלְהֵם קִלְלוּנִי.

Also unusual (see above, *d*) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with נ *energicum*, as עֹנֶךָּ Jb 5[1]; cf. Dt 8[5], 12[14.28].

§ 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 *ă* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יַחְמֹד, which elsewhere is attenuated to *ĭ*, יִקְטֹל.—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 פ״א (§ 68), in a few ע״א (§ 73 *g*), and in most ל״א (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the א was at least originally a full consonant, while the ה in verbs ל״ה was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal ה at the end of the word is marked by *Mappîq*.—Verbs containing a ר also, according to § 22 *q*, *r*, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

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with original *ĭ* in the first and *ă* in the second syllable, § 67 *n*, and also to the imperfects of verbs ע״ו, § 72 *h*; but cf. also יֶאְסֹר, יֶאְפֹּד, and יֶהְדֹּף; in *Niph.*, e. g. נֶהְפַּךְ; נֶחְלוּ Am 6[6], &c.; in *Hiph.* הֶחְסִיר, הֶעְלִים 2 K 4[7], &c.: sometimes

(*d*) followed by *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl*, e.g. יֶחֱזַק, יֶאֱסֹף, יֶחֱשַׁף, יֶעֱרַב in *imperfect Qal*; הֶעֱמִיד *Hiphʿîl*; נֶעֱנַשׁ *Niphʿal*.

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 א invariably takes *Seghôl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. אֶחְבְּשׁ (with the cohortative אֶחְבְּשָׁה), אֶחְסַר (in *pause*), &c. In Jb 32[17] אֶעֱנֶה must unquestionably be *Hiphʿîl*, since elsewhere the pointing is always אֶעֱנֶ׳. Cohortatives like אַהֲרְגָה Gn 27[41] and אַחְדְּלָה Jb 16[6], are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Pathaḥ* of the preformative to change into *Seghôl*, and vice versa, e.g. נַעֲשֶׂה, but נַעֲשֹׂתָה 3rd *sing. fem.*; יֶאֱסֹף, but תַּאַסְפִי; הֶעֱמִיד, but with *wāw consecutive* וְהֶעֱמַדְתָּ, &c.; so וַיַּחַסְרוּ Gn 8[3] the plur. of וַיֶּחְסַר, cf. Gn 11[8]; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* group (ֱֲ) into the lighter *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 *v*).

g 3. When in forms like יַעֲמֹד, נַעֲמַד, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šewâ* in consequence of the addition of an afformative (ךָ, ִי, ָה) or suffix, the *compound Šewâ* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e.g. יַעֲמֹד, *plur.* יַעֲמְדוּ (*ya-ʿa-me-dhû* as an equivalent for *yaʿ-me-dhû*); נַעֲזָבָה *she is forsaken*. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e.g. יַחְבְּלוּ *they take as a pledge* (cf. in the *sing.* תַּחְבֹּל, also יַחֲבֹל); יֶחְזְקוּ (also יֶחֱזְקוּ) *they are strong*. Cf. *m* and, in general, § 22 *m*, § 28 *c*.

h 4. In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niphʿal*, where the first radical should by rule be strengthened (הִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Ṣere*; יֵעָמֵד for *yi"āmēd*,[1] &c. Cf. § 22 *c*.—For תֵּיעָשֶׂה Ex 25[31] (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation תֵּעָשֶׂה, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read תֵּעָשֶׂה.

Remarks.

I. *On Qal.*

i 1. In verbs פ״א the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 *o*), e. g. אֱזֹר *gird thou*, Jb 38[3], אֱהַב *love thou*,

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[1] אֶעֱנֶה Jb 19[7] (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read אֶעֱנֶ׳, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3^1, אֱחֹז *seize thou*, Ex 4^4 (on אֱפוּ *bake ye*, Ex 16^{23}, see § 76 *d*); אֶכֹל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix לֶאֱכֹל, כֶּאֱכֹל Is 5^{24}; לֶאֱהֹב Ec 3^8. Sometimes, however, *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* is found as well, e. g. *infinitive* אֲחֹז 1 K 6^6; בַּאֲכֹל הָאֵשׁ Nu 26^{10} (before a suffix אֲכָלְךָ, אֲמָרְךָ, אֲכָלְכֶם, אֲמָרְכֶם § 61 *d*); cf. Dt 7^{20}, 12^{23}, Ez 25^8, ψ 102^5, Pr 25^7 (אֲמָרֶ֫לְךָ), Jb 34^{18}, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לַחְסוֹת Is 30^2; לַחְפֹּר Jos $2^{2\,f.}$ (on Is 2^{20}, cf. § 84^b *n*); לַחְתּוֹת Is 30^{14}, Hag 2^{16}; לַחְשֹׁב Ex 31^4, &c.; לַעְזֹר 2 S 18^3 *Qerê*, but also בְּעָזֹר 1 Ch 15^{26}.

k הַחְדַּלְתִּי Ju $9^{9.11.13}$ is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give הַהֶחְדַּלְתִּי (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 = הַהֶחְדַּלְתִּי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of חָדַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הַחָדַלְתִּי. But the *Qameṣ* under the ח, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָדַלְתִּי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *Šᵉwâ*, but to ֲ֫, in order to represent the sound of the *Qameṣ* (likewise pronouncod as *å*) at least in a shortened form. The *Sᵉghôl* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 *n* (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e. g. in הַחֳדָשִׁים, § 35 *k*). For the accusative after חָדַל, instead of the usual מִן, Jb 3^{17} affords sufficient evidence.

l Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *ĭ* (on this *ĭ* cf. § 48 *i*) into *Sᵉghôl*, e. g. אֱסֹפָה *gather thou*, Nu 11^{16}; עֱרֹכָה *set in order*, Jb 33^5; חֱשֹׂפִי *strip off*, Is 47^2 (on this irregular *Dageš* cf. § 46 *d*), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e. g. אֱהֹבוּ Am 5^{15}, ψ 31^{24}; cf. Zc 8^{19}; אֱחֹז Ct 2^{15}; cf. also in verbs ל״ה, עֱנוּ *sing ye*, Nu 21^{17}, ψ 147^7 (compared with עֲנוּ *answer ye*, 1 S 12^3) and אֱלִי Jo 1^8.—*Pathaḥ* occurs in חַבְלֵהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20^{16}, and probably also in ψ 9^{14} (חָנְנֵנִי).—As a pausal form for חָרְבִי (cf. the *plur.* Jer 2^{12}) we find in Is 44^{27} חָרְבִי (cf. the *imperf.* יֶחֱרַב) with the *ŏ* repeated in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 *h* and § 46 *e*.

m 2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the imperfects in *ă* with *Sᵉghôl* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e. g. יֶחְדַּל, יֶחְכַּם) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time ל״ה, e. g. יֶחֱזֶה, יֶחֱצֶה &c. (but cf. יֶהְגֶּה &c., יַחְתֶּה Pr 6^{27}, אֶעְשֶׂה ed. Mant., Ex 3^{20}). Even in the strong verb וַיֶּחֱזַק is found along with יֶחְזַק. Cf. also וַתַּעֲגֹב Ez 23^5; וַיַּעְקְבֵנִי Gn 27^{36} (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעְקֹב); וַתַּחְלְקֵם Neh 9^{22}, and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עָזַר with suffixes, Gn 49^{25}, &c.—תֶּאֱהַבוּ Pr 1^{22} 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 תֶּאֱהַבוּ with Haupt in his Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and

such nouns as בֹּאֵר, וֹאֵב, § 93 *t*.—On יְחָבְּרֵךְ ψ 94[20] for יַחְבְּרֵךְ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 *b*.

n יַאְטֵם ψ 58[5] and יַעְרֵם *to deal subtilly*, 1 S 23[22], Pr 15[5], 19[25], 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 יְעָרִים ψ 83[4].—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיְחַלְּקֵם (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24[3]) 1 Ch 23[6] and וַיְחַ׳ 24[3] (partly analogous to תְּעָבְרֵם § 60 *b*) the Qal וַיַּחְלְקֵם is to be read. The form יְרַהֵף ψ 7[6] which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'ēl*), a composite form of *Qal* (יִרְהַף) and *Pi'ēl* (יְרַהֵף), can only be understood as a development of יִרְהַף (cf. § 64 *h* on יִצְחַק, and § 69 *x* on תִּהְלַךְ Ex 9[23], ψ 73[9]). Pathaḥ has taken the place of *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שָׁמַעַתְּ § 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 יִרְהַף (impf. Qal) and יְרַהֵף (impf. Pi'el).

II. *On Hiph'îl and Hoph'al.*

o 3. The above-mentioned (*f*, 3) change of ◌ִי◌ְ◌ to ◌ֵ◌ occurs in the *perfect Hiph'îl*, especially when *wāw consecutive* precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the afformative, e. g. הֶעֱמַדְתָּ, but וְהֶעֱמַדְתָּ Nu 3[6], 8[13], 27[19]; הֶעֱבַרְתִּי, but וְהֶעֱבַרְתִּי Jer 15[14], Ez 2c[37]; even in the 3rd *sing.* וְהֶאֱוִין ψ 77[2].—On the contrary ◌ֵ◌ְ◌ occurs instead of ◌ֵ◌ִ◌ in the *imperative Hiph'il*, Jer 49[8.30]; and in the *infinitive* Jer 31[32]. The preformative of עתר in *Hiph'îl* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex 8[4] הַעְתִּירוּ; verse 5 אַעְתִּיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22[27].

p 4. In the *perfect Hiph'îl* ◌ֶ◌ְ◌ is sometimes changed into ◌ַ◌ְ◌, and in *Hoph'al* ◌ָ◌ְ◌ into ◌ָ◌ (cf. § 23 *h*); הָעְבַרְתָּ Jos 7[7], הָעְלָה Hb 1[15], הָעְלָה Ju 6[28], 2 Ch 2c[34], Na 2[8], 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 (זְעַמָּה) see § 64 *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qŏṭl*; cf. § 93 *q*, and (on אֱמוּן &c. for אֱמוּן) § 84[a] *q*.—In the imperfect consecutive וַיְחֻזַּק בּוֹ the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* תְּעֻבְדֵם Ex 2o[5], &c., see § 6o *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* נִהְיָה; but in the *perfect Hiph'îl* הֶחְיָה (2nd *plur.* וְהַחֲיִתֶם Jos 2[13], and even without *wāw consecutive*, Ju 8[19]). Initial ה always has *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* instead of *vocal Šᵉwâ*; הֱיֵה, הֱיוֹת, הֱיוֹתָם 1 S 25[7], הֱיִיתֶם (except הֲיִי *be thou! fem.* Gn 24[60]). The 2nd *sing. fem. imperative* of חָיָה is חֲיִי *live thou*, Ez 16[6]; the infinitive, with suffix, חֲיוֹתָם Jos 5[8]. After the prefixes וְ, בְּ, כְּ, לְ, מִ (=מִן) both ה and ח retain the *simple* Šᵉwâ (§ 28 *b*) and the prefix takes *ĭ*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Šᵉwâ*; hence in the *perfect Qal* וְהָיִיתָם, *imperative* וֶהְיֵה, *infinitive* לִהְיוֹת, בִּהְיוֹת &c. (cf. § 16 *f*, ϵ). The only exception is the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative* after *wāw*; וְהָיֶה Gn 12[2], &c., וְחָיֶה Gn 20[7].

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but א and ע always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 *b*.

d 3. In *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'ēl*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before ה, ח, and ע, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 *c*; e.g. *Pi'ēl* שִׁחַק, נְחַלוּ Jos 14[1], וּבְעַרְתִּי 1 K 14[10], נְהַג Ex 10[13] (cf., however, אֲחַר Gn 34[19]; נְהַלְתָּ Ex 15[13], but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יְנַהֵל, &c.; in verbs ל״ה, e.g. רֵעָה), *infinitive* שַׁחֵק, *Pu'al* רֻחַץ (but cf. דֻּחוּ ψ 36[13] from דָּחָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בֻּחַן[1] Ez 21[18], and in the *perfect Hithpa'ēl* הִתְרָחַצְתִּי Jb 9[30]); *Hithpa'ēl perfect* and *imperative* הִטַּהֲרוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 *c*, 27 *q*, 29 *v*, 54 *k*) הִטָּהֲרוּ Nu 8[7], 2 Ch 30[18]; יִתְנָחֵם Nu 23[19], &c.

e The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (כָּרַת Ez 16[4] is an exception; כָּרְתָה also occurs, Ju 6[28]), e.g. בָּרַךְ (in *pause* בָּרֵךְ), *imperfect* יְבָרֵךְ, *Pu'al* בֹּרַךְ. Before א it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאַר, גָּאַל, מָאַן, פָּאַר, and in the *Hithpa'ēl* of בּאשׁ, ראה, and שׁאה; on the other hand, א is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נָאַף (once in the imperfect, Jer 29[23]) *to commit adultery*, נָאַץ *to despise* (in the *participle*, Nu 14[23], Is 60[14], Jer 23[17]; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* יְנַאֵץ ψ 74[10]), נָאַר *to abhor* La 2[7] (also נְאַרְתָּה ψ 89[40]) and שָׁאַל ψ 109[10]; moreover, in the *infinitive* יָאַשׁ Ec 2[20], according to the best reading. On the *Mappîq* in the *Pu'al* רֻאֲמִי Jb 33[21], cf. § 14 *d*.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׁאַל *to ask, to beg*, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Ṣere* when the vowel of the א stands in an open syllable, cf. שְׁאֵלְךָ Gn 32[18], Ju 4[20]; שְׁאֵלוּנִי ψ 137[3]; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שְׁאֵלְתֶּם 1 S 12[13], 25[5], Jb 21[29]; שְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ Ju 13[6], 1 S 1[20]. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ă*, § 69 *s*, and especially § 44 *d*. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *ĭ* attenuated from *ă* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *ĭ* would have been modified to *ĕ*. Also in the *Hiph'il*-form הִשְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ 1 S 1[28] the אֵ is merely attenuated from אַ.

g 2. In *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Ṣere* of the ultima to be shortened to *Seghôl*. Thus (*a*) before monosyllables, according to § 29 *e*, e.g. לְשָׁרְתוֹ שָׁם *to minister there*, Dt 17[12], even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39[14], Jb 8[18] (see § 29 *g*). (*b*) after *wāw consecutive*, e.g. וַיְבָרֶךְ *and he blessed*, Gn 1[22] and frequently, וַיְגָרֶשׁ *and he drove out*, Ex 10[11], וַתִּחְפֹּר Dn 2[1].

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[1] בֻּחַן is explained by Abulwalîd 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* יִצַּחַק Gn 21[6] *h* (elsewhere תִּצְחַק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 *g* (*c*) and § 63 *n*); וְאַחַר Gn 32[5] (for וְאַאֲחַר) ; in the *perfect Pi'ēl* אֲחָרוּ Ju 5[28] (perhaps primarily for אֲחָרוּ ; according to Gn 34[19] אֲחָרוּ would be expected), and similarly יְחַמָּתְנִי ψ 51[7] for יְחַמַּתְנִי ; in the *imperative Pi'ēl* קָרַב Ez 37[17] (cf. above, § 52 *n*) ; finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הַרְחֵק Jb 13[21] and הַמְעֵר ψ 69[24], in both cases probably influenced by the closing conso. ant, and by the preference for *Pathaḥ* in *pause* (according to § 29 *q*) ; without the pause הַרְחֵק Pr 4[24], &c. ; but also הַנְחֵת Jo 4[11].

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'ēl* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחַשָּׂם Ezr 8[1], &c., with *i* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מִתְיַחֲשִׂים Neh 7[64] ; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַהֲשָׂם &c.—The quite meaningless *Kᵉthîbh* ונאשאר Ez 9[8] (for which the *Qᵉrê* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִשְׁאַר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִשְׁאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וְאִשְׁאַר (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאָרֵהוּ Is 44[13] (also יִתְאָרֵהוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Pô'ēl* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *ô* for יִתְאָר׳ ; cf. § 55 *b* מְלָשְׁנִי ψ 101[5] *Qᵉrê* ; on the other hand Qimḥi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pi'ēl*, with an irregular ֶ for ֵ, as in the reading אֲלֻקָּמָה Ru 2[2.7] ; 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 incom- *a*
patible 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 Pathaḥ*, or *Pathaḥ* (in pause *Qameṣ*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(*a*) The unchangeable vowels ־ִי, וֹ, וּ (§ 25 *b*) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שָׁלוֹחַ, *part. pass.* שָׁלוּחַ, *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יַשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מַשְׁלִיחַ. So also the less firm *ō* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלֹח is almost always retained : cf., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58[9], and גְּוַע Nu 20[3]. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are בְּבָרְחֵךְ Gn 35[1] ; בְּפִגְעוֹ Nu 35[19] ; לָרִבְעָהּ Lv 18[23], &c.

(*b*) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ă* in the *b*
second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *ō*, originally *ŭ*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus יִשְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלָחֵנִי, שְׁלָחֵנִי, see § 60 *c*.

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[1] Verbs ל״ה in which the ה is *consonantal* obviously belong also to this class, e.g. גָּבַהּ *to be high*, תָּמַהּ *to be astonished*, מָהַהּ (only in *Hithpalpel*) *to delay*.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלוח Jer 5^7, *K'th.* (אֶסְלַח *Q'rê*); in the *imperative* טְבַח Gn 43^{16}. On such cases as אֶפְשְׁעָה Is 27^4, cf. § 10 *h*.

c (*c*) Where *Ṣere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with $\bar{e}^a$ and $\check{a}$) 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'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl*, the forms שֹׁלֵחַ (with suff. שֹׁלְחִי, but שֹׁלַחֲךָ), מְשֻׁלָּחַ (with suff. מְשֻׁלָּחֶךָ), and מִשְׁתַּוֶּעַ are used exclusively; except in verbs ל״ע where we find, in close connexion, also נֹטַע ψ 94^9, רֹגַע Is 51^{15}, Jer 31^{35}, רֹקַע Is 42^5, 44^{24}, רוֹקַע ψ 136^6, שֹׁחַע Lv 11^7, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu'al is מְרֻבָּע Ez 45^2 according to the best authorities (Kittel מְרֻבָּע).

e 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf. Niph'al*, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. Pi'ēl* the (probably more original) form with *ă* 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 86^4 in the *imperative Pi'ēl*; with *Ṭiphḥa* 1 K 12^{32} in the *infinitive Pi'ēl*; Jer 4^{31} *imperfect Hithpa'ēl*; Jer 16^6 *imperfect Niph'al*), cf. e.g. יִגְרַע Nu 27^4, with יִגְרָע 36^3; וַיִּשְׁבַּע Dt 1^{34}, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs. Niph'al* הִשָּׁבֵעַ Nu 30^3 (elsewhere הִשָּׁבַע Jer 7^9, 12^{16} twice, in each case without the pause); תִּבַּקַּע Hb 3^9, with תִּבָּקַע Ez 13^{11}; בַּלַּע *to devour* Hb 1^{13}, Nu 4^{20} with בָּלַע La 2^8; for *infinitive Hithpa'ēl*, cf. Is 28^{20}. The *infinitive absolute Pi'êl* has the form שַׁלֵּחַ Dt 22^7, 1 K 11^{22}; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is always as שַׁלַּח except לְשַׁלְּחַ Ex 10^4.—יְזַבַּח Hb 1^{16} has *ē*, though not in *pause*, and even וַיְזַבֵּחַ 2 K 16^4, 2 Ch 28^4; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* הֵאָנַח Ez 21^{11}; *jussive Pi'ēl* תְּאַחַר ψ 40^{18}; cf. § 52 *n*. An example of *ă* in the *imperative Pi'ēl* under the influence of a final ר is כַּתַּר Jb 36^2, in the *imperfect Niph'al* וְתֵעָצַר Nu 17^{13}, &c.—In יַפְרַח Jb 14^9 (cf. ψ 92^{14}, Pr 14^{11}), Barth (see above, § 63 *n*) finds an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*. since the intransitive meaning is only found in *Qal*.

f 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of *Hiph'il* which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e.g. הַצְלַח *prosper thou*, יַבְטַח *let him make to trust*, וַיַּצְמַח *and he made to grow* (so in *Hithpalpel* יִתְמַהְמַהּ, &c., Hb 2^3); even in *pause* וַיַּצְלַח 1 Ch 29^{23}, and, with the best authorities, וַיּוֹכַח 1 Ch 12^{17}; וַיִּשְׁעַנְךָ Is 35^4 is perhaps to be emended into וַיִּשַׁע (=וַיּוֹשַׁע).—In the *infinitive absolute Ṣere* remains, e.g. הַגְבֵּהַ *to make high*; as *infinitive construct* הוֹכַח also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6^{26}); on הוֹשַׁע as *infinitive construct* (1 S $25^{26.33}$), cf. § 53 *k*.

g 2. When the guttural with *quiescent Šᵉwâ* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ, שָׁלַחְתִּי. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathaḥ* takes the place of the *Šᵉwâ*, שָׁכַחַתְּ Jer 13^{25} (§ 28 *e*); also in 1 K 14^3, לָקַחַתְּ is to be read, not לָקְחָתְּ.

h Rem. The soft combination with *compound Šᵉwâ* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e.g. יְדַעֲנוּךָ *we know thee*, Ho 8^2 (cf. Gn 26^{29}, ψ 44^{18}, 132^6). Before the *suffixes* ךָ and כֶם, the guttural must have ֶ, e.g. אֶשְׁלָחֲךָ *I will send thee*, 1 S 16^1; וְאַשְׁלָחֲךָ Gn 31^{27}; אַשְׁמִיעֲךָ Jer 18^2.

On the weak verbs ל״א, see especially § 74.

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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*; יִגַּשׁ 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* נִגַּשׁ for *ningaš*; throughout *Hiph'îl* (הִגִּישׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuṣ*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 *n*) הֻגַּשׁ.

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

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

e The *characteristic* of these verbs in all forms with a preformative is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פ"י (§ 71), and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* גֶּשֶׁת and the *imperative* גַּשׁ, also גֹּשׁ (Gn 19[9]) and תֵּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פ"ו (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, קַח, and לָקַחַת, from לָקַח *to take*, see *g*.—In יְקוֹם (*imperfect Niph'al* of קוּם), and in similar forms of verbs ע"ו (§ 72), the *full* writing of the *ô* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of נָקַם, &c.—Also אֶסַּק (ψ 139[8]) is not to be derived from נסק, but stands for אֶסְלַק (with a sharpening of the ס as compensation for the loss of the ל), from סָלַק *to ascend*, see § 19 *f*, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשְׁיִקוּ Ez 39[9], יַשְׁקֵם Is 44[15], and the Niph'al נִשְׁקָה ψ 78[21] are most probably from a stem שׁלק, not נשׁק.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e. g. נָטַר, imperfect יִנְטֹר Jer 3[5] (elsewhere יִטֹּר); also from נָצַר the pausal form is *always* יִנְצֹר (without the *pause* יִצֹּר Pr 20[28]); similarly in Is 29[1], 58[3], ψ 61[8], 68[3] (where, however, תִּנָּדֵף is intended), 140[2.5], Pr 2[11], Jb 40[21], the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* כְּהִנָּדֵף ψ 68[3], cf. § 51 *k*), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e. g. לְהַנְחִיל Ez 22[20], הָנְחְקוּ Ju 20[31]; for לַנְפֵּל Nu 5[22] read לִנְפֹּל, 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 יֵחַת (also יִנְחַת) *he will descend*, Jer 21[13] (even תֵּחַת Pr 17[10]; without apparent reason accented as *Mil'ēl*), *plur.* יֵחַתּוּ Jb 21[13] (cf. § 20 *i*; the Masora, however, probably regards יֵחַת and יֵחַתּוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from חָתַת); *Niph'al* נִחַם for נִנְחַם *he has grieved*.

g 2. The ל of לָקַח *to take* is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פ"נ (§ 19 *d*). Hence *imperfect Qal* יִקַּח, cohortative (§ 20 *m*) אֶקְחָה, *imperative* קַח, in *pause* and

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[1] Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פ"ו, פ"נ, פ"א,' in the *REJ.* xxvii. 136 ff.

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

before *suffixes* קָח (on קְחֶם־נָא Gn 48[9], see § 61 *g*), *paragogic* form קְחָה; קְחִי, &c. (but cf. also לְקַח Ex 29[1], Ez 37[16], Pr 20[16], לְקְחִי 1 K 17[11], perhaps a mistake for לָהּ קְחִי, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קַחַת (once קְחַת 2 K 12[9], cf. § 93 *h*); with לְ, לָקַחַת; with *suffix* קָחְתִּי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 *u*) *imperfect* יֻקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always נִלְקַח.—The meaningless form קָח Ez 17[5] is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחֶם Ho 11[3] read וְאֶקָּחֵם.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above in *d*, is the only example of a *l* verb פ״ן with *imperfect* in *ē* (יִתֵּן for *yintēn*; נְתַן־[1] only in Ju 16[5], elsewhere before *Maqqeph* יִתֶּן־, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* תֵּן or (very frequently) תְּנָה (but in ψ 8[2] the very strange reading תִּנָּה is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נְתָנָה); before *Maqqeph* תֶּן־, *fem.* תְּנִי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nûn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַתִּי for *nāthántī*, נָתַתְּ or, very frequently, נָתַתָּה, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nûn* (cf. § 44 *g*); *Niph'al perfect* נִתַּתֶּם Lv 26[25], Ezr 9[7].

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tĕneth* *l* (as גְּשֶׁת from נָגַשׁ), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to תֵּת, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20 *l*; but with suffixes תִּתִּי, תִּתּוֹ, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לְ = לְתֶת־, e. g. Ex 5[21], and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gn 15[7]. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נְתֹן Nu 20[21] and נְתַן־ Gn 38[9]; cf. § 69 *m*, note 2. On the other hand, for לְתִתֵּן 1 K 6[19] read either לְתִתּוֹ or simply לָתֵת, just as the *Qᵉrê*, 1 K 17[14], requires תֵּת for תתן.

In other stems, the נ is retained as the third radical, e. g. שָׁכַנְתִּי, זָקַנְתִּי, cf. *l* § 19 *c* and § 44 *o*. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in תַּתָּה (for נָתַתָּ) 2 S 22[41], 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

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[1] P. Haupt on Ju 16[5] in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *ittan* (besides *inádin*, *inámdin*) from *nadânu* = נתן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in *a* from נתן?

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 triliteral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before afformatives, 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 triliteral forms.

The development of biliteral to triliteral stems (ע״ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of *transitive* verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e.g. סָבַב, סְבָבָה, סָבְבוּ : חָנַן Gn 33[5] (but with suffix חַנֵּנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר *to make strait*, צַר *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. חִלֵּל, שִׁדֵּד), and (*b*) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in Qal, סָבוֹב, סָבוּב, in Pô'ēl and Pô'al, סוֹבֵב, סוֹבַב.

b **2.** The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'îl* 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. תַּם answering to קָטַל, תַּמָּה to the ground-form *qăṭălăt*, תַּמּוּ to the ground-form *qăṭălû*; *infinitive*, סֹב to קְטֹל.

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. תַּם, סֹב, not תַּם, סֹב; but it appears again on the addition of afformatives or suffixes, e.g. תַּמּוּ, סֹבְבוּ, סַבֻּנִי, &c.

d **4.** When the afformative 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 afformative. In the *perfect* this vowel is ִ, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* ִ֫, e.g. כַּבֹּתָ, סַבֹּנוּ, *imperfect* תְּסַבֶּינָה (for *sabb-tā*, *sabb-nû*, *tasōbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

[1] So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 *b*, *c*; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

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h 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (*a*) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יִסֹּב for *yă-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 *b*, 63 *b*, and for verbs ע״ו § 72); (*b*) in the *perfect Niph'al* נָסַב for *nă-săb* (§ 51 *a*); (*c*) in *Hoph'al* הוּסַב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs פ״ו) for *hōsăb* from *hŭ-sab*, imperfect יוּסַב from *yŭ-sab*, &c.

i On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ă* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e. g. יִמַּר for *yĭ-măr* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'îl* הֵסֵּב from *hĭ-sēb* (ground-form הַקְטֵל, § 53 *a*), as well as of the participle מֵסֵּב (ground-form מַקְטֵל), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *ĭ*, attenuated from an original *ă*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *î* (§ 53 *a*). The *ē* lengthened from *ĭ* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e. g. וְהִסַּבּוֹתָ. On the retention of the original *ă* 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 afformatives הָ֫, וּ and יִ֫ (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e. g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* חָתָה֫, in *pause* חָתָה; with ר and gutturals מָרָה (for מָרַר), שָׁחָה ψ 44[26]; on the other hand, with *wāw consecutive* וְרָבָה Is 6[12] (but וְחָיָה֫ Ex 1[16]). In the 3rd *plur. perfect* the tone-syllable varies; along with דָּלוּ, קָלוּ, we also find דָּלוּ and קָלוּ, רָבוּ Is 59[12], שָׁחוּ Hb 3[6], &c.; but in *pause* always חָתוּ, חָמוּ, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in תִּסֹּבִי, יִסֹּבוּ; *perfect Hiph'îl* הֵסַבָּה, הֵסַבּוּ; *imperfect* תְּסֵבִּי, יְסֵבּוּ, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e. g. סַבּוֹתָ, תְּסֻבֶּינָה, &c.; except before the endings תֶּם and תֶּן 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 *ĭ* and *ŭ* (or *ŏ*, see *n*), hence וְהַסְבּוֹתָ from הֵסֵב, תְּסֻבֶּינָה from יָסֹב; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *Šᵉwâ*, see above, *f*.

l 8. In several verbs ע״ע, instead of *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*, the less frequent conjugation *Pô'ēl*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs ע״ו, cf. § 72 *m*), generally with the same meaning,[1] e. g. עוֹלֵל *to ill-treat*, passive עוֹלַל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל; cf. the *Hithpô'ēl* from רָעַע

[1] Sometimes both *Pi'ēl* and *Pô'ēl* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e. g. רִצֵּץ *to break in pieces*, רוֹצֵץ *to oppress*; חִנֵּן *to make pleasing*, חוֹנֵן *to have pity*; סִבֵּב *to turn, to change*, סוֹבֵב *to go round, to encompass*.

and פֹּרַר Is $24^{19\,f.}$); in a few verbs also *Pilpēl* (§ 55 *f*) is found, e. g. גִּלְגֵּל *to roll*, *Hithpalpēl* הִתְגַּלְגֵּל *to roll oneself* (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix סַלְסְלֶהָ *exalt her*, Pr 4^{8}; שִׁעֲשֵׁעַ *to comfort, to delight in*; passive שֻׁעֲשַׁע *to be caressed* (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'ēl*; cf. עִוְעִים (Is 19^{14}) and קִוְקְוֹ (Is $18^{2,7}$).—For תִּתְבָּרָר 2 S 22^{27} read, according to ψ 18^{27}, תִּתְבָּרַר.

Remarks.

I. *On Qal.*

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *ll* which it is customary to refer to triliteral stems with middle *ō* (like יָכֹל, § 43 *a*); viz. רֹמּוּ *they are exalted*, Jb 24^{24} to רָמַם; רֹבּוּ *they shot*, Gn 49^{23} to רָבַב; זֹרּוּ Is 1^{6} to זָרַר. But this explanation is very doubtful: זֹרּוּ 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 *ll* preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָחֹן, יָמוֹד, יָעוֹז, יָרֹן, יָרֹעַ (trans. *he breaks in pieces*, but יֵרַע intrans. = *he is evil*); imperfects with *ă* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ĭ*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 *c* and *e*, § 72 *h*, and specially Barth in *ZDMG.* 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Ḥōlĕm* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (סֹב, יָסֹב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. צוֹר *bind up*, Is 8^{16}; גּוֹל ψ 37^{5}; דּוֹם ver. 7; לָבוֹז for לָבֹז *to plunder*, Est 3^{13}, 8^{11}). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ŏ*, in a sharpened syllable *ŭ*, or not infrequently even *ŏ* (see above, *k*). Examples of *ŏ* are: (*a*) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רָנַן (*rŏn*) *to rejoice*, Jb 38^{7}; וַיָּסָב Ju 11^{18} (once even with *ŭ* in a toneless final syllable, וַיָּרֻם Ex 16^{27}); on the other hand, in the *plur.* וַיָּסֹבּוּ, *fem.* וַתְּסֻבֶּינָה; (*b*) before a tone-bearing *afformative* or *suffix*, e. g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* דְּנִי, גְּזִי (cf. *ff*); חָנְנִי *pity me*; סָלְחָה Jer 50^{26}; יְשָׁרֵם Pr 11^{3} *Qerê*; תְּחָנֵּהוּ Ex 12^{14} (for the defective writing, cf. יְסֻבֶּהוּ Jb 40^{22}). In יְחָנֶךָּ Gn 43^{29}, Is 30^{19} (for יְחָנְךָ) this *ŏ* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֳרֶיָה *make yourselves naked* Is 32^{11}, cf. the *o* analogous forms in § 48 *i*.—Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רֹעֵה Is 24^{19} (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רֹעַ, cf. קֹב Nu 23^{25} and שֹׁל Ru 2^{16}); so also are the *imperatives* קָבֶה־לִּי Nu $22^{11.17}$, and אָרֶה־לִּי 22^{6}, 23^{7}, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קָבָה, אָרָה. If these forms are to be read *qŏballî*, *'ŏralli*, they would be analogous to such cases as מִדְבָּרָה (§ 90 *i*), the addition of the *paragogic* ה causing no change in the form of the word (קָבֶ֫ like רָנֶ֫ above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballî*, *'āralli*, then in both cases the *Qameṣ* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of *ō* (קְבָהּ־לִי, &c.; cf. § 9 *v*). Still more surprising is קָבְנוֹ *curse him*, Nu 23[13], for קְבֹנוֹ or קָבֹ׳.[1]

p 3. Examples with *Pathaḥ* in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* are בַּר (in לְבָרָם *to prove them*, Ec 3[18]); רַד Is 45[1]; שַׁךְ Jer 5[26]; בִּשַׁגָּם *in their error*, Gn 6[3] (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בִּשְׁגָם, from שְׁגִי = שְׁגֵי = אֲשֶׁר and גַּם *also*; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also גַּל *take away*, ψ 119[22]; and the *imperfects* יַחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19[6], &c. (on the *ē* of the preformative cf. *n*); יַמַּר *it is bitter*, Is 24[9]; יַצַּר *it is straitened*; יַרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7[4]; תִּשַׁם *it is desolate*, Ez 12[19] (in *pause* תִּשָּׁם Gn 47[19]); וַתִּקַּל *she was despised*, Gn 16[4] (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e. g. וַיִּצַּר Gn 32[8], &c.; וַיִּרַע Gn 21[11], &c., cf. Ez 19[7]); in the 1st *sing. imperfect* אֵיתָם[2] ψ 19[14], abnormally written fully for אֵתָם, unless אֵתָם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יִתָּם.—In the *impf. Qal* of שׁלל the reading of Hb 2[8] varies between יְשַׁלּוּךָ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יְשָׁלּוּךָ (ed. Mant., Jabl.).—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original *ĭ* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'îl in the same sense: וַיִּגַּל Gn 29[10]; יָגֵן Is 31[5], &c.; וַיִּסַּךְ Ex 4c[21], ψ 91[4], &c.; perhaps also תִּצְלֶינָה 1 S 3[11] and יָהֵל Jb 31[26], &c.; in accordance with this last form, (בְּ)הִלּוֹ Jb 29[3] would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not Hiph'îl (for בַּהֲהִלּוֹ), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתֹּרֶץ Ju 9[53] may probably be added to the list.

q Imperfects, with an original *u* in the second syllable, are also found with this *ŭ* lengthened to *û* (instead of *ō*), e. g. יָרוֹן, if the text is correct, in Pr 29[6]; יָשׁוֹךְ ψ 91[6] (unless it be simply an imperfect from שׁוּר *to be powerful, to prevail*); יָרוּץ (if from רצץ) Is 42[4], &c. (also defectively אָרֶץ ψ 18[30]; but in Ec 12[6], according to Baer, וְתָרוּץ); תִּתָּם Ez 24[11] (on the sharpening of the ת cf. *g* above).[3]

r A similar analogy with verbs ע״ו is seen in the infinitives לָבוֹר (for בֹּר) Ec 9[1]; בְּחָקוֹ Pr 8[27] (cf. בְּחוּקוֹ Pr 8[29]) for בְּחֹקוֹ, and in the *imperfect* אֲמֻשֵׁךְ Gn 27[21]. (The forms חַנּוֹת in ψ 77[10], שַׁמּוֹת Ez 36[3], חַלּוֹתִי ψ 77[11], formerly treated here as infinitives from ע״ע stems, are rather to be referred to ל״ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the *aramaïzing imperfect*, see above, *g*.

s 4. In the *participle*, the aramaïzing form שְׂאַסֵּיךְ for שְׂסֵיךְ occurs in K[e]thîbh, Jer 30[16] (the *Q[e]rê* indicates a *participle* from שָׂסָה); רֹעָה Pr 25[19] appears to be a contraction from רֹעֲעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

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[1] For נוֹ as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנוֹ, § 100 *o*, and probably also in the *Nûn* of the Phoenician suffix נם: cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 *o*.

[2] Also in Ez 6[6], instead of תִּישְׁמְנָה, which could only come from יָשַׁם, תִּישׁ׳ is intended, and יְאִשְׁמוּ in the same verse is probably only an error for יִשַּׁמּוּ.

[3] According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with *û*, since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

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Seghôl is found under the preformative in הֶקְלַחֲנִי 2 S 19[44], and a *Pathaḥ* occurs before ח (with a virtual sharpening of the ח) in such forms as הַחְחֹתָ Is 9[3]; cf. Gn 11[6], Dt 2[31], 3[24], 1 S 22[15], Est 6[13]—in all these cases before ח.—On בְּהִלּוֹ Jb 29[3], see above, *p*: on וְהַחְתִּתִי Jer 49[37], see below, *dd*.

x 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ă* is retained (§ 22 *d*) in the second syllable instead of *ĕ*, e.g. וַיַּרַע 1 K 16[25]: so also with ר, as וַיַּצַר 2 Ch 28[20], Dt 2[9]—but cf. also וַיִּפֶר Neh 4[9].

y 8. Aramaïzing forms (but cf. Rem. *i* = § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסֹּב Ex 13[18], &c.; cf. Ju. 18[23]; אַל־תִּמַּר Ex 23[21], but read אַל־תָּמֶר from מָרָה: וַיִּכְתּוּ Dt 1[44] (cf. Nu 14[45]), but וַיַּכֻּתוּ Ju 18[23], 1 S 5[8], 2 Ch 29[6]; אַחַל *profanabo*, Ez 39[7]; תַּתֵּם Jb 22[3]; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), וַיְהַתֵּל 1 K 18[27], but Jer 9[4] יְהֻתָּלוּ, Jb 13[9] תְּהֻתָּלוּ; with *î* in the second syllable יַשִּׁים Jer 49[20], 50[45]; cf. וַנָּשֶׂם Nu 21[30]; in the *perfect* הִוּיֻלּוּהָ La 1[8]. In *Hoph'al*, הֻמְכוּ *they are brought low*, Jb 24[21]; יֻכַּת *he is smitten*, Is 24[12] (*plur.* יֻכַּתּוּ Jer 46[5], Mi 1[7]); in *pause*, יֻחָקוּ Jb 19[23], but also יֻכַּתּוּ Jb 4[20] (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יֻכָּתוּ); with *ŏ* in the initial syllable, הָשַׁמָּה (*infinitive* with *suffix* = הָשַׁמָּתָהּ, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26[34 f.], cf. 2 Ch 36[21]; בְּהָשַׁמָּה, with irregular syncope for בְּהָשַׁמָּתָהּ, Lv 26[43].

IV. *In General.*

z 9. Verbs ע״ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע״ו (§ 72). The form of verbs ע״ע is generally the shorter (cf. e.g. יָסֹב and יָקוּם, הֵסֵב and הֵקִים); 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 afformative or with an afformative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e.g. סָבַב, סִבְבוּ (but before a suffix also סִבֻּנִי, as well as סִבָּבוּנִי, שִׁחֲתוּנִי, &c.); זָמַם, זָמְמָה, אָפְפוּ, &c. Sometimes the contracted, *as well as* the uncontracted form, is found, e.g. בָּזַז *to plunder*, *plur.* בָּזְזוּ; in other parts, only בָּזֹנוּ Dt 2[35], as well as בַּזֹּנוּ Dt 3[7]; זָמַמְתִּי Zc 8[14.15] and זַמֹּתִי Jer 4[28]. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25[12], Pr 30[32]; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5[9]. Apart from Qal the only example of a developed form is וְהַחְתַּתִּי Jer 49[37].

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. דַּק Dt 9[21] (Ex 32[20] דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חַת, *fem.* חַתָּה; מַר, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צַר, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. וְחָרָה Ez 24[11]); רַךְ, שַׁח, *fem.* שַׁחָה, תַּם, &c.; *plur.* חַתּוּ, תַּמּוּ, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, עָשְׁשָׁה ψ 6[8].

cc The intransitive but developed perfects דָּלְלוּ (also דַּלּוּ), חָלַל, נָדְדָה, נָדְדוּ (in *pause* נָדֹדוּ), סָרַר, עָשְׁשָׁה (*plur.* in *pause* עָשְׁשׁוּ ψ 31[11]), צָלְלוּ, שָׁחֲחוּ (also שַׁחוּ), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after לְ are לִסְבֹּב Nu 21[4]; לִשְׁדוֹד Jer 47[4]; לִגְזֹז Gn 31[19] (also לָגֹז Gn 38[13]); cf. also לַחְמָם Is 47[14], in *subordinate pause*, for לַחֲמַם; with *suffix* לַחֲנֻנְכֶם Is 30[19], and, from the same

form חָנַן, with retraction and modification of the vowel, לְחָנְנָהּ ψ 102[14]; also שְׁחוֹחַ Is 60[14], בְּגוֹז 1 S 25[2], כְּמֹסִּים Is 10[18], בַּעֲוֹן Pr 8[28], כְּצְרוֹר Pr 26[8].—*Imperative* שְׁרֹדוּ Jer 49[28] (cf. § 20 *b*, and ibid. also on חָנְנֵנִי ψ 9[14]); in the *imperfect*, יְהֹור Na 3[7] (ψ 68[13]; cf. Gn 31[40]) from נדר; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nûn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, יְשָׁרְדֵם Jer 5[6] is anomalous for יְשָׁדֵּם (Pr 11[3] *Qᵉrê*; the eastern school read the Poʿēl ישודם in the *Kᵉthibh*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a *vocal Šᵉwâ*. Cf. also יְחָנֵן Am 5[15] (elsewhere יָחֹן). In *Niphʿal*, the triliteral form יִלָּבֵב is found, Jb 11[12]; in *Hiphʿil*, all the forms of רנן, thus *imperative* הַרְנִינוּ, *imperfect* תַּרְנִין; *infinitive* הַשְׁמֵם Mi 6[13]; *participle* מַשְׁמִים Ez 3[15]. That the developed (triliteral) forms possess a certain emphasis is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in ψ 118[11] after a biliteral form (סַבּוּנִי גַם־סְבָבוּנִי).

dd 11. The above-mentioned (see *g*) neglect of the strengthening in aramaïzing forms, such as יְדֹמוּ and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect Qal* תַּמְנוּ for תַּמֹּונוּ Nu 17[28] (Jer 44[18]; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* נָבְזֶה 1 S 14[36] (ה֫ *parag.* without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to *vocal Šᵉwâ*; וְנִבְלָה Gn 11[7] for נִבְלֶה (cohortative from בָּלַל); יְזַמּוּ for יְזֹמּוּ ibid. ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs ע״ו, אֲמַשֵּׁךְ (see above, *r*); from *intransitive imperfects Qal*, תְּצָרֵי Is 49[19] (*plur. masc.* Jb 18[7]); יְרַעוּ Neh 2[3]; also תִּישְׁמְנָה Ez 6[6] (for which read תִּשֵּׁשׁ=תִּישֵׁשׁ) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niphʿal* נְסַבָּה for נָסַבָּה Ez 41[7]; נְוַלוּ Ju 5[6] for נָוֹלוּ; נִמַּלְתֶּם for נִמַּלְתֶּם Gn 17[11] (as if from מָלַל not מול *to circumcise*), cf. Is 19[3], Jer 8[14]; *imperfect* תִּסַּקְנָה Zc 14[12]; *participle* נִחָמִים, cf. *u*. So also נָפַץ 1 S 13[11], נִפְצָה Gn 9[19] (cf. Is 33[3]), are perfects *Niphʿal* from פצץ (= פוץ), not *Qal* from נָפַץ.—In *Hiphʿil* הַחְלִתְּ (for הֶחֱלֹתְּ) Ju 16[10] (2 S 15[34]); הֶעְזָה for הֶעֱזָה Pr 7[13] (cf. Ct 6[11], 7[13]).

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in לְהַפְרְכֶם Lv 26[15].—On the perfect דַּלְיוּ Pr 26[7], cf. § 75 *u*.

cc 12. Cases in which the tone is thrown forward on the afformatives (see *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. וְהִצַּרְתִּי Jer 10[18] before לָהֶם) after ו *consec.*, Ex 33[19.22], 2 K 19[34], &c., also Is 44[16] (חַמּוֹתִי before ר); ψ 92[11] (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the Lexicon), 116[6], perhaps also Jb 19[17], וְחַנֹּתִי (though in this passage, and in ψ 17[3], the form might be an *infinitive* in *ôth*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19[17]); in the 2nd *sing.* וְקַצֹּתָה (before א) Dt 25[13]; in the 3rd *plural*, רַבּוּ *multi sunt*, ψ 3[2], 104[24], Jer 5[6], 1 S 25[10]; רַכּוּ *they are soft*, ψ 55[22] קַלּוּ *they are swift*, Jer 4[13], Hb 1[8]; זַכּוּ *they are pure*, Jb 15[15], 25[5], La 4[7]; שַׁחוּ *they did bow*, Hb 3[6]; חָרוּ *they are burned*, Is 24[6]. A by-form of שָׁחוּ (ע״ו, cf. § 72 *dd*) is שַׁחֹּוּ ψ 49[15], 73[9].

ff (*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) רָנֹּי *sing*, Is 54[1], Zp 3[14], Zc 2[14]; רָנּוּ Is 44[23], 49[13], Jer 31[7] (but רֹנִּי *lament*, La 2[19]), חָגֹּי *keep* (*thy feasts*), Na 2[1], Jer 7[29]; עוּזָה (=עֻזָּה) before א, ψ 68[29]. On the retention of the short vowels *ŭ* (*ŏ*) and *ĭ* 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 *Šᵉwâ*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

The Weakest Verbs (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. *Verbs* פ״א 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*, אָבָה *to be willing*, אָכַל *to eat*, אָמַר *to say*, אָפָה *to bake*) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ô*, e.g. יֹאכַל.[1] In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יֹאחֵז (18 times) and יֶאֱחָז (3 times) *he takes hold*; יֹסֵף (see *h*), also יֶאֱסֹף, *he collects*. This *ô* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *â* (§ 9 *q*), and the *â* from אָ—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *ă* to *â*; cf. § 23 *a*.

c In the second syllable *ō* (for original *ŭ*) never appears, but either *ē*[2] or *ă*; and in *pause* almost always *ē*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* afformative ן, e.g. יֹאכְלֵן Dt 18[1], without the pause יֹאכְלוּן Dt 4[28]. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אָמַר, however, *ă* is always retained in pause, יֹאמַר and אֹמַר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תֹּאמֵר 1 K 5[20], in the 3rd *fem.* תֹּאמַר Pr 1[21]; in the *plural* יֹאמְרוּ Jer 5[2], ψ 145[6.11], תֹּאמְרוּ Jer 23[38], with *Segolta*; cf. also תֹּאכַל 1 S 1[7], &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ă* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e.g. תֹּאבַד לָעַד ψ 9[19], but in *pause* תֹּאבֵד ψ 1[6]; cf. a similar interchange of *ē* and *ă* in § 65 *c*. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תֹּאכַלְנָה Zc 11[9].

d When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אָבַד and אָכַל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathaḥ*, e.g. יֹאבַד יוֹם Jb 3[3], וַיֹּאכַל *and he did eat*; in אָמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw consecutive*

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[1] So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yôkul*.

[2] On this *ē* (originally *ĭ*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ŭ*), 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* אֱכֹל, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יֵאכֵל, as well as by the fact that יֶאֱחֹז and יֶאֱסֹף are found along with יֹאחֵז and יֹאסֵף.

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the 1st *pers.* Mi 4^6 and אֹסִפָה 1 S 15^6, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *i*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*: instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֹסִיפָה (with *î*, according to § 60 *f*). But תְּאֹסִפוּן Ex 5^7 (for תְּכוֹם), וַיֹּאסֶף 1 S 18^{29} (for וַיּוֹסֶף), and יאסף Jb 27^{19} (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem יָסַף. Furthermore, יְמַרֻּךָ ψ 139^{20} (where certainly יַמְרֶה is to be read); תִּבֶא Pr 1^{10} (cf. § 75 *hh*); וַתִּפֶּהוּ 1 S 28^{24}; יוּכְלוּ Ez 42^5; תִּמְרוּ 2 S 19^{14}; וַתֹּחֶן 2 S 20^9; תִּוֹלִי *thou gaddest about* (from אָוַל), Jer 2^{36}; וַיֶּתֵא Dt 33^{21} (for יֵאָתֶה), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 *p*) וַיֹּתֵא, וַיֹּתֶא or וַיֶּתֵא.

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* נֹאחֲזוּ Nu 32^{30}, Jos 22^9; *Hiph.* וַיֹּאצֶל Nu 11^{25} (but the statement in verse 17 is וְאָצַלְתִּי, therefore Qal); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וַיֹּרֶב (for וַיֹּאֶרֶב?) *and he laid wait*, 1 S 15^5, and אָוִין *I listen*, Jb 32^{11} (on the analogy of verbs ע״ו); cf. also אוֹכִיל (*ô* from *â*) *I give to eat*, Hos 11^4; אֹבִידָה (*ô* from *â*) *I will destroy*, Jer 46^8; וַיּוֹחֶר 2 S 20^5 *Qerê* (for וַיֹּאחַר); the *Kethîbh* appears to require the *Pi'ēl* וַיְיַחֵר, from יחר as a secondary form of אחר; but וַיֹּחַר = וַיֹּאחַר for וַיֹּאחֶר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וְאוֹצְרָה Neh 13^{13}, cf. § 53 *n*.—*Infinitive* לְהָכִיל Ez 21^{33} (=לְהָאֲכִי unless it is rather *infin. Hiph.* from כוּל); *Participle* מֵזִין *giveth ear*, Pr 17^4 (clearly by false analogy of verbs ע״ו, for מַאֲזִין); *Imperative* הֲתִיוּ *bring* (from אָתָה) Jer 12^9. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21^{14}, cf. § 76 *d*.)

k 2. In the *Pi'ēl* the א is sometimes elided (like ה in יְהַקְטִיל, יַקְטִיל), thus מַלֵּף (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) *teaching*, for מְאַלֵּף Jb 35^{11}; יַהֵל (if not a mere scribal error) for יְאַהֵל Is 13^{20}; וַתְּזָרֵנִי *thou hast girded me*, 2 S 22^{40}, for וַתְּאַזְּרֵנִי, as ψ 18^{40}; וְאַבֵּדְךָ Ez 28^{16}; 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. *wălădă*. 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״נ (see § 71).

With regard to verbs פ״ו (i. e. פ״י with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that— *b*

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* יֵשֵׁב, יֵדַע with an unchangeable[1] *Ṣere* in the first syllable and original *ĭ* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 *c*) becomes *ē* (thus יֵלֵד, יֵצֵא, יֵרֵד; יֵלֵךְ, see *x*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ă* in the second (יֵדַע, יֵקַע, יֵחַד).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. וַיֵּשֶׁב, יֵשְׁבוּ, &c.; in the same way *ă* becomes *Šᵉwâ* in such cases as יֵדְעוּ, &c., but is lengthened to *Qameṣ* in *pause* (יֵדָעוּ) and before suffixes (יֵדָעֵם).

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

C. *Infinitive* שֶׁבֶת from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פ״נ (cf. § 66 *b*) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives דְּעָה, לָדָה (see below, *m*) point to a ground- *c*
form *di'at*, *lidat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 42) and Barth (ibid. xli. 606), assign to שֶׁבֶת, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שִׁבְתִּי, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *ĭ* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

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[1] The *e* of the first syllable is really *ê*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. וַיֵּרְעֵם Ho 14^{10}), but also in אֵרָעֲךָ Ex $33^{13.17}$. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *ê* occurs (with the exception of וַיֵּקַר *ψ* 72^{14}, elsewhere pointed וַיֵּקַר) only in Mi 1^{8} and Ez 35^{9} *Kᵉth.*; in *ψ* 138^{6} the Masora prefers to point יֵדָע.—Of the various explanations of the *ê* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yălĭd*, for example (see above), became *yilid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yélēd* instead of *yēlēd*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ê* instead of *ē*) to a triliteral 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* יְצֹק, יְרַשׁ and *infinitives* יְסֹד, יְרֹא, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יִירַשׁ, properly *yiyrăš*, merges with the preceding *ĭ* into *î*.

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

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. *wălădă*, imperf. *yălĭdu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wăǵĭlă*, *yauǵalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

f (*b*) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. צַק 2 K 4[41] and יְצֹק *pour*, Ez 24[3] (cf. יְצֻקוּ 1 K 18[34] and the *infin.* צָקֹת Ex 38[27]); רְשׁ *take possession*, Dt 1[21], 1 K 21[15] (but cf. *s*), רָשׁ (in *pause* for רַשׁ) Dt 2[24.31]; *plur.* רָשׁוּ Dt 1[8], 9[23], but also, with ה_ *paragogic*, יְרָשָׁה Dt 33[23]. In the *imperfect* יִיקַד Dt 32[22] and יֵקַד Is 10[16] *it shall be kindled*; וַיִּיקַר *it was precious*, 1 S 18[30] and יִקַּר ψ 49[9] (cf. יְיֻקַּר ψ 72[14]).—The form וַיִּחַמּוּ Gn 30[39], for וַיֶּחֱמוּ, beside וַיֶּחֱמֶנָה verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 *k*.

g (*c*) On רַד Ju 19[11] for יָרַד and שׁוּב Jer 42[10] for the *infinitive absolute* יָשׁוֹב, cf. § 19 *i*.—But יְרַד Ju 5[13] (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'ēl* from יָרָה (=יְיָרֵד) *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 יָלַד *to bring forth*, יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשַׁב *to sit, to dwell*, יָרַד *to descend*, also הָלַךְ *to go* (cf. below, *x*); and with *ă* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע *to know*, יָחַד *to be united*, יָקַע *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יִירַשׁ, &c.) are יָעֵף *to be wearied*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשֵׁן *to sleep*, יָרֵא (*imperfect* יִירָא, *imperative* יְרָא) *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. הִוָּשֵׁב, יִוָּשֵׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל; (*b*) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e.g. הִתְוַדַּע from יָדַע, הִתְוַכַּח from יָכַח, הִתְוַדָּה from יָדָה; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e.g. וָלָד *offspring* from יָלַד *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

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[1] A ninth יָסַף *to add*, is also to be included. In the Mêša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לספת (cf. יספתי, l. 29); hence read in Is 30[1] (Nu 32[14], Dt 29[18]) סֹפֶת for סְפוֹת. The 2nd *plur. masc. imperative* סְפוּ Is 29[1], Jer 7[21] corresponds to שְׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סָפָה *addere*, there remains only אַסְפֵּה Dt 32[23], for which, according to 2 S 12[8], read אֹסְפָה.

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o 2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by ה־ֶ, e.g. שְׁבָה *sit thou*, רְדָה *descend thou*. From יָהַב *to give*, Arab. *wăhăbă*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הַב *give*, lengthened הָבָה generally with the meaning *age, go to*, hence in Gn 11[3.4] even addressed to several persons (Gn 29[21] הָבָה before א to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הָבִי Ru 3[15], *Milraʿ* on the analogy of the plural הָבוּ (once in Jb 6[22] הָבוּ before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32[3]), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פ״ו, הַבִי, הַבוּ would be expected.—On דְּעֵה Pr 24[14], cf. § 48 *l*.

p 3. The *imperfect* with ו elided takes *ă* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under *f*), also in תֵּרֵד Jer 13[17] (cf. La 3[48]) and in the pausal form יֵלַךְ Jb 27[21], &c. (from הָלַךְ, see *x*); on יֵקַד Is 10[16] see above, *f*. The *ă* in the second syllable, when followed by the afformative נָה (תֵּרַדְנָה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under *c*), by which *ă* takes the place of *ĭ* in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with *ē* in the second syllable shorten the *ē* to *Seghôl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw consecutive*), e.g. יֵשֶׁב־נָא Gn 44[33]; וַיֵּרֶד, וַיֵּשֶׁב; but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with Milʿel-tone, in יֵצֵא Ex 16[29], Ju 9[39], in both cases with *nasog ʾaḥor*, § 29 *e*. The *pausal* is either of the form וַיֵּשֶׁב Ru 4[1] or וַיֵּרֶד ψ 18[10]; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְאֵרֵד, וְאֵלֵד, &c., except וְאֵלֵךְ Jb 19[10], see *x*.—For וַיֵּדַע ψ 139[6] (cf. the note above, on *b* and the analogous cases in § 70 *d*) וַיֵּדַע is intended.

q The *imperfect* of the form יִירַשׁ is frequently (especially before afformatives) written defectively, in which case the *î* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16 *f*), e.g. יְעַפּוּ Is 40[30], יְגֵעוּ Is 65[23]; and so always יִרְאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יְרֵאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of רָאָה).—On וַיִּישֶׁם Gn 50[26], 24[33] *Kᵉth.*, and יִסָּךְ Ex 30[32], see § 73 *f*.

r From יָכֹל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יוּכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יוֹכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yawkhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47 *b*, אֶקְטֹל is differentiated from יִקְטֹל. Cf. the Arabic *yauruʿu* (*yôruʿu*) from *waruʿa*, *yauǧalu* (*yôǧalu*) from *waǧila*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yûṣal*, &c., from *waṣala*. Others regard יוּכַל as an *imperfect Hophʿal* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 *u*.—וְתוּכַל occurs in Jer 3[5] as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וְתוּכְלִי, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יוֹרֶה or יֹרֶה is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *impf. Qal* (not *Hiphʿil*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoot* (the supposed *impf. Qal* וְנִירֶם Nu 21[30] is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *impf.* יוֹרֶה is immediately preceded by the *imperat. Qal* (2 K 13[17]) or *infin. Qal* (ψ 64[5]), or is followed by the *participle Qal* (2 Ch 35[23]; but in 2 S 11[24] by the *participle Hiphʿil*).

s 4. The attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 *d* (cf. § 64 *f*) occurs in verbs פ״ו in a few forms of יָלַד Nu 11[12], Jer 2[27], ψ 2[7], &c. (always after יְ), as well as of יָרַשׁ, e.g. וְיִרַשְׁתֶּם, &c., Dt 4[1], 8[1], 17[14], 19[1], 26[1], 31[3] (always after וְ for וַ). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial יְ was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *i* (§ 47 *b*). In the case of יָרַשׁ, however, a secondary form יִרַשׁ (cf. § 44 *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wărĭṯă*. The forms

וַיִּרְשֹׁף Ez 36[12] and וַיִּרְשֻׁהָ ψ 69[36], &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *i*.

t 5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a י instead of the ו, e.g. וַיִּיָּחֶל *and he stayed*, Gn 8[12] (unless the *Pi'ēl* or וַיְחַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), cf. Ex 19[13]; 1 S 13[8] *K^ethîbh*.—The first person always has the form אִוָּשֵׁב, not אִיָּשֵׁב, cf. § 51 *p*.—In the *participle* the plural נוֹגִי (from יָגָה, with depression of *ô* to *û*, cf. § 27 *n*) is found in Zp 3[18]; cf. La 1[4]. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נוּלְדוּ *null^edhû*, 1 Ch 3[5], 20[8], for נוֹלְדוּ which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

u 6. In the *imperfect Pi'ēl* elision of the first radical (י) sometimes takes place after *wāw consec.* (as in the case of א, § 68 *k*), e.g. וַיֵּגֶה for וַיְיֵגֶה *and he has grieved*, La 3[33], וַיֵּדּוּ for וַיְיֵדּוּ *and they have cast*, verse 53, from יָדָה, which may also be a true verb פ״י (on the other hand, in יָדוּ גוֹרָל *they have cast lots*, Jo 4[3], Ob [11], Na 3[10], 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 יָדוּ). So from a verb פ״י, of the second class, וַיֵּבֵשׁ for וַיְיַבֵּשׁ *and he made it dry*, Na 1[4]; cf. וַיֵּשֶׁר 2 Ch 32[30] *Q^erê* (the *K^eth.* points either to *Pi'ēl* וַיְיַשֵּׁר or *Hiph'il* וַיַּיְשֵׁר).

w 7. The *imperative Hiph'îl*, instead of the usual form הוֹשֵׁב, sometimes has *i* in the second syllable; הוֹצִיא Is 43[8]; הוֹפִיעַ ψ 94[1] (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעָה). On the uncertainty of the tone in הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָּא see § 53 *m*. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ă*, as הוֹדַע, הוֹשַׁע, cf. also הַקַר Pr 25[17] (as in the *infin. constr.* הוֹכַח Jb 6[26]; see § 65 *f*). On the other hand, *i* always appears when the syllable is open, thus הוֹשִׁיבִי, הוֹשִׁיבָה, and so also before suffixes (§ 61 *g*). הֵיצֵא Gn 8[17] *Q^erê* (*K^eth.* הוֹצֵא, see § 70 *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S^eghôl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e.g. יֹוסֵף *that he may increase*, Pr 1[5], before לֶקַח; cf. Ex 10[28] and Dt 3[26] after אַל־; וְיֹסֶף (תּוֹסֵף Pr 30[6] is anomalous); in *pause*, however, also תּוֹסַף as *jussive*, Jb 40[32] (usual *jussive* in *pause* יוֹשֵׁב, &c., which occurs even without the pause after *wāw consecutive*, Gn 47[11], Jos 24[3], 2 S 8[4], &c.). With a final guttural יֹדַע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and וַיּוֹכַח, &c.; with a final ר in *pause* וַתֹּחַר Ru 2[14]: on וְיַשְׁעֵם Is 35[4], cf. § 65 *f*).—On forms like יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53 *q*.

x In *Hoph'al* ô stands instead of וּ, in הוֹדַע (for הוּדַע) Lv 4[23.28], הֻנָּה 2 S 20[13], and perhaps in יוֹרֶא (for יוּרֶה) Pr 11[25]; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Ptcp.* מוּדָעַת Is 12[5] *Q^ere* (מְיֻדַּעַת *K^eth*).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הֻלֶּדֶת Gn 40[20], for הֻלֶּדֶת = הוּלַדְתּ; cf. above, *t*, on נוּלְדוּ, and § 71 at the end.

y 8. The verb הָלַךְ *to go*, also belongs in some respects to the פ״ו class, since it forms (as if from וָלַךְ) *imperfect* יֵלֵךְ, with *wāw consecutive* וַיֵּלֶךְ (in *pause* וַיֵּלֶךְ Gn 24[61], &c.), 1st sing. וְאֵלֵךְ (but in Jb 19[10] וְאֵלְכָה); *infinitive construct* לֶכֶת with suff. לֶכְתִּי (*S^eghôl* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נָגְדִּי, cf. also נֶגְדּוֹ); *imperative* לֵךְ־, לֶךְ, in the lengthened form לְכָה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gn 19[32], or a *plural*, Gn 31[44]) and לֹךְ (Nu 23[13], Ju 19[13], 2 Ch 25[17]); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיךְ (also in Ex 2[9] הוֹלִיכִי 2nd *fem. imperative* is to be read for הֵילִיכִי, which probably arose merely through

confusion with the following הֵינִקָהוּ) ; *imperfect* יוֹלִיךְ, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always וְאוֹלֵךְ Lv 26[13], Am 2[10], &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of הָלַךְ are also found : *imperf.* יְהַלֵּךְ (ψ 58[9], &c. ; but תְּהַלֵּךְ Ex 9[23], ψ 73[9] ; cf. § 64 *a* and *h*) ; אֶהֱלֵךְ Jb 16[22], also Mêša' inscription, line 14, אהלך ; *infin.* הַלֵּךְ (Ex 3[19], Nu 22[18 f.16], [1] Ec 6[8.9]) ; *imperative plur.* הִלְכוּ Jer 51[50]. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always הָלַךְ, *participle* הוֹלֵךְ, *infinitive absolute* הָלוֹךְ, *Niph'al* נֶהֱלַךְ, *Pi'ēl* הִלֵּךְ, *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְהַלֵּךְ, 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 יָלַךְ. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ"ו forms of הלך with Praetorius (*ZAW.* ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the Hiph'îl, of which the ground-form *hahlîkh* became *hâlîkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs פ"א, *hôlîkh*. This *hôlîkh* being referred to a supposed *haulîkh* (properly *hawlîkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ"ו.

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

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

Verbs properly פ"י 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 יְבֹשׁ,[2] the *imperfect* יִיטַב, יִיקַץ, יִינַק (in *pause* יִינָק), also written יִטַּב, &c. ; and so always with a tone-bearing *ă* in the second syllable. even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. וַיִּיקַץ, except וַיִּיקַץ Gn 9[24], and וַיִּיצַר Gn 2[7.19], unless יָצַר is to be included among verbs פ"ו (cf. נוֹצַר Is 43[10]).

b 2. In *Hiph'îl* the original form הַיְטִיב is regularly contracted to הֵיטִיב (rarely written הֲטִיב, הֵיטִב, &c.) ; *imperfect* יֵיטִיב, וַיֵּיטֶב. Instances of the uncontracted form are יַיְשִׁרוּ Pr 4[25], according to Barth (see above, § 67 *p*), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'îl* is otherwise always *causative* ; הַיְשַׁר (*imperative*) ψ 5[9] *Qerê* (the *Keth.* requires הושר according to the form of verbs פ"ו ; cf. Is 45[2], אושר *Keth.*, אַיְשֵׁר *Qerê*), cf. Gn 8[17] *Qerê* ; מַיְמִינִים 1 Ch 12[2], to be explained as a denominative from יָמִין ; אַיְסִירֵם Ho 7[12] (§ 24 *f*, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading אֲאַסְּרֵם.

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[1] Cf. above, *m*, note 2.

[2] This may be inferred from בִּיבֹשׁ (= בִּי׳) Is 27[11], which with its fem. יְבֹשֶׁת Gn 8[7], is the only example of an infinitive *construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found : consequently the forms יְטַב, &c. (in Paradigm L of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

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consecutive has the form וַיֵּצֵא Gn 28[18], 35[14], &c., cf. § 69 *f*, where also other forms of יָצָא are given; וַיֵּיצֶר and יִצֹּר (Is 44[12], 49[8], Jer 1[5] *Qerê*), from יָצַר *to form*, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also אֶפְרֹם Ho 10[10]; וַיִּשָּׁרְנָה (for וַתִּ according to § 47 *k*) 1 S 6[12]; לִיסֹּד 2 Ch 31[7] (cf. § 69 *n*) and מוּסָּד Is 28[16]. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיִּקַּח 1 K 3[15] (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer וַיִּקָּח) and in הַיֹּלֶדֶת Gn 40[20], Ez 16[5] (cf. הוּלָּדֶת verse 4), *infinitive Hophʿal* of יָלַד (cf. נוֹלְדוּ § 69 *t*).

§ 72. *Verbs* ע״ו (*vulgo* ע״ו), e.g. קוּם *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 triliteral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i.e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39 *a*), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39 *b*), the *û* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs ו״ע or more correctly (see below) ו״ע.[1]

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[1] The term ו״ע was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or י in the case of verbs י״ע) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Piʿēl* (עִוֵּר, the ו usually passing into י as in קִיַּם, cf. Arabic *qáwwămă*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e.g. מָוֶת *death*, compared with מוּת *to die*. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs ע״י e.g. *šayat*) was always assumed, and יָקוּם was referred to an original *yaqwŭm*, the *infinitive absolute* קוֹם to original *qawôm*, the *participle passive* קוּם to original *qawûm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עִוֵּר, קִים (see *m*) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קוֹמֵם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָוַם, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These ע״ו stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real ו״ע stems of the strong forms, such as רָוַח, גָּוַע, &c. (see below, *gg*).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to ו״ע stems was taken by Samuel Hannagîd (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwalîd*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to ע״ע stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67 *a*, note). On the other hand, the old view of ו and י as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs ע״ע, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ע״י *b* generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 *b*; § 67 *b*). However, it is to be remarked: (*a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e. g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* קָם, *fem.* קָמָה, *plur.* קָמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* קַמְתָּ, &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 אוֹר *he shone*, בּוֹשׁ *he was ashamed*, טוֹב *he was good*.[2] Cf. *n–r*.

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al*, and throughout *Hiph'îl* 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 *ă* is the basis of the form and not the *ĭ* attenuated from *ă* (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יֵבוֹשׁ), hence יָקוּם, for *yăqûm*; נָקוֹם for *năqôm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'îl* הֵקִים for *hĭqîm*; *participle* מֵקִים (on the Ṣere cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הוּקַם for *hŭqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes *vocal Šᵉwâ* when the tone is moved forward, e.g. יְמִיתֶנּוּ *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragogic*; יְמוּתֻנּוּן (without *Nûn* יָמוּתוּ). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in הַהֵיטִיר Jer 2[11] (beside הֵטִיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הֵיטִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the *û* is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ע״ע).

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[1] In Aramaic, however, always קָמְתָּ; also in Hebrew grammars before Qimḥi קָמְתָּ, קָמְתִּי, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e. g. קָמְתִּי Mi 7[8], מָתְנוּ 2 K 7[3.4].

[2] According to Stade (*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 *ĭ*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ă* of the root), and likewise the *o* in אוֹר, &c. (from *au*). But *ô* (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed penultima (בָּשְׁתָּ, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i.e. due to lengthening of an original *ŭ*, and similarly the *ē* of מֵת to lengthening of an original *ĭ*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בּשְׁתָּ, בָּשְׁתִּי, בָּשְׁנוּ is always, and in בָּשׁוּ, 3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בּוֹשָׁה, בּוֹשׁוּ, אוֹרוּ, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

f **4.** The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* יָקוּם (also in Arabic *yăqûmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 *g*), יָקֻם, with retraction of the tone יָקֻם (*yāqŏm*), וַיָּקֻם (in *pause* וַיָּקָם); *imperative* קוּם, with normal lengthening of the *ŭ* in the 2nd *plur. fem.* קֻמְנָה, since, according to § 26 *p*, the *û* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* קוּם. In *Hiph'îl* the original *ĭ* is naturally lengthened to *î* (הֲקִים, *imperfect* יָקִים, *jussive* יָקֶם, with retraction of the tone יָקֵם, וַיָּקֵם); on the transference of this *î* to the *Hiph'îl* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 *a*.

g The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* קָם is to be traced to the ground-form with *â* unobscured, Arab. *qâtĭl*, § 9 *q*, and § 50 *b*. On this analogy the form would be *qâĭm*,[1] which after absorption of the *ĭ* became קָם, owing to the predominating character of the *â*. The unchangeableness of the *â* (*plur.* קָמִים, *constr.* קָמֵי, &c.) favours this explanation.

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ŭ* (now *û*) there are also forms with original *ă*. This *ă* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ô*; hence especially יָבוֹא (יָבֹא), וַיָּבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יֵאוֹר (but cf. וַתֵּאָרְנָה 1 S 14[27]) and יֵבוֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* אוֹר, בּוֹשׁ (see above, *c*), most probably also in יֵאָתוּ 2 K 12[9], נֵאוֹת Gn 34[15] from an unused אוֹת *to consent*, and perhaps in וְתֵהֹם 1 S 4[5], &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 *e* and especially § 67 *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ĭ* (which is attenuated from original *ă*) and thus *yĭ-băš* became *yĭ-bāš*, and finally *yē-bôš*. Finally the *Niph.* נָקוֹם (*nă-qām*), *imperfect* יִקּוֹם from *yiqqām*, originally (§ 51 *m*) *yinqăm*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ă*.

i **5.** In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'îl* a ה is inserted before the afformatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and ה֗ regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'îl* (as in תְּבִיאֵנָה Lv 7[30], cf. תְּהִימֵנָה Mi 2[12]), before the termination of נָה. As in verbs ע״ע (§ 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'îl*, however, before the ה, instead of the *î* an *ē* is somewhat often found[2] (as a normal lengthening of the original *ĭ*), especially after *wāw con-*

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[1] So in Arabic, prop. *qâ'ĭm*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an א, cf. Aram. קָאֵם; but also contracted, as *šâk*, *hâr*, for *šâ'ĭk*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

[2] וְהֵשִׁיבֹתֶם 1 S 6[7] (cf. 2 Ch 6[25]) could only be an orthographic licence for וְהֵשֵׁבְתִּי; perhaps, however, וְהֵשִׁיבִי was originally intended.

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employed in the sense of *Pi'ēl* and as a substitute for it, e. g. קוֹמֵם *to set up* from קוּם; מוֹתֵת *to slaughter*, 1 S 14[13], 17[51], 2 S 1[9], from מוּת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוֹמַם, from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעֹרָר Jb 17[8] in *pause*) from עוּר; reciprocal הִתְבּוֹשֵׁשׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2[25]. The conjugation *Pilpēl* (§ 55 *f*), on the analogy of verbs ע״ע, is less common, e. g, טִלְטֵל *to hurl away* from טוּל; כִּלְכֵּל *to contain* from כּוּל; קִרְקֵר *to destroy* from קוּר.

Remarks.

I. *On Qal.*

n 1. Of verbs *middle e* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מֵת *he is dead*, *fem.* מֵתָה, 2nd *masc.* מַתָּה (cf. § 44 *g*; § 66 *h*); 1st *sing.* מַתִּי, וָמַתִּי (even in *pause*, Gn 19[19]); *plur.* מֵתוּ, 1st *pers.* מַתְנוּ, in *pause* מָתְנוּ; בֹּשׁ *he was ashamed*, בֹּשְׁתִּ, בֹּשְׁתִּי, בֹּשְׁנוּ, בֹּשׁוּ; אוֹר *it has shone*, *plur.* אֹורוּ; טוֹב *to be good*, טֹבוּ. *Participles* מֵת *a dead man* (*plur.* מֵתִים, מֻתִי); בּוֹשִׁים *ashamed*, Ez 32[30]. For נֵד Is 27[11] read נָד, or, with LXX, עַד.

o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁבַת (with the original ending of the *fem.* for וְשָׁבָה) Ez 46[17] (see § 44 *f*); צָקוּן Is 26[16] (see § 44 *l*).—In בָּנוּ 1 S 25[8] (for בָּאנוּ from בוֹא) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In בֹּאוּ Jer 27[18] (instead of בָּאוּ) the Masora seems to point to the *imperfect* יָבֹאוּ which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.

p The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9 *b*) with א in the *perfect*, קָאם Ho 10[14], also in the *participles* לָאט *softly*, Ju 4[21], רָאשׁ *poor*, 2 S 12[1.4], Pr 10[4], *plur.* 13[23]; שָׂאטִים *doing despite unto* (unless שֹׂאֲטִים is to be read, from a stem שׂאט whence שְׂאָט Ez 25[15], 36[5]), Ez 28[24.26]; *fem.* 16[57]; also in Zc 14[10] רָאמָה is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאֲמָה. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle ō* (like בּוֹשִׁים, see above) קוֹמִים occurs for קָמִים 2 K 16[7] and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט *occultans*, Is 25[7]; בּוֹסִים Zc 1[5].—*Participle passive*, מוּל *circumcised*; but סוֹג *a backslider*, Pr 14[14], and סוּרָה *put aside*, Is 49[21] (cf. Jer 17[13] *Qerê*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭûl* (§ 50 *f*), not passive participles. For חֹשִׁים *hastening*, Nu 32[17], read חֲמֻשִׁים as in Ex 13[18]; for שׁוּבִי Mi 2[8] read שָׁבִי.

q 2. Imperfects in *û* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *û*, as יָקוּם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קוּם (also defectively written יָקֻם, קֻם); but יָדוּשׁ *he threshes* (*infin.* דּוּשׁ), has *imperative* דּוֹשִׁי (*fem.*), Mi 4[13]; יָמוּט *it slippeth*, *infinitive* מוֹט (ψ 38[17], 46[3]); cf. נוֹחַ (also נוּחַ) Nu 11[25] and נוֹעַ Is 7[2] (elsewhere נוּעַ) with the *imperfects* יָנוּחַ and יָנוּעַ; לָעוֹז Is 30[2]; שׁוֹב Jos 2[16]; רוֹם Ez 10[17] (verse 16 רוּם).

r Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *ô* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יָבוֹא (יָבֹא), *infin.* and *imper.* בּוֹא or בֹּא[1]; וַיֹּאר 2 S 2[32], אֹורִי, אֹורוּ; יָבוֹשׁ, בּוֹשׁ, &c.—יָקוֹט Jb 8[14] (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע״ע,

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[1] In 1 K 14[12] (בְּבֹאָה before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בְּבֹאֵךְ.

since the *imperfect* of קוּם appears as אָקוּם in ψ 95[10]. On the other hand יְקֹשְׁנוּן (as if from קוֹשׁ, on the analogy of יָבוֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of יָקֹשׁ (פ״י). The *imperfect* יָדוֹן, with *ô*, Gn 6[3], probably in the sense of *to rule*, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יָדִין *to judge* (from דִּין, ע״י). Or can יָדוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 *d*)? Similarly לֹא תָחוֹם עֵינִי (עֵינְךָ) might be taken as a case of a jussive after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16[30]), in Dt 7[16], 13[9], 19[13.21], 25[12], Ez 5[11], 7[4.9], 8[18], 9[10]. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תָחוּם was originally intended, as in Is 13[18], Jer 21[7], while cases like יָחֹם ψ 72[13] are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has *ô*, e.g. קוֹם יָקוֹמוּ Jer 44[29].

3. In the *imperative* with afformatives (קוּמִי, קוּמוּ) the tone is on the stem *s* syllable (cf., however, עוּרִי Ju 5[12] intentionally varied from עוֹרְרִי; also עוּרִי Zc 13[7] and Is 51[9] beside עוֹרְרִי בִּימֵי; גּוּלִי Zc 9[9]; צוּרִי Is 21[2], שׁוּבִי ψ 116[7], likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שׁוּבָה Jer 3[12], ψ 7[8], and עוּרָה 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 4[18], ψ 82[8]; hence also before יְהוָה, *Qᵉrê perpetuum* אֲדֹנָי (§ 17 *c*), e.g. ψ 3[8], 7[7] קוּמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עוּרָה and in Jer 40[5], שֻׁבָה before א), and so even before ר ψ 43[1], 74[22], &c. (רִיבָה).

t 4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקֻם (see above, *f*), יָקוֹם also occurs (as subjunctive, Ec 12[4]; נָסוֹג ψ 80[19] may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקֻם (Gn 27[31]; cf. Ju 6[18], Pr 9[4.16]), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (cf. Jer 46[6]). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיָּקָם, in *pause* וַיָּקָם, see above, *f*) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable, *ă* often takes the place of *ŏ*, e.g. וַיָּנַח *and he rested*; וַיָּנַע *and it was moved*; וַיָּסַר *and he turned aside*, Ju 4[18], Ru 4[1] (distinguished only by the sense from *Hiph'îl* וַיָּסַר *and he removed*, Gn 8[13]); וַיָּצַר Ex 21[4], 2 K 5[23], 17[5] (but also וַיָּגָר from both גּוּר *to sojourn*, and גּוֹר *to fear*); וַיָּעַף (to be distinguished from וַיָּעָף *and he flew*, Is 6[6]) *and he was weary*, Ju 4[21], 1 S 14[28.31], 2 S 21[15], but probably in all these cases וַיָּעַף for וַיִּיעַף from יָעֵף is intended. For ותלוש 2 S 13[8] *Kᵉth.*, the Qᵉrê rightly requires וַתָּלָשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיָּקוּמוּ, וַיָּסוּרוּ, &c. On וְאָקוּם (וְאָקֻם), see § 49 *e*.

u Examples of the full plural ending ן with the tone (see above, *l*) are תְּמַהְמָהּן Gn 3[3.4]; יְנוּסֻּן ψ 104[7]; יְרוּצֻּן Jo 2[4.7.9].

II. *On Niph'al.*

v 5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נְקוֹמְתִי, which frequently occurs (נְסוּגֻּתִי, נְפוּגֻּתִי, cf. also the *ptcp. plur.* נְבוּכִים Ex 14[3]), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נְקוֹמְתָ, נְקוֹמוֹת, and the 1st *plur.* נְקוֹמְנוּ given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

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[1] Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on ψ 3[8].

only examples found have *ô* (not *û*), viz. נְפֻוֹצֹתֶם *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11[17], 2c[34.41], and וְנִקֹטֹתֶם *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 20[43], 36[31].—To the *ĭ* (instead of *ă*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* נְעוֹר Zc 2[17] (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* נְמוֹל, see below, *ee*), *imperfect* יְעוֹר for *yi"ōr*.—The *infinitive construct* הָדוֹשׁ occurs in Is 25[10]; in לְאוֹר Jb 33[30], the Masora assumes the elision of the ה (for לְהָאוֹר); but probably לָאוֹר (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 *l*).—נָמוֹג Is 14[31], נָסוֹג Is 59[13] are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

III. *On Hiph'îl, Hoph'al, and Pi"lēl.*

w 6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, k) are: הֵבֵאתָ, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); הֵמַתָּה (from מוּת) for *hēmáth-tā* (cf. § 20 *a*); הֵכַנּוּ 1st *plur. perfect Hiph'îl* from כּוּן 2 Ch 29[19], even הֵמִתֶּם (§ 27 *s*) Nu 17[6], &c.; cf. 1 S 17[35], 2 S 13[28], also וְהֵמִתֶּן Ex 1[16], and וְהֵמִתִּיהָ Ho 2[5]; but elsewhere, with *wāw consecutive* וְהֵמַתִּי Is 14[30]; cf. וְהֵטַלְתִּי Jer 16[13], and וְהֵנַפְתָּ Ex 29[24], &c.—In these cases the *ē* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes ֵ֫ (1 Ch 15[12], &c.) or more frequently ֵ֫, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily ֵ֫ (e. g. וְהֵקִמֹתִי Gn 6[18]). Before a suffix in the 3rd *sing. masc.* (except Gn 40[13]) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd *plur.*, the vowel of the initial syllable is *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl*, in the other persons always *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* (König); on הֲקִמוֹתִי 2 K 9[2], ψ 89[44], cf. Ex 19[23], Nu 31[28], Dt 4[39], 22[2], 27[2], 30[1], Ez 34[4], and above, *i*. The 3rd *fem. perf. Hiph.* הֵמַתָּה 1 K 21[25] is quite abnormal for הֵמִיתָה from מוּת or מִית.

x As in verbs ע"ע with ח for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of עוּר Ex 19[23] (where against the rule given under *i* we find הַעֲרֹתָה with *ē* instead of *î*), Dt 8[19], Neh 9[34], Jer 42[19], and עוּר Is 41[25], 45[13], take Pathaḥ in these conjugations instead of ֵ֫. The irregular וְהוֹשְׁבוֹתִים Zc 10[6] has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. וְהוֹשַׁבְתִּים (from יָשַׁב) and וְהֹשְׁבוֹתִים (from שׁוּב): the latter is to be preferred.—On הֵבִישׁ and הוֹבִישׁ as a (metaplastic) *perfect Hiph'il* of בּוֹשׁ, cf. § 78 *b*.

y 7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form הָקֵם (on הָשֵׁב Is 42[22] with Silluq, cf. § 29 *q*; but in Ez 21[35] for הָשֵׁב read the *infinitive* הָשֵׁב) the lengthened form הָקִימָה is also found. With *suffix* הֲקִימֵנִי, &c. The *imperative* הָבִיא Jer 17[18] is irregular (for הָבֵא Gn 43[16]); perhaps הָבֵיא (as in 1 S 2c[40]; cf. 2 K 8[6]) is intended, or it was originally הָבִיאָה.

z In the *infinitive*, elision of the ה occurs in לָבִיא Jer 39[7], 2 Ch 31[10] (for לְהָבִיא); ה_ *fem.* is added in לְהַנְפָּה Is 30[28]; cf. Est 2[18] and the analogous *infinitive Haph'el* in biblical Aramaic, Dn 5[20].—As *infinitive absolute* הָכֵין occurs in Ez 7[14] (perh. also Jos 4[3], Jer 1c[23]).—The *participles* have *ē*, on the analogy of the *perfect*, as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs ע"ע (§ 67 *i*). On מֵבִי 2 S 5[2], &c. (in *Kethîbh*), see § 74 k.

aa On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* (יָקֶם, וַיָּקֶם, but always וַיָּבֹא; in the *jussive* also with retraction of the tone אַל־תָּשֵׁב 1 K 2[20]) see above, *f*. With a guttural or ר the last syllable generally has *Pathaḥ* (as in *Qal*), e.g. וַיָּעַר *and he testified*, 2 K 17[13]; יָרַח *let him smell*, 1 S 26[19]; וַיָּרַח Gn 8[21]; וַיָּסַר

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Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8^{11} the *K^ethîbh* הרים is intended for a *perfect Hiph'îl*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלִין *to spend the night, to remain*, and יַלִּין Ex 16^{7} *Q^erê* (*K^ethîbh* תְּלוֹנוּ; conversely, verse 2 *K^ethîbh* יַלִּינוּ, *Q^erê* יְלֹנוּנוּ), *participle* מַלִּין Ex 16^{8}, Nu 14^{27}, 17^{20}, *to be stubborn, obstinate*: in the latter sense from the form יָלִין only וַיָּלֶן is found, Ex 17^{3}. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִמּוֹל *he was circumcised*, Gn $17^{26\,f.}$; *participle* 34^{22} (from מוּל, not נָמַל); נֵעוֹר *he is waked up*, Zc 2^{17} (see above, *v*); *Hiph'il* הֵזִילָהּ La 1^{8}; יַלִּיזוּ Pr 4^{21}.

ff Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וַתָּחַשׁ for וְתָחַשׁ *and she hastened* (from חוּשׁ) Jb 31^{5}; וַיַּעַט (another reading is וַיָּעַט), וַתַּעַט 1 S 15^{19}, 25^{14} (14^{32} *Q^erê*) from עוּט or עִיט *to fly at anything*. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשָׁה 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* יְחֻוַּר *to be white*; גָּוַע, *imperfect* יִגְוַע *to expire*; רָוַח *to be wide*; צָוַח *to cry*; *Pi'ēl* עִוֵּל, *imperfect* יְעַוֵּל *to act wickedly*; עִוֵּת *to bend*, *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְעַוֵּת *to bend oneself*; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל״ה, e. g. צָוָה, *Pi'ēl* צִוָּה *to command*, קָוָה *to wait*, רָוָה *to drink*, *Pi'ēl* רִוָּה (on אֲרַוֶּיךָ Is 16^{9}, see § 75 *dd*) and *Hiph'îl* הִרְוָה *to give to drink*, &c.

§ 73. *Verbs middle i (vulgo* ע״י*), e. g.* בִּין *to discern.*

Paradigm N.

a 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs ע״ו, and in contrast to them may be termed ע״י, or more correctly, *'ayin-î* verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *infin. 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 *infin. constr.*—the ע״ו verbs having *û* lengthened from original *ŭ* and ע״י having *î* lengthened from original *ĭ*. In other respects verbs ע״י simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the triliteral form[1] (§ 67 *a*). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in ע״ו, has *ā* lengthened from *ă*, thus: שָׁת *he has set*; *infinitive* שִׁית, *infinitive absolute* שׂוֹת, *imperative* שִׁית, *imperfect* יָשִׁית, *jussive* יָשֶׁת (§ 48 *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיָּשֶׁת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

[1] That verbs ע״ו and ע״י 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 בִּינֹתִי 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'îl* without the preformative, e. g. בִּין Dn 10[1]; בִּינֹתִי Dn 9[2], also בַּנְתָּ ψ 139[2]; רִיבֹתָ *thou strivest*, Jb 33[13], also רַבְתָּ La 3[58]. The above *perfects* (בִּין, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *ĭ*), the *ĭ* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like the *ŭ* lengthened to *û* in the *imperfect Qal* of קוּם). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'îl*. 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* הֵבִין (but בִּין only in Dn 10[1]), הֲבִינוֹתָם, *infinitive* הָבִין (but *infin. abs.* בִּין only in Pr 23[1]), *imperative* הָבֵן (only in Dn 9[23] וּבִין immediately before וְהָבֵן, also בִּינוּ three times, and בִּינָה ψ 5[2]), *participle* מֵבִין.[1] Elsewhere *Hiph'îl*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מֵרִיב (also רָב), מֵשִׂים *placing* (but only in Jb 4[20], which, with the critically untenable הָשִׂימִי Ez 21[21], is the only instance of שׂוּם in *Hiph'îl*), מַגִּיחַ *breaking forth* Ju 20[33], with *infin. Qal* גִּיחוֹ; הַחֹישׁוּ *they rushed forth* Ju 20[37], with חָשׁ, חֹשְׁתִי; מַצִּיץ *glancing*, also in *perfect* צָץ; הֵקִיא *he spat out*, with *imperat. Qal* קִיא. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 *u*) *imperfects passive* of *Qal*, e. g. יוּחַל Is 66[8] from חִיל *to turn round*, יוּשַׁר from שִׁיר *to sing*, יוּשַׁת from שִׁית *to set*.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'îl*-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* נָבוֹן (ground-form *nabān*), *Pôlēl* בּוֹנֵן, and *Hithpôlēl* הִתְבּוֹנֵן. The very close relation existing between verbs ע״י and ע״ו is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from חִיל *to turn round*, *imperative* also חוֹלִי Mi 4[10]; שִׂים *to place*, *infinitive construct* commonly שׂוּם (2 S 14[7] שִׂים *Qere*), *imperfect* יָשִׂים, but Ex 4[11] יָשׂוּם. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. גִּיל *to exult* (גּוּל only Pr 23[24] *Kethîbh*); from לִין (perhaps denominative from לַיִל) *to spend the night*, לָלוּן occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָלִין only in Gn 24[23]; but the *imperative* is always לִין, &c.—Of verbs ע״י the most common are שִׁית *to set*, רִיב *to strive*, דִּין *to judge*, שִׁישׁ *to rejoice*; cf. also *perfect* בָּל (*middle*

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[1] Since בנת ψ 139[2] might be intended for בִּנְתָּ, there remains really no form of בין which must *necessarily* be explained as a Qal, except the *ptcp. plur.* בָּנִים Jer 49[7]. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of Hiph'îl-forms, parallel with Qal-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יָבִין, יָשִׂים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'îl*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 f., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.

Yôdh in Arabic) *to comprehend, to measure*, Is 40[12]; עִיט (as in Arabic and Syriac) *to rush upon*, and the denominative *perfect* קַיִץ (from קַ֫יִץ) *to pass the summer*, Is 18[6]. On the other hand, וְדִיגוּם *and they shall fish them*, Jer 16[16], generally explained as *perfect Qal*, denominative from דָּג *fish*, probably represents a denominative *Pi"ēl*, וְדִיְּגוּ.

c Corresponding to verbs properly ע"ו, mentioned in § 72 *gg*, there are certain verbs ע"י with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָיַב *to hate*, עָיֵף *to faint*, הָיָה *to become, to be*, חָיָה *to live*.

d Rem. 1. In the *perfect Qal* 3rd *fem. sing.* וְלָנָה occurs once, Zc 5[4], for וְלָנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ĕ* (as in the *fem. participle* זוֹרֶה Is 59[5]); cf. the analogous examples in § 48 *l* and § 80 *i*.—2nd *sing. masc.* שַׁתָּה ψ 90[8], *Qᵉrê* (before ע; cf. § 72 *s*); 1st *sing.* once שַׁתִּי ψ 73[28], *milraʿ*, without any apparent reason; 1st *plur.* וְלַנּוּ Ju 19[13] for *lán-nû*. The lengthened *imperative* has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, וְרִיבָה יהוה ψ 35[1]; see further, § 72 *s*.—Examples of the *infinitive absolute* are: רֹב *litigando*, Ju 11[25], Jb 4c[2]; שׂוֹם Jer 42[15]; שׁת *ponendo*, Is 22[7]. On the other hand, רִיב יָרִיב (for רֹב) Jer 50[34], בִּין תָּבִין Pr 23[1], חול תחיל Ez 30[16] *Kᵉth.*, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the *Qᵉrê* requires חוֹל תָּחוֹל, but read חוֹל; cf. § 113 *x*.

e 2. The *shortened imperfect* usually has the form יָבֶן, יָשֶׁב, יָשֶׁת; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. יָרֵב לוֹ Ju 6[31], cf. Ex 23[1], אַל־תָּשֵׁת 1 S 9[20]. So with *wāw consecutive* וַיָּשֶׂם *and he placed*, וַיָּבֶן *and he perceived*; with a middle guttural וַיַּעַט בָּהֶם 1 S 25[14] (see § 72 *ee*); with ר as 3rd radical, וַתָּשַׂר Ju 5[1]. As jussive of לִין, תָּלֶן is found in Ju 19[20] (in *pause*) and Jb 17[2], for תָּלֵן.—For אַל־תָּרוֹב Pr 3[30] *Keth.* (*Qᵉre* תָּרִיב) read תָּרֵב.

f 3. As *participle active Qal* לָן *spending the night*, occurs once, Neh 13[21]; *participle passive* שִׂים Nu 24[21], 1 S 9[24], Ob[4]; *feminine* שׂוּמָה 2 S 13[32], in the *Qᵉrê*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2): the *Kᵉthîbh* has שִׂימָה. A *passive* of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 *e* and *s*, and § 53 *u*) from שִׂים may perhaps be seen in וַיִּישֶׂם Gn 5c[26] (also Gn 24[33] *Kᵉthîbh* ויישם, *Qᵉrê* וַיְשִׂם; the Samaritan in both places has ויושם), and also in יִיסַךְ Ex 3c[32], Samaritan יוסך. Against the explanation of ייסך as a *Hophʿal*-form from סוּךְ, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a Hiphʿîl of סוּךְ is the doubtful וַיָּסֶךְ, which is probably an *ĭ*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יישם, &c., as a *passive* of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuysam* (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 א"ע the א always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *middle Guttural* (§ 64). An exception is יִנְאַץ Ec 12[5] if it be *imperfect Hiphʿil* of נאץ (for יַנְאִיץ); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָצַץ, and regarded as incorrectly written for יִנֵּץ. On נָאוּ (from נָאֲוָה), which was formerly treated here as א"ע, see now § 75 *x*.

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f 3. When א begins a syllable (consequently before afformatives 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. מְצָאָה *māṣᵉʾā*, מְצָאוּ, &c. (in *pause* מְצָאָה, מְצָאוּ).

Remarks.

g 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain the *Ṣere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e. g. מִלֵּאתִי (מְלָאוֹ Est 7^5 has ָ owing to its transitive use; for יְרֵאתֶם Jos 4^{24} read with Ewald יִרְאֶתֶם). Instead of מְצָאָה the form קָרֵאת *she names*, on the analogy of the ל״ה-forms noticed in § 75 *m*, occurs in Is 7^{14} (from קָרְאַת, cf. § 44 *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31^{29}, Jer 44^{23}, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְחָטֵאת Ex 5^{16}, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to וְחִטֵּאת לְעַמֶּךָ with the LXX); in *Niphʿal* נִפְלֵאת ψ 118^{23}; in *Hophʿal* הֻבְאת Gn 33^{11}.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קָרֵאתְ by Baer, Gen 16^{11}, &c., according to early MSS.

h 2. The *infin. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל״ה (גְּלוֹת, &c., see § 75 *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֵאת *to fill* (as distinguished from מְלֹא *fullness*), Lv 8^{33}, $12^{4.6}$, 25^{30}, Jer 29^{10}, Ez 5^2, also written מְלֵאוֹת Jer 25^{12}, Jb 20^{22}, &c., and מְלוֹאת Est 1^5. Cf. further, קְרֹאת Ju 8^1; שְׁנֹאת Pr 8^{13}; before suffixes, Ez 33^{12}, and likewise in *Niph.* Zc 13^4; also in *Piʿēl* לְמַלֹּאת Ex 31^5, 35^{33}, or לְמַלְאוֹת Dn 9^2, &c. *Kᵉthibh*; with suffix 2 S 21^2.—On the (aramaïzing) *infinitives* מַשֹּׂא and מַשְׂאוֹת, see § 45 *e*; on לְקִרְאת *obviam*, § 19 *k*.—בְּמִצַּאֲכֶם *when ye find*, Gn 32^{20}, stands, according to § 93 *q*, for מְצַאֲכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רְפָאֵה Ps 41^5 as *Milᵉraʿ* (before נַפְשִׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1^9 has, according to Qimḥi, the form מְצֶאןָ and in verse 20 קְרֶאןָ; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מְצָאן, קְרָאן.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מֹצֵאת (for מְצֹאָה) 2 S 18^{22}, cf. Est 2^{15}; so *Niphʿal* נִפְלֵאת Dt 30^{11}, Zc 5^7 (but נִשְׂאָה Is 30^{25}), and *Hophʿal*, Gn 38^{25}; less frequent forms are מוֹצֵאת Ct 8^{10}; נִשֵּׂאת 1 K 10^{22} (cf. § 76 *b*, שְׂאֵת beside לָשֵׂאת as *infinitive construct* from נָשָׂא) and without א (see *k*) יוֹצֵת (from יָצָא) Dt 28^{57}. In the forms חֹטְאִים *sinning*, 1 S 14^{33}, cf. ψ 99^6; בְּרֹאם *feigning them*, Neh 6^8, 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. ptcp. 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. בָּנוּ 1 S 25^8; מְצָתִי Nu 11^{11}, cf. Jb 1^{21}; צָמְתִי Ju 4^{19}, cf. Jb 32^{18}. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶה Jer 9^{17}, Zc 5^9, Ru 1^{14} (but the same form occurs with *Yôdh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל״ה in Ez 23^{49}, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 *b* and Jer 50^{20}); in *Piʿēl* אֲחַטֶּנָּה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31^{39}; and also in *Niphʿal* נִטְמֵתֶם Lv 11^{43}; cf. Jos 2^{16}. (*b*) at the end of the word; וַיָּבוֹ 1 K 12^{12} *Kᵉthîbh*; *Hiphʿîl* הֶחְטֵי 2 K 13^6, cf. Is 53^{10} (הֶחֱלִי for הֶחֱלִיא *perfect Hiphʿîl* of חָלָה formed

after the manner of verbs ל״א); in the *imperfect Hiph'îl* יַשְׁיִ֫י ψ 55[16] *K^ethîbh*; יְנִי֫ ψ 141[5]; אָבִי֫ 1 K 21[19], Mi 1[15]; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32[35]; in the *participle*, 2 S 5[2], 1 K 21[21], Jer 19[15], 39[16], all in *K^ethîbh* (מֵבִי֫, always before א, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

l 5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative Hiph'îl* a number of cases occur with *î* in the final syllable; cf. יַשְׁאֵ֫ Is 36[14] (in the parallel passages 2 K 18[29], 2 Ch 32[15] יַשִּׁיא); וַיְבִיא Neh 8[2] (before ע); וַיחַטְּאֵ֫ 2 K 21[11] (cf. 1 K 16[2], 21[22]); וַתַּחְבִּאֵ֫ 2 K 6[29]; וַיּוֹצְאֵ֫ Dt 4[20], 2 K 11[12], ψ 78[16], 105[43]; *imperative* הָבִיאֵ֫ Jer 17[18]; הוֹצִיא Is 43[8] (in both cases before ע). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *î* 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 *î* is always reduced to *ē*. In the examples before ע considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40[3], Baer reads with the Western school וַיְבִיא֫, while the Orientals read in the *K^ethîbh* ויבוא, and in the *Q^erê* וַיְבֵא֫.

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

§ 75. *Verbs* ל״ה, e.g. גָּלָה *to reveal*. *Paradigm P.*

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

a These verbs, like the verbs פ״י (§§ 69, 70), belong to two different classes, viz. those originally ל״ו and those originally ל״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 ל״ה, e.g. גָּלָה for גָּלַי *he has revealed*; שָׁלָה for שָׁלַו *he has rested*. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ל״י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ל״ו.

b שָׁלָה *to be at rest* may be recognized as originally ל״ו, in the forms in which the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁלַוְתִּי Jb 3[26], the *participle* שָׁלֵו and the derivative שַׁלְוָה *rest*; on the other hand the *imperfect* is יִשְׁלָיוּ (with *Yôdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عني) *to answer*, and עָנָה (Arab. عنو)[2] *to be afflicted*, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the Lexicon, s. v. עָנָה).

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[1] According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the ל״ה verbs, apart from some true ל״ו and some probable ל״י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the ע״ו verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like חָסָיָה֫ (see *u*). It seems impossible that these should all be *late* formations.

[2] In the Mêša' inscription, line 5, ויענו *and he oppressed* occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Pi'ēl*, and in line 6, אענו *I will oppress* as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappîq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiae gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

c The grammatical structure of verbs ל״ה (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 קָטַלְתָּ, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ל״ה 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, גָּלָה, נִגְלָה, גִּלָּה, &c.

ה_ֶ in all imperfects and participles, יִגְלֶה, גֹּלֶה, &c.

ה_ֵ in all imperatives, גְּלֵה, גַּלֵּה, &c.

ה_ָה in the infinitive absolute (גָּלֹה, &c.), except in *Hiphʿîl*, *Hophʿal*, and generally also *Piʾēl*, see *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י (or ו, see *v*) reappearing at the end, גָּלוּי; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84^a, *c*, *ϵ*, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending ות (with ת *feminine*); *Qal* גְּלוֹת, *Piʾēl* גַּלּוֹת, &c.; for exceptions, see *n* and *y*.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* גָּלָה stands, according to the above, for (י)גָּלַ, and, similarly, in *Nipḥʿal*, *Puʿal*, and *Hophʿal*. The *Piʿēl* and *Hithpaʿēl* may be based on the forms קִטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל (§ 52 *l*; and § 54 *k*), and *Hiphʿîl* on the form הִקְטַל, on the analogy of the *ă* in the second syllable of the Arabic *ʾáqtălă* (§ 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.* xliv. 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 *î*; 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 *Seghôl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *impf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *Seghôl* of the *impf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination י_ֶ (=*ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ל״ה) *ai* is usually contracted to *ê*.

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k 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ל״ה is the rejection of the ending ה֫ in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening c curs 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 ה֫ (see *cc*, *gg*).

l 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending ה֫ serves in verbs ל״ה to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *c*); cf. Gn 1[26], 2[18], 2 Ch 25[17], &c. With a final ה֬ there occur only: in *Qal*, אֶשְׁעָה ψ 119[117], אהמיה (with the ׳ retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77[4]; and in *Hithpa'ēl* וְנִשְׁתַּעֲהּ Is 41[23] (with *Tiphḥa*, therefore in lesser pause).

Remarks.

I. *On Qal.*

m 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* גָּלָת, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשָׂת (before א) Lv 25[21] (cf. 2 K 9[37] *K^e thîbh*)[1]; likewise in *Hiph'îl* הִרְצָת (before א) Lv 26[34]; הֶלְאָת Ez 24[12]; and in *Hoph'al* הָגְלָת (before יְ) Jer 13[19].—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written יתְ֫; thus in the textus receptus וְהָיִיתְ 2 S 14[2], and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; חָזִיתְ and גָּלִיתְ Is 57[8]; עָשִׂיתְ Jer 2[23], Ez 16[48], &c. (so וְהוֹצֵאתְ 1 K 17[13] from יָצָא). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלוּ, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37[20], כָּלוּ, both on account of the *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding כָּלוּ; also in Is 16[8] תָּעוּ (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נָגָעוּ); and in Jb 24[1] חָזוּ.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

n 2. The *infin. absol.* frequently has וֹ (probably a survival of the older orthography) for ה֫, e. g. הָיוֹ Gn 18[18]; עָשׂוֹ Jer 4[18], &c., Ez 31[11]; קָנוֹ 2 S 24[24]; רָאוֹ Gn 26[28], Is 6[9] (cf. 1 S 6[12]), &c., beside רָאֹה. The form שָׁחוֹת Is 22[13] (beside שָׁחוֹ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַט; so in Is 42[20] *Q^erê* and Ho 10[4], אָלוֹת (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and כָּרוֹת; cf. also עָרוֹת Hb 3[13].—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גְּלוֹת such forms are occasionally found as גְּלֹה or גְּלוֹ, cf. רְאֹה Gn 48[11]; קְנֹה Pr 16[16]; עֲשֹׂה Gn 50[20], ψ 101[3], also עֲשׂוֹ Gn 31[28] (cf. Pr 31[4]), and even with the *suffix* הוּ the very remarkable form עֲשֹׂהוּ Ex 18[18].[2]—The feminine form רְאוֹה (for רְאוֹת) Ez 28[17], analogous to nouns like גְּאוֹה (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הְיֹה as *infin.* Ez 21[15] is quite inexplicable.—The forms הֹגוֹ and הֹרוֹ Is 59[13] are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *Pô'ēl*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* וְחִיֵּה occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4[4] and 7[2]; but

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[1] In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, היתּ may be read הָיָתְ quite as well as [ה]היתּה.

[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 a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *è* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *è*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 *n*, and especially § 75 *hh*, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרֹאֶינָה Ct 3^{11} (for וְרֹאֵינָה, on the analogy of the reading מְצֹאנָה, &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 *Seghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathaḥ* (according to § 28 *e*). Thus יִגֶל for יִגְלֶה; וַיִּבֶז *and he despised*, Gn 25^{34}; וַיִּבֶן *and he built*; יִשַׁע *he looks*; וַיִּמַח *and he destroyed*, Gn 7^{23}.

(*b*) The *ĭ* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יֵרֶא *he sees*. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ת, whilst after י the homogeneous *ĭ* remains, e.g. וַתִּכֶל (but יִכֶל), וַתִּפֶן (but יִפֶן), וַתֵּרֶב (but וַיִּרֶב); with middle guttural תִּחַע, וַתִּכַהּ Jb 17^{7} (from כָּהָה). The unusual position of the tone in תִּרָא Zc 9^{5}, וְתִרָא Mi 7^{10} (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. יִרָא, וְיִרָא) is best explained (except in יֵרָא Gn 41^{33}, before פ) on the analogy of קוּמָה, &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*; וַיִּשְׁבְּ Nu 21^{1}, Jer 41^{10}, cf. וַיִּפְתְּ Jb 31^{27}; on the other hand, with *ĭ* lengthened into *ē* (see *p*) וַיֵּשְׁתְּ, וַיֵּבְךְ, וַיֵּרְדְּ, יֵשְׁטְ. The form יֵרֶא *he sees*, occurs parallel with וַיַּרְא *and he saw* (but 3rd *fem.* always וַתֵּרֶא), the latter with the original *Pathaḥ* on account of the following ר, and identical with the 3rd *sing. masc.* of the *imperf. consec. Hiph'îl*, 2 K 11^{4}.

(*d*) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל״ה, are וַיַּעַשׂ, in *pause* וַיַּעַשׂ *and he made*, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעַן *and he answered*, from עָנָה (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'îl*), וַיַּחַץ *and he divided*, from חצה. On some similar forms of פ״א see § 76 *d*.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּחַר *and he was wroth*, וַיִּחַן *and he encamped* (3rd plur. וַיִּחֲנוּ), יְחַדְּ (with *Dageš lene* and *Šewâ*) *let it rejoice*, Jb 3^{6}; cf. Ex 18^{9}.—On וַיִּן, וַיֵּן, וַיֵּט (ל״ה as well as פ״ן), &c., see § 76 *b*, *c*, *f*.

(*e*) The verbs הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, of which the shortened imperfects ought to be *yihy* and *yiḥy*, change these forms to יְהִי and יְחִי, the second *Yôdh* being resolved into *î* at the end of the word; but in *pause* (§ 29 *n*) יֶהִי, יֶחִי, with the original *ă* modified to *Seghôl* with the tone (cf. also *nouns* like בֶּכִי for *bakhy.* in *pause* בֶּכִי; עֶנִי for *'ŏny*, &c., § 84^{a} *c*, and § 93 *x*). For תְּשִׁי, however, in Dt 32^{18}, since no verb שָׁיָה exists, we must read either תֵּשׁ, or better תִּשֶּׁה (Samaritan תשא), as *imperfect Qal* of נָשָׁה *to forget*.—Analogous to יְהִי from הָיָה, there occurs once, from הָוָה *to be*, the form יְהוּא for יְהִי *he will be*, Ec 11^{3}, but no doubt הוּא is the right reading.

The *full* forms (without apocope of the ה֫, cf. § 49 *c*) not infrequently occur after *wāw consecutive*, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. וְאֶרְאֶה *and I saw*, twenty times, and Jos 7^{21} in *Kethibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וְאֵרֶא fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. וַיִּרְאֶה Ez 18[28], Jb 42[16] *Qere*; וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ *and he made*, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); cf. also Ju 19[2] (וַתִּזְנֶה); 1 K 10[29] (וַתַּעֲלֶה); Dt 1[16] (וְאַצַּוֶּה), and Gn 24[48]. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1[9], 41[34], Jer 28[6].—For the well attested, but meaningless תֵּרְאוּ Jb 6[21] (doubtless caused by the following וַתִּירָאוּ), read תִּרְאוּ *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

u 4. The original י sometimes appears even before afformatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ין—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* חָסָיָה ψ 57[2], חָסָיוּ Dt 32[37], cf. ψ 73[2] *Qerê*; *imperative* בְּעָיוּ Is 21[12]. *Imperfect* יאחיו Jb 16[22], 30[14] (without the *pause*, ψ 68[32]); יִשְׁלָיוּ ψ 122[6], Jb 12[6], cf. ψ 77[4]; יִרְבִּין Dt 8[13]; ψ 30[9]: more frequently like יִשְׁתִּיוּן ψ 78[44]; Is 17[12], 21[12], 26[11], 31[3], 33[7], 41[5], ψ 36[8], 39[7], 83[3]; before a suffix, Jb 3[25]. Also in Pr 26[7] דִּלְיוּ, as *perf. Qal* from דָּלָה, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly דָּלְיוּ, since these full forms, though they may stand out of pause, do not begin sentences; דַּלְיוּ probably points to דַּלּוּ from דָּלַל as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg*.

v 5. The *participle active* (cf. Vollers, 'Das Qâtil-Partizipium,' *ZA.* 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the participles of ל״ה, *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like עֹלָה Ju 20[31], &c., רֹאָה Pr 20[12], has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical י, viz. בְּוֹכִיָה (=בֹּכָה) *weeping*, La 1[16]; הָוֹמִיָה *tumultuous*, Is 22[2] (*plur.* Pr 1[21]); צְוֹפִיָה *spying*, Pr 31[27], פְּרִיָה *fruitful*, ψ 128[3], *plur.* אֹתִיוֹת *the things that are to come*, Is 41[23]. With the ordinary strong inflexion י appears in עֲטִיָה Ct 1[7], but perhaps there also עֹטִיָה was intended, unless it should be טֹעִיָה *a wanderer*. For רֹאֳנִי Is 47[10], רֹאֲנִי is to be read.—On עֹשֵׂה 1 K 20[40] for עֹשֶׂה, cf. § 116 *g*, note. —In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as ו (§ 24 *b*), cf. עָשׂוּ *made*, Jb 41[25], צָפוּ Jb 15[22], contracted from עָשׂוּוּ, צָפוּוּ; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, העשוום (read הָעֲשׂוּמִים) 2 K 23[4]; עשוות (read *ʿᵃsûwôth*) 1 S 25[18] *Kᵉthîbh*, נטוות (read *nᵉṭûwôth*) Is 3[16] *Kᵉthîbh*. The shortening of the *û* in רְאִיוֹת Est 2[9] is irregular.

w 6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהָיֹתָ 2 S 15[33]; בָּנֹתִי 1 K 8[44], cf. 1 K 9[3]; וַתִּדְלֹנָה Ex 2[16] (cf. Jer 18[21], 48[6], 1 Ch 7[15], Jb 17[5], &c.), and the pronunciation תִּרְאֹינָה Mi 7[10], cf. תַּעֲנֹנָה Ju 5[29] (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 ִי— in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (ִי— only in נִקֵּיתָ Gn 24[8]); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always ִי—, as נִגְלִינוּ 1 S 14[8]. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With ו retained in *pause* נִפְּוּ Nu 24[6]; once with an initial guttural נְחֳרוּ Ct 1[6] for נֶחֱרוּ, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *niḥru*, but the harshness of ח immediately followed by ר is avoided by pronouncing the ח with *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתָּוָה Pr 27[15] (in *pause* for נִשְׁתְּוָה) ו and ת may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתָּוֹת.—Among Niph'al forms of ל״ה must be classed, with Buxtorf and

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on יְרַד Ju 5[13], see § 69 *g*. Finally, on דַּלְיוּ, which is referred to *Pi'ēl* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, *u*.

CC 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* are: צַו, also צַוֵּה *command thou*, גַּל *open thou*, ψ 119[18.22]; מַן *prepare thou*, ψ 61[8]; נַס for נַסֵּה *prove thou*, Dn 1[12]; הִתְחַל *feign thyself sick*, 2 S 13[5]; cf. Dt 2[24].—On רַבָּה Ju 9[29], cf. § 48 *l*.—In ψ 137[7] עָרֹּוּ *rase it*, is found twice instead of עָרוּ (for *'arrû*) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, וַיְעָרֻהוּ in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24[11]).

dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* תִּרְמִיוּן Is 40[18], cf. verse 25 and 46[5]; יְכַסְיְמוּ *they cover them*, Ex 15[5]; *participle Pu'al* מְמֻחָיִם Is 25[6]; for אֲרַנָּיִךְ Is 16[9] (from רָוָה) read with Margolis, אֲרַוָּיִךְ.

IV. *On Hiph'il and Hoph'al.*

ee 14. The 3rd *sing. perfect Hiph'il* sometimes has *S^eghôl* in the first syllable instead of *î* (§ 53 *p*), especially in הֶגְלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִגְלָה 2 K 24[14]), הֶרְאָה, הֶלְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הֶגְלָם 1 Ch 8[7], הֶלְאַנִי Jb 16[7], וְהֶפְדָּהּ Ex 21[8]. The *S^eghôl* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הֶלְאֵתִיךָ Mi 6[3]. On וְהֶרְאֵיתִי Na 3[5], cf. § 53 *p*. The forms with *ê* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִכְּתִי Jer 21[6]) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Pr 5[13]), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *î*, except in the 2nd *plur.*, where *î* predominates. Before *suffixes* the forms with *î* predominate throughout; cf., however, *ê* in Ex 4[12], Mi 6[3], Pr 4[11]. On the tone of the *perf. consec. Hiph.* of ל״ה, see § 49 *k*. In *Hoph'al* only ◌ֻ◌ occurs in the 2nd syllable.

ff 15. In the *infinitive Hiph'îl* of רָבָה *to be abundant*, besides the *construct* הַרְבּוֹת we find the *absolute* הַרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הַרְבֵּה, which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ez 21[20]) as an adverb, in the sense of *much*; in 2 S 14[11] the *Q^erê* requires הַרְבַּת for the *K^ethîbh* הַרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הַרְבּוֹת. Cf. Gn 41[49], 22[17], Dt 28[63]; the pointing הַרְבֵּה Jer 42[2] probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הַמְרוֹת Jb 17[2] (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20 *h*.—In 2 K 3[24] הַכּוֹת (before אֹ) 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'îl* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפְתְּ *let him enlarge*, Gn 9[27]; יַרְדְּ *he shall subdue*, Is 41[2]; וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he watered*, Gn 29[10], &c.; וַיַּרְא *and he showed*, 2 K 11[4] (see § 28 *d*): or else has a helping vowel, as יָגֶל (for יַגֶל, see § 27 *r*), e. g. 2 K 18[11]; וַיָּפֶר ψ 105[24]; וַתָּמֶר Ez 5[6]; וַיָּחַע 2 Ch 33[9]; וארב i. e. probably וָאָרֶב Jos 24[3] *K^ethîbh* (וָאַרְבֶּה *Q^erê*).—Examples of verbs *first guttural*: וַיַּעַל Nu 23[2], וָאַעַל, &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'îl* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The *apocopated imperative Hiph'îl* always (except in verbs פ״ן, e. g. הַךְ, הַט, § 76 *c*) has a helping vowel, *S^eghôl* or *Pathaḥ*, e. g. הָרֶב *increase thou* (for *harb*, הַרְבֵּה) ψ 51[4] *Q^erê*, also Ju 20[38]; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הָרֶף *let alone* (for הַרְפְּ, הַרְפֵּה Dt 9[14], &c.; הַעַל (for הַעֲלֵה) Ex 8[1], 33[12]; but for הָשַׁע ψ 39[14], which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= *smear over*, as in Is 6[10]), read with Baethgen שְׁעֵה *look away*.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in תּוֹגִיוֹן Jb 19[2], from יָגָה. Cf. *u*.

V. *In General.*

hh 17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate in א‍ָ‍ or י‍ִ‍. The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in ה‍ָ‍, less frequently א‍ָ‍ or י‍ִ‍, may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct Pi'ēl* חַפֵּי, see above, *aa*; *imperative Qal* הַוָא Jb 37[6] (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect* יֵרֶא *let him look out*, Gn 41[33] (but see above, *p*); יַעֲשֶׂה *he will do*, Is 64[3]; אַל־תְּהִיֶה Jer 17[17]; אַל־תֹּבֵא *consent thou not*, Pr 1[10]; אַל־תַּעֲשֶׂה *do thou not*, 2 S 13[12] (the same form in Gn 26[29], Jos 7[9], Jer 40[16] *Qerê*); אֶהְיֶה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) *I will be*, Jer 31[1]; וַנַּעֲשֶׂה Jos 9[24]; תִּרְאֶה Dn 1[13]. Cf. also in *Niph'al* יִמָּצֶה Lv 5[9]; תִּבָּנֶה (according to Qimḥi) Nu 21[27]; in *Pi'ēl* תְּנַלֶּה Lv 18[7.8.12–17], 20[19], in each case לֹא תְנַלֶּה, beside תְּנַלֶּה with a minor distinctive; יְנַקֶּה (Baer יְנַקֶּה) Na 1[3]; אֱזָרֶה Ez 5[12] (with *Zaqeph*; Baer אֶזָרֶה). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos 7[9]), suggests the view that the *Ṣere* 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 26[29], Lv 5[9], Jer 40[16], Dn 1[13]; according to Baer also Mi 7[10], Zc 9[5]) the pronunciation with *ê* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following א or ע; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 *l*.

ii The ending י‍ִ‍ appears to stand for ה‍ָ‍ in the *imperfect Qal* in וְתִזְנִי־שָׁם *and there hath she played the harlot*, Jer 3[6]; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16[15], &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect Hiph'il* אַל־תַּמְהִי Jer 18[23]; but the *Mil'ēl*-tone probably points to תַּמַּח as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13[14]). The י‍ִ‍ stands for ה‍ַ‍ in the *perfect Hiph'il* הֶחֱלִי *he made sick*, Is 53[10], which is probably for הֶחֱלִיא from חלא, a secondary form of חלה; see *rr*. The *plur.* הֶמְסִיו (Baer הֶמְסִיוּ) *they made to melt*, Jos 14[8], is a purely Aramaic form.

kk 18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'lēl* or its reflexive (§ 55 *d*) occurs: מְמַחֲוִי *archers*, Gn 21[16] (from טָחָה); but most frequently in שָׁחָה *to bend*, *Pa'lēl* שַׁחֲוָה not in use, whence reflexive הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה *to bow oneself*, *to prostrate oneself*, 2nd *pers.* in יתָ‍ְ‍ and 1st *pers.* in יתִי‍ְ‍, *imperfect* יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, *consecutive* 3rd *sing. masc.* וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ for *wayyištaḥw* (analogous to the noun-forms, like שָׁחוּ for *saḥw*); 3rd *plur.* יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ.—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with *suffix* בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹיתִי 2 K 5[18] read with König בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתִי; in Ez 8[16] מִשְׁתַּחֲוֹיתֵם is still more certainly a scribal error for מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים.

ll 19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in ה, a connecting vowel is employed instead of the ה and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 *f*), e.g. נָחַנִי Gn 24[27]; in *pause* עָנָנִי 1 K 2[30], &c., even with lesser disjunctives, ψ 118[5], Pr 8[22], or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28[15] (but Baer עָנָנִי), Jb 30[19]; cf. § 59 *h*; עָנְךָ, in *pause* עָנָךְ, Is 30[19] (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23[37]) or like קָנָךְ Dt 32[6]; וַיְבָרֶכְךָ, וַיְפָרֶךָ Gn 28[3]; cf. also עָנָהוּ, עָנָם, *imperfect* יְעַנֶּהוּ, יְעַנֶּךָּ, *Hiph'il* הַכֵּנִי, הֶעֱלֵךָ, הִכֵּהוּ.

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in י‍ִ‍ before suffixes, e.g. *mm*

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[1] Possibly these examples (like the cases of *Seghôl* in *pause*, see *n*) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.

אַפְאֵיהֶם Dt 32^{26}; יְכַפֵּימוֹ ψ 140^{10} *Qerê*; הַכֵּינִי *smite me*, 1 K $20^{35.37}$; cf. Hb 3^{2}, Is 38^{16}. 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. כְּלָתוּ (for כִּלַּתְהוּ) Zc 5^{4}; in *pause* עָשָׂתְנִי Jb 33^{4}; רָאָתְךָ 42^{5}.

VI. *The Relation between Verbs* ל״ה *and* ל״א.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל״א and ל״ה is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

oo 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל״א—

(*a*) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל״ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* בָּלֵאתִי *I have refrained*, ψ 119^{101}; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חֹטֵא) *sinning*, Ec 2^{26}, 8^{12}, $9^{2.18}$; cf. Is 65^{20}; מוֹצֵא Ec 7^{26}; נוֹשֵׁא *lending*, 1 S 22^{2}; *Pi'ēl perfect* מִלֵּא *he has filled*, Jer 51^{34}; cf. 1 K 9^{11}, Am 4^{2} (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89^{11}, 143^{3}; רִפֵּאתִו *I heal*, 2 K 2^{21}; cf. Jer 51^{9}; *imperfect* יִגַּמֵּא Jb 39^{24}; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלֵאתָה (like נִגְלֵתָה) *it was wonderful*, 2 S 1^{26}; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלֵא Dt 28^{59}; הֶחְבֵּאתָה (not אָתָה—, cf. above, 2 S 1^{26}) *she hid*, Jos 6^{17}. On the other hand, forms like חִטְאִים 1 S 14^{33}, קִרְאִים ψ 99^{6}, נִרְפְּאוּ Ez 47^{8}, תִּדְכְּאוּנֵנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19^{2} (cf. Gn 31^{39} אֲחַטֶּנָּה), and יִרְאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרֵא Jos 24^{14}, 1 S 12^{24}, ψ 34^{10}, are due to the elision of the א, see § 74 *i*. On יִנָּשׂוּא Jer 10^{5} and נָשׂוּא ψ 139^{20}, see § 23 *i*.

pp (*b*) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל״א vowels, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֶרְפָּה Jer 3^{22}; *imperative* רְפָה *heal thou*, ψ 60^{4}; *Niph'al* נֶחְבָּה Jer 49^{10} (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נֶחְבֹּה as in verse 23), and הֶחָבֵה *to hide oneself*, 1 K 22^{25}, cf. Jer 19^{11}; *Pi'ēl imperfect* יְמַלֵּה *he will fill*, Jb 8^{21}.

qq (*c*) Forms entirely of a ל״ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וְצָמֵת *and when thou art athirst*, Ru 2^{9}, cf. 2 S 3^{8}; כָּלוּ *they shut up*, 1 S 6^{10}; cf. 25^{33}; מָלוּ *they are full*, Ez 28^{16}, cf. 39^{26}; *infinitive* חֲטוֹ (see above, *n*) *to sin*, Gn 20^{6} (on מְלֹאת see above, § 74 *h*); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is 26^{20}; *imperfect* יְכֶלֶה (for יְכַלֶּא) *he will keep back*, Gn 23^{6}; תִּרְפֶּינָה *they heal*, Jb 5^{18}; *participle* בּוֹמֶה Pr 12^{18}; *fem.* יֹצֵא Ec 10^{5}; *plur.* צֹבֶיהָ Is 29^{7}; *participle passive* נָשׂוּי ψ 32^{1}; *Niph'al* נִרְפָּתָה Jer 51^{9}; נִבֵּיתָ *thou hast prophesied*, Jer 26^{9} (cf. ψ 139^{14}, Jb 18^{3}); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפּוּ 2 K 2^{22} (*infinitive* Jer 19^{11}); *Pi'ēl imperfect* וַיְרַפּוּ Jer 8^{11}, cf. Gn 31^{39}; *Hiph'îl participle* מַקְנֶה Ez 8^{3}; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבֵּיתָ 1 S 10^{6}; *infinitive* הִתְנַבּוֹת 1 S 10^{13}. For the *Kᵉthîbh* להשות 2 K 19^{25}, Jablonski and others require as *Qᵉrê* the form לְהַשְׁאוֹת (so Is 37^{26}); the *Kᵉthîbh* would have to be read לַהֲשׁוֹת, 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 21^{12}; בָּרָא 2 S 12^{17} (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וְרָצְאתִי Ez 43^{27}; יִשְׂגֶּא Jb 8^{11}; יִשְׂנָא La 4^{1}; וַיִּחְלָא 2 Ch 16^{12}; תִּקְרָאנָה Ex 1^{10}, Lv 10^{19}; תִּלְאִים Dt 28^{66} (cf. Ho 11^{7}); נִקְרָא (*infin. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרֵיתִי) 2 S 1^{6}; שְׂנָא 2 K 25^{29}; מְרַפֵּא

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quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *Seghôl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of יאל).

e (*d*) Verbs פ״י and ל״א (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as יָצָא *to go forth*, *imperative* צֵא *go forth*, with הָ֫ *paragogic* צְאָה Ju 9[29] in principal pause for צֵאָה; 2nd *fem. plur.* צֶאֶינָה Ct 3[11]; *infinitive* צֵאת; *Hiph'îl* הוֹצִיא *to bring forth*.—יָרֵא *to fear*, *imperfect* יִירָא and וַיִּרָא (or וַיִּרְא), *imperative* יְרָא; *imperfect Niph'al* יִוָּרֵא ψ 130[4], *participle* נוֹרָא.

f (*e*) Verbs פ״י and ל״ה (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. יָדָה *to throw*, Hiph'îl *to confess, to praise*, and יָרָה *to throw* (both properly verbs פ״ו), and יָפָה *to be beautiful*. *Infinitive* יָרֹה, יְרוֹת; *imperative* יְרֵה; *imperfect consecutive* וַיֵּט Ez 31[7] (cf. also וַתִּיפִי 16[13]); with *suffixes* וַנִּירֵם *we have shot at them* (from יָרָה) Nu 21[30]; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וְנִינָם *and their race* (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74[8] נִינָם is probably a *substantive*, and not the *imperfect Qal* with *suffix* from יָנָה); *Pi'ēl* וַיְיַדּוּ for וַיְיִדּוּ (§ 69 *u*). *Hiph'il* הוֹדָה, הוֹרָה; *infinitive* הוֹרֹת (as *infinitive absolute* 2 Ch 7[3]); *imperfect* יוֹרֶה, cf. אַל־תּוֹנוּ Jer 22[3]; *apocopated* וַיּוֹר 2 K 13[17].

g (*f*) Verbs ע״ו and ל״א, particularly בּוֹא *to come*. *Perfect* בָּא, בָּאתָ, בָּאת or בָּאתְ (Gn 16[8], 2 S 14[3], Mi 4[10]; cf. § 75 *m*), once בָּנוּ for בָּאנוּ 1 S 25[8]; for בּוֹא Jer 27[18], which is apparently the *perfect*, read יָבֹאוּ. In the *imperfect Qal* the separating vowel occurs (תְּבֹאֶינָה instead of the more common תָּבֹאנָה, cf. also תָּבֹאן Gn 30[38]) only in Jer 9[16], ψ 45[16], and 1 S 10[7] *Kethîbh*.

h For וְתָבֹאת 1 S 25[34] *Qerê* (the *Kethîbh* ותבאתי evidently combines the two readings וּבָאתְ and וַתָּבֹאי; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* xiv. 319), read וַתָּבֹאי; on the impossible forms Dt 33[16] and Jb 22[21] cf. § 48 *d*.—In the *perfect Hiph'il* הֵבִיא, הֵבֹאתָ and (only before a suffix) הֲבִיאתָ; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14[31], where the Masora requires וְהֲבִיאֹתִי, cf. 2 K 9[2], 19[25], Is 43[23], Jer 25[13], Ct 3[4]. Before suffixes the *ē* of the first syllable in the 3rd *sing.* always becomes *Haṭeph-Seghôl*, e.g. הֲבִיאֵךְ, הֲבִיאַנִי; elsewhere invariably *Haṭeph-Pathaḥ*, e.g. הֲבִיאָנוּ or הֲבִיאָתָנוּ. On the other hand, *ē* is retained in the secondary tone in the *perfect consecutive* when without suffixes, e.g. וְהֵבֵאתָ. Cf. moreover, וְהֵקֵאתוֹ (וַהֲקִאתוֹ in Opitius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25[16], from קִיא; but קִיוּ *spue ye*, Jer 25[27] (perhaps only a mistake for קִיאוּ), is not to be referred to קִיא but to a secondary stem קִיָּה. In the *imperfect* וַתָּקִא is found once, Lv 18[25], besides וַיָּקִא (analogous to וַיָּבֵא).—On אָבִי (for אָבִיא), מֵבִי, יָנִי, see § 74 *k*.

i (*g*) The form חָיַי *to live*, in the *perfect Qal*, besides the ordinary development to חָיָה (*fem.* חָיְתָה), is also treated as a verb ע״י, and then becomes חַי in the 3rd *pers. perfect*, in *pause* חָי, and with *wāw consecutive* וָחַי Gn 3[22], and frequently. In Lv 25[36] the contracted form וְחֵי is perhaps *st. constr.* of חַי *life*, but in any case read וָחַי *perfect consecutive* as in verse 35. The form וְחָיְתָה occurs in Ex 1[16] in *pause* for וְחָיָה (3rd *fem.*) with *Dageš* omitted in the י on account of the pausal lengthening of *ă* 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״ו, 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 דך there occur with the same meaning דָּכַךְ, דּוּךְ, דָּכָא *to strike, to crush*; and from the root נד there are נוּד, נָדַד, נָדָה *to flee*.

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

1. Verbs ע״ו and ע״ע in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e.g. מוּךְ and מָכַךְ *to become poor*; מוּשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ *to feel*; נוּד and נָדַד *to flee*.

2. Verbs פ״י and פ״ן; e.g. יָצַב and נָצַב *to place*, נָקַשׁ and יָקֹשׁ (*yāqōš*) *to lay* *c* *snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע״ו) are frequently related also to verbs פ״י and פ״ן, e.g. גּוּר and יָגֹר *to fear*; טוֹב and יָטַב *to be good*; נָפַח and פּוּחַ *to blow*; נָפַץ and פּוּץ *to dash to pieces*. Verbs פ״א are less frequently connected with these classes, e.g. אָרַשׁ and דּוּשׁ *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 דָּכָא and דָּכָה *to crush*, קָרָא and קָרָה *to meet* (cf. § 75 *nn*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצָה and מָצַץ *to suck*, דָּחָה and הוּחַ *to thrust*, &c.

4. Verbs ע״ע and ל״ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; *e* e.g. אָנָה and אָנַן *to sigh*, דָּמָה and דָּמַם *to be quiet*, חָנָה and חָנַן *to incline*, כָּלָה and כָּלַל *to end*, קָלָה and קָלַל *to despise*, שָׁגָה and שָׁגַג *to err*, שָׁחָה and שָׁחַח *to bend down*, שָׁסָה and שָׁסַס *to plunder*.

5. Verbs ע״ו and ע״ה; e.g. מוּל and מָהַל (New Hebrew; in O.T. only מָהוּל *f* Is 1[22]) *to circumcise*, מוּר and מָהַר *to exchange*, נוּר (in מְנוֹרָה *a light*) and נָהַר *to shine*; cf. also לָהָטִים *secret arts*, Ex 7[11] with לָט *secret*, from לוּט.

§ 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—

בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed.* *Hiph'îl* הֵבִישׁ (inferred from הֲבִישׁוֹתָ), but also הֹבִישׁ, הוֹבִישׁ, as if from יבשׁ, on the analogy of verbs פ״ו; also in Is 30[5] the *Qerê* requires הֹבִישׁ, where the *Kethîbh* has הֹבִאישׁ from בָּאַשׁ.

טוֹב *to be good.* *Perfect* טוֹב; but *imperfect* יִיטַב and *Hiph'îl* הֵיטִיב from יָטַב (but cf. הֲטִיבֹתָ 2 K 10[30]).

יָגֹר *to be afraid.* *Imperfect* יָגוֹר (from גּוּר).

יָקַץ *to awake,* only in the *imperf.* יִיקַץ; for the *perfect,* the *Hiph'îl* הֵקִיץ is used (from קוּץ).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces.* *Imperfect* יָפוּץ (from פּוּץ). *Imperative* פּוּץ. *Niph'al* נָפוּץ. *Pi'ēl* נִפֵּץ (from נָפַץ). *Pôlēl* פּוֹצֵץ (from פּוּץ). *Reflexive* הִתְפּוֹצֵץ. *Hiph'îl* הֵפִיץ. Also פִּצְפֵּץ Jb 16[12].

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) *to place,* whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'îl* הִצִּיב (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְיַצֵּב.

שָׁתָה *to drink,* used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁקָה *to give to drink,* from a *Qal* שָׁקָה which is not used in Hebrew.

On הָלַךְ (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'îl* הוֹסִיף, יוֹסִיף (on יוֹסֵף as *imperfect indicative,* see § 109 *d*, cf. also § 109 *i*).

כָּשַׁל *to stumble.* *Perfect* from *Qal,* *imperfect* from *Niph'al.*

נגשׁ *to approach,* unused in *perf. Qal,* instead of which *Niph'al* נִגַּשׁ is used; but *imperfect* יִגַּשׁ, *imperative* גַּשׁ, and *infinitive* גֶּשֶׁת from *Qal* only are in use.

נָחָה *to lead.* *Perfect* usually נָחָה in *Qal,* so *imperative* נְחֵה, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'îl.*

נתך *to be poured out.* *Perfect Niph'al* נִתַּךְ with *imperfect Qal* יִתַּךְ, 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.

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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 אֵם *mother*, אָתוֹן *a she-ass*, עֵז *a she-goat*, רָחֵל *an ewe* (cf. § 122 *b*). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending ת־, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44 *a*). This ת־, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 *e* and § 91 *o*), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple ת[2] (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. סוּס *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in ־, like עִבְרִי, the feminine (by § 24 *b*) is עִבְרִיָּה, cf. § 86 *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (קָטְלָה, &c.), this ה־ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ת, and the lengthening of the *ă* 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 גָּלָה for גָּלִי, § 75 *c*. It must, however, be

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[1] To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

[2] In Mal 1[14] מָשְׁחַת (so e. g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מָשְׁחָתְ, the ptcp. fem. Hoph'al; but מָשְׁחָת (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 ה־ָ.

(*b*) Simple ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e. g. יְהוּדִי *Jew*, יְהוּדִית *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 *Seghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathaḥ*, e. g. קֹטֶל, *fem.* קֹטֶלֶת, *killing*; before suffixes, e. g. קָטַלְתִּי, according to the rule given in § 69 *c*, cf. also § 84^{a} *s*; מוֹדַע *an acquaintance*, *fem.* מוֹדַעַת. 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 וְיֶלֶדְתְּ (for יֶלֶדֶת, which is used elsewhere) Gn 16^{11}, Ju 13$^{5.7}$; cf. Jer 22^{23} and 51^{13} *Qerê*, also מְשֶׁרֶת 1 K 1^{15}, *participle fem. Pi"ēl*, properly *m^{e}šāratt*=מְשָׁרַתַת; also מְבַעֲתֵךְ (*participle fem. Pi"ēl* with suffix) arises from the form מְבַעַתְּ which was developed into מְבַעֲתֶת. *d*

Rem. 1. The fem. form in ת־ֶ is in general less frequent, and occurs almost exclusively when the form in ה־ָ is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e. g. קֹטֶלֶת more common than קְטֹלָה, לֶדֶת than לְדָה. *e*

2. *Rarer* feminine endings are—(*a*) ת־ַ with the tone, e. g. בָּרָקַת *emerald*, Ez 28^{13} (also בָּרָקֶת Ex 28^{17}); שִׁפְעַת *a company*, 2 K 9^{17}, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language ת־ַ was the usual fem. ending, § 2 *d*) and other neighbouring tribes,[1] e. g. צָרְפַת *Zarephath*, גִּבְעַת *Gibeath*, קִרְיַת *Kiriath*, אֵילַת Greek *Ailana* in Idumea; אֲחֻזַּת Gn 26^{26}: on the reading גָּלִיַּת cf. *g*. Cf., moreover, נְגִינַת ψ 61^{1} (prob. originally נְגִינַת); חַיַּת (LXX חַיּוֹת) 74^{19a}; פּוּגַת La 2^{18}; [רַבַּת *much*, in ψ 65^{10}, 120^{6}, 123^{4}, 129$^{1.2}$, is a form borrowed from the Aramaic (Syriac *rabbath*) in which the original *t* of the *fem.* is often retained to form *adverbs*, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 135.] *f*

(*b*) ת־ָ, which likewise occurs in some names of places, e. g. בַּעֲלָת, חֶלְקָת, as well as in the *masc.* proper name גָּלְיָת 1 S 17^{4}, &c. (in 17^{23}, and 21^{10}, ed. Mant. has גָּלְיַת), and in the *fem.* proper name שִׁמְעָת; otherwise, almost only in poetry, viz. וְמִרָת Ex 15^{2}, Is 12^{2}, ψ 118^{14} (really for וְמִרָתִי *my song*; the absorption of the *î*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner', as suggested by Duhm on Is 12^{2}, nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of יָהּ'; so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 f.); נַחֲלַת *heritage*, ψ 16^{6} (either again for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage*, or for נַחֲלָתָה, cf. § 90 *g*, as probably also עֶזְרַת *help*, ψ 60^{13}, 108^{13} for עֶזְרָתָה). These forms are possibly *g*

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[1] In the list of Palestinian towns taken by Pharaoh Shoshenq, the feminine town-names all end in *t*. Cf. also the Mêša' 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 פֹּרָת *fecunda* (*a fruitful tree*) Gn 49[22]; יִתְרָת *abundance*, Jer 48[36] (before ע; but in Is 15[7] יִתְרָה); שִׁנָת *sleep* (for שִׁנָה) ψ 132[4]; and (unless the ת is radical) in prose קָאַת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34[11], to the form קָאַת), also מָחָרַת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always ממחרת.[1]—תְּהִלָּת Jer 45[25] *Qᵉrê* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהִלָּתִי, parallel to מְשׁוֹשִׁי; cf. above, on זִמְרָת, &c.

h (*c*) א‍ָ—, the Aramaic orthography for ה‍ָ—, chiefly in the later writers; זְרָא *loathing*, Nu 11[20]; חָגָא *a terror*, Is 19[17]; שִׁנָא *sleep*, ψ 127[2]; לְבִיָא *a lioness*, Ez 19[2] (unless לָבִיא is intended); מַפָּרָא *a mark*, La 3[12]; cf. also דָּשָׁא *threshing* (*participle Qal* from דּוּשׁ) Jer 50[11]; מָרָא *bitter*, Ru 1[20]. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרְחָה *baldness* is to be read in Ez 27[31]; see Baer on the passage.

i (*d*) ה‍ָ—, an obtuse form of ה‍ָ— (§ 27 *u*), only in הַזּוֹרָה for הַזּוֹרָה Is 59[5] (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the *active ptcp. masc.* הַזּוֹרֶה and the *passive ptcp. fem.* הַזּוּרָה); cf. לָנֶה for לָנָה Zc 5[4]; אָנֶה 1 K 2[36.42] (§ 90 *i*, and § 48 *d*).

k (*e*) ה‍ָ— without the tone, e.g. רָחָמָה Dt 14[17] [Lv 11[18] רָחָם]; תַּנּוּר בֹּעֲרָה *an oven heated*, Ho 7[4]; cf. Ez. 40[19], 2 K 15[29], 16[18]. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing ה‍ָ— is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 *c*) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16[18], Is 24[19], Ez 21[31] (note in each case the following ה), and in Jb 42[13], Ho 7[4], the text is probably in error.]

l (*f*) י‍ֶ—, 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 עֶשְׂרֵה *ten* (*fem.*) undoubtedly arises from an original *'esray*; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the *vowel*-ending ה‍ָ— [2] as the original termination of the feminine, and the *consonantal* ending ת‍ַ— as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ת throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at*, *it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in ת, which is pronounced *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.

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[1] In 1 S 2c[27] also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5[11]) for some unknown reason requires ממחָרת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opitius, and Ginsburg, ממחֳרת.

[2] In this ending the ה *h* can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ת was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ת was dropped before *h*, just as the old Persian *mithra* became in modern Persian *mihr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an *h* is still heard as a fem. ending, cf. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

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§ 83. *Verbal Nouns in General.*

a **1.** In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, 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 קָטֵל, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form מִקְטַל (as a *noun* also מִקְטָל), further קִטְלָת, קִטְלָה, קָטְלָה, קִטְלָה (§ 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 מוֹדַע *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 (*qutul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatûl*, *qatîl*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qatl*, *qutl*, *qitl*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattâl*; *qittil*, *qittâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'. Thus, e. g. קָטוֹל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קְטֹל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, שְׁכַב infinitive of יִשְׁכַּב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qutl* for *qitl*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yaqtŭlŭ* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yaqtălŭ* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qutl*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it 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.

§ 84ª. *Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.*

Preliminary remark.—From the statement made above, § 83 *d*, it follows that *a* 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. Růžička, '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 *qăṭl*, *qĭṭl*, *qŭṭl*.

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 *qaṭl*, *qiṭl*, *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 Seghôl or Pathaḥ under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, סֵפֶר, זֶרַע, &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 קֹדֶשׁ) 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. *málik*, for which rarely *malk*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew גֶּדֶר, יֶרֶךְ, כֶּבֶד, כֶּתֶף, the connective forms of גְּדֵר, יְרֵךְ, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gădĭr*, *yărìk*, *kăbĭd*, *kătĭp*.

3. The forms treated under *e*, which are in many ways related to the Segholates proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew Segholates, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination ־ִים, fem. ־וֹת, 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 *ă*. 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 *ă* 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 קָטֶל,[3] קָטֶל, קָטֶל (cf. § 27 *r* and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, *a*–*c*); without a helping vowel (§ 28 *d*) קֹדֶשׁ *truth*. If the second

[1] According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *qaṭl*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (=כֶּלֶב, שֶׁמֶשׁ, אֶבֶן), 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 *kálbu*, *sípru*, *qúdšu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sipir*, *quduš*.

[2] On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *mᵉlākhîm*, *mᵉlākhôth* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *qaṭlîm* arose *qaṭᵃlîm*, then *qaṭalîm* and finally *qᵉṭālîm*. 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 mᵉlākhîm 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 גָּדֵר, אָבֶן, אָדֶר, חָרֵב, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for קֶדֶם, שֶׂכֶל, דֶּבֶר, &c.

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e 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *qᵉṭăl*, *qᵉṭĭl*, *qᵉṭŭl*), e. g. דְּבַשׁ *honey*, דְּוַי *sickness*, חֲתַת *terror*; and so always with middle א, בְּאֵר *a well*, זְאֵב *a wolf*, בְּאֹשׁ *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 *dibáš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבַשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבָשִׁי (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 בְּאֹשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'úš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qŭṭŭl* underlies the infinitives of the form קְטֹל.[1]

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

f 3. The ground-form *qăṭăl*, fem. *qăṭălăt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטָל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *a*, *b*) and קְטָלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, *a*, *b*), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבָע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צְדָקָה[2] *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אַדְמָה *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs ע״ע are בָּדָד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלָל *pierced*.—In verbs ל״ה a final *Yôdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ă* of the second syllable lengthened to *è*. Thus שָׂדַי *field*, after rejection of the י and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂדֶה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, *f*); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, *c*. From a verb ל״ו the strong form עָנָו *afflicted* occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qăṭĭl*, fem. *qăṭĭlăt*, developed to קָטֵל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *c–e*) and קְטֵלָה, 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 חֲשֵׁכָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ״י: irregularly, דְּלִיּוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11[16], &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דָּלִית (stem דלה), and הָרִיּוֹתָיו Ho 14[1] *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרַת, *plur. st. absol.* and *constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל״ו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלֵו *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שַׁלְיָו Jb 21[23].

h 5. The ground-form *qăṭŭl*, developed to קָטֹל (also written קָטוֹל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אָיֹם *terrible*, בָּרֹד *piebald*, מָתוֹק *sweet*, נָקֹד *speckled*, עָבֹת *interwoven*, עָגֹל *round*, עָמֹק *deep*, עָקֹב *hilly*, צָהֹב *golden*; קָטֹן *small*, only in sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטָן of the class treated under *f*, fem. קְטַנָּה, plur. קְטַנִּים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

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[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 *ṣadaca* (צְדָקָה), *ṣaaca* (צְעָקָה), *nabala* (נְבָלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קְצָפָה *a splintering*, צְוָחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qăṭâl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qăṭâl*.—Fem. אֲיֻמָּה, כְּבוּדָּה (*glorious*), עֲבֻתָּה, עֲנֻגָּה (*delicate*), עֲגֻלָּה, עֲמֻקָּה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ŭ* short, and similarly in the plurals בְּרֻדִים, נְקֻדִים, עֲגֻלִים, אֲסֻפִּים *stores*, &c.

i 6. The ground-form *qiṭăl* develops to קִטָּל (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), e. g. לֵבָב *heart*, עֵנָב *a bunch of grapes*, שֵׁכָר *strong drink*; from a verb ל״ה, probably of this class is רֵעָה, generally contracted to רֵע *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*, for רֵעֵיהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

k 7. The ground-form *qăṭâl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטוֹל, the *â* becoming an obscure *ô*. The fact that this form is also written קָטֹל must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qăṭŭl*.[1] Moreover the *qaṭôl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (*a*) intransitive adjectives like גָּדוֹל *great*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*, fem. גְּדוֹלָה, the short vowel becoming Šᵉwâ, whereas in גָּדֹל, &c., *before the tone* it is lengthened to *ā*; (*b*) the *infinitives absolute* of the form קָטוֹל (§ 45 *a*) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כָּבוֹד *honour*, שָׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sălâm*); (*c*) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as בָּחוֹן *assayer* (of metals), עָשׁוֹק *an oppressor*, חָמוֹץ *oppressing*; in the feminine בְּגוֹדָה *treacherous* Jer 3[7.10], 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 *qâṭôl*.

l 8. The ground-form *qăṭîl* develops to קָטִיל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, *a* and *b*). 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 אָסִיר *a prisoner*, מָשִׁיחַ *an anointed one*. These proper *qăṭîl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qaṭûl*-forms (see *m*), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qaṭĭl*-forms. These are either (*b*) intransitive in meaning, as צָעִיר *small*, and, from ל״י stems, נָקִי *pure*, עָנִי *poor* (see § 93 *vv*), or (*c*) active, as נָבִיא *a speaker* (prophet), פָּקִיד *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (*d*) forms like אָסִיף *the ingathering*, בָּצִיר *vintage*, חָרִישׁ *ploughing time*, קָצִיר *harvest*. On *qăṭîl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84ᵇ *f*.

m 9. The ground-form *qăṭûl* develops to קָטוּל. As in the *qaṭâl* and *qaṭîl*-forms (see *k* and *l*), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (*a*) *qaṭûl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e. g. בְּתוּלָה *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qaṭŭl*-form we get (*b*) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 *f*), as אָנוּשׁ *incurable*, עָצוּם *strong*, עָרוּם *subtil*, or even transitive, as אָחוּז *holding*; (*c*) active substantives, as יָקוּשׁ *a fowler*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84ᵇ *g* belong to this class; see above, the remark on *l*.

n 10. The ground-form *qĭṭâl* or *qŭṭâl* [2] in Hebrew changes the *ĭ* to vocal *Šᵉwâ*,

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[1] In Na 1[3] only the *Qᵉrê* requires גְּדַל- (in the constr. state) for the *Kᵉthîbh* גְּדוֹל.

[2] On the *fu'âl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them נְעֹרֶת *tow*, and טְחֹרִים *hemorrhoids*.

and develops to קָטָל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, *c*) or קָטוֹל, with *â* obscured to *ô* (as above, *k*). Cf. שְׁאָר *remnant*, יְקָר *honour*, כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kĭtâb*), קְרָב *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חֲלוֹם *a dream*, חֲמוֹר *an ass* (Arab. *ḥĭmâr*), אֱלוֹהַּ *God* (Arab. *'ĭlâh*); with א *prosthetic* (§ 19 *m*), אְזוֹעַ *arm* (twice: usually זְרוֹעַ); fem. בְּשׂוֹרָה *good news* (Arab. *bĭśârăt*); עֲבוֹדָה *service*, כְּתֹבֶת (Arab. *kĭtâbăt*) *tattooing*.

o 11. The ground-form *qĭṭîl* seems to occur e. g. in Hebrew אְוִיל *foolish*, אֱלִיל *vanity*, בְּדִיל *lead*, כְּסִיל *a fool*, חֲזִיר *a swine* (the prop. name חֲזִיר points to the ground-form *qĭṭîl*, cf. Arab. *ḥĭnzîr*).

p 12. The ground-form *qĭṭûl* or *qŭṭûl*, Hebr. קְטוּל, e. g. גְּבוּל *a boundary*, לְבוּשׁ *a garment*; fem. גְּבוּרָה *strength*, אֱמוּנָה *faithfulness*.

q Rem. When the forms *qᵉṭûl* and *qᵉṭôl* begin with א, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Ṣere* under the א instead of the ordinary *Ḥaṭeph-Sᵉghôl*; cf. אֱבוּם *a crib*, אֱמוּן *thread*, אֱמוּן *faithful*, אֱזוֹב *hyssop*, אֱזוֹר *a waist-band*, אֱסוּר *a bond*, אֵפוֹד *an 'ephod'*; cf. § 23 *h*, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥaṭeph-Sᵉghôl* 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 *qâṭăl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *â* into an obscure *ô*, קוֹטָל (קֹטָל), e. g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, *a*), Arab. *'âlăm*, *eternity*; חוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥâtăm*) *a seal* (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתֶמֶת (from *ḥôtămt*); תּוֹלָע *worm* (unless from a stem ולע, like תּוֹשָׁב from ושׁב; 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 אוֹפָן (or אוֹפַן Ez 10⁹ in the same verse) *a wheel*; גּוֹזָל *a young bird*, דּוֹנַג *wax*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qâṭĭl* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטֵל (קֹטֵל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קֹטֶלֶת, if their ground-form *qôṭalt* (§ 69 *c*) goes back to an original *qâṭilt*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן *priest* (Arab. *kâhĭn*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ē* (lengthened from *ĭ*) retained before the tone, e. g. יֹלֵדָה *a woman in travail* (cf. also בֹּגֵדָה *the treacherous woman*, Jer 3⁸; הַצֹּלֵעָה *her that halteth*, Mi 4⁶ f., Zp 3¹⁹; סֹחֵרָה *a buckler*, ψ 91⁴); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלֶדֶת, &c., the original *ĭ* having become *Šᵉwâ*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29⁶·⁸, 34⁹, ψ 68²⁶, 118¹⁶ (all in principal *pause*; in subordinate *pause* 2 S 13²⁰, Is 33¹⁴; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1⁶).

t 15. The ground-form *qûṭăl*, Hebrew קוֹטַל (as יוֹבַל *river*, Jer 17⁸) or קוֹטָל e. g. עוֹגָב *a pipe*, commonly עָגָב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150⁴, not עַגָּב.

V. *Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.*

u 16. קִיטוֹל, e. g. קִיטוֹר *smoke*. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qîṭâl* (*qĭṭṭâl*?), i. e. the original *â* has become an obscure *ô*.

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r); cf. גִּבּוֹר *hero* (Arab. *găbbâr*), יְסוֹר *caviller*, צִפּוֹר (*piper* or *chirper*) *a bird*, שִׁכּוֹר *drunkard*. On the other hand, יָלוֹד *born* probably arises from *yullôd*, an old *participle passive* of *Qal*, the *ŭ* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ô*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

f 25. The ground-form *qăṭṭîl*, קַטִּיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. אַבִּיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, בָּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barrî^{a}ḥ*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *ʿărrîṣ*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qăṭîl*-class (see above, remark on *a*), appears from the *constr. st.* פְּרִיץ *ravenous*, Is 35^{9} (but פָּרִיצֵי, פָּרִיצִים always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 *a*) also from the *constr. st.* אֲבִיר (but also אַבִּיר 1 S 21^{8}) of אַבִּיר. However, the form אֲבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אַבִּיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אַסִּיר *prisoner*, סָרִיס *eunuch* (*constr. st.* always סְרִיס, plur. סָרִיסִים, *constr. st.* סְרִיסֵי Gn 40^{7}, but in the book of Esther always סָרִיסֵי, with *suffix* סָרִיסָיו, &c.), and עָתִיק *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qăṭîl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84^{a} *l*.

g 26. The ground-form *qăṭṭûl*, קַטּוּל, e.g. חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), חָרוּץ *diligent* (for *ḥarrûṣ*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qăṭûl*-class, § 84^{a} *m*. The same applies to substantives like אַשֻּׁר *a step* (in אַשְׁרִי, as well as אֲשֻׁרוֹ, &c.), עַמּוּד *pillar*; fem. חֲבוּרָה *a stripe* (*also* חֲבַרְתּוֹ), בַּטֻּחוֹת *security*: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qăṭṭôl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pi'ēl* of the form קַטֵּל, also קַנּוֹא *jealous* (as well as קַנָּא, an obscured form of *qăṭṭâl*, see *e*).

i 28. The ground-form *qĭṭṭúl*, קִטּוּל, e.g. צִפּוּי *a coating of metal*, שִׁלּוּם *requital*, שִׁקּוּי *drink*, שִׁקּוּץ *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning לִמּוּד *a disciple*, עִזּוּז *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גִּדּוּפִים *reproach*, מִלֻּאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נֻחֳמִים *consolations, compassion*, שִׁכֻּלִים *bereavement*, שִׁלֻּחִים *dismissal*, שִׁמֻּרִים *observance*.

VII. *Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.*

k 29. The ground-form *qăṭlăl*, e.g. שַׁאֲנָן *quiet*, fem. שַׁאֲנָנָה (with sharpening of the second *Nûn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רַעֲנָן *green*, plur. רַעֲנַנִּים.

l 30. The ground-form *qăṭlĭl*, in Hebrew קִטְלֵל; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Pi'lēl* (prop. *Pa'lēl*), cf. § 55 *d*.

m 31. The ground-form *qăṭlŭl*; so the plur. גַּבְנֻנִּים *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nûn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qĭṭlăl*, in פִּרְחָח *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qŭṭlăl*, in אֻמְלָל *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qăṭlîl*, e.g. עַבְטִיט *plunder*, סַנְוִיר *rain-storm*, שַׁפְרִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43^{10} *Q^{e}rê*; with attenuation of the *ă* to *i* כְּמְרִירִים *all that maketh black*, Jb 3^{5} (but the better reading is כַּמְרִירֵי).

35. The ground-form *qăṭlûl*, e.g. שַׁבְּרוּר Jer 43^{10} *K^{e}th.*; נַאֲפוּפִים *adulteries*.

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

n 36–39. *Q^{e}ṭălṭăl, q^{e}ṭălṭĭl, q^{e}ṭălṭŭl; q^{e}ṭălṭûl, q^{e}ṭălṭôl* (in *fem.* and *plur.* often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in *a* above); cf. הַפַּכְפַּךְ

crooked, חֲלַקְלַקּוֹת *slippery places*, עֲקַלְקַלּוֹת *crooked (ways)*; פְּתַלְתֹּל *tortuous*; also words denoting colours, אֲדַמְדָּם (Lv 13[42.49] in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדַמְדֶּמֶת, plur. אֲדַמְדַּמּוֹת; יְרַקְרַק *greenish*, plur. fem. יְרַקְרַקּוֹת; *qᵉṭalṭîl*, יְפֵיפִיָּה *very fair* (to be read in Jer 46[20] for יפהפיה); *qᵉṭalṭûl*, שְׁחַרְחֹרֶת (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסַפְסֵף *a rabble* (augmented from אָסוּף *collected*). From a verb פ״י with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צְאֶצָאִים *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוֹצְרָה *a trumpet* (for חֲצַרְצָרָה, cf. § 55 *e*). Also in Is 2[20] לַחֲפַרְפָּרוֹת is to be read instead of לַחְפֹּר פְּרוֹת (from the *sing.* חֲפַרְפָּרָה a *digging* or *burrowing* animal, perhaps the *mole*). But פַּקַּחְקוֹחַ *opening*, Is 61[1] (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פַּקַּח־קוֹחַ), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פְּקוֹחַ as in 42[7].

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 פֶּה). Thus:—

40. גַּלְגַּל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first *ă* to *ĭ*, גִּלְגָּל (from גלל); fem. חַלְחָלָה *anguish* (from חוּל or חִיל); כִּכָּר (for *kirkar*) *a talent*; cf. also כּוֹכָב *a star* (from *kăwkăb*, Arabic *kaukăb*, for כַּבְכַּב), טוֹטָפוֹת *bands*, for טַפְטָפוֹת; צְלָצַל probably *a whirring locust*.

41. בַּלְבֵּל infin. *Filpēl* (prop. *Palpĭl*) from כּוּל; fem. טַלְטֵלָה *a hurling* (from טול). *p*

42. כַּדְכֹּד perhaps a *ruby* (for *kădkŭd*), from כרר.

43. קָדְקֹד *the crown of the head* (for *qŭdqŭd*), from קדד; fem. גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *a skull* (for *gŭlgŭlt*), from גלל.

44. זָרְזִיר *girded*, from זרר; בַּקְבּוּק *a bottle*, from בקק; בַּרְבֻּרִים *fattened birds* (?).

§ 85. *Nouns with Preformatives and Afformatives.*

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiphʿîl, Hophʿal, Hithpaʿēl, Niphʿal, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת), and finally those which are formed with afformatives. The quadriliterals 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 triliteral stem.

X. *Nouns with Preformatives.*

45. Nouns with א prefixed. Cf. the substantives with א *prosthetic* (§ 19 *m*), *b* such as אֶזְרוֹעַ *arm* (Jer 32[21], Jb 31[22]; elsewhere always זְרוֹעַ); אֶצְבַּע *a finger*, אַרְבֶּה *a locust*, אֶגְרוֹף *fist* (others *mailock*, or *clod*), אַשְׁמוּרָה or אַשְׁמֹרֶת *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, אַכְזָב *deceitful*, אַכְזָר *cruel*, אֵיתָן *perennial* (for *ʾaitan*) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֲפֻרָה *fragrant part*[1] (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'îl*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem (*'Aph'ēl*), hence with suff. אַזְכָּרְתָהּ Lv 2^2, &c.

c 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הַקְטֵל and הַקְטִיל, of *Niph'al* הִקָּטֵל, הִקָּטֵל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הִתְ, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'îl* (cf. § 72 *z*), viz. הַכָּרָה *appearance* (from נָכַר), Is 3^9; הֲנָפָה *a swinging* (from נוּף), [Is 30^{28}; הֲנָחָה *a rest-giving*, Est 2^{18}]; הַצָּלָה *deliverance* (from נָצַל), [Est 4^{14} an Aram. form: cf. הֲזָדָה Dn 5^{20}]; perhaps also הֵיכָל *palace*, from *haikăl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יִצְהָר *oil*, יַלְקוּט *wallet*, יַנְשׁוּף *owl* (?); from verbs ע״ו, e. g. יְקוּם *a living thing*, יְתוֹר *a range*; from a verb ע״י, יָרִיב *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יִצְחָק, &c.

e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mêm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי *who*, and מָה *what* (see § 37 and § 52 *c*), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ *subjective*, when preformative of the participles *Pi'ēl*, *Hiph'îl*, *Hithpa'ēl*, 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 מַפְתֵחַ *a key*, &c. (4) מ *local*, as in מִדְבָּר *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 *ă*. This *ă*, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to *ĭ*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *ĭ*, attenuated from *ă*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in מָגֵן *shield* (with suff. מָגִנִּי) it even becomes unchangeable *â*. But in an open syllable which does *not* stand before the tone, the *a* necessarily becomes *Še^wâ*.

g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (*a*) ground-form *măqṭăl*, in Hebrew מַקְטָל,[1] e. g. מַאֲכָל *food*; fem. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מַאֲכֶלֶת *a knife*, מְלָאכָה (for מַלְאָכָה by § 23 *c*) *business*; from a verb פ״ן, מַתָּן *a gift*; from verbs פ״ו, מוֹצָא *a going forth*, מוֹשָׁב *a seat*; from verbs פ״י, מֵיטָב *the best* (from *maiṭăb*); with י (or ו) assimilated, מַצָּע *a bed*; from verbs ע״ע, מָסָךְ *a screen*, and with the shortening of the *ă* under the preformative, מָמֵר *bitterness* (from מָמַר developed to a segholate), fem. מְשַׁמָּה *desolation*; from a verb ע״ו, probably of this class is מָקוֹם *place*, the *ă* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ô* (Arabic *măqâm*); from verbs ל״ה, מַרְאֶה *appearance*, מַעַן (for מַעֲנֶה) prop. *intention*, only in לְמַעַן *on account of, in order that*.

h (*b*) Ground-form *miqṭăl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקְטָל, e. g. מִדְבָּר (in Jer 2^{31} also, where Baer requires הַמִּדְבַּר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הַמִּדְבָּר) *a cattle-drive*, fem. מִלְחָמָה *war*, מֶרְכָּבָה *a chariot* (with *Se^ghôl* instead of *ĭ*, but in *constr. st.* מִרְכֶּבֶת Gn 41^{43}; cf. מֶרְחָק *distance*), מִשְׁמֶרֶת *a watch*; from verbs ע״ע, e. g. מֶסֶב *surroundings* (from *mĭ-săb*; *ĭ* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but cf. also מַשַּׁק Is 33^4 as *constr. state* from שַׁקַּק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 *g*); from verbs ל״ה, מִקְנֶה *a possession*, fem. מִקְנָה.

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[1] In מַמְחַקִּים Ct 5^{16}, Neh 8^{10}, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ă* of the second syllable cf. § 93 *ee*.

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r With a long vowel in the second syllable: (*d*) *tĭqṭâl*, as תְּהוֹם *the ocean, the deep* (for *tíhâm*; in Assyrian the fem. *tiâmtu*, constr. st. *tiâmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (*e*) *tăqṭîl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pi'ēl*), e.g. from a verb ל״ה, fem. תַּכְלִית *completeness*; תַּרְבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מַרְבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד *a disciple*; (*f*) תַּקְטוּל, e.g. תַּפּוּחַ *an apple* (for *tănpû^{a}ḥ*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תְּגְמוּל *a benefit* (also גְּמוּל); from verbs ע״ו, תְּבוּסָה *a treading down*, תְּנוּפָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'il* stem), תְּשׁוּקָה *a longing*, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תַּהְפֻּכוֹת *perverseness*, תַּחְבֻּלוֹת *guidance*, תַּמְרוּרִים *bitterness*, תַּנְחוּמִים and תַּנְחוּמוֹת *consolation*; from a verb ע״ו, תְּאֻנִים *toil*.

XI. *Nouns with Affortnatives.*

s 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חַשְׁמַל *amber* (?), and probably בַּרְזֶל *iron*, כַּרְמֶל *garden-land* (*S^{e}ghôl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ă* in the tone-syllable), גִּבְעֹל *bloom*, cf. § 30 *q*.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מִיכַל, חֲמוּטַל (*little lizard*?) אֲבִיגַל (also אֲבִיגַיִל).

t 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ăm* as afformative, אוּלָם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֻלָמִים; but in כִּנָּם *a swarm of gnats*, the ם is radical. With original afformative *ŭm*, עֵירֹם (also עָרֹם) *naked* (from עור), plur. עֵירְמִים Gn 3^{7}, parallel form עָרוֹם, plur. עֲרוּמִים Gn 2^{25}.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100 *g*, and many proper names, as גֵּרְשֹׁם, also גֵּרְשׁוֹם, and גֵּרְשׁוֹן (*patronymic* גֵּרְשֻׁנִּי), מִלְכֹּם, עַמְרָם, &c.; but for פְּדוּיִם *ransom* (?), Nu 3^{49}, probably פְּדוּיִם is to be read.

u 54. Nouns with ן affixed. The ן is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעַן *Canaan*, and צִפֹּרֶן *a finger nail*; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ă*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S^{e}ghôl* (as גַּרְזֶן *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אַחַרְנִית and קְדָמְנִית); e.g. קִנְיָן *a possession*, שֻׁלְחָן *a table*, קָרְבָּן *an offering*. From an original *â* being changed into an obscure *ô* we may probably explain such forms as דְּאָבוֹן *a pining away*; דָּרְבוֹן (also הַרְבֶּה) *a goad*; רָעָבוֹן *hunger*; from verbs ל״ה, גָּאוֹן *pride*, הָמוֹן *noise*, חָזוֹן *a vision*; שִׁרְיוֹן *a coat of mail*; from a verb פ״ן, מַשָּׁאוֹן *guile* (the only instance with both מ preformative and *ôn* afformative)[1]; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g זִכָּרוֹן *memorial*, כִּלָּיוֹן *destruction* (*constr. st.* זִכְרוֹן and כִּלְיוֹן), &c.; cf. also הֵרָיוֹן *pregnancy* (for הֵהָרוֹן) and § 93 *uu*; קִיקָלוֹן *shame*, for קִלְקָלוֹן. Proper names occur with the termination *ûn*, as יְשֻׁרוּן, § 86 *g*, and others.

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[1] The plurals נְצָנִים *flowers*, Ct 2^{12}, and קִמְשֹׁנִים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נֵץ (cf. נְצָרָה) and קִמּוֹשׁ with the insertion of *án* (which in קמ׳ is obscured to *ón*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עֻבּוֹנִים *wares*, Ez 27$^{14.16}$ from עֻבָּב=עֻצָּב.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה__ or י__ used to *v*
be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix ן__. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְגִדּוֹן, once used (Zc 12[11]) for מְגִדּוֹ (and conversely in Pr 27[20] *K*^{e}*thîbh* אֲבַדּוֹה, *Q*^{e}*rê* אֲבַדּוֹ for אֲבַדּוֹן *destruction*), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמֹה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 *h*) a *Nûn* appears before the termination *î*, as גִּילֹנִי *Gilonite* from גִּלֹה and שִׁילֹנִי from שִׁילֹה (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְגִדּוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination *ô* (יְרִיחוֹ, עַכּוֹ, רִמּוֹנוֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 *b*) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ôn* than in proper names, and גִּילֹנִי and שִׁילֹנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gîlô-î*, *šîlô-î*, &c.; cf. also שִׁלְנִי from שִׁלֶה.

On the afformatives ־ִי, ־ִי, וּת, ־ִית, see below, § 86 *h*–*l*.

XII. *Quadriliterals and Quinqueliterals.*

55. גַּלְמוּד *barren*, חַלָּמִישׁ *a flint*, and the fem זַלְעָפָה *heat*, &c., have probably *w*
arisen from the insertion of a ל; חַרְגֹּל *a locust*, קַרְדֹּם *an axe*, סַרְעַפָּה *a branch*, Ez 31[6] (verses 6, 8 סַעַפָּה), שַׂרְעַפִּים (also שַׂעַפִּים) *anxious thoughts*, שַׁרְבִּיט *sceptre*, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, חַרְמֵשׁ *a sickle*, סַמָּדַר *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עַטַלֵּף *a bat*, עַכָּבִישׁ *a spider*, עַכְבָּר *a mouse*, עַקְרָב *a scorpion*,[1] &c.—Quinqueliteral, צְפַרְדֵּעַ *a frog*.

§ 86. *Denominative Nouns.*

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, *x*
whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. קַדְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קֶדֶם *the east* (verbal stem קָדַם *to be in front*).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already *b*
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— *c*

1. Those like the *participle Qal* (§ 84[a] *s*), e.g. שֹׁעֵר *a porter*, from שַׁעַר *a gate*; בֹּקֵר *a herdsman*, from בָּקָר *a herd*; כֹּרֵם *a vinedresser*, from כֶּרֶם *a vineyard*.

2. Those like the form *qăṭṭāl* (§ 84[b] *b*), e.g. קַשָּׁת *an archer*, from קֶשֶׁת *a bow*. *d*

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[1] Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *'uṣfûr*, *sparrow* (from *ṣafara*, *to chirp*), that ע was especially employed to form quadriliteral 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 עַיִן; מִרְגְּלוֹת *the place about the feet*, מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *the place about the head*, from רֶגֶל, רֹאשׁ; מִקְשֶׁה (for מִקְשָׁאָה) *a cucumber field*, from קִשֶּׁא *cucumber*. Cf. *ἀμπελών* from *ἄμπελος*.

f 4. Nouns with the termination ן__ or וֹן expressing adjectival ideas: קַדְמוֹן *eastern*, from קֶדֶם; אַחֲרוֹן *posterior*, from אַחַר; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חוּץ; probably also לִוְיָתָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal*, *serpent*, from לְוָיָה *a winding*; נְחֹשְׁתָּן *brazen*, from נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*. Also *abstracts*, e. g. עִוָּרוֹן *blindness*, from עִוֵּר. Cf. § 85 *u*.— With a double termination (*ôn* or *ân* with *î*) אַדְמֹנִי *reddish*, יְדַעֹנִי *a knowing* (spirit); צִפְעֹנִי *basilisk*; רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת *merciful* [fem. plur.].

g וֹן appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac ܘܢ) in אִישׁוֹן *little man* (in the eye), *apple of the eye*, from אִישׁ[1]; on the other hand שְׁפִיפֹן *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 יְשֻׁרוּן is a *denominative* from יָשׁוּר (=יָשָׁר), properly *upright* (*righteous people*), and not a *diminutive* (*pious little people*, and the like); finally, שַׁהֲרוֹן is not *lunula*, but *an artificial moon* (used as an ornament), and צַוְּארֹנִים not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צַוָּאר *neck*). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4[9].

h 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination י__, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals*, *patronymics*, and *tribal names*; e. g. רַגְלִי *footman*, plur. רַגְלִים, from רֶגֶל *foot*; אַכְזָרִי *cruel*, נָכְרִי *strange*, from נֵכֶר *strangeness*, תַּחְתִּי *lower*, from תַּחַת *below*, fem. תַּחְתִּית and תַּחְתִּיָּה, plur. תַּחְתִּיִּים, תַּחְתִּיּוֹת; שִׁשִּׁי *the sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאָבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב, plur. מוֹאָבִים, fem. מוֹאֲבִיָּה and מוֹאָבִית, plur. מוֹאֲבִיּוֹת; עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרִים and עִבְרִיִּים, fem. עִבְרִיָּה, plur. עִבְרִיּוֹת; יִשְׂרְאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the original substantive is a *compound*, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjamite*, from בִּנְיָמִין (cf. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127 *d*).

i Instead of י__ we find in a few cases (*a*) the ending ִי__ (as in Aram.), e. g. כִּילִי (*crafty*, or, according to others, *churlish*) if it stands for נִכְלִי and is not rather from a stem כלא or כלה; חוֹרִי *white cloth*, Is 19[9] in pause; perhaps also גֹּבַי *a swarm of locusts*, Am 7[1] (גּוֹבֵי Na 3[17]); hardly נְגִינוֹתַי Is 38[20], Hb 3[19]; but certainly in proper names as בַּרְזִלַּי (*ferreus*) *Barzillai*;[2] and (*b*) ה__ֶ,

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[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. עוּלֵימָא, Syr. ܥܘܠܝܡܐ, Arab. غُلَيِّمٌ *a very young man*, *kulaib*, *a little dog*, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180), זְעִיר *a little* (Is 28[10.13], Jb 36[2]) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added שְׁבִיסִים Is 3[18] (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais*, *little sun*), and אֲמִינֹן 2 S 13[20], as a contemptuous diminutive form of אַמְנוֹן; 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 ִי__ as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80 *l*.

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d The ending *îm* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צדנם *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *âni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *âmi*, cf. § 88 *d*); Aramaic has *în*; Arabic *ûna* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *în* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *ân*. Cf. also the verbal ending ן 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*) ין־, 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. מְלָכִין *kings*, Pr 31[3], צְדֹנִין 1 K 11[33], רָצִין *the guard*, 2 K 11[13], חִטִּין *wheat*, Ez 4[9]; defectively אִיִּין *islands*, Ez 26[18]; יְמִין *days*, Dn 12[13]. Cf. also מְדִין *carpets*, Ju 5[10], in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עִיִּין *heaps*, Mi 3[12] (before ת; cf. § 44 *k*); מִלִּין *words* (from the really Aram. מְלָה), Jb 4[2], and twelve other places in Job (beside מִלִּים, ten times in Job); further, חַיִּין Jb 24[22], אֲחֵרִין 31[10], and שׁוֹמְמִין La 1[4], תַּנִּין 4[3].—The following forms are doubtful:

f (*b*) י־ (with the ם rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָדַי for יָדַיִם Ez 13[18], cf. § 88 *c*), e. g. מִנֵּי *stringed instruments*, ψ 45[9] for מִנִּים (unless it is to be so written)[3]; עַמֵּי *peoples*, ψ 144[2], and, probably, also La 3[14] (in 2 S 22[44] it may be taken as עַמִּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 18[44] עָם; also in Ct 8[2] the *î* of רִמֹּנִי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 S 23[8] as compared with 1 Ch 11[11], and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

g (*c*) י־ (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרֵי *princes*, Ju 5[15] (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שָׂרֵי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שָׂרִים); for חַלּוֹנֵי ום׳ Jer 22[14] (according to others *dual*, see § 88 *c*, or a loan word, cf. *ZA*. iii. 93) read חַלּוֹנָיו סָפוּן. On גּוֹבֵי and חוֹרֵי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 *i*.—חַשּׁוּפֵי Is 20[4] (where the right reading is certainly חֲשׂוּפֵי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable י־ =*bareness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 *d*) to avoid the harsh combination *h*^{a}*sûfê šēt*[4]; in אֲדֹנֵי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲדֹנִים *lord*), the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 *q*.

h (*d*) ם־ a supposed *plural* ending in כִּנִּים=כִּנָּם *gnats* (or *lice*), and סֻלָּם *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. תְּהִלּוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

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[1] On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Gramm.*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, *Obs.* 2].

[2] So also always in the Mêša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty*; line 4 מלכן *kings*; line 5 ימן רבן *many days*, &c.

[3] According to some this *î* 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 חֲשׂוּפֵי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. כְּלוּבֵי, אֲחוּמֵי) transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

תְּהִלִּים, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as סֵפֶר תְּהִלּוֹת *the Book of Psalms*); אִגֶּרֶת *a letter*, plur. אִגְּרוֹת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in ית־ form their plural in יוֹת־, e.g. מִצְרִית *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיּוֹת; and those in וּת either make יוֹת־, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכֻיּוֹת, Dn 8[22] (cf. חֲנִיּוֹת *cells*, Jer 37[16]), or are inflected like עֵדוֹת *testimonies* (pronounced *ʿēdh^{e}wôth* for *ʿēdhŭwôth*).

k It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings וּת־ and ית־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of ים־ or וֹת־, e.g. חֲנִית *spear*, plur. חֲנִיתִים and חֲנִיתוֹת; זְנוּת *whoredom*, plur. זְנוּתִים (by the side of זְנוּנִים); אַלְמְנוּתִים *widowhood*; שְׁחִיתוֹת *pits*, כְּסָתוֹת *amulets* (if connected with Assyr. *kâsu*, *to bind*), &c.

l The termination *-ôth* stands primarily for *-âth* (which is the form it has in Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of *â* into an obscure *ô*, see § 9 *q*). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *âth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *ăth* (cf. § 80 *b*).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become *Š^{e}wâ* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92–5.

m 3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and feminine (§ 122 *d*), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עָב *cloud*, plur. עָבִים and עָבוֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e.g. דּוֹר masc. *a generation*, plur. דּוֹרִים and דּוֹרוֹת; שָׁנָה fem. *a year*, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אַרְיֵה masc. *a lion*, plur. אַרְיוֹת masc., Zp 3[3], דּוֹרוֹת masc., Jb 42[16].

n Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days*, שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the *constr. st.* Dt 32[7], ψ 90[15]) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

o A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in וֹת expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 *u*), e.g. יָדַיִם *hands*, יָדוֹת *artificial hands*, also e.g. the *arms* of a throne; כַּפַּיִם *hands*, כַּפּוֹת *handles* (Lat. *manubria*); פַּעַם *foot*, פְּעָמוֹת *artificial feet* (of the ark), קַרְנַיִם *horns*, קְרָנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינַיִם *eyes*, עֲיָנוֹת *fountains*; cf. also אֲרָיִים *lions*, אֲרָיוֹת the *figures of lions* on Solomon's throne, תָּמָר *palm*, תְּמָרָה *a palm-like column*, plur. תְּמוֹרִים and תְּמוֹרוֹת.

p 4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וֹת, while many feminines have a plural in ים־. The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.

Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in וֹת— are: אָב *father*, אוֹצָר *treasure*, בְּאֵר and בּוֹר *cistern*, זָנָב *tail*, חֲלוֹם *dream*, כִּסֵּא *throne*, לֵב and לֵבָב *heart*, לוּחַ *tablet*, לַיִל and לַיְלָה *night*, מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, מָקוֹם *place*, נֹאד *skin-bottle*, נֵר *lamp*, עוֹר *skin*, קוֹל *voice*, שֻׁלְחָן *table*, שֵׁם *name*, שׁוֹפָר *trumpet*.

q Feminines ending in ה֫— which take in the plural the termination ים֫— are אֵלָה *terebinth*, אֵימָה *terror* (but also אֵימוֹת), דְּבֵלָה *a cake* of figs, חִטָּה *wheat*, לְבֵנָה *a brick*, מִלָּה (only in poetry) *a word*, סְאָה *seā*, *a dry measure*, שְׂעֹרָה *barley*, and the following names of animals דְּבוֹרָה *a bee* and יוֹנָה *a dove*; also, for בֵּיצִים fem. *eggs*, a singular בֵּיצָה is to be assumed. אֲלֻמָּה *sheaf* and שָׁנָה *year* (see above, *n*) take both ים֫— and וֹת; cf. finally שִׁבֹּלֶת *an ear of corn*, plur. שִׁבֳּלִים, and without the fem. termination in the singular פִּילֶגֶשׁ *concubine*, plur. פִּילַגְשִׁים.

r 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonae*, קְטָלִים masc., קְטָלוֹת fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as בָּנִים *filii*, בָּנוֹת *filiae*; מְלָכִים *reges*, מְלָכוֹת *reginae*.

s Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending וֹת a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the *constr. st.* י֫—, cf. § 89 *c*), or a dual ending ַיִם֫—, e. g. בָּמָה *a high place*, plur. בָּמוֹת, *constr. st.* בָּמוֹתֵי (also בָּמֹתֵי *bām^{o}thê*, Is 14^{14}, Jb 9^{8}, &c., sometimes as *Q^{e}rê* to the K^{e}thîbh במותי; see § 95 *o*); מֵרַאשֹׁתֵי שָׁאוּל *from Saul's head*, 1 S 26^{12}; חוֹמָה *wall*, plur. חוֹמוֹת *moenia*, whence dual חוֹמֹתַיִם *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending וֹת (§ 91 *m*).

t 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e. g. אָדָם *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e. g. מְתִים *men* (the old *sing.* מְתוּ is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 *o*; in Eth. the *sing.* is *mĕt*, man); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 *a*), as פָּנִים *face*. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e. g. פָּנִים means also *faces*, Gn 40^{7}, Ez 1^{6}; cf. אֱלֹהִים *God*, and also *gods* (the *sing.* אֱלֹהַּ, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

§ 88. *Of the Dual.*

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

a 1. The *dual* is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see *e*). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination ַיִם֫—

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the Aramaic שֹׁמְרַיִן = שֹׁמְרֹן for the Hebrew שֹׁמְרוֹן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list אֲפֵרַיִם, נַהֲרַיִם *the river country* (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nârima*, *na'rima*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מצרם; also the words denoting time, צָהֳרַיִם *midday* (Mêša' inscription, line 15 צהרם), and perhaps עֲרָבַיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּין־הָעַרְבַּיִם Ex 12⁶, 16¹², &c., is only due to mistaking עַרְבַּיִם for a dual: LXX *πρὸς ἑσπέραν*, *τὸ δειλινόν*, *ὀψέ*, and only in Lv 23⁵ *ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν*. The Arabs also say *el 'išâ'ân*, *the two evenings*, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יָדַי Ez 13¹³ read יָדַיִם. On חַלּוֹנַי (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) *mâmi*, *šamâmi*, whence the Hebr. מים, שמים arose by inversion of the *i*, *mâmi*, *mâimi*, *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. *tarḍaina*, *2nd fem. sing. imperf.* of a verb ל״י, for *tarḍay* + *îna*, corresponding to *taqtulîna* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. בְּנַיִן the *abs. st. plur.* of the *ptcp. Qal* of בְּנָה (ל״י), which otherwise always ends in *în* with the tone, e.g. in the *ptcp. Qal* of the strong verb, זָבְחִין *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. זְרוֹעַ and זְרוֹעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנַיִם *both ears*, שִׁנַּיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נַעֲלַיִם *a pair of sandals*, מֹאזְנַיִם *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*; שְׁבוּעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמָּתַיִם *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 רַגְלַיִם *four feet*, Lv 11²³; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i.e. three pairs), Is 6², Ez 1⁶; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes*, Zc 3⁹, כָּל־בִּרְכַּיִם *all knees*, Ez 7¹⁷; כָּל־יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21¹²; מְצִלְתַּיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3¹⁰; שִׁפְתַיִם *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

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[1] But for דִּרְכַּיִם Pr 28⁶·¹⁸ (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכִים is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo*, *ambo*, *octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

§ 89. *The Genitive and the Construct State.*

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. . . .*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*,[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 *Še^wâ* (cf. § 9 *a*, *c*, *k*; § 27 *e–m*); e.g. דָּבָר *word*, דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word of God* (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word*, *house-top*, *landlord*); יָד *hand*, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ *the hand of the king*; דְּבָרִים *words*, דִּבְרֵי 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. *a*

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[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 יְ—, e.g. סוּסִים *horses*, סוּסֵי פַרְעֹה *the horses of Pharaoh*; עֵינַיִם *eyes*, עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *the eyes of the king*.

d Rem. The יְ— of the dual has evidently arisen from יַ— (cf. יָדַיִם), but the origin of the termination יְ— in the *constr. st.* plur. is disputed. The Syriac *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסַיִךְ, &c., § 91 *h*) would point to a contraction of an original יַ—, 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 אִשָּׁה (see *f*) and חוֹרִי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

e (*b*) The original תַ— is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute* state end in הָ—, e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, מַלְכַּת שְׁבָא *the queen of Sheba*. But the feminine endings תָ֫—, תַ֫—, and also the plural וֹת—, remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

f (*c*) Nouns in הֵ— (cf. § 75 *e*) from verbs ל״ה (§ 93, Paradigm III *c*) form their *constr. st.* in הֵ—, e.g. רֹאֶה *seer*, constr. רֹאֵה. If this הֵ— is due to contraction of the original יַ—, with ה added as a vowel letter, we may compare דַּי, constr. דֵּי *sufficiency*; חַי, constr. חֵי *life*; גַּיְא (גַּי), constr. גֵּיא (גֵּי) *valley*.

On the terminations ִי and יִ— in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

§ 90. *Real and Supposed Remains of Early Case-endings.* הָ— *local,* ִי *in compound proper names,* יִ— *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-

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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 יָמָּה, הָרָה, בַּיִתָה 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. מַחֲנַיְמָה *in Maḥanaim*, 1 K 4[14]; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*, see *c*), Jer 18[2], cf. 2 K 23[8], and the expression *to offer a sacrifice* הַמִּזְבֵּחָה, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, בָּבֶלָה Jer 29[15], and וְבֶלָה Hb 3[11], are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon*, *into the habitation*; also expressions like פְּאַת צָפוֹנָה *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15[5] (at the beginning of the verse, גְּבוּל קֵדְמָה *the border toward the east*), cf. 18[15.20], Ex 26[18], Jer 23[8].

e (*c*) The original force of the ending ה_ is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also עַד־אָנָה *how long?*), and this not only after לְ, אֶל־ or עַד־ (which are easily explained), e.g. לְמַעְלָה *upwards*, לְמַטָּה *downwards*, לִשְׁאוֹלָה *to Sheol*, ψ 9[18]; עַד־אֲפֵקָה *unto Aphek*, Jos 13[4], אֶל־הַצָּפוֹנָה *toward the north*, Ez 8[14], cf. Ju 20[16]; but also after בְּ, and even after מִן, e.g. בַּנֶּגְבָּה *in the south*, Jos 15[21], cf. Ju 14[2], 1 S 23[15.19], 31[13], 2 S 20[15], Jer 52[10]; מִבָּבֶלָה *from Babylon*, Jer 27[16]; cf. 1[13], Jos 10[36], 15[10], Ju 21[19], Is 45[6].

f **Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in**

**(*a*) לַיְלָה, in *pause* לֵילָה, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative[1] appeared to be preserved in the form לַיִל, only used in poetry, Is 16[3], *constr. st.* לֵיל (even used for the *absol. st.* in pause Is 21[11]). Most probably, however, לַיְלָה is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form לילי; cf. especially the western Aramaic לֵילְיָא, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is מְאוּמָה *something*, probably from מְאוּם, מוּם *spot*, *point*, generally with a negative =*nothing*. Similarly אַרְצָה Is 8[23] and (in pause) Jb 34[13], סוּפָה Ho 8[7], and the place-name יַהְצָה 1 Ch 6[63], might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless ה_ can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus אַרְצָה (in *pause*) Jb 37[12]; הַמָּוְתָה *death*, ψ 116[15]; נֶגְדָּה־נָּא ψ 116[14.18]; נַחֲלָה *stream*, ψ 124[4]; הַחַשְׁמַלָה *amber*, Ez 8[2] [in 1[4] הַחַשְׁמַל, cf. §80 *k*], &c. In Jos 15[12] הַיָּמָה is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14[18] instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word הַחַרְסָה (towards the sun??) read as in 15[1] הַחַדְרָה *to the bride-chamber*.

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[1] Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *láylā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original לַיְלָה, like אָנָה from אָנָּה.

(*b*) In the termination תָה־ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. *g*
אֵימָתָה *terror* (=אֵימָה), Ex 15[16]; עֶזְרָתָה *help* (=עֶזְרָה), ψ 44[27], 63[8], 94[17]; יְשׁוּעָתָה *salvation* (=יְשׁוּעָה), ψ 3[3], 80[3], Jon 2[10]; עַוְלָתָה *unrighteousness* (=עַוְלָה), Ez 28[15], Ho 10[13], ψ 125[3]; עֹלָתָה ψ 92[16] *Keth.* Jb 5[16]; צָרָתָה ψ 120[1]; עִיפָתָה *darkness*, Jb 10[22]; הַמּוּמָתָה Jer 11[15] is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like עֶזְרָתָה *for help* (ψ 44[27]) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis.[1]

This termination ה־ usually has reference to *place* (hence called *h* ה־ *locale*[2]); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in מִימִים יָמִימָה *from year to year*. Its use in חָלִילָה, properly *ad profanum!*=*absit!* is peculiar.

As the termination ה־ is almost always toneless (except in מְזָרָה *constr. st.* *i* Dt 4[41]; גָּתָה and עָתָה Jos 19[13]) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.* מִרְכָּבָה Jos 18[12], 1 K 19[15], and in the proper names גַּתָה 1 K 2[40], דָּנָה 2 S 24[6] (so Baer; ed. Mant. and Ginsb. דָּנָה), צְפַתָה 2 Ch 14[9], צְרַתָנָה 1 K 17[9], חֶרָה 1 K 4[12], an *ă* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (cf., however, כַּרְמֶלָה Gn 14[10], פַּדָּנָה Gn 28[2] from פַּדָן, with modification of the *a* to *è*; also כַּרְמֶלָה 1 S 25[5] from כַּרְמֶל). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the ה־ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before ה־ naturally becomes *Šewâ*, e.g. בַּיְתָה, הָאֹהֱלָה Gn 18[6], &c.; הַיַּעְרָה Jos 17[15], הַשַּׁעֲרָה[3] Ju 20[16], &c., but also נַחֲלָה Nu 34[5] (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ez 47[19], 48[28]) and שְׁעָרָה Is 28[6] (with *Silluq*); cf. נֶגְבָּה Ez 47[19] and גְּרָנָה (Baer, incorrectly, גִּרְנָה) Mi 4[12] (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in ה־ the ה־ *local* is added to the original feminine ending ת־ (§ 80 *b*), the *ă* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e.g. תִּרְצָתָה.—Moreover the termination ה־ is even weakened to ה־ in נֹבָה *to Nob*, 1 S 21[2], 22[9]; אָנָה *whither*, 1 K 2[36.42] and דְּדָנָה *to Dedan*, Ez 25[13].

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

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[1 The form clings also to a few place-names, as גִּרְגְּרָה Dt 10[7]; שִׁלְשָׁה 1 S 9[4], 2 K 4[42]; קְהֶלָתָה Nu 33[22 f.]; יִטְבָתָה verse 33 f.; תִּמְנָתָה Jos 19[43], &c.; אֶפְרָתָה Mi 5[1], &c.]

[2] Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' *ZA.* 1907, p. 183 ff. He derives the ה־ from the adverbs שָׁמָּה, אָנָה and holds that it has nothing whatever to do with the old accusative.

[3] So Qimḥi, and the Mant. ed. (Baer הַשַּׁעֲרָה), i.e. locative from שַׁעַר (Is 7[20]). The reading הַשַּׁעֲרָה (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in ה־.

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,[1] viz. אֲחוּמַי (if compounded of אחו and מי), חֲמוּטַל (for which in Jer 52[1] *K*^{e}*th*. חֲמִיטַל), מְחוּיָאֵל and מְחוּשָׁלַח (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְתִים *men*; to מְחוּ corresponds most probably בְּחוּ in בְּחוּאֵל), פְּנוּאֵל Gn 32[31] (but in ver. 32 פְּנִיאֵל) *face of God* (otherwise only in the plur. פָּנִים *constr. st.* פְּנֵי).[2]—גַּשְׁמוּ Neh 6[6] (elsewhere גָּשֶׁם), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6[1]. On the other hand the terminations ֵי— and ִי are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the *constr. st.*, on the analogy of the *constr. st.* of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see *b*) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* ֵי— and ִי are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, *i* being the old genitive and *ô* for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the *î* and *ô* almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative ה֫— is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. *ĭ* and *ŭ* 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 *ĭ* or *ŭ*, and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the *constr. st.* Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the *constr. st.* is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the *constr. st.* of terms of relationship, אֲבִי, אֲחִי, חֲמִי from אָב *father*, אָח *brother*, חָם *father-in-law* (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like *î*, ִי is also used only to emphasize the *constr. st.* (see *o*), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, this ִי corresponds to a primitive Semitic *â* (cf. § 9 *q*) and is traceable to *'abâ*, *'aḥâ*, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the *constr. st.*, which have *â* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אֲבִי, אֲחִי, חֲמִי, 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 ִי in compound proper names like בְּחוּאֵל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in ִי. But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנוּאֵל, בְּחוּאֵל, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

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[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 שְׁמוּאֵל formerly regarded as a compound of שְׁמוּ = שֵׁם *name* and אֵל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for שְׁמוּעַ אֵל = יִשְׁמָעֵאל [but see Driver on 1 S 1[20]]; similarly, according to Prätorius, פְּתוּחַ אֵל = פְּתוּאֵל and many others.

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requires for it יוֹשֶׁבֶת (or יֹשׁ), except in Jer 22[23] יֹשַׁבְתִּ ; cf. ibid. מקננתי *Keth.*, מְקֻנַּנְתְּ *Qere*, and finally Jer 51[13] שׁכנתי *Keth.*, שְׁכֻנְתְּ *Qere*. Perhaps יֹשַׁבְתִּי and שְׁכֻנְתִּי are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings יוֹשֶׁבֶת, &c. and יֹשַׁבְתְּ (*2nd fem. perf.*), &c., but מְקֻנַּנְתִּי may be merely assimilated to יֹשַׁבְתִּי which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4[23] ההלכתי *Keth.*, due to the preceding אתי, and to be read הַהֹלֶכֶת as in the *Qere*; ψ 30[8] (read הַרְרִי), 113[8] (read לְהוֹשִׁיבוֹ), 116[1] (read קוֹל תחׄ, as in five other places). On בְּרִיתִי, thrice, in Lv 26[42], cf. § 128 *d*.

o (*b*) Of the ending îׄ[1] (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1[24] חַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ *the beast of the earth* (=חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ ver. 25); similarly in ψ 50[10], 79[2], 104[11.20], Is 56[9] (twice), Zp 2[14]; otherwise only in בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor*, Nu 23[18]; בְּנוֹ בְעֹר *son of Beor*, Nu 24[3.15]; and מַעְיְנוֹ מַיִם *a fountain of waters*, ψ 114[8].

§ 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	*my.*
2. *m.*	ָךְ	ְךָ (*pause* ֶךָ)	*thy.*
2. *f.*	ֵךְ	ֵךְ	
3. *m.*	הוּ, וֹ	וֹ (ה֫), הוּ	*his.*
3. *f.*	הָ	הָ, הָ	*her.*

[1] Cf. Kaila, l. c., p. 59 ff.

Vowel.		*Consonant.*	
Plur. 1. *c.*	נוּ	נוּ־	*our.*
2. *m.*	כֶם	כֶם־	*your.*
2. *f.*	כֶן	כֶן־	*your.*
3. *m.*	הֶם	ם־	*eorum.*
	מוֹ	(poet. מוֹ־)	*eorum.*
3. *f.*	הֶן (הֵן)	ן־	*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 אָבִיךָ, אָבִיהוּ and אָבִיו, אָבִיהָ, אָבִינוּ, אֲבִיכֶם, אֲבִיכֶן, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *î* from ל״ה stems (see § 93 *x*, *y*), e. g. פְּרִיהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am 9[14] (also פְּרִים Is 37[30], &c.), פְּרִיהֶן Jer 29[28] (also פְּרִי verse 5); cf., moreover, חֶלְבֵהֶן Lv 8[16.25] and similar examples with הֶן (הֵן Is 3[17]) Gn 21[28], Ez 13[17], 16[53]. [1] Also in Gn 1[21], 4[4], Ez 10[12], Nah 2[8], &c., the *Kᵉthîbh* perhaps intends the singular, לְמִינֵהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *ê*.

(*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.* ה־ (for *aha*) and *3rd plur.* ם־, מוֹ־, ן־, also in the *3rd sing. masc.* וֹ (הוּ), since the *ô* is contracted from *a*[*h*]*û*, and in the pausal form of the *2nd masc.* ךָ־ (a modification of original ךַ־).

The forms with *ē* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in ה־ (from stems ל״ה), *constr. st.* ה־ (cf. § 89 *f*), e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ (from *sadaihû*) *his field*; עָלֶהָ *its leaf*, Is 1[30]; מַרְאֵהָ *the appearance thereof*, Lv 13[4] (from *mar'aihā*; on the *Sᵉghôl* see *k*); but שָׂדָהּ *her field*. The orthographic retention of the י, e. g. מַעֲשֶׂיךָ, מַעֲשָׂיו, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 *ss*.

Apart from these ל״ה forms the connecting vowel *ē* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אוֹרֵהוּ *his light*, Jb 25[3]; לְמִינֵהוּ *after its kind*, Gn 1[12.25] [+ 12 times]; Na 1[13]; in Ju 19[24] read פִּילַגְשׁוֹ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand ךָ־ in the *2nd sing. fem.* and נוּ־ in the *1st plur.* are by far the more common forms, while ךָ־, נוּ־ are of rare occurrence; see *e*.—Instead of ךָ־ (כָה־ in Gn 10[19], Ex 13[16], Jer 29[25], &c., cf. בְּכָה, לְכָה § 103 *g*), כֶם־, כֶן־ (with *Šᵉwâ mobile*), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are ךָ־, כֶם־, כֶן־, e. g. רוּחֲךָ *thy spirit*, בֹּרְאֲךָ *thy creator*, Is 43[1], הֵיעֲכֶם *your friend*, Jb 6[27] (on such cases as בְּחוֹכְכֶם Hag 2[5], see § 10 *g*).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 *i*, and on עוֹנֶךָּ Jb 5[1], &c., cf. § 61 *h*) דֶּיךָּ occurs in Pr 25[16], in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

Sing. 1st pers. נִי־ in בְּשׁוּבֶנִי Ez 47[7] (certainly only a scribal error, caused *e* by וַיְשִׁבֵנִי in verse 6).

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[1] Also in Jer 15[10] read (according to § 61 *h*, end) כֻּלָּהֶם קִלְלוּנִי; in Ho 7[6] probably אֲפֵיהֶם for אַפֵּיהֶם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause ־ָךָ, e.g. כַּפֶּךָ (*thy hand*), ψ 139[5], cf. Pr 24[10]; once חָנֶךָ ψ 53[6] (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 *ll*); *fem.* ־ֵךְ Ez 5[12] (in 16[53] also for שְׁבִיתַיִךְ probably שְׁבִיתֵיךְ is intended), ־ֶכִי Jer 11[15], ψ 103[3], 116[19], 135[9] (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the *2nd fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal ־ֶכֵּה Na 2[14], cf. *l*), לֵבִי *Keth.* 2 K 4[2], Ct 2[13]. Also ־ֵךְ Is 22[1], Ez 23[28], 25[4].

3rd pers. ־ֹה (cf. § 7 *c*), e.g. אָהֳלֹה Gn 9[21], 12[8], 13[3], 35[21] (always with *Qerê* אָהֳלוֹ); נְחֹה Nu 10[36]; לֶחֹה Dt 34[7]; כֶּלֹה Jer 20[7], Na 2[1] *Qerê*; קְצֹה 2 K 19[23] *Keth.*, for which קִצּוֹ is read in Is 37[24]; עִירֹה and סוּתֹה Gn 49[11], cf. Ex 22[26] (*Qerê* עִירוֹ, סוּתוֹ); סֻפֹּה ψ 10[9], 27[5] *Keth.*; הֲמוֹנֹה Ez 31[18], &c., *Keth.*; תְּבוּאָתֹה Ez 48[18] [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2[9], 21[1]].

3rd fem. ־ָהּ for ־ָהּ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 *k*, and the analogous cases in § 58 *g*) occurs repeatedly before *Beghadhkephath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9[18] (before וְ, if the text is right), Lv 13[4] (before לְ), Nu 15[28.31], 1 S 1[9] (unless אָכְלָה, the infin. with fem. termination, is intended; שְׁתֹה follows), Ez 16[44], 24[6] (before בְּ), 1 S 20[20], 2 K 8[6], Pr 12[28] (before אַ), Na 3[9] (before וּ), ψ 48[14] (before פְּ), Ez 47[10], Jb 31[22] twice (before תְּ), Is 21[2], Jer 20[17] (before הַ), Nu 32[42], Am 1[11] (before נַ), Lv 6[2] (before עַ); even in *pause*, Lv 12[4 a] and [5 b]; Is 23[17], Pr 21[22], also with Zaqeph, Is 45[6], Jer 6[6] (probably), 44[19]; on הַשַּׁמָּה Lv 26[34], &c., see § 67 *y*. Cf. also ־ָא Ez 36[5].—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the ־ָהּ with feminines as a shortening of ־ָתָהּ, e.g. נִצָּהּ Gn 40[10] for נִצָּתָהּ, פִּנָּהּ Pr 7[8] for פִּנָּתָהּ; also ־ָם for ־ָתָם in כְּתֻבוֹנָם Ho 13[2], and עָרְמָם Jb 5[13]. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28[4] the reading is simply to be emended to בִּכּוּרָה, and in Zc 4[2] to גֻּלָּה, Jb 11[9] to מִדָּה, Neh 5[14] to פַּחַת. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 *g*.]

f *Plur.* 1st pers. ־ָנוּ, in *pause* קִיְמָנוּ Jb 22[20] (where, however, קָמֵנוּ is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3[2] [Is 47[10], cf. § 61 *c*, *h*], and so always כֻּלָּנוּ *all of us*, Gn 42[11], &c [cf. בָּנוּ, לָנוּ, אִתָּנוּ, עִמָּנוּ].

2nd pers. *fem.* כֶּנָּה Ez 23[48.49].

3rd pers. *masc.* מוֹ ־ָ ψ 17[10] (on מוֹ in פִּימוֹ in the same verse, and in ψ 58[7] see *l*); הֶם־ 2 S 23[6], according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading כֻּלָּהֶם. *Fem.* הִנָּה ־ָ 1 K 7[37], Ez 16[53] (in *pause*); ־ָנָּה Gn 41[21]; ־ָנָּה Gn 30[41]; ־ָנָּה Ru 1[19]; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21[29], 42[36], Jer 8[7], Pr 31[29], Jb 39[2]); finally הֵן as suffix to a noun, only in Is 3[17].

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* (־ֵי, cf. § 89 *d*). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the *2nd fem.* In most cases it is contracted to ־ֵי, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur. and in the poetical suffix ־ֵיהוּ of the *3rd sing. masc.*); in the *2nd masc.* and *3rd fem. sing.* it is ־ֶי (cf. *k*). On the *1st pers.* and *3rd masc. sing.* see *i*.—Thus there arise the following

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defective writing is especially frequent in the *3rd masc. sing.* וֹ—, which in *Qᵉrê* is almost always changed to יוֹ—, e.g. חִצָּו *his arrows*, ψ 58⁸, *Qᵉrê* חִצָּיו. On יַחְדָּו, only three times יַחְדָּיו, cf. § 135 *r*.

l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—*Sing.* 2nd pers. *fem* יךְ— (after אַשְׁרַי *happy!* Ec 10¹⁷, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage); יְכִי— (cf. Syr. כִי—) 2 K 4³, and ⁷ in *Kᵉth.*, ψ 103³⁻⁵, 116⁷ (יְכִי— in *pause*).—In Ez 16³¹ יְךָ— (so יכֶם— 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 *Qᵉrê*, and Zp 3²⁰), with the ending *îth* (Lv 5²⁴, reading חֲמִשִׁתּוֹ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47¹³, Ez 35¹¹, ψ 9¹⁵, Ezr 9¹⁵.—Wholly abnormal is מַלְאָכֶיהָ *thy messengers*, Na 2¹⁴, evidently a case of dittography of the following ה: read מַלְאָכַיִךְ.

3rd masc. יְהוּ— Hb 3¹⁰, Jb 24²³; הוּ— 1 S 30²⁶, Ez 43¹⁷, Na 2⁴; אֹהִי (a purely Aramaic form) ψ 116¹².—*3rd fem.* יְהָא— Ez 41¹⁵.

Plur. The strange *2nd pers. masc.* תְּפוּצוֹתִיכֶם (with *î*, so Qimḥi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25³⁴, is probably a mixed form combining תָּפוּצוּ and הֲפִיצוֹתִיכֶם; *fem.* יְכֶנָּה— Ez 13²⁰.

3rd masc. יְהֶמָּה— Ez 40¹⁶; *fem.* יְהֶנָּה— Ez 1¹¹.

3. The termination מוֹ— (also with the *dual*, e.g. ψ 58⁷, 59¹³), like מוֹ and מוֹ—, occurs with the noun (as with the verb, § 58 *g*) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular, ψ 21¹¹, 17¹⁰.¹⁰, 58⁷, 59¹³, 89¹⁸; with a dual or plural, Dt 32²⁷.³².³⁷.³⁸, 33²⁹, ψ 2³.³, 11⁷, 35¹⁶, 49¹², 58⁷, 59¹⁴, 73⁵.⁷, 83¹².¹², 140⁴.¹⁰, 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 15⁵.⁷.⁹, ψ 2³.⁵, and 140⁴.¹⁰, 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 ִי—, even to the feminine plural in וֹת (סְוּסוֹתֵינוּ, סְוּסוֹתֶיךָ, &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. עֶדְוֹתִי ψ 132¹² (unless it be *sing.* for עֵדוּתִי, as, according to Qimḥi in his Lexicon, תַּחֲנֹתִי 2 K 6⁸ is for תַּחֲנוּתִי); מַכֹּתֵךְ Dt 28⁵⁹ (treated on the analogy of an *infin.* לה״);

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[1] See an analogous case in § 87 *s*. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the *3rd sing. perf.* of verbs לה״, § 75 *i*.

אֲחָיוֹתֵךְ Ez 16[52]. On the other hand מִצְוֹתֶךָ (so Baer, Ginsb.; but Opit. מִצְוֹתֶיךָ) ψ 119[98], Dn 9[5] is merely written defectively, like גַּרְגְּרֹתֶךָ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1[9], &c. In the *3rd plur.* the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e.g. אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14[15], and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׁמוֹתָן, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דּוֹרוֹתָם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 S 22[46] compared with ψ 18[46], Is 2[4] with Mi 4[3], it appears that in many cases the longer form in יהֶם־ can only subsequently have taken the place of ם־.

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 *ă* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶם and כֶן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

Singular. *p*

		Masculine.	*Feminine.*
		סוּס *a horse.*	סוּסָה *a mare.*
Sing. 1.	*com.*	סוּסִי *my horse.*	סוּסָתִי *my mare.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסְךָ *thy horse.*	סוּסָתְךָ *thy mare.*
	f.	סוּסֵךְ *thy horse.*	סוּסָתֵךְ *thy mare.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסוֹ *equus eius (suus).*	סוּסָתוֹ *equa eius (sua).*
	f.	סוּסָהּ *equus eius (suus).*	סוּסָתָהּ *equa eius (sua).*
Plur. 1.	*com.*	סוּסֵנוּ *our horse.*	סוּסָתֵנוּ *our mare.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסְכֶם *your horse.*	סוּסַתְכֶם *your mare.*
	f.	סוּסְכֶן *your horse.*	סוּסַתְכֶן *your mare.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסָם *equus eorum (suus).*	סוּסָתָם *equa eorum (sua).*
	f.	סוּסָן *equus earum (suus).*	סוּסָתָן *equa earum (sua).*

Plural. *q*

		Masculine.	*Feminine.*
		סוּסִים *horses.*	סוּסוֹת *mares.*
Sing. 1.	*com.*	סוּסַי *my horses.*	סוּסוֹתַי *my mares.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסֶיךָ *thy horses.*	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ *thy mares.*
	f.	סוּסַיִךְ *thy horses.*	סוּסוֹתַיִךְ *thy mares.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסָיו *equi eius (sui).*	סוּסוֹתָיו *equae eius (suae).*
	f.	סוּסֶיהָ *equi eius (sui).*	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ *equae eius (suae).*
Plur. 1.	*com.*	סוּסֵינוּ *our horses.*	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ *our mares.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסֵיכֶם *your horses.*	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם *your mares.*
	f.	סוּסֵיכֶן *your horses.*	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן *your mares.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסֵיהֶם *equi eorum (sui).*	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם *equae eorum (suae).*
	f.	סוּסֵיהֶן *equi earum (sui).*	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן *equae earum (suae).*

§ 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 יִם־, וֹת and יֵ֫ים־ 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 *Šᵉwâ*, 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 *dăbăr*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֵנוּ; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, &c.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual כְּנָפַ֫יִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable : פָּקִיד *overseer*, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the *suffix* of the sing. פְּקִידִי, פְּקִידֵנוּ, &c.; with the *suff.* of the plur. פְּקִידַי, פְּקִידֶיךָ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable : עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עֹולָמִים, with *suff.* עֹולָמִי, &c.[1]

c But in participles of the form קֹטֵל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ĭ*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šᵉwâ mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, plur. אֹיְבִים, with *suff.* אֹיְבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קִטֵּל, קִטֵּל, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84ᵇ *d*, *l*, *p* ; § 85 *i* and *k*), e. g. אִלֵּם *dumb*, plur. אִלְּמִים.

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 *Šᵉwâ*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e. g. דִּבְרֵי הָעָם *the words of the people*, דִּבְרֵיכֶם *your words*, דִּבְרֵיהֶם *their words* (in all which instances the *ĭ* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ă*).

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[1] The participles *Niph'al* נִדְחָק Dt 30⁴, נִדְחוֹ 2 S 14¹³, and some plurals of the participle Niph. of verbs ל״א form an exception ; cf. § 93 *oo*.

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§ 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. חָ֫רֶב *f. sword*, like מֶ֫לֶךְ *m. king*, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination ־וֹת; thus חֲרָבוֹת, *constr.* חַרְבוֹת (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 ־ִים. All suffixes, except כֶם, כֶן, הֶם, הֶן (יכֶם־, יכֶן־, יהֶם־, יהֶן־), 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, *mălk*, *sĭphr*, *qŭdš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghôl* to מֶ֫לֶךְ (with *ă* modified to *è*), סֵ֫פֶר (*ĭ* lengthened to *ē*), קֹ֫דֶשׁ (*ŭ* lengthened to *ō*).[2] The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghôl*, have a helping *Pathaḥ*, 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 *ŏ* takes the place of the original *ŭ*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ă* and *ŏ* in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph* (נַעֲרִי־, פֹּ֫עֳלִי־); before a following *Šewâ* this *Ḥaṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ă*, *ŏ*), according to § 28 *c*; hence נַעֲרֵךְ־, &c.

d In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix ־ִים (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

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[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 סֵ֫פֶר and the *o* in קֹ֫דֶשׁ are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *σέφρ*, *ὄζν* (אֹ֫זֶן), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

second syllable; cf. § 84^a *a*), in the form of a pretonic *Qameṣ*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*. 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* (מַלְכֵּי, not מַלְכִּי, &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 *šauṭ*).

Paradigm *k* is a formation from a stem ל״ה (§ 84^a *c*, *ε*).

Paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms from stems ע״ע, and hence (see § 67 *a*) *f* originally biliteral, *yam*, *'im*, *ḥuq*, with the regular lengthening to יָם, אֵם, חֹק. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs ע״ע, takes place in the second radical, e.g. אִמִּי, יַמִּים, &c. (see § 84^a *c*, *β*).

Remarks.

1. A. On I. *a* and *d* (ground-form *qaṭl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to *ā* *g* generally takes place, thus כֶּרֶם *vineyard*, נָעַר, זָרַע *seed* (from זָרַע), and so always (except ψ 48^{11}), in אֶרֶץ *earth* with the article, הָאָרֶץ, according to § 35 *o* (cf. also in the LXX the forms Ἀβέλ, Ἰαφέθ for הֶבֶל, יֶפֶת). However, the form with *è* is also sometimes found in pause, along with that in *ā*, e.g. חֶסֶד together with חָסֶד; and very frequently only the form with *Sᵉghôl*, e.g. מֶלֶךְ, דֶּשֶׁא *grass*, נֵצַח *perpetuity*, פֶּלֶא *a wonder*, צֶדֶק *righteousness*, קֶדֶם *the East*, יֶשַׁע *help*, &c.—With two *Sᵉghôls*, although with a middle guttural, we find לֶחֶם *bread* (in *pause* לָחֶם) and רֶחֶם *womb* (in *pause* רָחֶם), besides רַחַם Ju 5^{30} (in *pause* רָחַם). A helping *Sᵉghôl* always stands before a final א, as דֶּשֶׁא, טֶנֶא (with *suff.* טַנְאֲךָ), פֶּלֶא, פֶּרֶא (also written פֶּרֶה), except in גַּיְא, 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, Pathaḥ appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, *s*), e.g. גְּבַר ψ 18^{26}; זְרַע

Paradigms of

I.

	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*
Sing. absolute	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	פֹּעַל
	(*king*)	(*book*)	(*sanctuary*)	(*a youth*)	(*perpetuity*)	(*work*)
,, *construct*	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	פֹּעַל
,, *with light suff.*	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קָדְשִׁי	נַעֲרִי	נִצְחִי	פָּעֳלִי
	מַלְכְּךָ	סִפְרְךָ	קָדְשְׁךָ	נַעַרְךָ	נִצְחֲךָ	פָּעֳלְךָ
,, *with grave suff.*	מַלְכָּם	סִפְרָם	קָדְשָׁם	נַעֲרָם	נִצְחָם	פָּעֳלָם
Plur. absolute	מְלָכִים	סְפָרִים	[קָדָשִׁים]	נְעָרִים	נְצָחִים	פְּעָלִים
,, *construct*	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קָדְשֵׁי	נַעֲרֵי	נִצְחֵי	פָּעֳלֵי
,, *with light suff.*	מְלָכַי	סְפָרַי	[קָדָשַׁי]	נְעָרַי	נְצָחַי	פְּעָלַי
,, *with grave suff.*	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קָדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעֲרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	פָּעֳלֵיכֶם
Dual absolute	רַגְלַיִם	כִּבְתַיִם	מָתְנַיִם	נַעֲלַיִם		
	(*feet*)	(*two heaps*)	(*loins*)	(*sandals*)		
	[proper name.]					
,, *construct*	רַגְלֵי		מָתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

II.

	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*
Sing. absolute	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	כָּתֵף	חָצֵר	שָׂדֶה
	(*word*)	(*wise*)	(*an old man*)	(*shoulder*)	(*court*)	(*field*)
,, *construct*	דְּבַר	חֲכַם	זְקַן	כֶּתֶף	חֲצַר	שְׂדֵה
,, *with light suff.*	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זְקֵנִי	כִּתְפִי	חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדִי
	דְּבָרְךָ	חֲכָמְךָ				שָׂדְךָ
,, *with grave suff.*	דְּבַרְכֶם	חֲכַמְכֶם				
Plur. absolute	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זְקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	פָּנִים
,, *construct*	דִּבְרֵי	חַכְמֵי	זִקְנֵי		חַצְרֵי	פְּנֵי
,, *with light suff.*	דִּבְרַי	חַכְמַי	זִקְנַי		חֲצֵרַי	פָּנַי
,, *with grave suff.*	דִּבְרֵיכֶם	חַכְמֵיכֶם	זִקְנֵיכֶם		חַצְרֵיכֶם	פְּנֵיכֶם
Dual absolute	כְּנָפַיִם	חַלָּצַיִם	יְרֵכַיִם			
	(*wings*)	(*loins*)	(*thighs*)			(*face*)
,, *construct*	כַּנְפֵי					

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(only in Nu 11[7], before Maqqeph), חֲדַר Ju 3[24] (but Ct 3[4] חֶדֶר), נְטַע, סְחַר as well as זְרַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קְחַת 2 K 12[9] (for קַחַת, *infin. constr.* from לָקַח).

i C. The ה_ *locale* is, according to § 90 *i*, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. גַּנְדָה ψ 116[14.18]: הַפֶּתְחָה Gn 19[6], *to the door*; but also with a firmly closed syllable גַּנְבָה Ex 4c[24]; under the influence of a guttural or ר, חַדְרָה, אַרְצָה, in *pause* אָרְצָה (cf. גְּזֵרָה 1 Ch 14[16], from גֵּזֶר).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* instead of the *Šᵉwâ quiescens*; נַעֲרִי, &c. (but also לַחְמִי, וַעְמִי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qăṭl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, the *ă* of the first syllable is attenuated to *ĭ*,[1] thus בִּטְנִי *my womb*, יִתְרוֹ; so in בֶּגֶד, בֶּצַע, גֶּזַע, זֶבַח, טֶבַח, פֶּשַׁע, פֶּתַח, צֶדֶק, קֶבֶר, קֶרֶב, רֶשַׁע, שֶׁמֶשׁ, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ă* there most probably existed another with original *ĭ* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יֶשַׁע beside יְשַׁע, נֶצַח beside נְצַח, &c. (According to the *Diqduqe ha-ṭᵉamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *è*, the *constr. ē*; cf. נֵדֶר Nu 30[4] (*absol.*) and נְדַר 30[10] (*constr.*); שֵׁבֶר Lv 24[20] (*absol.*) and שֶׁבֶר Am 6[6] (*constr.*). According to this theory[2] פֶּלֶא (so the best authorities) Is 9[5] would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בִּגְדִי, &c. from בֶּגֶד and יִקְּבֶךָּ Dt 15[14], 16[13], in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *Sᵉghôl* for *ĭ*: הֶבְלִי, יִשְׁעֲךָ, נִגְדִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is found as well as ים_, e.g. נְפָשׁוֹת, עֲצָמוֹת together with נְפָשִׁים (Ez 13[20] [but read חֲפָשִׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st.* נַפְשׁוֹת. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אֲרָצוֹת, *constr.* אַרְצוֹת from אֶרֶץ. Without *Qameṣ* before the ending ים_ 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 אַשְׁרֶיךָ, &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. כַּסְפֵּיהֶם Gn 42[25.35]; רִשְׁפֵּי Ct 8[6] (רִשְׁפֵי ψ 76[4]); טַרְפֵּי Ez 17[9]; צִמְדֵי Is 5[10], and so always in נִסְכֵּיכֶם Nu 29[39], נִסְכֵּיהֶם ψ 16[4], &c. (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חַסְדֵי Is 55[3], &c., though in ψ 107[43] Ginsburg reads חַסְדֵי); cf. § 46 *d*. Even with a middle guttural בַּעְלֵיהֶן Est 1[17.20].—The attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, *k*), e.g. זִבְחֵי, &c., even יִלְדֵי Is 57[4] beside יַלְדֵי Ho 1[2], &c.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלַיִם *feet*, with suff. רַגְלֶיךָ, רַגְלָיו, &c. אַלְפַּיִם *two thousand*, נַעֲלַיִם *sandals*, בִּרְכַּיִם *knees* (*ă* attenuated to *ĭ*, *constr. st.* בִּרְכֵי with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בִּרְכַּי, &c. (cf., however, בִּרְכֵיהֶם Ju 7[6]), forms with pretonic *Qameṣ* are also found (in consequence of the

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[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 קְרָנַיִם *horns*, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dn 8^{3} ᵑ·; elsewhere always קַרְנַיִם, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דִּלְתַּיִם, *constr. st.* דַּלְתֵי *folding-doors*, דִּרְכַּיִם (?) *double way*.

o 2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final א rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חֵטְא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *Seghôl* instead of the original *ĭ*, e.g. חֶלְקִי, עֲוֹנִי, &c., so in the *constr. st. plur.* עֲנֻלֵי, &c.; חֵטְא forms חֲטָאֵי 2 K 10^{29}, &c., retaining the *Qameṣ* of חֲטָאִים before the weak א.—The pausal forms סָתֶר and שָׁבֶט (out of pause always סֵתֶר, שֵׁבֶט) go back to by-forms סָתֶר, שָׁבֶט.—On עִשְׁבוֹת (*constr. st.* plur. of עֵשֶׂב) Pr 27^{25}, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמִים *sycamores*, without *Qameṣ* before the termination ־ִים (see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמָה found in the Mišna.

p 3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִשְׁט occurs in Pr 22^{21} without a helping vowel; with a middle guttural פֹּעַל, &c., but with ה also אֹהֶל, כֹּהֵן; with a final guttural גֹּבַהּ, רֹבַע, &c., but with א, גֹּמֶא; with a firmly closed syllable אָסְפִּי Mi 7^{1}.

q Before suffixes the original *ŭ* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גֻּדְלוֹ (ψ 150^{2}) beside גָּדְלוֹ, from גֹּדֶל *greatness*; סֻבְּלוֹ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ŭ* repeated in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9^{3}, &c.; גֻּשְׁמָהּ Ez 22^{24}.—Corresponding to the form פֻּעָלְכֶם *pŏ'ŏl^{e}khèm* we find קֻטָבֵךְ Ho 13^{14}, even without a middle guttural; similarly קֻטְנִי (so Jablonski and Opitius) 1 K 12^{10}, 2 Ch 10^{10}, from קֹטֶן *little finger*; but the better reading is, no doubt, קָטְנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the ק proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קָטֹן, not *qŭtŭn*, 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 ־ִ is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *ŏ*. In the forms פֻּעָלוֹ Is 1^{31} (for פֹּעֲלוֹ) and תֻּאָרוֹ Is 52^{14} (for תֹּאַר 1 S 28^{14}), the lengthening of the original *ŭ* to *ō* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּמֻצָאֲכֶם Gn 32^{20}).—In the same way *ō* remains before ־ָה *locale*, e.g. הָאֹהֳלָה, גָּרְנָה Gn 18^{6}, 24^{67}, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נָכַח?) seems to occur in נְכֻחוֹ Ex 14^{2}, Ez 46^{9}, for נָכְחוֹ.

r In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *ŭ* generally becomes *Šewâ* before the *Qameṣ*, e.g. בְּקָרִים from בֹּקֶר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רְמָחִים *lances*, שְׁעָלִים *handfuls* (*constr. st.* שַׁעֲלֵי Ez 13^{19}); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *ŭ*-sound reappears as *Ḥaṭeph Qameṣ*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, עֳפָרִים *gazelles*, אֳרָחוֹת *ways*; and so even without an initial guttural, הַגָּרְנוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 S 23^{1}, Jo 2^{24}; קָדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שָׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qŏdhāšîm*, &c., with *ŏ* for ־ָ); also קָדְשֵׁי [but קָדָשֶׁיךָ, קָדָשָׁיו, once קָדְ֫], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between קָ֫דְ and קָדְ֫; with the article הַקָּ֫דְ, בַּקָּ֫דְ, לַקָּ֫דְ, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אֹהֶל *tent*, both בְּאָהֳלִים and אָהֳלִים (cf. § 23 *h* and פֻּעָלוֹ above) are found; with light suffixes אָהֳלַי, &c.; so from אֹרַח *way*, אָרְחֹתָיו (also אָרְחָתַי)—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 אֹרְחָה *caravan*, and of אֹרַח *way*; however, אָרְחוֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 6^{19}) and אֻרְחוֹת in the latter (e.g. Jb 13^{27} according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); cf. also אֻנִיּוֹת 2 Ch 8^{18} *Kᵉth.* (אֳנִי *Qᵉrê*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בֹּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֹנוֹת Ju $1^{6\,f.}$, as if from a sing. בְּהֹן: of נֹגַהּ *brightness*, Is 59^{9} נְגֹהוֹת (on these *qᵉṭōl*-forms, cf. *t*).—If אָפְנָיו Pr 25^{11} 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 *Qameṣ*; cf. בָּטְנִים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בָּטְנָה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, 345 f. אָפְנָיו is a sing. (אָפְנַי, the ground-form of אָפְנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ŭ* is רִכְבֵי ψ 31^{21}; otherwise like קָדְשֵׁי, אָהֳלֵי, &c.

s 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 קִטַּל; דְּבַשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*; in *pause*, דְּבָשׁ, מְעָט; גְּבַר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*), ψ 18^{26} (elsewhere always גֶּבֶר), and *infinitives* like שְׁכַב (§ 45 *c*; on קְחַת, see above, *h*); שְׁכֶם *shoulder*, *ă* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שֹׁכֶם); locative שְׁכֶמָה, also שֹׁכְמָה Ho 6^{9}. With suffixes in the usual manner שִׁכְמִי, שִׁכְבָהּ Gn $19^{33.35}$ (an infin. with suffix, therefore not שְׁכָבָהּ). On the other hand, the *ă* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲגַמִּים (*constr.* אַגְמֵי) *marshes*, הֲדַסִּים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

t (*b*) Of the form קִטֶּל: בְּאֵר *a well*, זְאֵב *wolf*, &c.[1]; *locative* בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* זְאֵבִים, זְאֵבֵי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin. constr.* שְׁאֵת, cf. § 76 *b*.

(*c*) of the form קִטֹּל: בְּאֹשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֻשׁוֹ, just as סִבְּכוֹ occurs in Jer 4^{7} along with the *constr. st.* סִבְכֵי ψ 74^{5}; cf. for the Dageš, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאֹם *nation*, pl. לְאֻמִּים.

u 5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (*a*) of the form *qăṭl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ă* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מָוֶת, אָוֶן *vanity*, עָוֶל *iniquity*, תָּוֶךְ *midst*; with final א, שָׁוְא *falsehood*; cf. however, also רָוַח *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עָוֶל as *constr. st.* Ez 28^{18} (according to Qimḥi) and with suff. עַוְלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

v (*b*) Of the form *qăṭl* with consonantal *Yôdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, בַּיְא (also בַּי), in Is 40^{4} גֵּיְא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14^{4}) גֵּיא (also גֵּי); plur. 2 K 2^{16} and Ez 6^{3} *Kᵉth.* according to Baer גאות, i. e. doubtless גֵּאוֹת (cf. גֵּיאוֹתֵיךְ Ez 35^{8}; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] גיאות,

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[1] The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT.* 'Proverbs', p. 34, l. 44 ff.) to read בֵּיאֵר, זֵיאֵב, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1^{22} where the Masora requires תְּאֵהֲבוּ, no doubt on the analogy of בְּאֵר, &c., for תְּאַהֲבוּ, which was probably intended, see § 63 *m*.

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יָדִי (also יְפִי, דְּמִי, צְרִי), רָאִי, &c ; in *pause* חֹלִי, &c., with suff. חָלְיוֹ, plur. חֳלָיִים. From עֹפִי *branch*, there occurs in ψ 104[12] the plur. עֳפָאִים (analogous to פִּתְאִים, &c., see above, *x*) ; the *Kᵉth.* evidently intends עֲפָאִים (so Opitius and others). Dual, with *suff.* דָּלְיָו Nu 24[7], *bucket* (from דִּלִי, for דֶּלִי), more correctly, with the Masora, דַּלְיָו with Munaḥ 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*, *β*).

(*a*) In the *qaṭl*-form the *ă* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָם (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יַם־סוּף *the Red sea*; and even before *Maqqeph*, יָם־הַמֶּלַח *the salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e. g. פַּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qameṣ* in pause, as well as after the article (e. g. הָעָם). Adjectives under the influence of a guttural either have forms like לַחִים, צָחִים or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעֵים, רָעֵי. In the *constr. st.* חַי *living* (in the plural חַיִּים also a substantive, *life*), and דַּי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חֵי[1] and דֵּי. As a locative form notice הֵרָה *to the mountain*, Gn 14[10] (see § 27 *q*) beside הָהָרָה. The stem is expanded to a triliteral form in הַרְרִי (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הָרָר on the analogy of *qătăl*-forms) Jer 17[3] (but in ψ 30[8] for הַרְרִי read הָרַרְתָּ) and הָרְרָם Gn 14[6] ; plur. *constr.* הַרְרֵי Nu 23[7], &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הַרְרֶיהָ Dt 8[9] ; עַמְמִים Ju 5[14] (where, however, read probably בְּעַמֶּךָ), Neh 9[22] ; עַמְמֵי Neh 9[24] : elsewhere עַמִּים, עַמֵּי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ă* is sometimes attenuated to *ĭ*, e. g. פִּתִּי, פִּתִּים, from פַּת ; סְפִּים and ספות (also סַפּוֹת 2 S 17[28]) from סַף. Before ח *ă* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e. g. פַּחִים *traps*.

bb (*b*) *Qiṭl*-forms : אֵם, אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אִשִּׁי, but cf. also אִשֶּׁכֶם Is 50[11]), חֵן *favour*, &c. ; of a triliteral form, the plur. חֲצִיֶּיךָ ψ 77[18].

(*c*) *Qŭṭl*-forms : חֹק, כֹּל *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חָק־, כָּל־, with suff. חֻקִּי, &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20 *m*) always חֻקֶּךָ, חֻקֶּכֶם, but from עֹז, עֻזִּי, עֻזֶּךָ, עֻזְּכֶם, for which עֻזִּי and עֻזְּךָ are also found. חֻקְקִי, expanded to a triliteral form, Ju 5[15] and Is 10[1], generally explained as a secondary form of חֻקֻּקִי with abnormal weakening of the *ŭ* to *ĭ*, is more probably to be referred to a *qiṭl*-form = Arabic *ḥiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nûn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms *l–n*, e. g. אַף *nose*, *anger* (אַפִּי, dual אַפַּיִם, also *face*) for *'anp* ; חֵךְ *palate* for *ḥink*, זִקִּים *fetters*, עֵז *goat*, plur. עִזִּים, for *'inz*, probably also אֵב *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*.

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[1] חֵי only in Dn 12[7] as *constr. st.*, since in the asseverative formulae (cf. § 149) חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ, חֵי פַּרְעֹה (otherwise only in 2 S 15[21], after חַי יהוה, and Amos 8[14]), חַי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh !* &c.). It is evidently only a rabbinical refinement which makes the pronunciation חַי distinctive of an oath by God (or of God by himself), as in the regular formulae חַי אֲנִי (חַי אָנֹכִי Dt 32[40]) and חַי יְהוָה (=חַי אֲדֹנָי).

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qăṭăl*. The lengthening of the second *ă* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in ל״א-forms, e.g. צָבָא *army*, צְבָא. For the construct forms חֶלֶב *milk*, לֶבֶן *white*, Gn 49[12], instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חָלָב, לָבָן, a secondary form חֶלֶב, לֶבֶן must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עֶשֶׁן occurs once, Ex 19[18], beside עֲשַׁן, from הָדָר *ornament* the *constr. st.* הֲדַר Dn 11[20], beside the common form הֲדַר.—The plur. פָּרָשִׁים *horses*, Is 21[7] (instead of פְּרָשִׁים, ground-form *părăš*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qaṭṭâl*-form פָּרָשׁ *horseman*.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. גְּמַלִּים *camels*, קְטַנִּים *small ones*, פְּלַגּוֹת *brooks* (see § 20 *a*).—The attenuation of the *ă* of the first syllable to *ĭ* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as חַכְמֵי, עַנְיֵי, but חֲזְקֵי, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. נַהֲרֵי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms זַנְבוֹת *tails*, כַּנְפוֹת, and (in the dual) כַּנְפֵי *wings*, from זָנָב, כָּנָף.—The dual נַהֲרַיִם from נָהָר *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ă* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 *c*.

B. From ע״ע stems, forms like חָלָל, עָנָן, &c., belong to this class. *ff*

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qĭṭăl* follow the same analogy, such as *gg* לֵבָב *heart*, שֵׁכָר *strong drink*, עֵנָב *grape*, &c. From שֵׂעָר *hair*, in the *constr. st.* besides שְׂעַר the form שַׂעַר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from צֵלָע *rib*, צַלַע and even צְלַע 2 S 16[13] (so ed. Maut., Ginsb.; but Baer צַלַע), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צֵלָע; cf. also צַלְעֵי and צַלְעוֹ, as well as the *constr. st. plur.* צַלְעוֹת; also from נֵכָר *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* נֻכַר is found, Dt 31[16].

2. On Paradigms *c–e*: ground-form *qăṭĭl*, developed to *qāṭēl*; with a final *hh* guttural, e.g. שָׂבֵעַ *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *ĭ* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 *c*, becomes *ă*, e.g. זְקַן, חֲסַר, חֲדַל, &c., but not before suffixes, כְּתֵפִי, &c., nor in forms from ל״א stems, e.g. מָלֵא *full*, מְלֵא; cf., moreover, עֲקֵב Gn 25[26] from עָקֵב *heel*, and אֲבֵל־ ψ 35[14], *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary כְּתַף, &c., have a segholate form, as אֹרֶךְ, גֹּדֶר, יֹרֶךְ, גֹּזֶל, עֹרֶל (Ez 44[9]), *constr. st.* of אָרֵךְ *long*, גָּדֵר *wall*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, גָּזֵל *robbery*, עָרֵל *uncircumcised*. In Is 11[14] בְּכֶתֶף would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בִּכְתֵף); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for בכ׳ אֶחָד *with one shoulder*, i.e. *shoulder to shoulder*); [cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.*].

In the *plur. constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *ĭ* is frequently retained in verbal *ll* adjectives of this formation, e.g. חֲפֵצֵי, שְׂנֵאֵי, אֲבֵלֵי, יְשֵׁנֵי, שְׁמֵחֵי, שְׁכֵחֵי; cf. also יְתֵדֹתָיו (with *ē* under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָתֵד *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרֵא *fearing*, always יִרְאֵי; cf. also רִגְעֵי ψ 35[20] from רָגַע.—With *ă* retained in the initial syllable cf. אַחֵר *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From ע״ו stems come forms like מֵת *dead person*, גֵּר *resident stranger*, עֵד *witness*, with unchangeable *Ṣērê*; hence מֵתִים, מֵתֵי, &c.

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

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭōl*, e.g. עָגֹל *round*, עָמֹק *deep*, אָדֹם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ŭ* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עֲגֻלִּים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, גְּבֹהָה, שְׁחֹרִים). The form עָגוֹל, 1 K 10[19], is abnormal; likewise עֲמוּקָה Pr 23[27], Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֲמֻקָּה, Baer and Ginsburg עֲמֻקָּה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qăṭăl* 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 שָׂדֶה the form שָׂדַי, with the final *Yôdh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מִשְׁתִּיהֶם, in *ss*); in the same way final ו is retained in עֲנָוִים *the poor*, *constr.* עֲנְוֵי. The plur. of שָׂדֶה is שָׂדוֹת, *constr.* שְׂדוֹת (also שְׂדֵי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׂדַי; so Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, p. 351). The *qĭṭăl*-form (see § 84[a] *i*) רֵעֶה 2 S 15[37], 16[16], 1 K 4[5] is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רֵעֵה 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.*), פְּנֵי, פָּנַי, פְּנֵיכֶם, &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.* יַד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יְדֵכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, *constr.* יְדוֹת, dual יָדַיִם, יְדֵי, with *suff.* יָדַי, יְדֵיכֶם, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, *constr.* דַּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דְּמֵכֶם (*ă* attenuated to *ĭ*), plur. דָּמִים, דְּמֵי. 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 *Šᵉwâ* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אוֹפַנִּים *wheels*, for אוֹפָנִים, and אֻלַּמִּים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *Šᵉwâ* 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 עוֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from *'ālăm*), the following forms also are inflected: מִקְטָל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מִבְטַחוֹ Jer 17[7], ψ 40[5], Jb 8[14], &c.; ל״א nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מִקְרָאֵי from מִקְרָא[1]; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs ל״א (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נִקְרָאִים but also נֶחְבָּאִים Jos 10[17], נֶטְמָאִים Ez 20[30 f.],

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[1] מְקַדְּשֵׁיהֶם Ez 7[24] for מְקֻדָּשׁ (from מְקֻדָּשׁ) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'ēl* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ד (according to § 20 *m*).

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מִקְנֶיךָ *thy cattle*, Is 30[23] (probably also שָׁדֶיךָ 1 K 2[26]), מַרְאֶיךָ Ct 2[14], and מַרְאָיו *the sight of him*, Jb 41[1] (with the י here retained orthographically), כַּעֲלָיו Ez 40[31], &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מְמַחַיִם Is 25[6] (*part. Pu.* from מָחָה).

tt **4.** Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a*, *b*), or a vowel which has already become *Šᵉwâ* (*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 כְּתָב) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

uu Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *păqîd*) are § 84[a] *k*, גָּדוֹל, &c. (with *ô*, not changeable *ō* for *ŭ*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם, this *ô* is demonstrably obscured from *â* (Arab. *sălâm*); ibid. *l*, *m*, אָסִיר, אָסוּר, &c.; § 85 *u*, זָכָר, *constr.* זְכַר; חָזוֹן, *constr.* חֲזוֹן; כְּלָיוֹן, *constr.* כְּלָיוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* קִנְמוֹן, עִצְבוֹן, and with the plural suffix עִוְבוֹנַיִךְ Ez 27[12 ff.]); § 85 *w*, חַלָּמִישׁ, *constr.* חַלְמִישׁ; § 85 *l*, מָקוֹם, &c.

vv 2. עָנִי (ground-form *ʿănîy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a final *Yôdh* has been resolved into *î*; before formative additions the original *Yôdh* under the protection of a *Dageš forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes *Šᵉwâ*; cf. § 84[a] *l*, נָקִי, plur. נְקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

ww 3. כְּתָב with unchangeable *â* in the second syllable, whilst the *Šᵉwâ* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kĭtâb*); *constr. st.* כִּתְבֵי Est 4[8] (readings like כְּתַב 2 Ch 35[4] are incorrect, although יְקַר Est 1[4] and כִּתְבֵי 4[8] are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *qᵉṭâl*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבִרֵיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9[1]. 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* (קַטָּל, 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 קַטָּל (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 קָטִיל (properly *qăṭîl*) the examples סְרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the *constr. st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into *Sᵉwâ* (סְרִיס, פְּרִיץ). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עָרִיץ *tyrant*, which is for עַרְיִץ, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qameṣ*.) Of the form קָטוּל (*qăṭûl*) in this class are שָׁבוּעַ *week*, plur. שָׁבֻעִים and שְׁבֻעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבֻעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שִׁבְעֹתֵיכֶם.—On מָעוֹן, מְעוֹנִי, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

§ 94. *Formation of Feminine Nouns.*

1. The feminine ending ה_ָ, 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*, כַּבְשָׂה' and with attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* כִּבְשָׂה *lamb*, רִצְפָּה *hot stone*, Is 6[6] (from another root רִצֶּפָה; see Baer on Ez 40[17]), חֻזְקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סֵתֶר); עֶדְנָה *pleasure* (עֵדֶן), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ, derived from ל"ה stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; (*c*) חֵלְדָּה, proper name (חֹלֶד *mole*), אָכְלָה *food* (אֹכֶל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נַעַר); (*f*) בָּאְשָׁה *weed*, טָהֳרָה *purity* (טֹהַר); (*g*) עַוְלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צֵידָה *victuals* (masc. צַיִד, cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qiṭl* and *quṭl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אַלְיָה *fat tail* (as if from אֵלִי), שִׁבְיָה (*ă* attenuated to *ĭ*) *captivity* (שְׁבִי), לְוְיָה *wreath* (probably an original *qiṭl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (attenuated from מַדָּה). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רָעָה *mala*; (*m*) זִמָּה *plan*; (*n*) חֻקָּה *statute* (חֹק). *a*

Paradigm II: ground-form *qăṭălăt*, &c., (*a*) נְקָמָה *vengeance* (נָקָם); (*b*) אֲדָמָה *earth*; (*c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֲיָפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קָצָה *end* (from יְפֵה, קְצֵה). From stems ע"ו arise such forms as עֵדָה (masc. עֵד, properly *part. Qal* from עוּד) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qăṭŭl*, עֲמֻקָּה *profunda* (masc. עָמֹק), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude*, &c. *c*

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the second syllable, (*a*) יוֹלֵדָה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84[a] *s*, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part. Pi'ēl*, Ex 22[17], 23[26]; in the *Hithpa'ēl* 1 K 14[5f.]), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ĭ*) into *Šewâ*, יְשֻׁבָה *dwelling*, Na 3[8]. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת_ָ (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלֶה), but also with a return of the final *Yôdh*, הֹמְיָה *clamorous*, Pr 7[11], and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *â* of the participles of verbs ע"ו, which also belong to this class, such as זָרָה *peregrina*, cf. § 72 *g*. *d*

e Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (*a*) גְּדֹלָה *magna*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, properly *pia*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seiuncta*; (*b*) עֲנִיָּה *misera*.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִית *weeping* (masc. בֶּכִי, § 93 *x*, *a*), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs ל״א, as יֹצֵאת, מֹצֵאת, may be due to contraction from *yôṣè'et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *ĭ* in the ground-form *môṣi*), whilst forms like מְוֹצֵאת, נְשֹׂאֵת (see § 74 *i*) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 *t*. Apart from the ל״ה formations, we find the simple ת in the participle מְשֹׁרֶת 1 K 1[15], contracted from מְשֹׁרַתְתִּ. But וְיֹלַדְתְּ Gn 16[11], Ju 13[5.7] is the ground-form of the ptcp. וְיֹלֶדֶת (as in the same connexion in Gn 17[19], Is 7[14]), cf. § 80 *d* and the *Qᵉre* שַׁבְתְּ, &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 גִּבַּרְתְּ (for original *gᵉbirt*; § 69 *c*), the form גְּבֶרֶת *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47[7] also גְּבֶרֶת עַד are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is גְּבִירָה); from מַלְכַּתְתְּ, מַלְכַּת *queen* (in Paradigm II, *a*); פְּחָתֶת (פְּחַת = פַּחַת *pit*) Lv 13[55]; (*c*) גֶּדֶר *wall*, גְּדֶרֶת (from גִּדַּרְתְּ = *gᵉdirt*; cf. זְקַן as *construct st.* of זָקֵן); on the other hand, חֲמֶשֶׁת is *construct st.* of חֲמִשָּׁה *five*, with lengthening of the original *ĭ* of חֲמִשְׁתְּ.

h Formations with a changeable *ō* in the second syllable belonging to this class are נְחֹשֶׁת *bronze* (from נְחֹשְׁתְּ), כְּתֹנֶת the *constr. st.* of כְּתֹנֶת *coat*, perhaps also כְּתֹבֶת *writing* (unless it be obscured from כְּתָב, § 93, Paradigm IV, *c*).—Paradigm III, (*a*) חוֹתֶמֶת (from חוֹתַמְתְּ), masc. חוֹתָם *seal*; (*b*) יוֹנֶקֶת (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e. g. חֹבֶרֶת Ex 26[4], &c.), and so most feminines of participles קֹטֵל. On this transition of the ground-form *qôṭilt* to קוֹטַלְתְּ (regularly before suffixes in יוֹנַקְתּוֹ, יוֹלַדְתּוֹ, &c.), cf. § 69 *c*; *qôṭalt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e. g. יוֹדַעַת, feminine of יוֹדֵעַ *knowing*; in a wider sense, גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, *c*.

On the endings ות 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

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	II.			III.	
	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*a.*	*b.*
Sing. absolute	צְדָקָה	זְעָקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנָקֶת	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת
	(*righteousness*)	(*outcry*)	(*year*)	(*sprout*)	(*skull*)
,, *construct*	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שְׁנַת	יוֹנֶקֶת	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת
,, *with light suff.*	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שְׁנָתִי	יוֹנַקְתִּי	גֻּלְגַּלְתִּי
,, *with grave suff.*	צִדְקַתְכֶם	זַעֲקַתְכֶם	שְׁנַתְכֶם	יוֹנַקְתְּכֶם	גֻּלְגַּלְתְּכֶם
Plur. absolute	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת [1]	[יוֹנְקוֹת]	
,, *construct*	צִדְקוֹת		שְׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת	גֻּלְגְּלוֹת
,, *with suff.*	צִדְקוֹתַי		שְׁנוֹתַי	יוֹנְקוֹתַי	גֻּלְגְּלוֹתַי
Dual absolute	[נְחֹשְׁתַּיִם]		שְׂפָתַיִם		
	(*fetters of brass*)		(*lips*)		
,, *construct*			שִׂפְתֵי		

Remarks.

d 1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (*a*) The locative of this class has the form גִּבְעָתָה *towards Gibeah* (masc. גִּבְעַ). 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 *qăṭl* or a *qĭṭl* base, e. g. חֻזְקָה *strength* (cf. חֻרְפָּה under *b*). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (cf. שֶׁבַע *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms like דֶּבֶשׁ (§ 93 *s*) is הֲדַסָּה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פְּרִי (ל״ה, cf. § 93 I, *k*) arise feminines sometimes like נְוָאָה, שַׁלְוָה, אַלְיָה (see above, § 94 *b*), sometimes like בְּכִירָה (§ 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 *qŭṭl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms גְּדִי *kid*, אֳנִי *a fleet*.—(*b*) From a stem ע״ן, חִטָּה *wheat* (for חִנְטָה), *plur.* חִטִּים.—(*c*) From עָרְלָה *foreskin*, the *plur. absol.* is עֲרָלוֹת (cf. פְּעָלִים, § 93, Paradigm I, *f*), *constr.* עָרְלוֹת.—(*d*) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem ע״ע (ground-form *qŭṭl*, like חַיָּה of the form *qăṭl*, זִמָּה of the form *qĭṭl*), with ŏ for ŭ, חָגָא *terror*, Is 19[17] (Aramaic orthography for חָגָה).

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 שֶׁבֶת (from יָשַׁב), דַּעַת (from יָדַע), גֶּשֶׁת (from נָגַשׁ), as well as לֶקַח (from לָקַח); cf. § 69 *m* and § 66 *b* and *g*. The infinitives of verbs פ״ו are, however, also found in the form יְדָעָה, לְדָה, יְצָאָה, and of the same origin also are עֵדָה *congregation* (from יָעַד), עֵצָה *counsel* (from יָעַץ), שֵׁנָה *sleep* (from יָשֵׁן), *constr.* עֵדַת, שְׁנַת, while in the *constr.* forms זֵעַת *sweat*, Gn 3[19] (from יָזַע *to flow*), and צֵאַת *excrement*, Ez 4[12], the Ṣere has remained firm.

f From a stem ע״ו (cf. בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*) is בֹּשֶׁת *shame*, with *suffix* בָּשְׁתִּי.

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[1] On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנִים see § 87 *n*.

From a stem ל״ה (דָּלָה, cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ידל) the masculine דַּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דֶּלֶת *door*; but in the *plural* דְּלָתוֹת, *constr.* דַּלְתוֹת, the ת of the termination is retained (see above, *d*, חֲנִיתוֹת). In a similar way רְפָתִים *stalls*, Hb 3[17], has arisen, if it is from the stem רפה, and שְׁקֶת *trough* (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שֹׁק = שְׁקִי; on the other hand, the *plur. constr.* שִׁקֲּתוֹת Gn 30[38] (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the *singular* שִׁקֶּת, not from a kindred form שִׁקֶּת or שִׁקֶּת.

g 2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qăṭălăt*, &c., cf. § 94 *c*, Paradigm II, *a* and *b*. Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטָן, plur. קְטַנִּים, we find קְטַנָּה *parva*, &c.—The *constr.* forms, like צִדְקַת (*ṣidh^{e}qăth*), are distinguished by the vocal *Še^{e}wâ* (§ 10 *d*) from the segholate forms, like כִּבְשַׁת (*kibh-săth*). Consequently the *constr. st.* בִּרְכַּת Gn 28[4], &c. (from בְּרָכָה *blessing*), and חֶרְדַּת 1 S 14[15], &c. (from חֲרָדָה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm *b*) the original *ă* is retained in the first syllable in the *constr. st.* (cf. also אַדְמָה *earth*, אַדְמַת); in other cases it is modified to *S^{e}ghôl*, e.g. עֶגְלָה *wagon*, עֶגְלָתוֹ. Frequently from an *absol. st.* in ה__ the *constr.* is formed with the termination ת, e.g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטֶרֶת (from עֲטֶרֶתְ); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצֶרֶת is found usually, even in the *absol. st.*; יְבֶמֶת (from יָבָם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as in יְבִמְתִּי, and thus entirely agrees with גְּבֶרֶת (Paradigm I *e*). From a stem ל״ן (אָמַן) is formed אֱמֶת *truth* (from *'ămant*, and this no doubt for an original *'ămint*, § 69 *c*) before suffixes אֲמִתִּי, &c.

h From the masc. form קָטֶל (*qăṭĭl*) are formed, according to rule, גְּדֵרָה *wall*, נִבְלָה *corpse*, constr. נִבְלַת; בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בֶּהֱמַת (for בִּהֲמַת), with suffix בְּהֶמְתֵּךְ Lv 19[19]. More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *ath* of the *constr. st.*; thus from נִבְלָה once נִבְלָתִי Is 26[19], and always בְּרֵכַת *pool*, גְּזֵלַת *prey*, טְמֵאַת *unclean*, מְלֵאָתִי *full*, Is 1[21] (with *Ḥireq compaginis*, see § 90 *l*), מְרֵרָתִי Jb 16[13]; שְׁאֵלָתִי 1 S 1[27], &c. (with elision of the א, שְׁלָחֵךְ 1 S 1[17]), also שְׁאֵלָתִי Jb 6[8]. Cf. the analogous forms of the *constr. st.* מַגֵּפַת *plague*, תַּרְדֵּמַת *deep sleep*, from מַגֵּפָה, תַּרְדֵּמָה.

i As dual we find יַרְכַתַּיִם *sides* (cf. יַרְכָתוֹ Gn 49[13], from the obsolete יֵרֶכָה, feminine of יָרֵךְ); the *constr. st.* יַרְכְתֵי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יַרְכָה, cf. יֹרֶךְ as *constr. st.* of יָרֵךְ), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בִּרְכַּת and חֶרְדַּת (see *g*).

k In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qăṭĭlt* is developed (§ 69 *c*) to *q^{e}ṭalt*, and this again regularly to קִטֶּלֶת. Thus the feminine of חָבֵר *companion* is חֲבֶרֶת (with suffix חֲבֶרְתָּהּ Mal 2[14], cf. שִׁבְנָתָהּ Ex 3[22]), of גָּדֵר fem. גְּדֶרֶת besides גְּדֵרָה.—Of ע״ו stems the segholate forms נַחַת *rest* and שַׁחַת *pit* (from נוּחַ, שׁוּחַ) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שַׁחַת *corruption* (stem שָׁחַת); in the same way also נַחַת *rest* is distinct from נַחַת *a lighting down* (stem נָחַת).

l The feminines of the form *qăṭĭl* from stems ע״ו, as מֵתָה *mortua*, עֵרָה fem.

witness (from עוּד, מוּת), 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 שְׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שְׁנַת ; moreover, חֵמָה *anger*, constr. st. חֲמַת (but חֵמָת *a leathern bottle*, in *pause* חֵמָת [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel חֵ׳] Gn 21[15], *constr. st.* חֲמַת מַיִם Gn 21[14], perhaps from a stem חמת).

m The feminines of the form *qăṭŭl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עָמֹק), maintain the original *ŭ* by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 *kk*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נַחְשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשְׁתָּם, &c. Dual נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם (see Paradigm II, *a*); but cf. נְחָשְׁתִי La 3[7].

n A few (aramaising) feminines from ל״ה stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *âth*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yôdh* and contraction of the preceding *ă* with the *ă* of the termination *ăth*; thus מָנָת *portion* (for *mănăyăth* or *mănăwăth*), קְצָת end (also קָצֵה and קָצָה), plur. מָנִיוֹת (*constr. st.* Neh 12[47], 13[10]) and מְנָאוֹת (Neh 12[44]); קְצָוֹת Ex 38[5]; cf. 37[8] and 39[4] *Kᵉth.*; on גְּאָיוֹת *valleys*, see § 93 *v.*—אוֹת *sign* (stem אוה) is obscured from אָת, and this is contracted from *'âyăth*=*'ăwăyăth*; plur. אוֹתוֹת, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, *f*, and § 87 k.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֲלָתִי, &c., Gn 24[41], &c., is abnormal.

o 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 *d* and *f–h*. The *dual* חוֹמֹתַיִם *two walls*, Is 22[11], &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חֹמְתַיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 *s*, and the proper name גְּדֵרֹתַיִם Jos 15[36]).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ע״ו, such as זָרָה (masc. זָר from *zâïr*, hence with unchangeable *â*), must be reckoned also בָּמָה *high place* (from בוּם), which has for its *constr. st. plur.* the pleonastic form בְּמוֹתֵי, or written defectively בְּמֹתֵי (see § 87 *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמֵתֵי, which is to be read *bām°thê* (not *bŏm°thê*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ô* to ֵ; but with suffixes בְּמוֹתַי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קַטָּל (§ 84[b] *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *â* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e.g. דַּלֶּקֶת *inflammation* (from *dallăqt*), with suff. צַדֶּקְתֵּךְ Ez 16[52]; טַבַּעַת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קִטֵּל and קִטֵּל (§ 84[b] *c* and *d*), as אִוֶּלֶת *folly* (for *'iwwălt*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85 *g–k*), e.g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, *constr.* always מַמְלֶכֶת; מַזְמֵרָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מַזְמֵרוֹת; מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *reward*, with suff. מַשְׂכֻּרְתִּי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 *g* and *p*, like מוֹלֶדֶת *birth* (but from ל״א, מוֹצָאָה *outgoing*), תּוֹלֶדֶת *generation*, תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination*, constr. תּוֹעֲבַת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אִגֶּרֶת *a letter*, plur. אִגְּרוֹת (as if from אִגְּרָה); also יוֹנְקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנָקָה. Cf., moreover, מַחֲרֵשֶׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מַחֲרֵשׁוֹת (as if from מַחֲרֵשָׁה)[1]; on the other hand, כֻּתָּרוֹת *capitals* (of columns), and תּוֹכָחוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of כֹּתֶרֶת and תּוֹכַחַת.

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[1] עַשְׁתֹּרֶת *Astarte* (plur. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the

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Sing. absolute	אָב (*father*)	אָח (*brother*)	אָחוֹת (*sister*)	אִישׁ (*man*)	אִשָּׁה (*woman*)
,, *construct*	אֲבִי	אֲחִי	אֲחוֹת	אִישׁ	אֵשֶׁת
,, *with suff. of* 1 *sing.*	אָבִי	אָחִי	אֲחֹתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
, 2 *masc.*	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אֲחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
,, 2 *fem.*	אָבִיךְ	אָחִיךְ	אֲחוֹתֵךְ	אִישֵׁךְ	
,, 3 *masc.*	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אֲחֹתוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
,, 3 *fem.*	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אֲחֹתָהּ	אִישָׁהּ	
, 1 *Pl.*	אָבִינוּ	אָחִינוּ	אֲחֹתֵנוּ		
, 2 *masc.*	אֲבִיכֶם	אֲחִיכֶם	[אֲחוֹתְכֶם]		
,, 2 *fem.*	אֲבִיכֶן				
,, 3 *masc.*	אֲבִיהֶם	אֲחִיהֶם	אֲחֹתָם		
,, 3 *fem.*	אֲבִיהֶן				

Plur. absolute .	אָבוֹת	אַחִים		אֲנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
,, *construct*	אֲבוֹת	אֲחֵי		אַנְשֵׁי	נְשֵׁי
,, *with suff. of* 1 *sing.*	אֲבֹתַי	אַחַי, *pause* אָחָי	אַחְיוֹתַי	אֲנָשַׁי	נָשַׁי
, 2 *masc.*	אֲבֹתֶיךָ	אֲחֶיךָ		אֲנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
, 2 *fem.*		אַחַיִךְ	אֲחוֹתַיִךְ		
, 3 *masc.*	אֲבֹתָיו	אֶחָיו	אַחְיֹתָיו	אֲנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
, 3 *fem.*		אַחֶיהָ		אֲנָשֶׁיהָ	
, 1 *Pl.*	אֲבֹתֵינוּ	אַחֵינוּ		אֲנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
,, 2 *masc.*	אֲבֹתֵיכֶם	אֲחֵיכֶם	אֲחוֹתֵיכֶם		נְשֵׁיכֶם
,, 3 *masc.*	(אֲבֹתָם) אֲבֹתֵיהֶם	אֲחֵיהֶם	אַחְיוֹתֵיהֶם	אַנְשֵׁיהֶם	נְשֵׁיהֶם
,, 3 *fem.*				אַנְשֵׁיהֶן	

Remarks.

אָב *father*; the *constr.* אֲבִי, like אֲחִי and בְּנִי (which occurs once), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 *k*, which serve as the model for the *Ḥireq compaginis*. However, אַב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אַבְשָׁלוֹם, beside אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17[4 f.] אַב־הֲמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אב[ר]הם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 *p*.

אָח *brother*. The plur. *absol.* אַחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22 *c*); אֲחָיו stands for אַחָיו according to the phonetic law stated in § 27 *q*, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אַחִי. The sharpening of the ח merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathaḥ* short, as in גְּמַלִּים, &c. (§ 93 *ee*).

אֶחָד *one* (for אַחָד, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22 *c*, cf. § 27 *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אַחַד, Gn 48[22], 2 S 17[22], Is 27[12],

כְּלִי	יוֹם	בַּת	בֵּן	בַּיִת	אָמָה
(*vessel*)	(*day*)	(*daughter*)	(*son*)	(*house*)	(*handmaid*)
כְּלִי	יוֹם	בַּת	בֶּן־	בֵּית	
		בִּתִּי	בְּנִי	בֵּיתִי	אֲמָתִי
כֶּלְיְךָ		בִּתְּךָ, *pause* בִּתְךָ	בִּנְּךָ, *pause* בְּנֶךָ	בֵּיתְךָ	אֲמָתְךָ
				בֵּיתֵךְ	
יוֹמוֹ	בִּתּוֹ		בְּנוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	אֲמָתוֹ
	בָּתָּהּ		בְּנָהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	אֲמָתָהּ
			בִּנֵּנוּ		
	בִּתְּכֶם			בֵּיתְכֶם	
יוֹמָם				בֵּיתָם	
כֵּלִים	יָמִים	בָּנוֹת	בָּנִים	בָּתִּים	אֲמָהוֹת
כְּלֵי	יְמֵי	בְּנוֹת	בְּנֵי	בָּתֵּי	אַמְהוֹת
כֵּלַי	יָמַי	בְּנֹתַי	בָּנַי		אַמְהֹתַי
כֵּלֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	בָּנֶיךָ	בָּתֶּיךָ	
	יָמַיִךְ	בְּנֹתַיִךְ	בָּנַיִךְ	בָּתַּיִךְ	
כֵּלָיו	יָמָיו	בְּנֹתָיו	בָּנָיו		אַמְהֹתָיו
כֵּלֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	בְּנֹתֶיהָ	בָּנֶיהָ		אַמְהֹתֶיהָ
כֵּלֵינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	בְּנֹתֵינוּ	בָּנֵינוּ	בָּתֵּינוּ	
כְּלֵיכֶם	יְמֵיכֶם	בְּנֹתֵיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בָּתֵּיכֶם	אַמְהֹתֵיכֶם
כְּלֵיהֶם	יְמֵיהֶם	בְּנֹתֵיהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בָּתֵּיהֶם	
			בְּנֵיהֶן	בָּתֵּיהֶן	אַמְהֹתֵיהֶן

Zc 11[7]; and especially before כֵּן (מֵ) Gn 3[22], Ex 3c[14], Nu 16[15], Ju 17[5], 1 S 9[3], Ez 18[10]; fem. אַחַת *una* (for אַחַדְתִּ, according to § 19 d), in *pause* אֶחָת. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 *h*), Ez 33[30], as in Aramaic; plur. אֲחָדִים *some*, but also *iidem*.

אֲחוֹת *sister*, from *'ăḥăwăt* or *'ăḥăyăt*, with elision of the ו or י, and with the *â*, which has arisen from *ăă*, obscured to *ô*.[1] In Nu 6[7] אַחְתּוֹ stands for אֲחֹתוֹ (with virtual sharpening of the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אֲחָיוֹת) does not happen

[1] This explanation of אֲחוֹת (and חֲמוֹת q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending *ăth* is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from *'aḥâ*, the old-semitic *constr. st.* of the accusative, with ת feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

Sing. absolute	[מַי]	עִיר	פֶּה	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם	[שָׁמַי]	
	(*water*)	(*city*)	(*mouth*)	(*head*)	(*name*)	(*heaven*)	
,, *construct*		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם־, שֵׁם		
,, *with suff. of* 1 *sing.*		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי	שְׁמִי		
, 2 *masc.*		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	שִׁמְךָ, *pause* שִׁמְךָ		
,, 2 *fem.*				רֹאשֵׁךְ	שְׁמֵךְ		
,, 3 *masc.*		עִירוֹ	פִּיהוּ, פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ	שְׁמוֹ		
,, 3 *fem.*		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשָׁהּ	שְׁמָהּ		
,, 1 *Pl.*			פִּינוּ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ	שְׁמֵנוּ		
,, 2 *masc.*			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשְׁכֶם	שִׁמְכֶם		
,, 3 *masc.*		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשָׁם	שְׁמָם		
,, 3 *fem.*			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשָׁן			
Plur. absolute	מַיִם	עָרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רָאשִׁים	שֵׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם	
,, *construct*	מֵי, מֵימֵי	עָרֵי		רָאשֵׁי	שְׁמוֹת	שְׁמֵי	
,, *with suff. of* 1 *sing.*	מֵימַי	עָרַי					
, 2 *masc.*	מֵימֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ				שָׁמֶיךָ	
,, 2 *fem.*		עָרַיִךְ					
,, 3 *masc.*	מֵימָיו	עָרָיו		רָאשָׁיו		שָׁמָיו	
,, 3 *fem.*	מֵימֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ		רָאשֶׁיהָ			
,, 1 *Pl.*	מֵימֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רָאשֵׁינוּ			
,, 2 *masc.*		עֲרֵיכֶם		רָאשֵׁיכֶם		שְׁמֵיכֶם	
,, 3 *masc.*	מֵימֵיהֶם	עֲרֵיהֶם		רָאשֵׁיהֶם		שְׁמוֹתָם	
,, 3 *fem.*				רָאשֵׁיהֶן		שְׁמוֹתָן	

to occur. In Ez 16[52] אַחֲיוֹתֵךְ occurs (for אַחְיוֹתַיִךְ). In the forms אֲחוֹתַי Jos 2[13] *Keth.*, אֲחוֹתַיִךְ Ez 16[51.55.61] (to be read also in verse 45 for אֲחוֹתֵךְ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אֲחוֹתֵיכֶם Ho 2[3] (for which, however, read אֲחוֹתְכֶם), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אֶנֶשׁ (from *'inš*, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form *'inš*, which again has been attenuated from *'anš* from the stem אֲנַשׁ), or softened directly from *'inš*. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אִישׁ *to be strong*?) is to be assumed for the singular[1]; consequently the stem אֲנַשׁ *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 נָשִׁים with the stem אנשׁ.

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בַּת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 *c*, for *bint*, fem. of בֵּן), with suff. בִּתִּי for בִּנְתִּי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בֵּנָה, comp. בָּנִים *sons*.

חָם *husband's father*, only with suff. חָמִיךָ, חָמְיָהּ; and חָמוֹת *husband's mother*, only with suff. חֲמוֹתֵךְ, חֲמוֹתָהּ. Cf. אָב, אָח, and especially אָחוֹת.

יוֹם *day* (Arab. *yaum*),[1] dual יוֹמָיִם; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָם *yām*), *constr.* יְמֵי and (poetically) יְמוֹת, Dt 32[7], ψ 90[15].

כְּלִי *vessel*, in *pause* כֵּלִי (with suff. כֵּלְיִךְ Dt 23[25]) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כֵּלִים (as if from כֵּל, כֵּלָה; 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 עֲיָרִים, as it is pointed in Ju 10[4] (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding עֲיָרִים *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 פֵּאָה (ground-form *pi'ay*) from פָּאָה *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for פַּי, from a stem פָּוָה or פָּיָה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assyr. *pû*, Arab. *fû*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, bibl. Aram. פֻּם, פֻּמָּא, Syr. *pûm*, *pûmā*, so that Barth, *ZDMG.* xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (פמו), viz. *fm* and *fw*. פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיהֶם we find in ψ 17[10], 58[7], 59[13] פִּימוֹ. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 S 13[21] is generally explained as a contraction from פְּיִים, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. פִּיּוֹת, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Pr 5[4]; reduplicated פִּפִיּוֹת Is 41[15], ψ 149[6].

רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רָאשׁ=*rā'š*); plur. רָאשִׁים (for רְאָשִׁים, § 23 *c*); רֹאשָׁיו only in Is 15[2].

שֵׂה *a head of small cattle* (*sheep* or *goat*), *constr. st.* שֵׂה, with suff. שֵׂיוֹ 1 S 14[34] and שִׂיוֹ Dt 22[1], according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 f., from a stem ושי (שֵׂה = *say* = *wĭsay*).

שֵׁם *name*, *constr.* generally שֵׁם (only six times שֵׁמ־); 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 masculine word which has survived in יָמִים, יְמֵי. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on אִשָּׁה), sees in יָמִים, יְמֵי, יְמוֹת new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with שָׁנִים, שְׁנֵי, שָׁנוֹת *years*, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that יוֹם 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 ובים (=וּבְיוֹם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 *f*), and מִיָּמִים Ho 6[2]. Cf. also the note on § 100 *g*.

[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58, *yaum*, probably an extension of a biliteral

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 *p*). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *πεντάς*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים *trias filiorum*, עֲשֶׂרֶת 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 שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *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 שָׁלֵשׁ בָּנוֹת *trias*, sc. *filiae*, or בָּנוֹת שָׁלֵשׁ *filiae, trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine עֶשְׂרֵה in compounds.

So long as it was felt that שְׁלֹשׁ 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 שְׁלֹשׁ 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 מֵהֶהָרִים *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	אַחַד	אַחַת	אַחַת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתַּיִם [1]	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שָׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה [2]	חֲמֵשֶׁת	חָמֵשׁ	חֲמֵשׁ
6	שִׁשָּׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שֶׁבַע	[שִׁבַע] [3]
8.	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה
9.	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תֵּשַׁע	[תְּשַׁע] [3]
10.	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשֶׂרֶת	עֶשֶׂר	עֶשֶׂר

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[1] Shortened from שְׁנָתַיִם, which would be the regular feminine form of שְׁנַיִם. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in שְׁתַּיִם, &c. (even after מִן; מִשְׁתֵּיִם Jon 4^{11}; cf., however, מִשְׁתֵּי Ju 16^{28}), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nûn*, for in that case the word could only be שְׁתַּיִם (cf. Arab. *ṯintāni*). 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 *štáyîm*, *štê* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. אִשְׁתַּיִם, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *'iṯnătāni* (with a kind of prosthetic א; cf. § 19 *m*), as a further feminine form of

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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 שנים (66) and שתים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שְׁנֵי and שְׁנַיִם, &c., cf. e. g. Ginsburg on Jos 3[12]. We cannot therefore assume a *Qerê perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	Masculine.	*Feminine.*
11.	אַחַד עָשָׂר עַשְׁתֵּי[1] עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה עַשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 *f*.

Very rarely the units appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמִשֶׁת עָשָׂר *fifteen*, Ju 8[10], 2 S 19[18]; שְׁמֹנַת עָשָׂר *eighteen*, Ju 20[25].—Connected by וְ we find עֲשָׂרָה וְחָמְשָׁה in Ex 45[12].

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, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תִּשְׁעִים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עֶשֶׂר *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

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[1] עַשְׁתֵּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *ištin* or *ištên*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עַשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר is a compound, like the Sansk. *êkâdaçan*, ἕνδεκα, *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 עַשְׁתֵּי ע׳ for אַחַד ע׳ and אַחַת ע׳ see Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 226; עַשְׁתֵּי ע׳ occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1[3]), 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, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים (from the *segholates* עֶשֶׂר, שֶׁבַע, תֵּשַׁע), we should expect *ʿasārîm*, *šebhāʿim*, *tešāʿîm*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 *l*, *o*, *r*) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of segholates?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e.g. Nu 3^{39}, 26^{14}. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e.g. 1 Ch 12^{28}, 18^{5}.[1] In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily וְ, but וַ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, וְ before ־, וּ before שׁ֫וָא; see § 104 *d*, *e*, *g*.

g The remaining numerals are the substantives—

100 מֵאָה fem., *constr.* מְאַת.

200 מָאתַיִם dual (contracted from מְאָתַיִם; cf. § 23 *c*).

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 K $11^{4.9.10.15}$, *Keth.* הַמְּאָיוֹת).

1000 אֶ֫לֶף masc.

2000 אַלְפַּיִם dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים plur., and so on (except עֲשָׂרָה אֲלָפִים in 2 S 18^{3}, 2 K 24^{14} *Keth.*; elsewhere always עֲשֶׂרֶת אֲלָפִים).

10000 רְבָבָה, in the later books the aramaising[2] forms רִבּוֹ, רִבּוֹא, רִבּוֹת (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רִבְּתַיִם dual (see below, *h*); but שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹת Neh 7^{70} (also שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹא Neh 7^{71}).

40000 אַרְבַּע רִבּוֹא Neh 7^{66}.

60000 שֵׁשׁ־רִבְאוֹת Ezr 2^{69} (Baer and Ginsburg רִבְאוֹת, as in Dn 11^{12}).

אַלְפֵי רְבָבָה *thousands of myriads*, Gn 24^{60}.

h Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning of our ending *-fold*, e.g. אַרְבַּעְתַּיִם *fourfold*, 2 S 12^{6}; שִׁבְעָתַיִם *sevenfold*, Gn $4^{15.24}$, Is 30^{26}, ψ 12^{7}, 79^{12} (cf. § 134 *r*). The dual רִבְּתַיִם ψ 68^{18} (explained by אַלְפֵי שְׁנָאן *thousands of duplication*) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense.[3]—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֲחָרִים *some*, also *iidem*, and עֲשָׂרוֹת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex $18^{21.25}$.

i 2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, although they are translated in English as nominatives, e.g. שְׁלָשְׁתְּכֶם *your triad*, i.e. *you three*, Nu 12^{4}; חֲמִשָּׁיו *his fifty* (i.e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 1^{9-13}, and חֲמִשִּׁיךְ 2 K $1^{10.12}$.

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[1] According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticae 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 Aramaismen 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 ־ִי (§ 86 *h*), before which another ־ִי also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שֵׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי (like אַרְבַּע, לֹאבַּע, רִבְּעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִשִּׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִשִּׁי), שִׁשִּׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עֲשִׂירִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רִאשׁוֹן (cf. § 27 *w*), from רֹאשׁ *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 1[5], 2[11], the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

b The feminine forms have the termination ־ִית, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) ־ִיָה. They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִשִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשִׂירִית and עֲשִׂירִיָה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like לֹאבַּע and לֶבַע *a quarter*, חֹמֶשׁ *a fifth part*, and with the afformative וֹן, עִשָּׂרוֹן (plur. עֶשְׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שָׁבוּעַ ἑβδομάς, *a week*; עָשׂוֹר *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*.

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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 דִּי becomes at a later period דְּ; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *lêš* (why?) from *li-ayyi-šaiĭn*, &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 מַדּוּעַ *wherefore?* for מַה־יָּדוּעַ *quid edoctus?* (τί μαθών;) or *quid cognitum?*; בִּלְעֲדֵי (from בַּל and עֲדֵי) *besides*; מִלְמַעְלָה (from מִן, לְ, מַעְלָה) *from above, above.*

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e.g. אֲחֲרֵי־כֵן, אַף־כִּי, כִּי־אִם, כִּי־עַל־כֵּן; cf. also the compounds of אֵי with demonstrative pronouns, as אֵי־מִזֶּה *from what?*; אֵי לָזֹאת *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. בִּמְאֹד (with might) *very*; לְבַד *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִבַּיִת *from within, within*; cf. also בְּאֶחָד (as one) *together*, לְעֻמַּת and מִלְּעֻמַּת (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. τὴν ἀρχήν, δωρεάν, e.g. מְאֹד (might) *very*, אָפֵס (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. סָבִיב, plur. סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת, *circuit*, as adverb

[1] Generally derived from the *ptcp. Pu'al* מְאָחָר *m^{e}'ŏḥār* (=*m^{e}'oḥḥār) and hence to be read *mŏḥār* (cf. מִחָרַת *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from יוֹם אַחַר.

circum, around; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. דָּבָר (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again* or *further*.

(*c*) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לָרִאשׁוֹנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלָאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus*, sc. *modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language. *c*

(*d*) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'îl*, which are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 *h*), e. g. הַרְבֵּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהַרְבֵּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הַשְׁכֵּם (*mane faciendo*) *early*; הַעֲרֵב (*vespere faciendo*) *in the evening*. *d*

(*e*) Pronouns and numerals, e. g. זֶה (prop. *there*=*at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד־הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עֵדֶן and עַדְהֵן=עַדְהֵנָּה); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שֵׁנִית *for the second time*. *e*

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables (most frequently ם־) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אָמְנָם and אֱמֶנֶם *truly* (from אֹמֶן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רֵיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רִיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1[21], parallel with the *fem.* מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם)[1]; with *ô* in the last syllable, פִּתְאֹם, for פִּתְעֹם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פֶּתַע *a twinkling*, the *ô* being probably obscured from an original *â*).[2]—Moreover, cf. אֲחֹרַנִּית *backward*, and קְדֹרַנִּית *darkly attired*, Mal 3[14]. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *îth*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it. *g*

The termination ם־ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. אוּלָם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם־, ם־, would correspond to ן־, ן (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּפִתְאֹם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29[36]. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *ăn* in Arabic. *h*

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[1] Is this ם־ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צָהֳרַיִם) mentioned in § 88 *c*? Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctu*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יְמָם, 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 47[5], La 3[26]; a substantive in Hb 2[19]), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹבָב, עוֹלָל, 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*, הֵנָּה *here* (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), כֵּן, כָּכָה *thus* (cf. אֵיכָה, אֵיכָכָה *how?*), אַךְ *only*, אָכֵן *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative הֲ (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. הֲלֹא (Dt 3^{11} הֲלוֹא) *nonne?*, הֲגַם *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from הַל, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32^{6}.[1]

k The ה interrogative takes—(1) *Ḥaṭeph-Paṯaḥ* generally before non-gutturals (even before ר), with a firm vowel, e.g. הֶהִשְׁמֹתָ *hast thou set?* see the interrogative clause, § 150 *c* (הֲיִיטַב Lv 10^{19} is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Šᵉwâ*, usually *Paṯaḥ* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. הַבְּרָכָה Gn 27^{38}, cf. 18^{17}, 29^{5}, 30^{15}, 34^{31}; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Paṯaḥ* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. הַבְּדֶרֶךְ *num in via*, Ez 20^{30}, הַלְּבֹן Gn 17^{17}, 18^{21}, 37^{32}, Nu 13^{19}, Jb 23^{6}; even in ר, 1 S 10^{24}, 17^{25}, 2 K 6^{32}.

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameṣ* or *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, it takes *Paṯaḥ*, e.g. הַאֵלֵךְ *shall I go?*, הַאַתָּה *num tu?*, הַאִם *num si*; הָאָרֶץ Mal 1^{13}; also in Ju 6^{31} read הַאַתֶּם (not הָא׳), likewise הַ in Ju 12^{5}, Jer 8^{19}, Neh 6^{11}.—In הָאִישׁ Nu 16^{22}, the Masora intends the article; read הַאִישׁ, and cf. Dt 20^{19}; in Ec 3^{21} read הַעֹלָה and הַיֹּרֶדֶת; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The ה takes *Sᵉghôl* before gutturals pointed with *Qameṣ* or (as in Ju $9^{9\text{ff.}}$) *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, e.g. הֶאֱמוֹר Mi 2^{7}; הֶהָאֲנִכִי Jb 21^{4}; הֶהֱיִתָה Jo 1^{2}; הֶהָשֵׁב Gn 24^{5} (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 *c*, § 35 *k*, § 63 *k*). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34^{31}, Neh 13^{27}, Jer 22^{15}, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus יְשֶׁךָּ *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. יְשֶׁנּוּ[2] (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. יְשֶׁכֶם; אֵינֶנִּי *I am not*, 2nd sing. אֵינְךָ, fem. אֵינֵךְ, 3rd sing. אֵינֶנּוּ, fem. אֵינֶנָּה, 2nd plur. אֵינְכֶם, 3rd plur. masc. אֵינָם.—Also עוֹדֶנִּי *I am yet* (עוֹדִי only in בְּעוֹדִי and מֵעוֹדִי), עוֹדְךָ, עוֹדֵךְ, עוֹדֶנּוּ, עוֹדֵינוּ (La 4^{17} *Qᵉrê*; עוֹדֶינָה

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[1] The separation of the ה at the beginning of Dt 32^{6}, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle הַל.

[2] This form, which occurs in Dt 29^{14}, 1 S 14^{39}, 23^{23}, Est 3^{6}, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful קָבְנוּ (for קְבֻנּוּ) Nu 23^{13}. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT* Numbers, p. 57, line 37, we should read יְשֻׁנּוּ.

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i. e. the command of*) *according to*; בִּגְלַל (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. בְּלִי, בִּבְלִי, מִבְּלִי, בִּלְתִּי, בְּאֵין, בְּאֶפֶס (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹד (in the duration of) *during*; בְּדֵי, כְּדֵי (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. מִיַּעַר *out of a forest.*

b Rem. The separate מִן־ (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20[14] with verse 15, Ez 43[6], &c.) only before the article, e. g. מִן־הָאָרֶץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e. g. מִן־אָז Jer 44[18], מִן־בְּנֵי Jo 1[12], 1 Ch 5[18]; cf. Ex 18[14], Lv 1[14], 14[30], Ju 7[23], 10[11], 19[16], ψ 104[7] (2 K 23[36] before ר; also before ק in ψ 18[49]), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)[1]; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנֵּי (cf. § 90 *m*) and מִנֵּי Is 30[11]. Its form is most commonly מִ֫ *with a following Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šᵉwâ* (cf. § 20 *m*). With a following י the מִ is, as a rule, contracted to מִי, e. g. מִידֵי = מִיֶּדֵי or מִיָּדֵי (but cf. מִיִּשֶּׁנִּי Dn 12[2]; מִירֻשָּׁתְךָ 2 Ch 20[11]); before gutturals it becomes מֶ (according to § 22 *c*), e. g. מֵאָדָם, מֵעָם; before ח the מִ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִחוּץ *on the outside*, and in מֶחוּם Gn 14[23]; before ה in מֵהְיוֹת (cf. § 28 *b* and § 63 *q*. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מֵהְיוֹת is merely due to the analogy of לִהְיוֹת); similarly Is 14[3] before ר; but in 1 S 23[28], 2 S 18[16] מֵרָדְפָ֫ 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. בָּמוֹ] *in, at, with.*

לְ [poet. לָמוֹ] *towards*, (belonging) *to, for*, Lat. *ad.*

כְּ [poet. כָּמוֹ] *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 *ă*, according to *f*)[2]; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šᵉwâ*: before *Šᵉwâ simplex*

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[1] König, *Einleitung 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 *ĭ*, attenuated from *ă*: before a *Ḥaṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. לִפְרִי *for fruit*, כַּאֲרִי *as a lion*, בָּעֳנִי *bŏ'onî, in affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 *b*, and the infinitives with לַ § 63 *i*): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 *c*, e.g. לִיהוּדָה for לִיְ. When the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Šewâ* and *Ḥaṭeph Seghôl* regularly coalesce in *Ṣērê*, e. g. בֵּאלֹהִים, &c., for בֶּאֱלֹ; so with suffixes וֵאלֹהָיו, &c. (once also in the sing. לֵאלֹהוֹ Hb 1[11]); also regularly לֵאמֹר *to say*, for לֶאֱמֹר, see § 23 *d*.

e (*b*) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 *n*.

f (*c*) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i.e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qameṣ* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ă*, cf. § 26 *e*, § 28 *a*), but only in the following cases:

(*aa*) לָ before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לָתֵת *to give*, לָדִין *to judge*, לָבֹז *to plunder*, לָגֹז *to shear*, לָחֹג *to keep a festival*, לָלֶדֶת *to bring forth*, לָלֶכֶת *to go*, לָקַחַת *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. לְצֵאת Ex 19[1], לְשָׁכְבָת Gn 16[3], and so always לְבֹא חֲמַת Nu 13[21], &c. (in such cases as לָתֵת־חָרֶב Ex 5[21] the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs ע״ה, the לָ is retained even in close connexion; cf. Ez 21[20.25], 22[3]);

g (*bb*) before many pronominal forms, e.g. בָּזֶה (so also in 1 S 21[10]; not בְּזֶה), לָזֶה, כָּזֶה, לָזֹאת (in close connexion, however, לְזֹאת Gn 2[23]; כְּזֹאת Gn 45[23]); כָּאֵלֶּה *as these*; and especially בָּהֶם, לָהֶם, כָּכֶם (כְּכֶם) and בָּהֶם, לָהֶם, כָּהֵם (כְּהֵם), see § 103 *e*;

h (*cc*) לָ before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as פֶּה לְפֶה *mouth to mouth*, 2 K 10[21], בֵּין מַיִם לָמָיִם *between waters and waters*, Gn 1[6]; לָטֹרַח *for a trouble*, Is 1[14], but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Dt 17[8] also shows that the punctuation לָ is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in Is 28[10.13] the לָ is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

i (*dd*) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost as adverbs, e. g. לָעַד *to eternity*, לָרֹב *in multitude*, לָבֶטַח *in security*, לָנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לָנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity*, Is 34[10]. Cf. also לָנֶפֶשׁ *for the dead*, Lv 19[28], Nu 5[2], 9[10].

k (*d*) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בַּמֶּה; in *pause* and before א as in בַּמָּה *by what?* (before a following relative clause, as in Ec 3[22], בְּמֶה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, 4th ed., on Is 2[22]); כַּמָּה *how much?* but also כַּמֶּה 1 K 22[16], in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *Seghôl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ă*, while the מ is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ă* of the prefixes.

l When לְ (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 *f*, *g*, the form לָמָּה (Jb 7[20] לָמָּה, 1 S 1[8] לָמֶּה, all *Mil'él*, and hence the *ă* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לָמָּה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 S 28[15], 2 S 14[31], Jer 15[18], before ה; 2 S 2[22],

ψ 49⁶, before א); לָמָּה, however, remains before ח. Before letters which are not gutturals, לָמָּה is found in ψ 42¹⁰, 43² (immediately after a tone-syllable).

m Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its original vowels (יַהְוֶה) but those of אֲדֹנָי (see § 17 *c*), except that the ו has simple not compound *Šᵉwâ*, takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדֹנָי, thus וַיהוָה, לַיהוָה, בַּיהוָה, מֵיהוָה (since they are to be read וַאדֹנָי, לַאדֹנָי, בַּאדֹנָי, מֵאֲדֹנָי); for the א of אֲדֹנָי, as of אֲדֹנִי, אֲדֹנִים, &c. (see below), *quiesces* after the prefixes בַּ, כַּ, לַ, וַ, but is *audible* after מִ (for מִן), שֶׁ (no instance in the O. T.), and הָ (in הָאֲדֹנִים Dt 10¹⁷, ψ 136³, the article, not הַ interrog., is intended; the only example with ה interrog., Jer 8¹⁹, is to be pointed הַיְהוָה, i.e. הַאדֹנָי, not הֲיְהוָה). Hence the rule, מֹשֶׁה מוֹצִיא *Moses brought out* (i.e. מ, ש, ה make the א audible), וְכָלֵב מַכְנִיס *and Caleb brought in* (i.e. ו, כ, ל, ב allow it to quiesce).[1]—As regards the other plural forms of אָדוֹן, elision of the א always takes place after בַּ, וַ, כַּ, לַ, except in the form אֲדֹנֵי, thus לַאדֹנָיו, לַאדֹנֶיךָ, &c.; but לַאֲדֹנֵי, &c., לַאֲדֹנֵינוּ, &c., לַאֲדֹנֵיהֶם.

§ 103. *Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form.*

a **1.** As all prepositions were originally nouns (§ 101) in the accusative, they may be united with the noun-suffixes (§ 91 *b*–*l*), e.g. אֶצְלִי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, תַּחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa*, *for my sake*.

b Rem. 1. The preposition אֶת (usually אֶת־) *near*, *with*, is distinguished from אֵת (see below, and § 117 *a*, note 4), the sign of the definite accusative (§ 117 *a*), in its connexion with suffixes, by a difference of pointing, the former making אִתִּי, אִתְּךָ, in *pause* אִתָּךְ, 2nd fem. אִתָּךְ (Is 54¹⁰ אִתֵּךְ), אִתּוֹ, אִתָּהּ, אִתָּנוּ, אִתְּכֶם, אִתָּם (also in the later books, especially in Kings, and always in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אוֹתִי *with me*; מֵאוֹתָךְ *from thee*, 1 K 20²⁵; מֵאוֹתוֹ *from him*, 1 K 22⁷; אוֹתָם *with them*), while the latter retains its *ô* (obscured from *â*) before the light suffixes, but before grave suffixes is pointed with *Sᵉghôl*. This S°ghôl is to be explained, with Praetorius, *ZDMG.* lv. 369 f., as the modification of an *ă* which again was shortened from original *â* (in *'âthí*, *'âthô*, &c.) in a closed syllable (*'ăth-hem*, &c.). The same shortening and modification of the original *â* takes place before words in close connexion, hence אֶת־כֹּל, &c. When not in close connexion, the toneless אֵת becomes tone-long אֵת, e.g. אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם Gn 1¹. Hence the following forms arise:—

		Sing.	Plur.
1.		אִתִּי *me.*	אִתָּנוּ *us.*
2.	*m.*	אִתְּךָ, *pause* אִתָּךְ	אִתְּכֶם *you.*
	f.	אִתָּךְ	. . . . .
3.	*m.*	אִתּוֹ *him.*	אִתָּם, rarely אִתָּהֶם *them.*
	f.	אִתָּהּ *her.*	אִתָּן, rarely אִתָּהֶן *them.*

[1] Another *vox memor.* is כָּל־בּוֹ נֶעְלָם *all is hidden in him.*

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g בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner: בִּי, בְּךָ (Ex 7[29], 2 S 22[30], ψ 141[8] בְּכָה, as in Gn 27[37], 2 S 18[22], Is 3[6] לְכָה [for 2nd fem. לָךְ the *K^ethîbh* לכי occurs in 2 K 4[2], Ct 2[13], cf. § 91 *e*]), בּוֹ, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides בָּהֶם (especially in the later books) and בָּהֵמָּה (only in Ex 30[4], 36[1], Hb 1[16]; לָהֵמָּה only in Jer 14[16]), the form בָּם is also used; and for the feminine, besides בָּהֵנָּה (three times), בָּהֶן is found fifteen times, and בָּהֵן only in 1 S 31[7], Is 38[16], Ez 42[14].—According to the Masora, לֹא is found fifteen times for לוֹ (as conversely in 1 S 2[16], 20[2] לוֹ for לֹא), e. g. Ex 21[8], 1 S 2[3], Is 9[2], ψ 100[3] (and, as has been conjectured, also Jb 41[4]); cf. Delitzsch on ψ 100[3].—In Nu 32[42], Zc 5[11], Ru 2[14], the Masora requires לָהּ instead of לָהּ (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; cf. § 23 *k*, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappîq* in § 58 *g*, § 91 *e*).

h (*b*) בְּ *with Pronominal Suffixes.*

	Sing.		Plur.	
1.	בָּמֹונִי[5]	*as I.*	בָּמֹונוּ	*as we.*
2.	*m.* בָּמֹוךָ[5]	*as thou.*	בָּכֶם, בָּכֶן, rarely בְּמוֹכֶם	*as ye.*
	f. . . .		. . . . .	
3.	*m.* בָּמֹוהוּ	*as he.*	בָּהֶם, [בָּהֶן, בָּהֵמָּה], בְּמוֹהֶם	*as they.*
	f. בָּמֹוהָ	*as she.*	[בָּהֵן], בָּהֵנָּה	

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[3] The question whether לָמוֹ can also stand for the sing. לוֹ, which Rödiger and recently W. Diehl (*Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, p. 20 f.) and P. Haupt (*SBOT.* on Pr 23[20], 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 33[2], Is 30[5], ψ 73[10] (all *in* or immediately before the principal pause; in Dt 33[2] with *Zaqeph qaṭon* at least) לָמוֹ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53[8] for נֻגַּע לָמוֹ we should read with the LXX נֻגַּע לַמָּוֶת. On the other hand, in Is 44[15] its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct—פָּנֵימוֹ ψ 11[7] and כַּפֵּימוֹ Jb 27[23], as well as עָלֵימוֹ, three times, Jb 20[23], 27[23] (beside עָלָיו), and especially Jb 22[2]. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (=פָּנָיו, כַּפָּיו, עָלָיו).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in מוֹ see § 91 *l*.

[4] The form לָהֵן in Ru 1[13] is Aramaic (=*therefore*).

[5] The use of נִי here for ִי (cf. above, *d*) might be due to euphonic reasons.—בָּמֹונִי (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, בָּמֹוךָ Ex 15[11].

(*c*) מִן *with Pronominal Suffixes.* *i*

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי [4 times], in *pause* also מֶנִּי [6 times] *from me.*	מִמֶּנּוּ *from us.*
2.	*m.* מִמְּךָ, in *pause* מִמֶּךָּ; *f.* מִמֵּךְ *from thee.*	מִכֶּם, מִכֶּן *from you.*
3.	*m.* מִמֶּנּוּ, Jb 4^{12} in *pause* מִמֶּנְהוּ, [מִמֶּנָּהוּ or מִמֶּנֻּהוּ: see below] *from him.*	מֵהֶם, מֵהֵמָּה [twice], מִמֶּנָּהֶם Jb 11^{20}
	f. מִמֶּנָּה *from her.*	מֵהֶן, מֵהֵנָּה [7 times] *from them.*

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

The form כָּהֵם, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17^{15} (in *pause*), כָּהֵמָּה only in Jer 36^{32} (in *pause*); כָּהֵן (Baer following Qimḥi כָּהֵן) only in Ez 18^{14}. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For כֶּכֶם *as ye*, Qimḥi requires כָּכֶם (invariably or only in Jb 16^{4}?); in Jos 1^{15}, Ju 8^{2}, Ezr 4^{2} Baer gives כָּכֶם. *l*

With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֶּנִּי *from me* is usually explained as arising, by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מנמני, just as מִמֶּנּוּ *from him*, from מנמנ-הו, identical in form with מִמֶּנּוּ[1] *from us*, from מנמנ-נו, while מִמֶּנָּה *from her*, goes back to מנמנה. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that מִמֶּנִּי, &c., have arisen from מִנֶּנִּי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of אֵינֶנִּי, עוֹדֶנּוּ, תַּחְתֶּנָּה, § 100 *o*.—The bracketed form מִמֶּנְהוּ, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes מִמֶּנֻּהוּ, occurs only in ψ 68^{24}, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (מֶן = *portion*). The expression מִן־הוּא (for מִמֶּנּוּ?) Is $18^{2.7}$ is very strange.—מֵהֵמָּה occurs only in Jer 10^{2}, Ec 12^{12} (Jb 11^{20} מִמֶּנָּהֶם); מֵהֶן (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מֵהֶן) only in Ez $16^{47.52}$. *m*

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[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 אֶל־, עַד־, עַל־ with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל״ה) אֵלַי (אֲלַי), עֲדַי, עָלַי (contracted to אָלַי, אֲלַי, &c.).[1]

o Without suffixes these prepositions are—

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

אֶל־,[2] poet. [4 times in Job] also אֵלַי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to.*

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינְךָ, &c. (Gn 16[5] בֵּינֶיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינָיו, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qᵉrê* for בֵּינוֹ, which is found e.g. in Gn 30[36]). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת.

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. סְבִיבֶיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. סְבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43[17] סָבִיב אוֹתָהּ is a corruption of סְבִיבֹתֶיהָ; [in 1 K 6[5] סָבִיב אֶת 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. עֲדֵי [12 times]. In Jb 32[12] עֲדֵיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9[18] for עַדֵיהֶם read עֲדֵיהֶם.

עַל־ *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עָל *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עֲלֵי [40 times, and 2 *Qᵉrê*].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחְתֵּנִי, &c.; cf. above, *d*.

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[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., תַּחְתֶּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלֶיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לְפָנֵי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תְּחָתֶיךָ, אֲחָרֶיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

[2] On the use of this particle see § 119 *g*.

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(*in the not yet*) *earlier, before*, for which מִפָּנִים is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e.g. אַף־כִּי *added to this, that=much more*), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

b (*c*) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or כִּי together form one single conjunction, e.g. יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *because*, prop. *on account of the fact that*; אַחַר אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, *after that*; כַּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (with כְּ); עֵקֶב כִּי and עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר *in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because.* Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e.g. עַל־ (for עַל־אֲשֶׁר) *although*, Jb 16[17].

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as *one* substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

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 אוֹ *or*, אִם־ *if* (also *or* before the second member of a double question), אַף *also*, וְ *and*, and others.

d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally וַ, as still before *Ḥaṭeph Pathaḥ* 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, כְּ, לְ (§ 102 *d–i*), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw copulative* has some further peculiarities:

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

(*b*) Before words which begin with a guttural having a *compound Šᵉwâ*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šᵉwâ* is compounded (according to § 28 *b*), e.g. וַחֲכַם *and be thou wise*, וַעֲבָדִים *and servants*, וְעֹוז *and strength*, וְאֹכַל *and eat thou*, וְחַלִי *and sickness*. On וְאֱלֹהִים, וְאֱלֹהַי, &c., see § 102 *d*; on וַאדֹנַי, &c., see § 102 *m*; on such cases as וְעֹצֶר Jb 4[2], cf. § 28 *b*.

e (*c*) Before words with simple *Šᵉwâ* under the first consonant (except in the cases under *f*), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *û* (cf. § 26 *a*), e.g. וּלְכֹל *and to all*, so also (except in the case under *g*) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וּמָלְךָ. On the cases in which *simple Šᵉwâ* has become a *Ḥaṭeph* after *copulative* וְ (e.g. וְזָהָב Gn 2[12]), cf. § 10 *g*.

f (*d*) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וִי according to § 24 *b*, as וְיִהִי *and let him be*. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw copulative* before forms with initial *Šᵉwâ* from הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* (e.g. וְהָיִיתֶם Jos 8[4], וְחִיָה Gn 20[7]), cf. § 63 *q*.

g (*e*) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qameṣ*, like בְּ, כְּ, לְ (see § 102 *f*), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וָבֹא 2 K 22[30]), e.g. וָמֵת Ex 21[12] (on the other hand, in verse 20

וּמִתְּ is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 K 7⁴ וְנָמוּתָה שָּׁם, וּמִתְנוּ and וְנָמוּתָה; Ru 3³ וְסַכְתְּ; ψ 10¹⁵ וְזָרַע; 1 S 9⁴ וְאֵין; 2 S 13²⁶ וְלֹא; Ez 47⁹ וְחָיָה; cf. also (with *Tiphḥa*) Gn 33¹³, 2 S 15¹². The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וְ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Wāw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ Gn 1², יוֹם וָלַיְלָה Gn 8²² (see also the previous examples); Gn 13¹⁴ (thrice); Ex 25³ זָהָב וָכֶסֶף; ψ 96⁷ כָּבוֹד וָעֹז; ψ 76⁷ וְרֶכֶב וָסוּס; Gn 7¹³ נֹחַ וְשֵׁם־וְחָם וָיֶפֶת; 1 K 21¹⁰ אֱלֹהִים וָמֶלֶךְ; כֹּה וָכֹה *thus and thus*; Est 1⁸ אִישׁ־וָאִישׁ at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87⁵ אִישׁ וְאִישׁ in spite of the *Dᵉḥi* with the second אִישׁ, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words פַּחַד וָפַחַת וָפָח Is 24¹⁷. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וְ occurs before a conjunctive accent (and, when farther removed from the principal pause, even with the smaller disjunctives, in spite of a following tone-syllable), e. g. צֹאן וְעֶבֶד Gn 32⁶; cf. Gn 31⁴⁰, Lv 7²³, Dt 2²¹, and among the examples given above, Gn 7¹³ and ψ 76⁷. (Exceptions: וְקַדְמָה Gn 13¹⁴, where evidently the וְ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וָזֵיף Jos 15⁵⁵, וָעֵתֶר 19⁷, וָבֶטֶן 19²⁵, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וְ (not וָ) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וְוֵה, וְאֵת, וְגַם, וְלֹא (to be distinguished from וָלֹא *if not*, with *Zaqeph 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. אֲהָהּ (Ez 30² הָהּ), אָח *ah!* הֶאָח *aha!* (cf. this אָח also in אַחְלַי and אַחְלֵי *utinam!*), אֲנָּא Ex 32³¹, &c. (Gn 50¹⁷ אָנָּא) *ah!* (from אֲהָהּ and נָא), otherwise written אָנָּה 2 K 20³, Jn 1¹⁴, ψ 116⁴; also הַם (in pause הָם, even in the plural הַסּוּ *hold your peace!* Neh 8¹¹) *hush!* הוֹי (הוֹ־הוֹ Am 5¹⁶) *ha! woe!* אוֹי, אוֹיָה (ψ 120⁵), אִי (in אִילוֹ Ec 4¹⁰; אִי־לָךְ 10¹⁶) *woe!*

2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and *b* become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הֵן (הֵא) or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); רְאֵה *behold!* (prop. imperative); הָבָה, plur. הָבוּ (prop. *give*, imperative of יָהַב; as to the tone, cf. § 69 *o*), *come*, the Latin *age, agite!* לְכָה (also לֵךְ), לְכוּ (prop. *go*, imperative of הָלַךְ) with the same meaning[1]; חָלִילָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*)

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[1] רְאֵה (Dt 1⁸), הָבָה and לְכָה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

בִּי (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָא *pray!*[1] used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.[2]

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[1] נָא serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (*a*) after the *imperative*, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 *d*; (*b*) with the *imperfect*, either in the cohortative (§ 108 *b*) or jussive (§ 109 *b*); (*c*) once with *perfect*, Gn 40[14]; (*d*) after various particles: הִנֵּה־נָא *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions אַל and אִם: אַל־נָא *ne quaeso* and אִם־נָא *if now*, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, *if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12[13] נָא stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read אֵל־נָא.— In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18[3.4], 19[7.8.19], and 50[17].

[2] Against the usual view which regards נָא as a hortatory particle (= *up! come!* analogous to the original imperatives הָבָה and לְכָה and the Ethiopic *nă'â*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָא as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָא with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

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or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(*a*) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18[15] *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי) . . . . . ; *and he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחָקְתְּ); Gn 3[11] מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who told thee . . . . ?* Cf. 3[13.14.17.22]. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66[8] מִי־שָׁמַע כָּזֹאת *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing ?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1[5] *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee ;* Jos 1[17], Ex 10[14], Dt 32[21], 1 K 2[38], Is 46[4.11], Jo 2[2], Ec 1[9].

d (*b*) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e. g. Gn 4[4] *and Abel, he also brought* (הֵבִיא), &c.; Gn 7[19] *the waters did prevail* (גָּבְרוּ), &c.; Jb 1[1] *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz*, &c.; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18[30].

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of *narration* occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1[1]; cf. Dn 2[1]) 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 4[4] and 7[19]). 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 28[3] *now Samuel was (long since) dead*[2] . . . *and Saul had put away* (הֵסִיר) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land.* Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9[15], 25[21], 2 S 18[18].—Gn 20[18] (*for the Lord had fast closed up*, &c.); 27[30], 31[19.34], Dt 2[10]; and in a negative statement, Gn 2[5] *for the Lord God had not* (up to that time) *caused it to rain*, &c. This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2[2] *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gn 7[9],

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[1] Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9[2].

[2] Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos*, &c.

19[27], &c.; 29[10] *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (כַּאֲשֶׁר רָאָה) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24[15], 27[30], &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 10[11] הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face* (*and still keeps it hidden*); ψ 143[6] פָּרַשְׂתִּי *I have spread forth my hands* (*and still keep them spread forth*). This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive[1] 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 9[2], 10[13], לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gn 4[9], &c.; on the other hand, e.g. in Gn 28[16], Nu 22[34], the context requires *I knew not*; זָכַרְנוּ *we remember* Nu 11[5]; מֵאֲנָה *she refuseth* Jb 6[7]; עָלַץ *it exulteth*; שָׂמַחְתִּי *I rejoice* 1 S 2[1]; בִּקֵּשׁ *he requireth* Is 1[12]; קִוִּיתִי *I wait* Gn 49[18], ψ 130[5] (parallel with הוֹחַלְתִּי); חָפַצְתִּי *I delight* ψ 40[9] (mostly negative, Is 1[11], &c.); אָהַבְתִּי *I love* Gn 27[4]; שָׂנֵאתִי *I hate* ψ 31[7]; מָאַסְתִּי *I despise* Am 5[21]; תִּעֲבוּנִי *they abhor me* Jb 30[10]; בָּטַחְתִּי *I trust* ψ 25[2]; חָסִיתִי *I put my trust* ψ 31[2]; צָדַקְתִּי *I am righteous* Jb 34[5]; פָּקַדְתִּי *I have decided to requite* 1 S 15[2].—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גָּדַלְתָּ *thou art great* ψ 104[1]; קָטַנְתִּי *I am little* Gn 32[11]; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55[9]; רָחֲקוּ *they stand aloof* Jb 30[10]; טֹבוּ *they are goodly* Nu 24[5]; נָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is 52[7]; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gn 18[13]; יָגַעְתִּי *I am weary* ψ 6[7]; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1[11], &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עַד־מָתַי *h* Ex 10[3] *how long hast thou* already *been refusing* (and refusest still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*), ψ 80[5], Pr 1[22] (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עַד־אָנָה Ex 16[28], Hb 1[2].

(*b*) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

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[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*; οἶδα, *μέμνημαι, ἔοικα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, *ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα*.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e.g. הֲרִמֹתִי *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14[22]; נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer 22[5]; הֵעַדְתִּי *I testify* Dt 8[19]; יָעַצְתִּי *I counsel* 2 S 17[11] (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); אָמַרְתִּי (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 S 19[30]; *I declare* Jb 9[22], 32[10].

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 9[11] *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (לֹא־עָזַבְתָּ) *them that seek thee.* Cf. ver. 13, also ψ 10[3], 119[40] and Gn 49[11] (כִּבֵּס).

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 יָכֹלְתִּי *I am not able* ψ 40[13] and לֹא אוּכַל Gn 31[35] have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e.g. Is 5[12], ψ 2[1 f.], Pr 1[22], Jb 3[17].

m **3.** To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(*a*) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under *i*), e.g. Gn 23[11] *the field I give* (נָתַתִּי) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48[22], 2 S 14[21], 24[23], Jer 40[4]; in a threat, 1 S 2[16], 2 S 5[6] (unless, with Wellhausen, יִסַּר is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1[29], 15[18], 17[20], Ju 1[2].

n (*b*) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e.g. Nu 17[27] הֵן גָּוַעְנוּ אָבַדְנוּ כֻּלָּנוּ אָבָדְנוּ *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone.* Gn 30[13], Is 6[5] (נִדְמֵיתִי *I am undone* [1]), Pr 4[2]. Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18[12], Nu 17[28], 23[10], Ju 9[9.11], Zc 4[10] (?), Pr 22[20].[2] This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

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[1] Cf. the similar use of ὄλωλα (*διέφθορας*, *Il.* 15. 128) and *perii!* On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, *p*.

[2] In Gn 40[14] *a perf. confidentiae* (after כִּי אִם; 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 *precative* perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21[16], 22[18], also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me.* Cf. Driver, *Tenses*[3], p. 25 f. In Is 43[9] either נִקָּבְצוּ is *imperative* (see § 51 *o*) or we must read יִקָּבְצוּ, corresponding to יֵאָסְפוּ which follows.

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Knudtzon (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 2^{6} *a mist went up* continually (יַעֲלֶה), 2^{25}, 37^{7}, 48^{10}, Ex 1^{12}, 8^{20}, 13^{22}, $15^{6.12.14.15}$, Nu $9^{15\,f.\ 20\,f.}$, 23^{7}, Ju 2^{1}, 5^{8}, 1 S 3^{2}, $13^{17\,f.}$, 2 S 2^{28}, 23^{10}, 1 K 3^{4}, 7^{8}, 21^{6}, Is 1^{21}, 6^{4} (יִמָּלֵא), $17^{10\,f.}$, $51^{2\,2}$, Jer 13^{7}, 36^{18}, ψ $18^{7.14.17\,ff.38\,ff.}$, 24^{2}, $32^{4.5}$ (אוֹרִיעֲךָ), 47^{5}, $68^{10.12}$, $104^{6\,ff.}$, 106^{19}, $107^{18.29}$, 139^{13}, Jb 3^{11}, $4^{12.15\,f.}$, 10^{10}, $15^{7\,f.}$—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9^{15-23} 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 אָז *then*, טֶרֶם *not yet*, בְּטֶרֶם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e. g. Ex 15^{1} אָז יָשִׁיר־מֹשֶׁה *then sang Moses*, &c.; Nu 21^{17}, Dt 4^{41}, Jos 10^{12}, 1 K 3^{16}, 8^{1}, ψ 126^{2}, Jb 38^{21}. (The *perfect* is used after אָז when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e. g. Gn 4^{26} אָז הוּחַל *then began*, &c.; Gn 49^{4}, Ex 15^{15}, Jos 22^{31}, Ju 5^{11}, ψ 89^{20}.)[3] After טֶרֶם e. g. Gn 19^{4} טֶרֶם יִשְׁכָּבוּ *before they lay down*; Gn 2^{5}, 24^{45}, 1 S $3^{3.7}$, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24^{15} instead of the perf. כִּלָּה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3^{7} [יִגָּלֶה] an imperf. is co-ordinated with ידע). After בְּטֶרֶם (sometimes also simply טֶרֶם Ex 12^{34}, Jos 3^{1}), e.g. Jer 1^{5} בְּטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27^{33}, 37^{18}, 41^{50}, Ru 3^{14} (perhaps also in ψ 90^{2} an imperf. was intended instead of יֻלָּדוּ; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3^{2}; but note also Pr 8^{25}, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הָטְבָּעוּ, the predicate being separated from בְּטֶרֶם by הָרִים, as in ψ 90^{2}). After עַד־ Jos 10^{13}, ψ 73^{17} (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29^{34}; on the other

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[1] Cf. the Mêša' inscription, l. 5, כי יאנף כמש בארצה *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 10^{13} *bis* (where, however, וְאָסִיר might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 48^{3}, 57^{17}, ψ 18^{38a}, also (according to § 49 *c*) in 2 S 1^{10} and Ez 16^{10}. In some other cases וְ is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for וַ (*imperf. consec.*) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42^{6}, 43^{28} [contrasted with 42^{25}], 51^{2} *bis*, $63^{8\,ff.}$ and the note on § 53 *p*.

[3] After אָז *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24^{41}, Ex 12^{48}, Mi 3^{4}, Zp 3^{9}, ψ 51^{21}.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2^{22}. As after אָז, so also after פִּתְאֹם, פֶּתַע, and עַד־ the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our *future*, e.g. 2 K 2^{9}, Is 65^{24}, Jb 10^{21}; after עַד־ e.g. Is 22^{14}. The imperf. is used in the sense of our *present* after טֶרֶם in Ex 9^{30}, 10^{7}.

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 וְנָהָר יֹצֵא Gn 2^{10} represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but יִפָּרֵד, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way יַעֲלֶה Gn 2^{6} represents new mists as constantly arising, and יִמָּלֵא Is 6^{4} new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence תִּבְלָעֵמוֹ Ex 15^{12} (after a *perf.* as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and יְנַהֲגֵנִי Nu 23^{7} the leading on by stages, &c.

(*b*) To express actions, &c., which were *repeated* in the past, either *e* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1^{5} *thus did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *Job continually* (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); $4^{3f.}$, $22^{6f.}$, 23^{11}, $29^{7.9.12f.}$, Gn 6^{4}, 29^{2}, 30^{38}, $42^{31.39}$ (*I used to bear* the loss of it), Ex 1^{12}, 19^{19}, $33^{7ff.}$ (יִקַּח *used to take* every time), $40^{36ff.}$, Nu $9^{17f.\ 20ff.}$, $11^{5.9}$, Ju 6^{4}, 14^{10}, 21^{25}, 1 S 1^{7}, 2^{22}, 9^{9}, 13^{19}, 18^{5}, 27^{9}, 2 S 1^{22}, 12^{3}, 13^{18}, 1 K 5^{25} (of tribute repeated year by year), 10^{5}, 13^{33}, 14^{28}, 2 K 4^{8}, 8^{29}, 13^{20}, 25^{14}, Jer 36^{23}, ψ 42^{5}, 44^{3}, $78^{15.40}$, 103^{7}, Est 2^{14}; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18^{10}.

2. In the sphere of *present time*, again

(*a*) To express actions, events, or states, which are *continued* for *f* a shorter or longer time,[1] e.g. Gn 37^{15} מַה־תְּבַקֵּשׁ *what seekest thou?* 19^{19} לֹא־אוּכַל *I cannot*; 24^{50}, 31^{35}, Is 1^{13}. Other examples are Gn 2^{10}, 24^{31}, 1 S 1^{8}, 11^{5}, 1 K 3^{7}, ψ 2^{2}, and in the prophetic formula יֹאמַר יְהוָה *saith the Lord*, Is $1^{11.18}$, &c., cf. 40^{1}. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15^{20} *a wise son maketh a glad father*; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4^{17} *is mortal man just before God?* In a negative sentence, Jb 4^{18}, &c.

(*b*) To express actions, &c., which may be *repeated* at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are *customarily* repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, *e*), e.g. Dt 1^{44} *as bees do* (are accustomed to

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[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 6^{21}, 32^{33}, 43^{32}, Ju 11^{40}, 1 S 2^{8}, 5^{5}, 20^{2}, 2 S 15^{32}, Is 1^{23}, 3^{16}, ψ 1^{3}. So again (see *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23^{8} *a gift blindeth* (יְעַוֵּר), &c.; Gn 2^{24}, 22^{14}, Is 32^{6}, Am 3^{7}, Mal 1^{6}, Jb 2^{4}, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49^{27} *Benjamin is* וְאֵב יִטְרָף *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10^{9}, 22^{14}, &c.; לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה כֵן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence *may not, shall not be,* see *u*), Gn 29^{26}, 20^{9}, 34^{7}, 2 S 13^{12}.

h (*c*) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32^{30} *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 24^{31}, 44^{7}, Ex 5^{15}, 2 S 16^{9}. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 1^{7} (2^{2}) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16^{8} (cf. 42^{7}) אֵי־מִזֶּה בָּאתָ *whence camest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

i **3.** In the sphere of *future time.* To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(*a*) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e.g. Ex 4^{1} *they will not believe* (יַאֲמִינוּ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6^{1}, 9^{5}, &c.

k (*b*) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43^{7} could we in any wise know *that he would say* (יֹאמַר)? 2^{19}, 43^{25}, Ex 2^{4}, 2 K 3^{27} אֲשֶׁר־יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13^{14}, Jon 4^{5}, Jb 3^{3}, Ec 2^{3}, ψ 78^{6} *that the generation to come might know,* בָּנִים יִוָּלֵדוּ *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (*c*) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4^{4}, 6^{11} (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 *o*); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132^{5}, and עַד אֲשֶׁר *until,* Gn 29^{8}, Nu 20^{17}, &c.

m **4.** Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

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q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 *b*), as אֲשֶׁר, Gn 11[7] (אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ *that they may not understand*); בַּעֲבוּר Gn 21[30], 27[4.19], Ex 9[14], &c.; לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר Nu 17[5]; לְמַעַן Dt 4[1], ψ 51[6], 78[6], and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר[1] Ez 12[12], *in order that*[2]; לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, Ex 20[20], 2 S 14[14]; also after פֶּן *that not, lest*, Gn 3[22], 11[4], 19[15], &c.[3]; cf. also the instances introduced by וְלֹא in § 109 *g*.—In Lv 9[6] such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 *f*) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1[19] to the principal clause simply by וְ: *while they sought them food* וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם *to refresh their souls* (cf. also La 3[26], *it is good and let him hope*, i. e. *that he should hope*); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 2[7]. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32[8] בְּדֶרֶךְ־זוּ תֵלֵךְ *in the way which thou shouldst go*.

r (*b*) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the *potential* of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with *can, may, should*[4]). More particularly such imperfects are used—

s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2[16] *of every tree of the garden* (אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל) *thou mayest freely eat* (the opposite in verse 17); 3[2], 42[37], Lv 21[3.22], Jb 21[3]. In the 1st pers. ψ 5[8], 22[18] (*I may*, or *can, tell*); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5[5].

t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20[9] מִי־יֹאמַר *quis dixerit?* Cf. Gn 17[17], 18[14], 31[43], 1 S 11[12], 2 K 5[12] הֲלֹא־אֶרְחַץ בָּהֶם *may I not wash in them?* Is 33[14], ψ 15[1], 24[3], Ec 5[5]. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gn 39[9] *how then can I . . .?* 44[34], Is 19[11], ψ 137[4], and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43[7] הֲיָדוֹעַ נֵדַע *could we in any wise know . . .?* Cf. 2 S 3[33] (יָמוּת *was Abner to die as a fool*, i. e. *was he destined to die . . .?*), and so probably also Gn 34[31] (*should he deal . . .?*). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—

u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3[11], *who am I* (כִּי אֵלֵךְ) *that I should* (*ought, could*) *go?* 16[7], Nu 11[12], Ju 9[23], 1 S 18[18], 2 K 8[13], Is 29[16], Jb 6[11], 21[15], similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gn 38[18], Ex 5[2].

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[1] But יַעַן אֲשֶׁר in a causal sense (*because, since*), e. g. Ju 2[20] (as אֲשֶׁר Gn 34[27]) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4[24] see above, § 74 *g*.

[2] R.V. *because he shall not see.*]

[3] In 2 K 2[16] פֶּן occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c[6], since a *perfect consec.* follows, read with Driver יִמְצָא.)

[4] By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for making intelligible to ourselves the full significance of the Semitic imperfect.

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11[5], ψ 8[5], 114[5], the context shows that the *v* imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e.g. Gn 20[10], Ju 18[23], 2 S 7[18], Is 22[1].

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w* should not happen, e.g. Gn 32[13] אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִסָּפֵר מֵרֹב *which cannot be numbered for multitude*; 20[9] *deeds* (אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יֵעָשׂוּ) *that ought not to be done* (cf. above, *g*); ψ 5[5].

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x* to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23[4] גַּם כִּי־אֵלֵךְ . . . לֹא־אִירָא רָע *yea, though I walk* (or *had to walk*) . . . *I fear* (or *I would fear*) *no evil*; Jb 9[20] *though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me.* After a perfect in the protasis, e.g. Jb 23[10]. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e.g. Jb 5[8] *but as for me, I would seek unto God* (were I in thy place); 3[13.16], 14[14f.], ψ 55[13], Ru 1[12]. 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 *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending ָה_, [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 *b* cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle נָא:

(*a*) To express self-encouragement, e.g. Ex 3[3] אָסֻרָה־נָּא וגו׳ *I will turn aside now, and see . . . !* So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e.g. Gn 18[21], 32[21] (rarely so used after אַל־, Gn 21[16] *let me not look . . . !* Jer 18[18]), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e.g. Is 5[1] *I will sing*[3] . . . ! 5[6], 31[8]. Cf. also Gn 46[30] *now let me die* (*I am willing to die*),

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[1] For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 *d*.

[2] But verbs ל״ה, according to § 75 *l*, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending ה_ ; cf. e.g. in Dt 32[20] אֶרְאֶה after אַסְתִּירָה.

[3] R.V. *let me sing.*]

since I have seen thy face; and ψ 31[8]. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g. ψ 2[3] נְנַתְּקָה *come! let us break asunder!* &c., and Gn 11[3].

c (*b*) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 2[27] אֶעְבְּרָה *may I be allowed to pass through* (*let me pass through*)! Nu 20[17] נַעְבְּרָה־נָּא *may we be allowed to pass through!* Jer 40[15] *let me go, I pray thee!* &c.; 2 S 16[9]; so after לֹא 2 S 18[14]; after אַל 2 S 24[14], Jer 17[18], ψ 25[2] (אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה *let me not be ashamed*; cf. ψ 31[2.18], 71[1]); 69[15]. After אַל־נָא Jon 1[14].

d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (*a*) In dependence (with *wāw copulative*; ψ 9[15] after לְמַעַן) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27[4] *bring it to me,* וְאֹכְלָה *that I may eat,* prop. *then will I eat*; Gn 19[5], 23[4], 24[56], 27[25], 29[21], 30[25 f.], 42[34], 49[1], Dt 32[1], Ho 6[1], ψ 2[8], 39[14], Jb 10[20] *Qerê*; Is 5[19] *and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come,* וְנֵרְעָה *that we may know (it)*! Gn. 26[28], 1 S 27[5]. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18[30.32], Ju 6[39], and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22[7], Is 40[25], 41[26], Am 8[5].

e (*b*) In conditional sentences (with or without אִם) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16[6] אִם־אֲדַבְּרָה *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged,* וְאֶחְדָּלָה *and should I forbear, what am I eased?* without אִם Jb 19[18], 30[26] (where, however, וְאֶחְדָּלָה is probably intended); ψ 73[16] (unless וְאֶחַד should be read), 139[8 f.]. After the 3rd person, Jb 11[17] *though it be dark,* &c. So perhaps also 2 S 22[38] אֶרְדְּפָה *if I determined to pursue, then . . .*, but cf. ψ 18[38].

f (*c*) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31[7 f.] *if my step hath turned out of the way . . .,* אֶזְרְעָה *then let me sow*; cf. 16[4 f.] *I also could speak as ye do, if . . . .!* So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g. ψ 40[6] *else would I declare and speak of them*; 51[18] *else would I (gladly) give it,* i. e. if thou didst require it (cf. the precisely similar וְאֶשָּׂא ψ 55[13]); Jb 6[10]. In the 1st plur. Jer 20[10]. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish מִי־יִתֵּן, מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי, e. g. Jer 9[1] *oh, that I had . . .,* וְאֶעֶזְבָה *then* (i. e. if I had) *should I* (or *would I*) *leave my people,* &c.; Ju 9[29]; without *Wāw* Is 27[4], ψ 55[7], Jb 23[4] (cf. also verse 7).

g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a *necessity*) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38[10] אֶלְכָה; Jer 3[25], 4[19.21], 6[10], ψ 55[3.18] (?); 57[5], where, however, with Hupfeld, שְׁכְבָה should be read; 77[7], 88[16], and in the 1st plur. Is 59[10]), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative *form* is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

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אַל־נָא); e. g. Ex 34[3] אִישׁ אַל־יֵרָא *neither let any man be seen!* Pr 3[7] *be not* (אַל־תְּהִי) *wise in thine own eyes!* Jb 15[31] אַל־יַאֲמֵן *ne confidat.* In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9[26] אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת *destroy not!* 1 K 2[20], ψ 27[9], 69[18].

d Rem. 1. The few examples of לֹא with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (לֹא with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2[6], Ez 48[14]), or (as in Gn 24[8]) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under *k*. Moreover, cf. לֹא יוֹסֵף Jo 2[2] and from the same verb Gn 4[12] (unless it is to be referred to *h*) and Dt 13[1]. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22[19] 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 יוֹסֵף, &c., should not be restored.—On לֹא־תָחוֹם עֵינְךָ, &c., Dt 7[16], 13[9], &c., Ez 5[11], &c., cf. § 72 r, according to which תָחוֹם should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after לֹא 1 S 14[36] (וְלֹא־נַשְׁאֵר co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 S 17[12]; cf. Is 41[23] *Keth.* (ונרא, i. e. וְנֵרְאָה, after another cohortative); also (see above) לֹא אֹסֵף Dt 18[16], Ho 9[15], and even without לֹא Ez 5[16].

e 2. אַל with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 *p*) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2[9] (where, however, the text is very doubtful) וְאַל־תִּשָּׂא לָהֶם *and thou canst not possibly forgive them* [R.V. *therefore forgive them not*]; ψ 34[6], 41[3], 50[3], 121[3] (אַל־יִתֵּן); Pr 3[25], Jb 5[22] אַל־תִּירָא *neither needest thou be afraid*; 20[17], 40[32].

f **2.** The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(*a*) Depending[1] (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e. g. Gn 24[51] *take her and go, and let her be* (וּתְהִי prop. *and she will be*)...; 30[3], 31[37], 38[24], Ex 8[4], 9[13], 10[17], 14[2], Jos 4[16], Ju 6[30], 1 S 5[11], 7[3], 1 K 21[10], ψ 144[5], Pr 20[22], Jb 14[6]. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7[2] (say) *what is thy desire...,* וְתֵעָשׂ *and it shall* (i. e. in order that it may) *be granted!* 1 K 22[20], Is 19[12], Jb 38[34f.] Depending on a cohortative, e. g. Gn 19[20] אִמָּלְטָה נָּא שָׁמָּה *oh, let me escape thither* ... וּתְחִי נַפְשִׁי *that my soul may live;* even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, *g*), 1 K 13[33] *whosoever would, he consecrated him* ... וַיְהִי *that he might be a priest* (read כֹּהֵן) *of the high places,* but probably the LXX reading וַיְהִי is to be preferred.

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[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 20[7], ψ 27[14], &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35^{21} a negative final clause with וְאַל־ is dependent on an *g* imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not.* As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of וְלֹא and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42^{2}, 1 K 14^{2}, 18^{44}; after a jussive, Ex 30^{20}, Neh 6^{9}; after a perfect consec., Ex $28^{35.43}$, 30^{12}, Nu 18^{5}; after לֹא with an imperfect, Lv 10^{6}, Nu 18^{3}, Dt 17^{17} *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* (וְלֹא יָסוּר לְבָבוֹ) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20^{14}, 2 S 21^{17}, Jer 11^{21}; after אַל־ with jussive, Lv 10^{9}, 11^{48}, 16^{2}, 2 S 13^{25}, Jer 25^{6}, 37^{20}, $38^{24\,f.}$; after the asseverative אִם with the impft., Gn 14^{23}; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10^{4} *with nails . . . they fasten it* (וְלֹא יָפִיק) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9^{7}.

(*b*) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the *h* protasis or in the apodosis, cf. ψ 45^{12} יִתְאַו *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104^{20} וַיְהִי . . . תָּשֶׁת *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22^{4}, Lv 15^{24}, Is 41^{28}, Ez 14^{7} (וְיַעַל), Jb 34^{29}; in the apodosis, Ex 7^{9} *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent*; Pr 9^{9} after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10^{16}, 13^{5}, 22^{28}. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4^{12} (לֹא־תֹסֵף, but see above, *d*). In 2 K 6^{27} אַל־יוֹשִׁעֲךָ (*if the Lord do not help thee*, &c.) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based *i* on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e. g. Nu 22^{19} (מַה־יֹּסֵף, but cf. above, *d*); Jb 9^{33} *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* (יָשֶׁת, hence plainly a *subjunctive = qui ponat*; also in Nu 23^{19} וְיכַזֵּב *that he should lie* is probably intended as a jussive); Ec 5^{14}; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9^{11} *who is the wise man,* וְיָבֵן *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14^{10}.

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 $28^{21.36}$, 32^{8}, 1 K 8^{1}, Is 12^{1}, Mi 3^{4}, 5^{8}, ψ 11^{6}, 18^{12}, 21^{2} *Qerê* (מַה־יִּגַּל, *Keth.* יִגֵּיל), 25^{9}, 47^{4}, 90^{3}, 91^{4}, 107^{29}, Pr 15^{25}, Jb 13^{27}, 15^{33}, 18^{9}, 20^{20}, 27^{22}, 33^{11}, 36^{14}, 38^{24}, Ec 12^{6} (verse 7 יָשֹׁב, but immediately afterwards תָּשׁוּב), Dn 8^{12},—but also in shortened forms, such as יְהִי Gn 49^{17} (Sam. יְהִיֶה), Dt 28^{8}, 1 S 10^{5}, 2 S 5^{24}, Ho 6^{1}, 11^{4}, Am 5^{14}, Mi 1^{2}, Zp 2^{13}, Zc 9^{5}, ψ $72^{16\,f.}$ (after other jussives), 104^{31}, Jb 18^{12}, $20^{23.26.28}$, 27^{8}, 33^{21}, 34^{37}, Ru 3^{4}. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42^{6}, 50^{2}, ψ 68^{15}, Pr 23^{25}, Jb 24^{14}, 29^{3}, 40^{19}), or actually *in* pause (Dt 32^{18}, Jb $23^{9.11}$, La 3^{50}), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 *g*), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms (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 18[44], Is 56[1], 65[18]) with other imperatives:

(*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12[1] *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10[12]) and requests, 2 K 5[22], Is 5[3]; on the addition of נָא see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 2[22] *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22[15], Ju 10[14], Is 47[12] (with נָא), Jer 7[21], Ez 20[39], Am 4[4], Jb 38[3 f.], 40[10 ff.], La 4[21]. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3[15] (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8[9 f.], 29[9].

b (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18[23] after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21[12], 45[11].

c (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)[2] or promise, e.g. Is 65[18] *but be ye glad*, &c. (i.e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37[30], ψ 110[2]; in a threat, Jer 2[19]. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54[14] *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1[28], &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22[12], 2 K 5[13], see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the *imperative Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42[16] וְאַתֶּם הֵאָסֵרוּ *and ye shall be bound*; Dt 32[50], Is 49[9] (Is 45[22], see below, *f*).

d Rem. 1. The particle נָא *age!* (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12[13], 24[2], sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16[26], 20[10]) or in ridicule (Is 47[12]).

e 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle לוּ Gn 23[13] (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read לוּ for לוֹ and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after לוּ, 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

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[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.

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the four forms of the *2nd fem. plur. imperative* in Is 32^{11}, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 *i*). In Na 3^{15} the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 *p* on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

§ 111. *The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.*

a 1. The *imperfect* with *wāw consecutive* (§ 49 *a–g*) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately[1] before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 *a*, and especially § 112 *a*), e. g. Gn 3^{1} *now the serpent was* (וְהַנָּחָשׁ הָיָה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4^{1}, $6^{9\text{ff.}}$, $10^{9\text{f.}}$, 15^{19}, $11^{12\text{ff. }27\text{ff.}}$, $14^{5\text{f.}}$, $15^{1\text{f.}}$, $16^{1\text{f.}}$, $21^{1\text{ff.}}$, $24^{1\text{f.}}$, $25^{19\text{ff.}}$, $36^{2\text{ff.}}$, 37^{2}.

b Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect[2] (viz. הָיָה *it came to pass*), e. g. Is 6^{1} *in the year that king Uzziah died, I saw* (וָאֶרְאֶה), &c.; Gn 22^{4}, 27^{34}, Ju 11^{16}, 1 S 4^{19}, 17^{57}, 21^{6}, Ho 11^{1}: on the use of וַיְהִי to connect expressions of time, see below, *g*.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17^{55} (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12^{7}, 15^{8}, &c., Dn 10^{11}, 15^{19}; the *Perfect* after וְ and the subject, 2 Ch 7^{1}.

c 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e. g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e. g. Gn 1^{5} *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא) *Night*; verse 10, 2^{20}, 11^{3} and frequently.

d 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e. g. Gn $28^{8\text{f.}}$ וַיַּרְא עֵשָׂו . . . וַיֵּלֶךְ *when Esau saw that . . ., he went*, &c.; so also, frequently וַיִּשְׁמַע, &c., Gn 37^{21}, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e. g. Ex 2^{10} (וַתֹּאמֶר *for she said*); cf. 1 S 7^{12}. Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2^{25} (וַיִּהְיוּ *they were*; but Jos 4^{9}, 1 K 8^{8} *they are*); Gn 36^{14} (וַתֹּלֶד), 36^{32} (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 1 K 1^{44}.

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[1] On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 *b* note.

[2] Cf. Is 45^{4}, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36^{7}, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely *external* connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32^{31} *and (yet) my life is preserved*; 2 S 3^{8} *and yet thou chargest me*; Jb 10^{8}, 32^{3}; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr $30^{25\,ff.}$ *e*

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) *and it came to pass*, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn $4^{3.8}$, 8^{6}, 11^{2}, Ex 12^{29}, 13^{17}, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7^{10}, 15^{12}, 22^{1}, 27^{30}, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8^{13}, $14^{1f.}$, 40^{1}, Ex 12^{41}, 16^{22}, Nu 10^{11}, Dt 1^{3}, 1 S 18^{30}, 2 K 8^{21}, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41^{1}. *f*

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of ויהי[1] is especially common, when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, *b*; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22^{1} *and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham*), the similar cases in Gn 19^{34}, 21^{22}, 1 S 11^{11}, Ru 1^{1}. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by בְּ or כְּ with an infinitive (Gn 12^{14}, $19^{17.29}$ 39^{13}, $15^{18\,f.}$, Ju 16^{25}) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106*f*), e.g. Gn 15^{17}, 24^{15}, 27^{30}, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי *when*, Gn 26^{8}, 27^{1}, Ju 16^{16}, כַּאֲשֶׁר *when*, Gn 12^{11}, 20^{13}, מֵאָז *from the time that*, Gn 39^{5}; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 *u*), e.g. 2 K 13^{21} וַיְהִי הֵם קֹבְרִים אִישׁ *and it came to pass, as they were* (just) *burying a man* (prop. they burying), *that . . .*; Gn 42^{35}, 2 K 2^{11} (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וְהִנֵּה); 1 S 7^{10}, 2 S 13^{30}, 2 K $6^{5.26}$, 19^{37} (= Is 37^{38}).—In 1 S 10^{11}, 11^{11}, 2 S 2^{23}, 15^{2} a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows. *g*

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding ויהי, introduces the apodosis either—(*a*) to whole sentences, or (*b*) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (*a*) 1 S 15^{23} *because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord*, וַיִּמְאָסְךָ *he hath rejected thee* (cf. Nu 14^{16}, Is 48^{4}, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9^{21}; for (*b*) Gn 22^{24} וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ *and* (as to) *his concubine . . .*, וַתֵּלֶד *she bare*, &c.; Ex 38^{24}, Nu $14^{36\,f.}$, 1 S 14^{19}, 17^{24}, 2 S 4^{10}, 19^{41} *Keth.*, 21^{16}, 1 K $9^{20\,f.}$, 12^{17}, 2 K 25^{22}, Jer 6^{19}, 28^{8}, 33^{24}, 44^{25}.[2]—In 1 K 15^{13}, 2 K 16^{14} the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by אֶת־. *h*

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[1] Exhaustive statistics of the use of ויהי in its many and various connexions are given by König in *ZAW.* 1899, p. 260 ff.

[2] Cf. the Mêša' inscription, l. 5 (*Omri*) *the king of Israel*, ויענו *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 27^{34} read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before כִּשְׁמֹעַ.

i 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a–h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

k (*a*) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e.g. Gn 2^{1}, 23^{20} וַיָּקָם הַשָּׂדֶה וגו׳ *so* (in this way) *the field became* (legally) *the property of Abraham*, &c.; 1 S 17^{50}, 31^{6}.

l (*b*) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e.g. Gn 39^{2}, Jb 2^{3} *and he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וַתְּסִיתֵנִי וגו׳ *so that thou thus* (as it now appears) *groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65^{9} *so that they are afraid* . . .; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20^{17} וַתְּהִי *so that my mother should have been* . . . Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38^{9} וַיָּמָת *so that he dies* (must die).

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e.g. Is 51^{12} *who art thou* (i.e. art thou *so helpless*), וַתִּירָאִי *that thou art* (*must needs be*) *afraid?* ψ 144^{3} (cf. ψ 8^{5}, where in a very similar context כִּי *that* is used with the imperfect); Gn 12^{19} (וְאֶקַּח); 31^{27} וְאֲשַׁלְּחֵךְ *so that I might have sent thee away*.

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

n (*a*) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 *a*, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

o (*b*) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

p (1) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

q Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the imperfect consecutive as an historic tense. The imperfect consecutive also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e.g. Gn 27^{1}, Nu 11^{20}, Dt 4^{37}, 1 S 8^{8}, 1 K 2^{5}, 11^{33}, 18^{13}, &c.; also in Is 49^{7} וַיִּבְחָרֶךָּ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמָן.—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 26^{18}, $28^{6\,f.}$, $31^{19.34}$ (*now Rachel had taken the teraphim*, וַתִּשְׂמֵם *and had*

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13[15.17 ff.], 22[7 ff.], Jo 2[23], Mi 2[13], Ez 33[4.6], ψ 7[13], 64[8 ff.];—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4[16].[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 9[16] אִם־קָרָ֣אתִי וַיַּעֲנֵ֑נִי *if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . .*; ψ 139[11] וְאֹמַ֣ר *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 לוּא *utinam* (וַיְהִי *and it*, or *so that it were*, equivalent to *then should it be*). Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20[17]) and *m* (Gn 31[27]), 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

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[1] Also in Jer 51[29] the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וַיְחַלְּךוּ Ho 8[10] would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וְיִחְלוּ, and Ewald reads וְיָחֵלוּ.—In Ez 28[16] (cf. Jer 15[6 f.]) וְאַחֲלֶךָּ 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.

c 2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e. g. Ez 14^{13}, Am 5^{19}, Ru 3^{3}, four perfects in each case, Is 8^{7} 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 12^{12} *when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say* (וְאָמְרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וְהָרְגוּ אֹתִי) *but thee they will save alive* (וְאֹתָךְ יְחַיּוּ).

d **2.** The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (*a*) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see *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 *ff*).

e **3.** The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves

(*a*) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i.e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(α) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2^{6} יַעֲלֶה אֵד *there went up a mist* (again and again) *from the earth,* וְהִשְׁקָה *and watered* (as it were, *and ever watered afresh*), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2^{10} (וְהָיָה *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 33^{7-11} יִקַּח *he used to take* at each new encampment *the tent,* וְנָטָה *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), 10^{17}, Ju 2^{19}, 1 S 2^{19} תַּעֲשֶׂה

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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 . . . וְהַעֲלָתָהּ *and brought it to him from year to year*; 27[9] (וְלָקַח), 1 K 14[28], 2 K 3[25], 12[15] (in verses 16[f.] imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6[4] (וְיָלְדוּ as a continuation of יָבֹאוּ), Jb 31[29. 1]

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39[3] (Samaritan וקצצו), 1 S 5[7] (? see § 112 *rr*), 7[16], 2 S 15[2.5], 16[13] *and he threw stones at him,* וְעֹפֵר *and cast dust* continually; 12[16.31], 2 K 6[10], 12[11 fr. 15], Jer 37[15], Jb 1[5].

g Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one *single* action or occurrence in the past; thus Ex 18[26], 4[c 31f.], 1 S 1[4], 2 S 15[1f.], 1 K 14[27] (cf. verse 28); 1 K 18[4], 2 K 12[10]. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *dd*.

h (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37[3] (וְעָשָׂה לוֹ, i.e. as often as he needed a new garment)[2]; Gn 31[7], Nu 11[8], 1 S 16[14], 2 K 3[4], ψ 22[6];[3] in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26[9] *who has ever*, &c.; ψ 80[13], Jb 1[1.4], Ru 4[7].

i (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1[11] עַל־רָדְפוֹ *because he did pursue his brother,* וְשִׁחֵת *and* (on each occasion) *did cast off all pity* (then an imperfect consecutive); after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6[13], 2 S 13[19], Jer 23[14].

k (ε) After a participle, Is 6[3] (וְקָרָא), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֹמְדִים, verse 2); 1 S 2[22], 2 S 17[17].[4]

l (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47[22] *the priests had a portion from Pharaoh,* וְאָכְלוּ *and did eat* (year by year), &c.; 1 K 4[7].

m (*b*) To express *present* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time:

(*a*) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2[24] *therefore a man leaves* (יַעֲזֹב *is accustomed to leave*) . . . וְדָבַק *and cleaves*, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is 5[11] (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation

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[1] Also in Ez 44[12] (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read שָׁרְתוּ and וַיִּהְיוּ) 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 2[19].

[3] Am 4[7] would also come under this head, if וְהִמְטַרְתִּי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; מָנַעְתִּי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 *m*), and the passage would then come under *s*.

[4] That וְהָלְכָה, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from יָלְכוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וְיוּכְלוּ; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיַּרְא and וַיֵּלְכוּ of actions which happened only once.

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maiden which cometh forth (הַיֹּצֵאת) . . ., וְאָמַרְתִּי אֵלֶיהָ *to whom I shall say* . . ., וְאָמְרָה *and she* (then) *shall say*, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִנֵּה, e.g. Gn $6^{17\,f.}$; with a different subject 1 K 20^{36}, Am 6^{14}; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִנֵּה (cf. § 140), Ex 3^{13} *behold, I come* (i.e. if I shall come) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי לָהֶם *and shall say unto them* . . ., וְאָמְרוּ *and they* (then) *shall say*, &c.; 1 S $14^{8\,ff.}$, Is 7^{14}, $8^{7\,f.}$, 39^{6}.

u (ζ) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 *t*), e. g. Is 31^{5}, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 *dd* and *ee*), e. g. Lv 2^{6}, Dt 1^{16}, Is 5^{5}, Ez $23^{46\,f.}$

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 10^{8} עַד־בּוֹאִי אֵלֶיךָ וְהוֹדַעְתִּי לָךְ *till I come unto thee* (prop. until my coming) *and show thee*, &c.; Gn 18^{25}, 27^{45}, Ju 6^{18}, Ez 39^{27}; cf. 1 K $2^{37.42}$.

w **Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14^{24}, where the idea of time precedes, *until it be evening and* until *I be avenged*, &c., and Is 5^{8}, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד־.**

x **4.** The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, *d–v*) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(*a*) To announce *future* events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e. g. Gn 41^{30} וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הִנֵּה with a following substantive (1 S 9^{8}), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under *t*), e. g. 1 S 2^{31} *behold, the days come*, וְגָדַעְתִּי *that I will cut off*, &c.; Is 39^{6}, Am 4^{2}, 8^{11}, 9^{13}, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17^{4}, Is 10^{25}, 29^{17}, Jer 51^{33}, Ho 1^{4}. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 6^{7} *lo, this hath touched thy lips,* וְסָר *therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away*, &c. (not copulative *and it is taken away*, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20^{11}, 26^{22}, Ju 13^{3} (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8^{14}. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex $6^{6\,ff.}$ Also in Amos 5^{26} וּנְשָׂאתֶם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, *rr*.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y*
by means of וְהָיָה[1] *and it shall come to pass* (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וַיְהִי, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9^{14}, 12^{12} (וְהָיָה כִי = *if*, as in 46^{33}, Ex 1^{10}, 22^{26} and frequently), 1 K 18^{12}, Is $14^{3\,f.}$, Am 8^{9}; or in the imperfect, Gn 4^{14}, Is 2^{2}, 3^{24}, 4^{3}, $7^{18.21\,ff.}$ (cf. 29^{8}); or in the jussive, Lv 14^{9}. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5^{27}, Jer 42^{16} וְהָיְתָה (before הַחֶרֶב), and in Jer 42^{17} וְיִהְיוּ (before כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים).

2. The jussive form וְיִהִי occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה *z*
in 1 S 10^{5}, 2 S 5^{24} (1 Ch 14^{15}), 1 K 14^{5}, Ru 3^{4}, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3^{4} (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14^{5} the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וַיְהִי. In the other passages ויהי (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10^{5}, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(*b*) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10^{19} *love ye therefore the* *aa*
stranger; 1 S 6^{5}, 24^{16}, 1 K 2^{6} (in Gn 40^{14} the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of נָא). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn $45^{12\,f.}$, 1 K $2^{2\,f.}$, Ru $3^{3\,f.}$, 3^{9}.—In Gn 17^{11} the perfect consecutive (וְנִמַלְתֶּם *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 *bb*
made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46^{33}, 47^{24}, Ju 4^{20}. Cf. also Gn 24^{14}, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.

(*c*) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc*
another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 29^{15} *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וַעֲבַדְתַּנִי *and shouldest thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5^{5} (וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם *will ye then make them rest?*); Nu 16^{10}, 1 S 25^{11}, and (if it is *Mil^{e}ra'*) ψ 50^{21} (וְהוֹכַחְתִּי).

(*d*) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd*
the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1^{3} (וְעָלָה of annual festival journeys); 13^{21} (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27^{9} (וְהִכָּה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יְחַיֶּה); 1 K 5^{7} (וְכִלְכְּלוּ,

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[1] On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see Königs statistics in *ZAW.* xix. 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9^{25}, Jer 25^{4}, Ho 12^{11}, Dn 8^{4}.—In Jb $1^{4\,f.}$ a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6^{17} a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 *h*), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

ee Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on *y* and *bb*) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn $30^{41\,f.}$ (but in verse 42^{a}, where the verb is separated from the *Wāw* by an insertion, we find לֹא יָשִׂים *he used not to put them in*, according to § 107 *e*); Gn 38^{9}, Ex 17^{11}, $33^{7\,ff.}$ (see above, *e*), Nu 21^{9}, Ju 6^{3}, 19^{30}, 1 S 16^{23} (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15^{5}; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Ju 2^{19}, 2 S 14^{26}.—In Ju $12^{5\,f.}$ והיה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13^{22} by וְלֹא 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 אִם with the imperfect, e.g. 2 K 7^{4b} אִם־יְמִיתֻנוּ וָמָתְנוּ *if they kill us*, (well then) *we shall but die*; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (נָחְיֶה) which immediately precedes; Gn 18^{26}, $24^{8.41}$, 32^{9}, Nu 30^{15}, Ju 4^{20}, 1 S 1^{11}, 20^{6}, 1 K 3^{14}, Na 3^{12}, Ec 4^{11}.

gg (*β*) After אִם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5^{27}, 2 K 5^{20}, 7^{4a}, Is $4^{4\,f.}$; as precative apodosis after אִם־נָא with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33^{10}; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after אִם with a perfect, Gn 38^{9}, Nu 21^{9}, Ju 6^{3}, Jb 7^{4}; after אִם with imperfect, Gn 31^{8}.

hh (*γ*) After כִּי (*in case, suppose that*) with the imperfect, Gn 12^{12}, Ex 18^{16}, Ju 13^{17}, Is 58^{7}, Ez 14^{13}.[2] Frequentative with reference to the past, after כִּי with frequentative perfect, Ju 2^{18}, Jb $7^{13\,f.}$

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[1] In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of והיה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, under *y*, *bb*, *ee*.

[2] In 1 S 24^{19} a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, *for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away?* Probably, however, with Klostermann, וְכִי should be read for וְכִי.

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&c. (so Ju 19[30], 2 S 20[12]), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3[5], Ex 32[34] (after בְּיוֹם with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44[31], Ju 16[2], Jos 6[10], 1 S 1[22], 16[23] (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15[5], see above, *ee*); 1 S 20[18], 2 S 14[26], 15[10], Is 18[5]; moreover, Ex 17[4], Is 10[25], 29[17], 37[26]; even after single disconnected words, e. g. Ex 16[6] עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם *at even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know*; cf. verse 7, Lv 7[16], 1 K 13[31], Pr 24[27].

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 28[6], and probably Nu 21[15], Dt 33[2].)

(*a*) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with וְ 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 12[32] וְהַעֲמִיד; 2 K 11[1] *Keth.* וראתה; 14[14] וְלָקַח (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25[24], the word is wanting); 2 K 23[4] וְנָשָׂא, &c.; verse 10 וְטִמֵּא, &c.; verse 12 וְהִשְׁלִיךְ, &c.; verse 15 וְשָׂרַף, &c.[3] Cf. also Ez 37[2.7.10].

qq (*b*) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40[6] (read with the LXX and Vulgate

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[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 1[17] and 4[1.7]. Several of the perfects with וְ can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1[13], 2[5.9.11.13.15], 5[18], compared with 6[2]; but this is impossible in such passages as 9[14 ff.] In Ezra, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with וְ, 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 12[12], a number of critically questionable perfects with וְ. He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23[4] from וְנָשָׂא to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with וְ never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23[5] וְהִשְׁבִּית, verse 8 וְנָתַץ, and verse 14 וְשִׁבֵּר.

וְאָמַר); Jer 38^{28}, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40^{3} (וְהָיָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Ju 7^{13} וְנָפַל הָאֹהֶל is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3^{13} read, with Klostermann, the *2nd sing. masc.* instead of והגדתי; in 1 K 21^{12} וְהוֹשִׁיבוּ is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

rr Of other questionable instances, (*a*) the following, at any rate, may also be explained as frequentatives, Gn 21^{25}, 49^{23}, Ex 36^{38}, 38^{28}, 39^{3}, 1 S 5^{7}, 17^{20}, 24^{11} (but even so וְאָמְרוּ would be expected); 2 K 23^{12}, Is 28^{26} (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5^{26} (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, *x*); ψ 26^{3}, Ez 8^{36}.

SS (*β*) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented by the perfect with ו (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with ו), in Gn 15^{6}, 34^{5}, Nu 21^{20}, Jos 9^{12}, 22^{3b}, Is 22^{14}, Jer 3^{9}. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15^{3-11}, 16^{2-8} (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17^{9}, 18^{20}), 18^{12-21}, $19^{11-14.22.26-29.34}$, 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 וְהָיוּ Ex 36^{29} is most simply explained as repeated from 26^{25}.

tt (*γ*) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of expression: Ex $36^{29\,f.}$, Ju 3^{23},[1] 16^{18} (read וַיַּעֲלוּ), 1 S 4^{19}, 17^{38}, 2 S 16^{5}, $19^{18\,f.}$ (read צָלְחוּ and וַיַּעַבְרוּ), 1 K 3^{11} (where ושאלת is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13^{3}, 20^{21}; 2 K 14^{7} (where, with Stade, וְאֶת־הַסֶּלַע תָּפַשׂ should be read); 14^{14}, 18^{4} (where, at any rate, וְשָׁבַר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וכרת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with הוּא הֵסִיר); 18^{36}, 21^{15}, 24^{14}, Jer 37^{15} (where וְהִכּוּ, but not וְנָתְנוּ, might be frequentative); Ez 9^{7} (omit וְיָצְאוּ with Stade, and read וְהַכּוּ); 20^{22} (והשבתי *Mil'êl* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7^{4} (וְאָכְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16^{12}.

uu Finally, in 1 S 1^{12}, 10^{9}, 17^{48}, 25^{20}, 2 S 6^{16}, 2 K 3^{15}, Jer 37^{11}, Am 7^{2} וַיְהִי is to be read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gn 38^{5} וְהִיא 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.

a **1.** The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize 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 ונעל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13^{18} also ונעל 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 25^{27} אָכֹל דְּבַשׁ הַרְבּוֹת לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10^{5}, Jb 6^{25}, Ec 4^{17}; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is $58^{5\,f.}$, Zc 14^{12}.

c (*b*) As predicate, Is 32^{17} *and the effect of righteousness* (is) הַשְׁקֵט וָבֶטַח *quietness* (prop. *to find rest*) *and confidence.*

d (*c*) As object, Is 1^{17} לִמְדוּ הֵיטֵב *learn to do well*; Is 7^{15}, Pr 15^{12}, Jb 9^{18}; according to the sense also Jer 9^{23} 23^{14}, as well as Is 5^{5} (הָסֵר and פָּרֹץ virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in עֲשֵׂה); Is 22^{13}, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הִנֵּה, and 59^{13} (six infinitives governed by יָדַעֲנוּם in verse 12); Dt 28^{56} is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,[2] also Is 42^{21}, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9^{4}, Jb 13^{3} the infinitive absolute as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negatived by לֹא in Is 57^{20}, Jer 49^{23}), so also in La 3^{45} where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

e (*d*) As genitive, Is 14^{23} בְּמַטְאֲטֵא הַשְׁמֵד *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4^{4} בְּרוּחַ בָּעֵר; cf. further, Pr 1^{3}, 21^{16}. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions[3] (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by וְ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e.g. 1 S 22^{13} . . . בְּתִתְּךָ לוֹ לֶחֶם וְשָׁאוֹל לוֹ בֵּאלֹהִים *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36^{3}; 1 S $25^{26.33}$ (after מִן); after לְ Ex 32^{6}, Jer 7^{18}, 44^{17}.

f (*e*) Governing an accusative of the object, e.g. Is 22^{13} הָרֹג בָּקָר וְשָׁחֹט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20^{8}, 23^{30}, Dt 5^{12}, Is 37^{19}, Ez 23^{30}, and of the examples in *a–d*, Dt 28^{56}, Is 5^{5}, $58^{6\,f.}$, Pr 25^{27}, &c.; followed by a preposition, e.g. Is 7^{15} מָאוֹס בָּרָע וּבָחוֹר בַּטּוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15^{12} (הוֹכֵחַ לוֹ).

g If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on *a*), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֵת (אֹת), e.g. Jer 9^{23} וְיָדוֹעַ אֹתִי *and knoweth me*; Ez 36^{3}.

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[1] The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

[2] Perhaps הַצֵּג according to § 53 *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הַצֵּג.

[3] ואחרי שָׁתוֹה 1 S 1^{9} is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

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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]

m These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117 *p*, i.e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e.g. Ex 22^{22} אִם־צָעֹק יִצְעַק אֵלַי *if* it actually happens that *he cries to me*, with Gn 27^{34} (as it were, *he cried*, so that *a great cry* was heard).

We must further distinguish—

n (*a*) The infinitive absolute used *before* the verb to *strengthen* the verbal idea, i.e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e.g. Gn 2^{17} מוֹת תָּמוּת *thou shalt surely die*, cf. $18^{10.18}$, 22^{17}, 28^{22}, 1 S 9^{6} (*cometh surely to pass*); 24^{21}, Am 5^{5}, 7^{17}, Hb 2^{3}, Zc 11^{17}; with the infinitive strengthened by אַךְ Gn 44^{28} (but 27^{30} *and Jacob was yet scarce gone out*, &c.); Gn 43^{3} הָעֵד הֵעִד בָּנוּ *he did solemnly protest unto us*; 1 S 20^{6} נִשְׁאֹל נִשְׁאַל *David earnestly asked leave of me*; Jos 17^{13}, Ju 1^{28} וְהוֹרֵישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוֹ *and did not utterly drive them out*; especially typical instances are Am 9^{8} *I will destroy it from off the face of the earth* אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא הַשְׁמֵיד אַשְׁמִיד וג׳ *saving that I will not utterly destroy*, &c.; Jer 30^{11} *and will in no wise leave thee unpunished*; cf. further Gn 20^{18}, 1 K 3^{26}, Jo 1^{7}, Jb 13^{5}.

o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20^{6}. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, *n*, on Gn 43^{3}, 1 S 20^{6}; also Gn 3^{16}, 26^{28}, 32^{17}, 1 S 14^{28}, 20^{3}. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 *a*), as in Gn 15^{13}, $43^{7.20}$, Ju 9^{8}, 1 S 10^{16}, 23^{10}, 2 S 1^{6}, 20^{18}.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

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[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 15[26] *if thou wilt diligently hearken*, &c., Ex 19[5], 21[5], 22[3.11 f. 16.22] (see above, *m*); 23[22], Nu 21[2], Ju 16[11], 1 S 1[11], 12[25]; after לוּ 1 S 14[30].

p The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e. g. 2 S 24[24] *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנוֹ אֶקְנֶה) *it of thee*, &c. (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15[13] *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31[30] (thou art indeed gone=) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. *esto*), *because thou sore longedst*, &c.; ψ 118[13.18], 126[6] (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, *r*—comes *after* the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 2[16 f.] אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל *thou mayest freely eat, but*, &c. (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2[30] *I said indeed . . .*, 14[43].

q The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e. g. Gn 37[8] הֶמְלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37[10], 43[7], Ju 11[25], 1 S 2[27], 2 S 19[43], Jer 3[1], 13[12], Ez 28[9], Am 3[5], Zc 7[5]; but cf. also Gn 24[5] *must I needs bring again?*

r (*b*) The infinitive absolute *after the verb*, sometimes (as in *n*) to intensify[1] the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e. g. Nu 11[15], Jb 13[17], 21[2], 37[2] שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22[10]; after participles, e. g. Is 22[17], also elsewhere, e. g. Nu 23[11], 24[10] *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24[10], 2 K 5[11], Dn 11[10], and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of גַּם Gn 31[15], 46[4], Nu 16[13]); sometimes to express the long *continuance* of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6[9] שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6[29]; after a participle, Jer 23[17]; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19[9], Nu 11[32].

s To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e. g. 1 S 6[12] הָלוֹךְ הָלְכוּ וְגָעוֹ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6[13b] *Qerê*); Gn 8[7] *it went forth to and fro*[2]; Is 19[22] *smiting and* (i. e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2[26] (see above, *m*).

t Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6[13a] and 2 S 13[19] [but Stade's וְיָעוֹק is

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[1] In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands *after* the verb, but in Syriac *before* the verb.

[2] Also in Ez 1[14] for the distorted form רָצוֹא reads simply יָצוֹא יָצְאוּ.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31[5] referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהַצִּיל and וְהַמְלִיט), or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19[23], 2 S 16[13]) or participle (2 S 16[5]); cf. also *u*.

u 2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb הָלַךְ *to go*, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (*to go, to walk*, as in the examples given above, Jos 6[9.13], 1 S 6[12], 2 S 3[16], 13[19]; cf. also, Is 3[16], where both infinitives stand *before* the verb, and ψ 126[6], where הָלוֹךְ precedes), but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of *to go on, to continue*, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, *t*) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8[3] וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הָלוֹךְ וְשׁוֹב *and the waters returned . . . continually*; Gn 8[5], 12[9], Ju 14[9], 2 K 2[11]; with a participle following, Jer 41[6] (unless we read וּבָכֹה, as in 2 S 3[16]); with an adjective following, Gen 26[13], Ju 4[24], 1 S 14[19], 2 S 5[10] (1 Ch 11[9]), 2 S 18[25].[1]

On the other hand, in 1 S 17[41] the participle הֹלֵךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הֹלֵךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 19[19], 1 S 2[26], 2 S 3[1], 15[12], Est 9[4], 2 Ch 17[12]) or participle (1 S 17[15], Jon 1[11], Pr 4[18], Ec 1[6]).

v 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,[2] e.g. Ex 5[23] וְהַצֵּל לֹא־הִצַּלְתָּ *neither hast thou delivered at all*, Ju 15[13], Jer 13[12], 30[11]; cf. Mi 1[10] (אַל). Exceptions are Gn 3[4] (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2[17] is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9[8], ψ 49[8].

w 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the *same* conjugation may be connected (Gn 28[22] Pi'ēl; 17[13], Ex 22[3], Ez 14[3] Niph'al; Gn 40[15] Pu'al; Ho 4[18] Hiph'îl; Ez 16[4] Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Pi'ēl and Hiph'îl; see Driver on 2 S 20[18]) that of *Qal* as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20[18] (with Pi'ēl; but in Gn 37[33], 44[28] טֹרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52 *e*); 46[4] (with Hiph'îl); Ex 19[13], 21[20], 2 S 23[7], Is 40[30], Jer 10[5], Jb 6[2] (with Niph'al); Is 24[19] (with Hithpo'ēl; רֹעָה 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 19[20], 2 K 3[23] Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the *infin. Niph.* in both places, הִפָּרֵה and הֻחָרֵב); 1 S 2[16] (Pi'ēl for Hiph'îl, unless יְקַטְּרוּן is to be read); Ez 16[4] (Hoph'al for Pu'al).[3] Finally, the infinitive absolute may

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[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* אַל . . . (*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 28[28] אָרוֹשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for דּוֹשׁ, and in Jer 8[13], according to § 72 *aa*, we should read אָסֹפֵם, and in Zp 1[2] אָסֵף. Barth, *Nom.-bildung*, § 49 *b*, sees in אָרוֹשׁ and אָסוֹף infinitives *Hiph'il*, exactly corresponding in form to *'aqâm*[*ā*] the Aram. infin. 'Aph'ēl of קוּם; but there is no more evidence for a *Hiph.* of דּוּשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אָרַשׁ.

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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. שָׁמוֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), *observe* Dt 5^{12}; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) *remember*, Ex 13^{3}, 20^{8} (the full form occurs in Dt 6^{17} שָׁמוֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן; 7^{18} זָכֹר תִּזְכֹּר); Lv 2^{6}, Nu 4^{2}, 25^{17}, Dt 1^{16}, 2 K 5^{10}, Is 38^{5}, Jer 2^{2}, followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1^{13}, 2 K 3^{16}, Is 7^{4}, 14^{31} (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2^{2} three imperatives follow). But הַבְּיִם ψ 142^{5} may be only an incorrect spelling of הַבֵּט imperative.[3]

cc (*β*) For the jussive, Lv 6^{7}, Nu 6^{5}, 2 K 11^{15}, Ez 23^{46}; cf. also Pr 17^{12} (*let it* rather *meet*).

dd (*γ*) For the cohortative, Is 22^{13b} אָכוֹל וְשָׁתוֹ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21^{31}, $23^{30.46}$; perhaps also Jer 31^{2} (הָלוֹךְ).[4]

ee (*δ*) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e. g. 2 K 4^{43} ye shall *eat and leave thereof*; 19^{29} (Is 37^{30}), 2 Ch 31^{10}; also in indignant questions, Jb 40^{2} *shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty?*[5] (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3^{1} *and thinkest thou to return again to me?* Jer $7^{9\,ff.}$ (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 *o*).

ff (*ε*) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e. g. Hos 4^{2} *swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery* (in these they are busied); 10^{4} (after a *perfect*); Is 21^{5}, 59^{4}, Jer 8^{15}, 14^{19}, Jb 15^{35}; cf. further Jer 32^{33}, Ec 4^{2}.—In Ez 23^{30}, Pr 12^{7}, 15^{22}, and 25^{4}, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

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[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 *qāṭōl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'āli*. It thus appears that the infin. *qāṭōl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

[3] In Ez 21^{31}, for the infinitives construct הָסִיר, הָרִים, הַשְׁפִּיל (beside הַגְבֵּהַּ) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הָסֵר, &c. The K^{e}thîbh probably intends הָסִיר, &c.

[4] In 2 S 3^{18} the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but אוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22^{30} (2 Ch 18^{29}), which was formerly included under this head (I will *disguise myself and go into the battle*), read אֶתְחַפֵּשׂ וְאָבֹא.

[5] In Jb 34^{18} in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הָאָמֹר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הָאֹמֵר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e. g. Lv 6^{7}, Nu 15^{35}, Dt 15^{2}, ψ 17^{5}, Pr 17^{12}, Jb 40^{2}, Ec 4^{2}, Est 9^{1}. So, probably, also in Gn 17^{10}, Ex 12^{48}, although here כָּל־זָכָר according to § 121 *a* might also be taken as *an object* with a passive verb; cf. Est 3^{13}. In 1 S $25^{26.33}$ the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, *e*. *gg*

§ 114. *The Infinitive Construct.*

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also 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*

(*a*) As the nominative of the subject, e. g. Gn 2^{18} לֹא־טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30^{15}, 1 S 23^{20}, Is 7^{13}, Pr 17^{26}, $25^{7.24}$ (but cf. 21^{9} טוֹב לָשֶׁבֶת in the same statement); ψ 32^{9} prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18^{23}, Jer 2^{17}.

(*b*) As genitive, e. g. Ec 3^{4} עֵת סְפוֹד וְעֵת רְקוֹד *a time of mourning and a time of dancing*; Gn 2^{17}, 29^{7}, Neh 12^{46}, 2 Ch 24^{14}. 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]. *b*

(*c*) As accusative of the object, e. g. 1 K 3^{7} לֹא אֵדַע צֵאת וָבֹא *I know not the going out or the coming in* (*I know not* how *to go out and come in*); Gn 21^{6}, 31^{28}, Nu 20^{21}, Is 1^{14}, 37^{28} (even with אֶת), Jer 6^{15}, Jb 15^{22} (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 *f*); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11^{9}. *c*

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Nu 35^{19} בְּפִגְעוֹ־בוֹ *in his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27^{45} (עַד־שׁוּב); Is 30^{12} יַעַן מָאַסְכֶם *because ye despise*; Jer 2^{35} עַל־אָמְרֵךְ *because thou sayest*; Gn 27^{1} *and his eyes were dim* מֵרְאוֹת *from seeing*, i. e. so that he could not see. *d*

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with בְּ or כְּ to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with יַעַן or עַל־ is resolved into a causal clause), especially after וַיְהִי (see the *e*

examples, § 111 *g*), e.g. 1 S 2[27] בִּהְיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם *when they were in Egypt*; Gn 24[30] וגו׳ וּכְשָׁמְעוֹ . . . וַיְהִי כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַנֶּזֶם *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 11[5] *and the Lord came down,* לִרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר *to see the city*; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12[10] *and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite* לִהְיוֹת לְךָ לְאִשָּׁה *to be* (i.e. that she may be) *thy wife*; cf. Gn 28[4], Jer 38[26] (לָמוּת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42[9], 47[4], Nu 22[20], Jos 2[3], 1 S 16[2] with בּוֹא; Ju 15[10], 1 S 17[25] with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה *to be*, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (*a*) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do* something, or (*b*) *he* or it *was appointed* or *compelled*, &c., to do the action in question. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (*a*) Gn 15[12] וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא *and when the sun was going down* (just about to set); 2 Ch 26[5] וַיְהִי לִדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים *and he set himself to seek God* (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38[20], יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי *the Lord* is ready *to save me*; 1 S 14[21] (?), Jer 51[49], ψ 25[14] (*et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis*); Pr 18[24] (?), 19[8] (לִמְצֹא *consecuturus*

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[1] Cf. § 45 *g*, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לִכְתֹּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to בִּכְתֹּב, כִּכְתֹּב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24[63] לִפְנוֹת עֶרֶב *at the eventide* (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23[12], Ex 14[27], Ju 19[26]; 2 S 18[29] *when Joab sent the king's servant.*

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m 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with לְ is used as the object[1] 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 3^{7}), הוֹאִיל *to begin*, הוֹסִיף, יָסַף (prop. *to add*) *to continue*, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without לְ, as Gn 4^{12}, $8^{10.12}$, 37^{5}, 1 S 3^{8}, Jb 27^{1}, &c.; חָדַל *to cease from, to desist*; כִּלָּה *to complete, to make an end of*; תָּמַם *to be finished*; הִקְרִיב *to come near to*, Gn 12^{11}; מִהַר *to hasten* (with an infinitive without לְ Ex 2^{18}); אָבָה *to be willing* (with an infinitive without לְ Is 28^{12}, 30^{9}, Jb 39^{9}); חָפֵץ *to will, to desire*; מֵאֵן *to refuse* (*to be unwilling*); בִּקֵּשׁ *to seek*; יָכֹל *to be able* (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Gn 24^{50}, 37^{4}, Ex 2^{3}, 18^{23}, Nu 22^{38}, Jb 4^{2}); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of *to give up to some one, to cause*, or *permit* him to do something, e.g. Gn 20^{6}, ψ 16^{11} (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9^{18}, see § 113 *d*), יָדַע *to understand* how to do something (in Jb 3^{8} עֹרֵר הַיְעֹתִידִם is analogous); לָמַד *to learn*; קִוָּה *to wait, expect* (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5^{2} *and he waited for it to bring forth grapes*).

n We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiphʿîl (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (cf. § 53 *f*), as הִגְדִּיל *to do greatly*, הִשְׁפִּיל *to make* (it) *low*, הִגְבִּיהַ *to make* (it) *high*, הֶעְמִיק *to make* (it) *deep*, הִרְחִיק *to make* (it) *far, distant*, הֵיטִיב *to make* (it) *good* (with an infinitive without לְ ψ 33^{3}, but 1 S 16^{17}, in the same combination, with לְ); הִשְׁכִּים *to do* anything *early* (ψ 127^{2}, along with its opposite אִחַר *to do* something *late*, with an infinitive without לְ); הִרְבָּה *to make* (it) *much*, הִפְלָא *to make* (it) *wonderful* (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26^{15}),[2] &c.

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[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 אָבוּ שְׁמוֹעַ Is 28^{12} is equivalent to *they desired not obeying* (לֹא אָבוּ also with the infin. abs. in Is 42^{24}; cf. § 113 *d*); but לֹא אָבוּ לִשְׁמֹעַ Ez 20^{8} 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 27^{20} *how is it that thou hast found it so quickly?* (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31^{27} *wherefore didst thou flee secretly?* So frequently with הִרְבָּה (=*often, abundantly*), Ex 36^{5}, 1 S 1^{12}, 2 K 21^{6}, Is 55^{7}, Am 4^{4}, ψ 78^{38}, &c.; with שׁוּב (=*again*), Dt 30^{9}, 1 K 13^{17}, Ho 11^{9}, Ezr 9^{14}; cf. also 2 S 19^{4}, Jer 1^{12}, Jn 4^{2}, and the analogous instances in § 120 *g*; also 2 K 2^{1} *thou hast asked a hard thing*.

4. Finally, the infinitive with לְ is very frequently used in a much looser *o* connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in *-do*; cf. *f*) must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12^{17} לִשְׁאֹל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ *in asking you a king*; 14^{33}, 19^{5}, 20^{36}, Gn 3^{22}, 18^{19}, $34^{7.15}$, Ex 23^{2}, Lv $5^{4.22.26}$, 8^{15}, Nu 14^{36}, 2 S 3^{10}, 1 K $2^{3\,f.}$, 14^{8}, Jer $44^{7\,f.}$, ψ 63^{3}, 78^{18}, 101^{8}, 103^{20}, $104^{14\,f.}$, 111^{6}, Pr 2^{8}, 8^{34}, 18^{5}, Neh 13^{18}. Sometimes the infinitive with לְ is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12^{8} *as the roes upon the mountains* לְמַהֵר (as regards hasting) *in swiftness*; Gn 2^{3}, 2 S 14^{25} (לְהַלֵּל); Is 21^{1} (לַחֲלוֹף); Jo 2^{26}, Pr 2^{2}, 26^{2} and so very frequently the infinitive לֵאמֹר *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 לְ 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 לְ virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (*and that too*); thus e.g. Ex 32^{29} (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i. e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25^{31} (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 *e*); ψ 104^{21}, [2] Jb 34^{8}, Ec 9^{1}, Neh 8^{13}, 2 Ch 7^{17}.—In Lv $10^{10\,f.}$ וּלְהַבְדִּיל might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 *b* (=this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30^{9} וְלָשׁוּב depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמִים. On the other hand, in 1 S 8^{12} it is sufficient to explain *and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands* (sc. he will take them). In Is 44^{28} translate *and he* (Cyrus) *shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem*, &c.

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented *q* by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2^{4} *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth,* בְּהִבָּרְאָם *when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Ju 6^{18} עַד־בֹּאִי וג׳ *until*

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[1] לֵאמֹר is very often so used after וַיְדַבֵּר in the Priestly document (Gn 8^{15}, 17^{3}, &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 104^{21}, referring to Hb 1^{17}, explains the infinitive with לְ 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 לְ follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under *h*, where the infinitive with לְ *without Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniugatio periphrastica*.

I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c. Cf. 1 S 18[19] (=*when she should have been given*); 2 K 2[1], Ho 7[1].

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 לֹא), Jer 9[12] *because they have forsaken* (עַל־עֻזְבָם) *my law* . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ *and have not obeyed my voice*; Gn 39[10], 1 S 24[12], Am 1[9]; without לֹא Jb 28[25] (perf. after לְ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 *i* and *v*) Am 1[11] עַל־רָדְפוֹ וג׳ *because he did pursue his brother with the sword*, וְשִׁחֵת *and did cast off* continually *all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27[45], Ju 6[18], 1 S 10[8], 2 K 18[32] [Is 36[17]], always after עַד־בֹּאִי *until I come*); by a simple imperfect, e. g. Pr 1[27] (after בְּ); Is 30[26] (after בְּיוֹם *in the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5[24] (after כְּ), 10[2], 13[9], 14[25], 45[1], 49[5], 1 S 2[8], Pr 2[8], 5[2], 8[21] (always after לְ)[1]; by an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Gn 39[18] *and it came to pass*, כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וָאֶקְרָא *as I lifted up my voice and cried, that* . . .; 1 K 10[9], Jb 38[13] (after לְ); 1 K 18[18], Is 38[9], Jb 38[7.9 ff.] (after בְּ); Is 30[12], Jer 7[13], Ez 34[8] (after יַעַן).

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 בִּלְאֹ, which has come to be used as a preposition, *without*, Nu 35[23], Pr 19[2]), but by בְּלִתִּי, originally a substantive (see the *Lexicon*), with לְ prefixed (but also Nu 14[16] מִבַּלְתִּי), e. g. Gn 3[11] לְבִלְתִּי אֲכָל־מִמֶּנּוּ *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4[15] *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23[10] is לְ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32[9] (if the text be right) בַּל negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

§ 115. *Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.*

a 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 *a*), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal* noun is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs[2] *the accusative of the object*, e. g. Nu 9[15] בְּיוֹם הָקִים אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן *on the day the*

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[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*.

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was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases, as Gn 37[4] לֹא יָכְלוּ דַבְּרוֹ לְשָׁלֹם *they could not speak to him peaceably*, cf. Zc 3[1] לְשִׂטְנוֹ *to be an adversary to him*, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22[13] לְתִתִּי *to give me leave* [Dt 25[7] לֹא אָבָה יַבְּמִי *he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me*; 1 Ch 4[10] לְבִלְתִּי עָצְבִּי *that it may not grieve me!*]

d 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e. g. Is 11[9] דֵּעָה אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the *Lord*) *the knowledge of the Lord*; לִירְאָה אוֹתִי *to fear me*, Dt 4[10], 5[26], 10[12]; an accusative follows לְאַהֲבָה Dt 10[12.15], Is 56[6] (cf. also 1 K 10[9], Ho 3[1]); לַהֲנָפָה Is 30[28]; בְּשִׂנְאַת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ Dt 1[27]; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix מ (cf. § 45 *e*), Nu 10[2], Is 13[19], Am 4[11], Ez 17[9]. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e. g. Gn 2[9], Jer 22[16], or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5[4], &c., 28[4.6], 29[19 f.], 30[15], 38[5], 2 S 3[11], Is 29[13].

e **2.** The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately[1] after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33 *c*) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see *f*); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a nominative, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see *g*) very probably in many other instances.

f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 1[27] בְּשִׂנְאַת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ prop. *in the Lord's hating us*; cf. 7[8], Gn 19[16], 1 K 10[9], Is 13[19], 47[9], Ho 3[1], Am 4[11]. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17[1] *and there was no water* לִשְׁתּוֹת הָעָם *for the people to drink* (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16[16] (בִּלֶדֶת הָגָר); Gn 16[3], Ex 19[1], Nu 20[3.4], 33[38], 1 K 6[1], ψ 133[1], 2 Ch 7[3], &c.

g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a nominative, are Jb 34[22] לְהִסָּתֵר שָׁם פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן *that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there* (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34[15], Nu 35[6], Dt 19[3], Ju 9[2], 2 S 24[13], ψ 76[10], 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 Qameṣ (cf. *b* above), e. g. 2 S 19[20] לָשׁוּם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־לִבּוֹ,

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[1] In Gn 24[30] the subject of כִּרְאֹת is wanting (but כְּשָׁמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly כִּרְאֹתוֹ, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30*a* should come before verse 29*b*. In Gn 19[29], 25[26], Ex 9[16], 13[21], 1 S 18[19], Jer 41[6], ψ 42[4] the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לְשׂוּם 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 הָנִיחַ Dt 25[19], Is 14[3], הָמִיר ψ 46[3], &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הֲנִיחִי Ez 24[13], הֲקִימוֹ Jer 23[20], &c., we should expect הַנִיחַ, הַמִיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qames (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-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 קְטֹל, קוּם, &c.

h **3.** When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e. g. Gn 39[18] בַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי *as I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13[21], and the examples, Gn 5[4], &c., enumerated above, under *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 1[27], &c.; see above, *d* and *f*.

i On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the nominative in such cases as Is 10[15] כְּהָנִיף שֵׁבֶט אֶת־מְרִימָיו *as if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מרימיו cf. § 124 *k*), not בַּהֲנִיף, as would be expected (see *g* above), if שֵׁבֶט were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14[13], Jb 33[17]. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5[1], 13[10], Jos 14[7], 1 K 13[4], 2 K 23[10], Is 32[7]. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see *g* above), e. g. in Jer 21[1].

k Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is 20[1] בְּשָׁלְחַ אֹתוֹ סַרְגוֹן *when Sargon sent him*; Gn 4[15], Jos 14[11], 2 S 18[29], Is 5[24], ψ 56[1], Pr 25[8]. In Nu 24[23] the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

§ 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

a **1.** Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

[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 *qāṭēl* (מָלֵא, כָּבֵד, &c.) or *qāṭōl* (גָּבֹהַּ, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא *to hate*, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *e*), nevertheless forms a participle active שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שָׂנוּא (cf. the feminine שְׂנוּאָה).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is 28[11] לַעֲגֵי שָׂפָה *men of stammering lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand כֻּלֹּה לֹעֵג לִי Jer 20[7], describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also ψ 9[18] (שְׁכֵחִי) with 50[22] (שְׁכֵחִי).

C On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 *d*. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6[17], 2 Ch 17[11]—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, *d* and *e*), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

d **2.** The period of time indicated by (*a*) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מֵת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11[9]), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמֵּת regularly = *the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4[22]); בָּא *coming, come* Gn 18[11], &c., *venturus* 1 S 2[31], &c.; נֹפֵל *falling*, but also *fallen*, Ju 3[25], 1 S 5[3], and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is 30[13], Am 9[11]). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27[33], 43[18] (הַשָּׁב *that was returned*; cf. Ezr 6[21], &c., הַשָּׁבִים *which were come again* from the captivity); Gn 35[3], Ex 11[5], Zc 12[1], ψ 137[7], Pr 8[9], Jb 12[4] (קֹרֵא), and see *m* below. For future participles see Gn 41[25], 1 K 18[9], Is 5[5], Jon 1[3], &c., probably also לְקֹחִי Gn 19[14]. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הִנֵּה) see *p* below.

e (*b*) Of the passive participles, that of *Qal* (e.g. כָּתוּב *scriptus*) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niph'al*, sometimes to

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God; Hb 2^{15}; with an infinitive, ψ 127^{2}; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 *c*, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gn 4^{14} כָּל־מֹצְאִי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf. עֹשִׂי *my maker*); 12^{3} מְבָרֲכֶיךָ *that bless thee*, מְקַלְלְךָ *that curseth thee* (but read either מְקַלֶּלֶיךָ, or מְבָרְכְךָ in the preceding clause); 27^{29}, 1 S 2^{30}, Is 63^{13}, ψ 18^{49}. In Jer 33^{22} read מְשָׁרְתִים אֹתִי.[1]

h Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles בָּא *iniens* and יֹצֵא *egrediens*, since the verbs בוֹא and יָצָא, in the sense of *ingredi*, *egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gn $23^{10.18}$ בָּאֵי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1^{4}; after יֹצְאֵי Gn 9^{10}, 34^{24}, 46^{26}, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38^{18}, and frequently, יוֹרְדֵי־בוֹר *they that go down into the pit* (the grave); ψ 88^{6} שְׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32^{24} (Mi 7^{17}); 1 K 2^{7}, 2 K $11^{5.7.9}$ *those that came in* (or *went out*) *on the sabbath*, Pr 2^{7}, 1 Ch 5^{18}, &c.; instead of the construction with מִן, e. g. Is 59^{20} (*those who turn from transgression*), Mi 2^{8} (cf. § 72 *p*).

i These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e. g. ψ $18^{40.49}$ קָמַי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15^{7}, Dt 33^{11}, ψ 44^{6}, Ex 32^{25}, Is 1^{27} שָׁבֶיהָ *her converts*; ψ 53^{6} (חֹנָךְ); Pr 2^{19} כָּל־בָּאֶיהָ *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29^{7} כָּל־צֹבְיָהּ וּמְצֻדָתָהּ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for כָּל־הַצֹּבְאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מְ׳); ψ 102^{9} even with a participle Po'al, מְהוֹלָלַי *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen מְחוֹלְלַי *who pierce me*.—In Is 1^{30} *as a terebinth* נֹבֶלֶת עָלֶהָ *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether נֹבֶלֶת is in the absolute state, and consequently עָלֶהָ in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עָלֶהָ as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14^{2} (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

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[1] When, as in Jb 40^{19}, the participle with the noun-suffix הָעֹשֵׂהוּ *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 *i*), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33^{22} מְשָׁרְתֵי אֹתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מְשָׁרְתַי in verse 21). In Am 4^{13} an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, עֹשֵׂה שַׁחַר עֵיפָה *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2^{17} בְּעֵת מוֹלִכֵךְ is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (הוֹלִ׳) should be read as in 6^{15}. In Ez 27^{34}, the ancient versions read עַתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתְּ *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult עֵת נִשְׁבֶּרֶת. In 1 K 20^{40} read עֹשֶׂה before הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה.

[2] On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e. g. Ju 18[11], 1 S 2[18], Ez 9[2] לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלָּבֻשׁ הַבַּדִּים; (even with a suffix קָרוּעַ כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ *rent as regards his coat* 2 S 15[32]; with the participle following Ju 1[7]); but Ez 9[11] לְבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13[31] קְרֻעֵי בְגָדִים *rent in respect of clothes*, equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (cf. Jer 41[5]); Nu 24[4], Dt 25[10], Is 3[3], 33[24], Jo 1[8], ψ 32[1] (נְשׂוּי־פֶּשַׁע *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כְּסוּי וְחַטָּאָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14[2] נִלוֹז דְּרָכָיו *he that is perverse in his ways.*

l Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the *cause*, e. g. in Is 1[7] שְׂרֻפוֹת אֵשׁ *burnt with fire*; cf. Gn 41[6], Ex 28[11], Dt 32[24]; before a genitive denoting the *author*, e. g. Gn 24[31] בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but ψ 115[15] בְּרוּכִים לַיהוָה, see § 121 *f*); cf. Is 53[4], ψ 22[7], Jb 14[1] (15[14], 25[4]); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9[18] קְרֻאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i. e. those invited by her; of. 7[26], ψ 37[22].

m **5.** The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-clauses (which, according to § 140 *e*, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, *d*) be inferred from the context. Thus:

n (*a*) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e. g. Ec 1[4] דּוֹר הֹלֵךְ וְדוֹר בָּא *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh; and the earth abideth* (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever*; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3[5], 16[8] (*I am fleeing*); 32[12], Ex 9[17], 1 S 16[15], 23[1], 2 K 7[9], Is 1[7]; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100 *o* and § 105 *b*), e. g. Gn 16[11] הִנָּךְ הָרָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27[42]; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), cf. § 141 *e*, e. g. Gn 15[2], &c.

O (*b*) To represent *past* actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-clauses, e. g. Ex 20[18] וְכָל־הָעָם רֹאִים אֶת־הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunderings*, &c.; 1 K 1[5]; in negative statements, e. g. Gn 39[23 *a*]; sometimes in relative clauses, e. g. Gn 39[23 *b*], Dt 3[2] (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e. g. Gn 32[10] הָאֹמֵר *which saidst*; 12[7], 16[13], 35[1.3], 36[35], 48[16], 2 S 15[31], &c.); sometimes again (see *n*) in *circumstantial* clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e. g. Gn 19[1] *and the two angels came to Sodom* וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *and* (i. e. *while*) *Lot sat*, &c.; 18[1.8.16.22], 25[26], Ju 13[9], 2 Ch 22[9]; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה 37[7], 41[17]. (On הֹלֵךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 *u*.)

p (*c*) To announce *future* actions or events, e. g. 1 K 2[2], 2 K 4[16] *at this season when the time cometh round*, אַתְּ חֹבֶקֶת בֵּן *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gn 7[4], 15[14], 17[19], 19[13], Hag 2[6] (but in Is 23[15], where, after וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

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struction cf. below, § 117 *cc*, &c., and § 121 *c*, *d*. So also Neh 4[12] is to be understood, *and the builders* were אִישׁ חַרְבּוֹ אֲסוּרִים עַל־מָתְנָיו *girded every one with his sword on his side, and building.*

וְנִשְׁבַּחַת, with Qimḥi, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 *f*); or in relative clauses, Gn 41[25], Is 5[5] *what I am doing*, i.e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37[30]; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנֵּנִי, הִנְּךָ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e.g. Gn 6[17], 15[3], 20[3], 24[13 f.], 48[21], 50[5], Ex 3[13], 8[25], 9[3], 34[10], Jos 2[18], Ju 7[17], 9[33], 1 S 3[11], 2 K 7[2], Is 3[1], 7[14], 17[1], Jer 30[10], Zc 2[13], 3[8]; with a participle passive, 2 S 20[21]: cf. also § 112 *t*.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e.g. Gn 37[7]) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e.g. Ju 6[36] אִם־יֶשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ *if thou wilt save*; Gn 43[5] אִם־אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ *if thou wilt not send*; 1 S 19[11].—In such cases as Is 14[27] יָדוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה *the stretched out hand is his*, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9[11.16], &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2[11], 45[12], Is 66[9], Ez 20[29], Zc 7[6] (cf. § 126 *k*), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7[2], Dt 3[21], 4[3], &c., 1 S 4[16], where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12[8] and 21[11] 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 יְהִי, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e.g. Jb 1[14] הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the oxen* (cows) *were plowing*; Gn 37[2], 39[22], Ex 3[1], Dt 9[24], Ju 1[7], 1 S 2[11], 2 S 3[6]; the same occurs with a passive participle, e.g. Jos 5[5], Zc 3[3]; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e.g. in Is 2[2]; the jussive in Gn 1[6], ψ 109[12];[1] and וַיְהִי with a participle in Ju 16[21], Neh 1[4].

s 3. The *personal pronoun* which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26[3], ψ 16[8], Jb 9[32]) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e.g. Gn 24[30], 37[15], 38[24], 41[1], 1 S 10[11], 15[12], Is 29[8] (the participle always after הִנֵּה); cf., moreover, Gn 32[7], Dt 33[3], 1 S 17[25], 20[1], Is 33[5], 40[19], ψ 22[29], 33[5], 55[20], Jb 12[17.19 ff.], 25[2], 26[7].—הִיא is omitted in Lv 18[28]; הֵמָּה in Is 32[12], Ez 8[12], Neh 9[3]; in a relative clause, Gn 39[22], Is 24[2].—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2[10]; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20[16] (where, however, for the participle וְנֹכַחַת the 2nd fem. perf. וְנֹכַחְתְּ is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1[5] (?), Zc 9[12], Mal 2[16]; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 2[24] (if the text be right), 6[3], Ez 13[7] (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is 21[11] אֵלַי קֹרֵא *there is one calling unto me* (=one calleth; § 144 *d*); cf. Is 30[24], 33[4].—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex 5[16] (אֹמְרִים sc. the taskmasters); Jer 38[23] (in 33[5] the text is corrupt), Ez 13[7] (?), 36[13], 37[11] (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

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[1] A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בָּרוּךְ *blessed be* . . . Gn 9[26], &c.; אָרוּר *cursed art thou* . . . 3[14], &c.

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continued by means of a perfect, Is 14[17] שָׂם תֵּבֵל כַּמִּדְבָּר וְעָרָיו הָרָס *that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof*[1]; 43[7], Ez 22[3], ψ 136[13 ff.], Pr 2[17]; by a perfect without *Wāw*, Gn 49[11]; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 5[23], 46[6], Pr 7[8], Jb 12[17.19 ff.], 24[21]; by an imperfect without *Wāw*, e. g. 1 S 2[8], Is 5[8], Pr 2[14], 19[26]; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27[33], 35[3], 1 S 2[6], Jer 13[10] (after several participles), ψ 18[33], 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־ (אֵת, before suffixes also אֶת, אוֹת)[4] prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

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[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 חָפֵץ (*to have pleasure*, usually with בְּ) *to desire*, מָלֵא (*to be full* of something, also transitive) *to fill*, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as בָּכָה *to weep* (generally with עַל־, אֶל־ or לְ), but also *to bewail* with an accusative; יָשַׁב *to dwell* (usually with בְּ), but also *to inhabit* with an accusative (cf. further, under *u*).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בּוֹא *intrare*, also *aggredi*, יָצָא *egredi* (cf. § 116 *h* above), שׁוּב *redire*, Is 52[8], take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בּוֹא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בּוֹא 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 אֵת (with a tone-long *ē*, אֵת־ only in Jb 41[26]), אֶת or אוֹת before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 *b*: the underlying form *āth* was obscured in Hebrew to *ôth*, shortened to *ăth* before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֵת־, whence finally the secondary form אֵת with the tone), Phoenician את i. e. probably *iyyāth* (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, *'iyyâ*, Aram. יָתֵ, תֵ. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence*, *substance*, *self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אוֹת, Syriac *'ātā*, Arabic *'āyat*, *a sign*, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse*, *αὐτός*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle את in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, *c*), e. g. Gn 4^1 *and she bare* אֶת־קַיִן *Cain*; 6^{10}, 1^1 *God created* אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ *the heaven and the earth* (but 2^4 אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם); 1^{25} *and God made* אֶת־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ *the beast of the earth*; 2^{24}.

b Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex 15^{2-18}, Dt 32, Ju 5' 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 *q*) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the אֵת would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed *before* the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.[1] Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by אֵת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under *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 כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּהוּ יְהוָה אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים Gn 6^{22} in the *Priestly Code*, beside כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֹתוֹ יְהוָה 7^5 in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

c 2. As accusatives determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by כֹּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כֹּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn $1^{21.30}$, 8^{21}, Dt 2^{34}, 2 K 25^9. אֶת־כֹּל is used absolutely in Gn 9^3, cf. 39^{23}; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֶת־מִי *quem?* e. g. Is 6^8, 37^{23}, &c., but never אֶת־מָה *quid?* So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 16^3, or *id quod*, Gn 9^{24}, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2^{10}, 1 S 24^{19}, where אֵת אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֵת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 *h* is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26^5, Jos $24^{14.15}$, Is 41^7 (to distinguish the object from the subject); 50^4 (with the first of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13^{20}, 43^{10}, Pr 13^{21} (where the צַדִּיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13^{25}

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of אֵת on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτῷ*, *αὐτόν*, sometimes also *ipsius*, *ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (cf. *αὐτὴν Χρυσηΐδα*, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם *τὸν οὐρανόν*. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18^{24} in his Rainbow Bible, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

[1] Thus, in Dt 33, אֵת occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of אֵת in the Mêša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read וְאִם for וְאֶת־); also Ec 7^{7} may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

d On the other hand אֵת occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24^{6} בֶּנֶף is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4^{11} אִישׁ צַדִּיק refers to Ishbosheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6^{16} עֶשְׂרִים אַמָּה refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21^{28} (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the אֶת־ is used in order to avoid the combination שׁוֹר אִישׁ (as in Nu 21^{9} to avoid the cacophony נָשַׂךְ הַנָּחָשׁ אִישׁ ?); in Lv 7^{8} and 20^{10} the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16^{15} אֶת־אַחַד מֵהֶם probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) *of them*, as also in 1 S 9^{3} אֶת־אַחַד מֵהַנְּעָרִים may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21^{30} we should read אֶת־שֶׁבַע הַכְּבָשֹׂת with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2^{1} translate with Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, אֶת־בַּת־לֵוִי *the daughter of Levi*; in Ex 28^{9} read הַשֹּׁהַם with the Samaritan; in Lv 20^{14} אֶת־אִשָּׁה is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת־אִמָּהּ; in 1 S 26^{20} read נַפְשִׁי with the LXX for פַּרְעֹשׁ אֶחָד; in 2 S 5^{24} read הַצְּעָדָה as in 1 Ch 14^{15}; in 2 S 15^{16} the אֶת־ is incorrectly inserted from 20^{3}, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18^{18} read הַמַּצֵּבָת, or omit both אֶת־ and אֲשֶׁר with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12^{31} omit אֶת־; in 2 K 23^{20} probably אֶת־עַצְמוֹתָם is to be read; in 2 K 25^{9} the text is corrupt. In Ez 16^{32} אֶת־זָרִים might refer to *the strangers in question*; but see Smend on the passage.

e 3. The pronominal object *must* be represented by אֵת with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (*a*) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22^{33} אֹתְכָה הָרַגְתִּי וְאוֹתָהּ הֶחֱיִיתִי *I had slain thee and saved her alive*; Gn 7^{1}, Lv 22^{28}, 1 S 8^{7}, Is 43^{22}, 57^{11}, Jer $4^{17.22}$, 7^{19}; (*b*) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with וְ follows, e.g. 2 S 15^{25} וְהֶרְאַנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will show me it*; Ex 17^{3} לְהָמִית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בָּנַי *to kill us and our children*; Nu 16^{32}, 1 S 5^{11}, 2 S 14^{16} (but cf. also Dt 11^{6}, 15^{16}, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5^{10}); (*c*) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 *a* note; (*d*) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41^{39}, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 4^{15} לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ *lest one should smite him*, &c., where לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹתוֹ might also mean *lest he should smite*.

f 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (שָׁמַע) and *dicendi*, e.g. Gn 9^{22}, &c., וַיַּגֶּד *and he told* (it); also after נָתַן *to give*, Gn 18^{7}, 24^{41}, &c., לָקַח *to take*, הֵבִיא *to bring*, שִׂים *to lay*, Gn 9^{23}, &c., מָצָא *to find*, Gn 31^{33}, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12^{19}, 24^{51} (after לָקַח.—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37^{17} שְׁמַעְתִּי אֹמְרִים [1] *I heard* them *saying*; perhaps, however, we should read שְׁמַעְתִּים with the Samaritan.

g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

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[1] According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 *t*) we should translate, *I heard men who said*, &c.

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following examples, in which אֵת־ in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3^{46}, 5^{10}, 35^{6}, Ju $20^{44.46}$, Ez 17^{21}, 20^{16}, 35^{10}, 44^{3}, Neh $9^{19.34}$, Dn 9^{13}, 2 Ch 31^{17}.—In Ez 47^{17-19} (cf. also 43^{7}) it is simplest to emend וְאֵת for אֵת־, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have *ταῦτα* only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than אֵת; consequently in all these passages אֵת must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (*LXX* 43^{7} *ἐώρακας*), and $47^{17\,ff.}$ as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

n 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 Ethiopic[1] and very commonly in Aramaic.[2] Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אֹכֵל La 4^{5}, אֹסֵף Nu 10^{25}, זֹקֵף ψ 145^{14} (but cf. 146^{8}), צֹרֵר Nu 25^{18}, הַשֹּׂגִיא and שֹׂטֵם Jb 12^{23}; *before* the participle Is 11^{9}.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Jb 5^{2} (cf. also Dn 11^{31}); also *after* אָהֵב Lv $19^{18.34}$; הָאֲרִיךְ ψ 129^{3}; הִבְדִּיל Ezr 8^{24}, 2 Ch 25^{10}; הֵבִין Jb 9^{11}; בֵּרַךְ 1 Ch 29^{20} (immediately before with an accusative); הִגְלָה 1 Ch 5^{26}; דָּרַשׁ Ezr 6^{21}, 1 Ch 22^{19}, 2 Ch 17^{13}; הַחֲיָה Gn 45^{7}, where, however, read פְּלֵיטָה with the LXX for לפליטה and take לָכֶם as a *dativus commodi*; הִלֵּל 1 Ch 16^{36}, 2 Ch 5^{13}; הָרַג 2 S 3^{30}, ψ 135^{11} (verse 10 with accusative), $136^{19\,f.}$; חָבַשׁ (*to bind up*) Is 61^{1} (Ez 34^{4} *before* the verb); יָדַע ψ 69^{6}; כִּבֵּד ψ 86^{9}; לָקַח Jer 40^{2}, 2 Ch 23^{1}; הִמְלִיךְ and מָשַׁח 1 Ch 29^{22}; נֶהַל 2 Ch 28^{15}; סָמַךְ ψ 145^{14}; עָזַב 1 Ch 16^{37}; הֶעֱלָה Ez 26^{3}; פִּתַּח ψ 116^{16}; רָדַף Jb 19^{28}; הִצְדִּיק Is 53^{11}; שָׂכַר 2 Ch 24^{12} (previously accusatives); שִׂים 1 S 22^{7} (but probably וְכֻלְּכֶם is to be read); הֵשִׁיב (in the connexion הֵשִׁיב דָּבָר לְ) 2 Ch 10^{6} (but verse 9 and 1 K 12^{9} with an accusative); שִׁחֵת Nu 32^{15}, 1 S 23^{10}; שִׁית ψ 73^{18}; שָׁלַח Ezr 8^{16}, 2 Ch 2^{12}, 17^{7}; שָׁמַר 1 Ch 29^{18}, 2 Ch 5^{11}.

o 9. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e.g. Is 14^{17} אֲסִירָיו לֹא־פָתַח בֵּיתָה *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 an object in the form

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derived from a text which read the Hiph'îl instead of נָפַל. In Jer 23^{33} instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמַּשָּׂא *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10^{22} מַרְאֵיהֶם וְאוֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37^{19} read with Hitzig אֶל־ for את; in Hag 2^{17} for אתכם read with the LXX שִׁבְכֶם [or אֵינְכֶם; for the אֶל cf. 2 K 6^{11}, Jer 15^{1}, Ez 36^{9}].

[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 14[5] פָּחֲדוּ פַּחַד *they feared a fear* (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15[27]; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1[8] חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַם *Jerusalem hath sinned a sin*; with a double accusative (see below, *cc*), e.g. 1 K 1[12] אִיעָצְךָ נָא עֵצָה *let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel*; 1 K 1[12].[2]

q Rem. (*a*) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive 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 27[34] וַיִּצְעַק צְעָקָה גְדֹלָה וּמָרָה עַד־מְאֹד *he cried* (with) *an exceeding great and bitter cry*; cf. the Greek *νοσεῖν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Matt. 2[10]); *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere*, &c.

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22[5], 2 S 12[16], Is 24[22], 35[2], 42[17], Ez 25[15], 26[15], 27[35], Mic 4[9], Zc 1[2], Pr 21[26]; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27[33], Ex 32[31], Ju 15[8], 2 S 13[36], 1 K 1[40] (cf. Jon 4[6], 1 Ch 29[9]); Is 21[7], 45[17], Jon 1[10], Zc 1[14], 8[2*a*], Dn 11[3]; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12[17], 2 S 13[15]; cf. also Is 14[6], Jon 4[1].—An internal object without an attribute *before* the verb: Is 24[16], Jer 46[5], Hb 3[9], Jb 27[12]; with an attribute *before* the verb: Jer 14[17], Zc 1[15] (cf. also Gn 30[8], Jer 22[19], 30[14], ψ 139[22]). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Zc 8[2].

r (*b*) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 1[11], 9[14], 11[3], 37[7], Ez 18[2], ψ 144[6], probably also Mi 2[4], or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30[37], Nu 25[11], 2 K 4[13], 13[14], Is 45[17], La 3[58],[4] and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22[16]; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2[16], Is 8[12], 62[5], Zc 3[7]; cf. also Ex 3[9]. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

s **3.** Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under *p*, which also,

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[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 Qorân usually explain such cases by adding *and what . . .!* see § 125 *b*.

[4] Also in ψ 13[4] *lest I sleep the* sleep of *death*, הַמָּוֶת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת (cf. Jer 51[39]), as צְדָקוֹת Is 33[15] for דֶּרֶךְ צְדָקוֹת. On the similar use of הֹלֵךְ תְּמִים in ψ 15[2], 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 וָאֲזַעֵק קוֹל־גָּדוֹל *and I cried a loud voice*, i. e. with a loud voice, Ez 11[13], 2 S 15[23] (after the proper object, Dt 5[19], 1 K 8[55]); ψ 109[2] *they have spoken unto me* לְשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר *a tongue of deceit*, i. e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10[4] *he* becometh *poor* עֹשֶׂה כַּף־רְמִיָּה *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 שִׂפְתֵי רְנָנוֹת יְהַלֶּל־פִּי *my mouth shall praise* with *joyful lips*, ψ 63[6]; cf. ψ 12[3], 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 1[17], &c.; elsewhere with לְ of the person for whom one strives); יָכֹל absolutely *to be able*, with an accusative *to prevail over* any one; חָפֵץ *to be inclined* and רָצָה *to have pleasure* (usually with בְּ), with an accusative *to wish for some one* or *something*; שָׁכַב *cubare*, then in the sense of *concumbere*, originally joined with עִם *cum*, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to *comprimere* (*feminam*), &c. So in 2 S 13[14], &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֵת is intended, e. g. אִתָּהּ for אִתָּהּ; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

v Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally *transitive*, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear *intransitive*.[1] In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e. g. perhaps לָבַשׁ *to be clothed* along with לָבַשׁ *to put on* (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, *y*.

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[1] Thus e.g. עָנָה *to reply to* (ἀμείβεσθαί τινα), *to answer any one*; צִוָּה *to command* (iubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קִוָּה (also with לְ) *to wait for any one* (to expect any one); בִּשֵּׂר *to bring glad tidings to any one* (see the Lexicon); נָאַף and נִאֵף *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַד *to serve* (colere); עָרַב *to become surety for* . . ., and many others.

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down (with) rivers of water; 1[16], Jer 9[17], 13[17], ψ 119[136]; so also הָלַךְ *to run over with, to flow with*, Jo 4[18]; נָזַל *to gush out with*, Jer 9[17]; נָטַף *to drop, to overflow with*, Ju 5[4], Jo 4[18a]; פָּרַח *to break forth*, Ex 9[9]; שָׁטַף *to overflow*, but also (transitively) *to overflow with*, probably in Is 10[22]; נוּב *to bud with*, Pr 10[31]; so perhaps also עָבַר *to pass over, to overflow with*, Jer 5[28]; יָצָא *to go forth* with, Am 5[3].—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5[6], where it is said of a vineyard וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וְשָׁיִת *but it shall come up* (it shall be overgrown) *with briers and thorns*; cf. Pr 24[31], and still more boldly, Is 34[13].

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר *to be in want of, to lack*, Gn 18[28]; שָׁכַל *to be bereaved of* (as though it were *to lose*), Gn 27[45].—In Jos 22[17] even הַמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. *was there too little for us of . . .?*) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= *had we too little of . . .?*) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9[32].

bb (*c*) Several verbs of *dwelling*; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing *at* which or *with* which any one tarries; thus Gn 4[20], ψ 22[4] after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 *g*; Ju 5[17], Is 33[14] after גּוּר; ψ 57[5] after שָׁכַב; ψ 68[7], Pr 8[12], Is 33[16] with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as ψ 5[5], 120[5] after גּוּר, Gn 30[20] after זָבַל, ψ 68[19] with שָׁכַן.

cc **5.** *Two accusatives* (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(*a*) The causative conjugations (*Pi'ēl, Hiph'îl*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e.g. כִּלְכֵּל Gn 47[12], &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above *a* and *u*, and also *y*, *z*), e.g. Ex 33[18] הַרְאֵנִי נָא אֶת־כְּבֹדֶךָ *show me, I pray thee, thy glory*. Thus very frequently הוֹרִיעַ *to cause* some one *to know* something; לִמֵּד *docere aliquem aliquid*, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41[42] וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ בִּגְדֵי־שֵׁשׁ *and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen* (*he arrayed him in vestures*, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37[23] (both accusatives after הַפְשִׁיט introduced by אֶת); so with מִלֵּא *to fill, to fill up* with something, Gn 21[19], 26[15], Ex 28[3]; אָזַר *to gird* some one with something, ψ 18[33]; עִטֵּר *to crown*, ψ 8[6], &c.; חִסַּר *to cause* some one *to lack* something, ψ 8[6]; הֶאֱכִיל *to feed* some one with something, Ex 16[32]; הִשְׁקָה *to make* some one *drink* something, Gn 19[32 ff.]

dd (*b*) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (*a*) Verbs which express *covering, clothing, overlaying*, חָגַר Ex 29[9], צָפָה Ex 26[29], &c., טוּחַ Ez 13[10 ff.], עָטַר ψ 5[13]; cf. also רָגַם אֶבֶן Jos 7[25], &c.; hence also verbs which express *sowing* (זָרַע Jud 9[45], Is 17[10], 30[23]), *planting* (Is 5[2]), *anointing* (ψ 45[8]) *with* anything.

ff (*β*) Expressions of *giving*, thus נָתַן Jos 15[19] where the accusative of the thing precedes; *endowing*, זָבַד Gn 30[20]; and its opposite *taking away*, as קָבַע Pr 22[23]; בֵּרַךְ *to bless some one with something*, Gn 49[25], Dt 15[14]; *to give graciously*, חָנַן Gn 33[5]; *to sustain* (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) *with* anything,

e.g. Gn 27^{37}, ψ 51^{14} (סָמַךְ); Ju 19^{5} (סָעַד); *to do something to one*, גָּמַל Gn $50^{15.17}$, 1 S 24^{18}; cf. also קִדֵּם *to come to meet any one with* something, ψ 21^{4}, שִׁלֵּם *to repay some one* with something (with two accusatives, ψ 35^{12}, Pr 13^{21}), and for the accusative of the person cf. *εὖ, κακῶς πράττειν τινά*. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as *they hunt every man his brother with a net*, Mi 7^{2}; *to shoot at one with arrows*, ψ 64^{8} (though this is against the accents); Pr 13^{24} *seeks him early* (with) *discipline*, i.e. *chastises him betimes*, &c.

gg (γ) Expressions of *asking* some one *for* something, *desiring* something *from* some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14^{26}, ψ 137^{3}); *answering* any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6^{5}, &c.; cf. in the other conjugations הֵשִׁיב דָּבָר prop. *verbum reddere*, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12^{6}, &c., also in the sense of *announcing*; sometimes also הִגִּיד *to declare* something *to* some one, Jb 26^{4}, &c., for הִגִּיד לְ); צִוָּה *to enjoin a person* something, Ex 34^{32}, Dt 1^{18}, 32^{46}, Jer 7^{23}.

hh (δ) Expressions which mean *to make, to form, to build something out of* something; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e.g. Gn 2^{7} וַיִּיצֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה *and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground*; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7^{15}; further Ex 38^{3} 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 $25^{18.28}$, $26^{1.14\,f.29}$, 27^{1}, 36^{8}, 1 K 7^{27}; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25^{29}, 29^{2}, Dt 27^{6} אַבְנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת־מִזְבַּח יְהוָה *of unhewn stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord.*

ii (c) Verbs which express *making, preparing, forming into* anything, along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e.g. Gn 27^{9} אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מַטְעַמִּים *I will make them* (the kids) into *savoury meat*; cf. Gn $6^{14.16}$, Ex 26^{1b}, 30^{25}, 32^{4}, Is 44^{15}, Ho 8^{4}, 1 K 18^{32} וַיִּבֶן אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *and he built the stones* (into) *an altar*; cf. 10^{12}. So also אָפָה, with two accusatives, *to bake* something *into* something, Ex 12^{39}, Lv 24^{5}; שִׂים (prop. *to set up for* something, cf. Gn 27^{37}, 28^{18}, ψ 39^{9}, and similarly הֵרִים Gn 31^{45}) *to change into* something, Jos 8^{28}, Is 50^{2}, 51^{10}, Mi 1^{7}, 4^{13}; with two accusatives of the person (*to appoint, promote* any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3^{7}; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17^{5}, and שִׁית 1 K 11^{34}; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ *to*, § 119 *t*; also שִׁית *to make a thing so and so* (Is 5^{6}, 26^{1}; with a personal object, ψ 21^{7},[1] 91^{9}); הֵחְשִׁיךְ *to make dark*, Am 5^{8}. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28^{2} וְיִקָּרְעָה שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אֶבֶן יָצוּק נְחוּשָׁה קְרָעִים *and rent it* (the garment) *into twelve pieces*; cf. Is 37^{26}, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁאוֹת *to lay waste.*

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[1] Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21^{13} כִּי תְשִׁיתֵמוֹ שֶׁכֶם *for thou shalt make them* (as) *a neck*, i.e. *thou shalt cause them to turn their necks* (backs) *to me*; similarly ψ 18^{41} (2 S 22^{41}, Ex 23^{27}); אֹיְבַי נָתַתָּה לִּי עֹרֶף *thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back*; cf. Jer 18^{17}.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע *to know* something *to be* something, Ec 7[25]; רָאָה *to see, find to be*, Gn 7[1]; חָשַׁב *to esteem* one *to be* something, Is 53[4], elsewhere always construed with לְ or כְּ), cf. *h*.

kk Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *hh*; thus it is possible, e. g. in 1 K 18[32], by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִזְבֵּחַ as the nearer object and אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27[6]. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex 20[25] *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) גְּזִית as *hewn stones*, cf. also Gn 1[27]. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18[32] the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27[6] the case is reversed.

ll (*d*) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,[1] e. g. ψ 3[8] *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* לֶחִי (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; cf. Gn 37[21] *let us not smite him* נֶפֶשׁ in *the life*, i. e. let us not kill him; Dt 22[26], 2 S 3[27]; also with שׁוּף Gn 3[15]; with רָעָה Jer 2[16]; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33[11] (with מָחַץ).

§ 118. *The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.*

a **1.** The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place*, *time*, *measure*, *cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

b Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (אֵת) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

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[1] Analogous to this is the *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος* in Greek epic poetry, e. g. *ποιὸν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ὀδόντων*.

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Ex 29[13], &c.); Dt 1[2.19], [1] 2 S 17[26], 1 K 7[8], Pr 8[3], 9[14]. On Is 1[30] see § 116 *i*; on יָשַׁב, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117 *bb*. On the other hand, in Dt 6[3], according to the *LXX*, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אֶרֶץ.

h Examples of (*c*): Gn 7[20] *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gn 31[23], 41[40] רַק הַכִּסֵּא אֶגְדַּל מִמֶּךָּ *only in the throne will I be greater than thou*; Dt 1[19] *we went* (through) *all that great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Jb 29[3]. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16[16] (*according to the number of your persons*, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפַּר is used); 1 S 6[4] (with the accus. preceding); 6[18], 2 S 21[20], Jb 1[5].—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14[26].

i **3.** The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time* (*accus. temporis*), (*a*) in answer to the question *when?* e. g. הַיּוֹם *the day*, i. e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i. e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב *at evening*, לַיְלָה *noctu*, בֹּקֶר *in the morning, early*, ψ 5[4], &c., צָהֳרַיִם *at noonday*, ψ 91[6]; יוֹם אֶחָד *on one and the same day*, Gn 27[45]; שֵׁנָא *in sleep*, ψ 127[2]; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעֹרִים (*Qerê* בִּתְּ) *at the beginning of barley harvest*, 2 S 21[9]; in stating a date, Gn 11[10], 14[4] *in the thirteenth year*.

k (*b*) In answer to the question *how long?* e. g. Gn 3[14], &c., כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *all the days of thy life*; 7[4] *forty days and forty nights*; 7[24], 14[4], 15[13], 21[34], 29[18], Ex 20[9] (*for six days*); 23[15], 31[17]; עוֹלָמִים *for ever*, 1 K 8[13]; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13[7] אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים *throughout the seven days* in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14[17], Dt 9[25].

l **4.** The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e. g. Is 7[25] *thou shalt not come thither* יִרְאַת שָׁמִיר *for fear of briers*.

m **5.** Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in, with, as, in the form* or *manner of . . ., according to, in relation to, with regard to*. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

n (*a*) Adjectives expressing *state*, placed *after* the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e. g. Is 20[2] *walking* עָרוֹם וְיָחֵף *naked and barefoot*; cf. verse 3, 8[21], Gn 15[2], 33[18] (שָׁלֵם), Ju 8[4], Mi 1[8], ψ 107[5] (but in 15[2] תָּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = *he that walketh* in *uprightness*; cf. § 117 *r*, note); Jb 30[28]. After an accusative, e. g. Dt 15[18]; to specify some mental state, e. g. Gn 37[35] (אָבַל).—*Before* the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2[16], Jb 1[21], Ec 5[14]; Lv 20[20], Jb 19[25], 27[19], 31[26]

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[1] In ψ 2[12] דֶּרֶךְ 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 יָקָר be a substantive); Ru 1[21] (מְלֵאָה parallel with the adverb רֵיקָם). In Mi 2[7] the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing *o* a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e.g. Jb 24[10] עָרוֹם הָלְכוּ *naked*, i.e. in the condition of one naked, *they go about*; cf. verse 7 and 12[17]. In Is 20[4] the singular occurs *after* a plural object, and in Is 47[5] the *masc.* after the 2nd sing. *fem.* imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(*b*) Participles, again either *after* the verb, Nu 16[27], Jer 2[27], 43[2], ψ 7[3], Jb 24[5], *p* Ct 2[8], or *before* it, Gn 49[11], Is 57[19], Ez 36[35], ψ 56[2], 92[14], Pr 20[14]; cf. also the substantival use of the participles Niph'al נוֹרָאוֹת *in a fearful manner* (ψ 139[14]) and נִפְלָאוֹת *in a wonderful manner*, Jb 37[5], Dn 8[24].—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מִתְהַלֵּךְ Gn 3[8] (cf. also בָּאָה 1 K 14[6]), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13[20], 1 K 7[7] and Hb 2[10] the *explicative Wāw* (equivalent to *and that too*) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69[4] for מְיַחֵל read מְיַחֵל.—On 1 K 11[8], 2 K 10[6], 19[2], Hag 1[4], cf. the note on § 131 *h*.

(*c*) Substantives[1] in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an *q* external state, e.g. Mi 2[3] וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוֹמָה *neither shall ye walk haughtily* (as opposed to שְׁחוֹחַ Is 60[14]); Lv 6[9] (accus. before the verb = as *unleavened cakes*), Dt 2[9], 4[11], Ju 5[21], Is 57[2], Pr 7[10], Jb 31[26], La 1[9]; as stating the position of a disease, 1 K 15[23] *he was diseased* אֶת־רַגְלָיו in *his feet* (2 Ch 16[12] בְּרַגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 *ll* and § 121 *d* (*d*); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e.g. Nu 32[14], Jos 9[2] (פֶּה אֶחָד *with one accord*, 1 K 22[13]; cf. Ex 24[3], Zp 3[9]), 1 S 15[32], 2 S 23[3], Is 41[3] (unless שָׁלוֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in *n*); Jer 31[7], Ho 12[15], 14[5], ψ 56[3], 58[2], 75[3], Pr 31[9], Jb 16[9], La 1[9]; Lv 19[16], &c., in the expression הָלַךְ רָכִיל *to go up and down* as *a tale-bearer*; also בֶּטַח *unawares*, Gn 34[25], Ez 30[9]; מֵישָׁרִים *uprightly*, ψ 58[2], 75[3] (in both places *before* the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 S 2[33] (if the text be right) יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים *they shall die* as *men*, i.e. *in the prime of life*; cf. 1 S 2[18] (נַעַר), Is 65[20], and Gn 15[16]; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4[27], 1 S 13[17], 2 K 5[2], Jer 31[8] [in Jer 13[19] שְׁלוֹמִים *wholly* (?) is corrupt; read גָּלוּת שְׁלֵמָה with LXX for הָגְלָת שׁ׳].

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in *r* the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is 21[8] וַיִּקְרָא אַרְיֵה *and he cried* as *a lion*; cf. ψ 22[14], Is 22[18] (כַּדּוּר *like a ball*); Is 24[22], Zc 2[8], ψ 11[1] (unless צִפּוֹר be vocative); 58[9b] (unless the force of the preceding כְּ is carried on, as in ψ 90[4]); ψ 144[12], Jb 24[5] (פְּרָאִים, before the verb); 41[7] *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 כְּ,[3] since the כְּ is to

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[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 כְּ, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see *s*), has actually dropped out.

[3] On the use of כְּ as a prefix, cf. § 102 *c*.

be regarded as originally a substantive[1] in the sense of *amount, kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that כְּ is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the כְּ. From this, which is the proper meaning of the כְּ, may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.[2] Thus the comparison may refer to—

t (*a*) The *place*, e.g. Is 5^{17} כִּדְבָרָם *after the manner of*, i.e. *as in their pasture*; 23^{15} as (it is said) *in the song of the harlot*; 28^{21}, 29^{7} כַּחֲלוֹם *as in a dream*.

u (*b*) The *time*, especially in the combination כְּיוֹם *after the manner of the day*, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9^{3}, Ho 2^{5}; כִּימֵי *as in the days of* ..., Is 51^{9}, Ho 2^{17}, 9^{9}, 12^{10}, Am 9^{11}; cf. moreover, Lv 22^{13}, Ju 20^{39}, Is 17^{6}, Jb 5^{14}, 29^{2}, and the expressions כְּיוֹם כְּיוֹם *as day by day = as in the former days*, 1 S 18^{10}; כְּפַעַם כְּפַעַם *as at other times*, 1 S 3^{10}, &c.; כְּשָׁנָה כְּשָׁנָה *as in former years*, 2 K 17^{4}; cf. § 123 *c*. Of a different character is the use of כְּ as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18^{10} כָּעֵת חַיָּה *at this time* (not *about the time*), when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year; כָּעֵת מָחָר *to-morrow at this time*; cf. Is 23^{5}, and the frequent connexion of כְּ with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12^{14}, 27^{34}, Ex 9^{29}, &c.

v (*c*) The *person*, e.g. Gn 34^{31} *should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*

w (*d*) The *thing*, e.g. Is 10^{14}, ψ 33^{7}, Jb 28^{5} כְּמוֹ־אֵשׁ *as a fire*, i.e. *as it were by fire* (cf. Is 1^{25} כַּבֹּר *as with lye*); Jb 29^{23} כַּמַּטָּר *as for the rain* (they waited for me); Jb 38^{14} (*as in a garment*); 38^{30} כְּאֶבֶן *as to stone* (the waters are solidified in freezing).

x Rem. According to the earlier grammarians, כְּ is sometimes used pleonastically, i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14^{35} *as it were*, i.e. *something like*), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7^{2} *for he was* כְּאִישׁ אֱמֶת *a faithful man*; cf. 1 S 20^{3} כְּפֶשַׁע, La 1^{20} כַּמָּוֶת. 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 כְּ with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus כְּאִישׁ אֱמֶת in Neh 7^{2} means simply *of the nature of a faithful man*, i.e. as only a faithful man can be; cf. Nu 11^{1}, Is 1^{7}, 13^{6}, Ho 4^{4}, 5^{10}, Ob ^{11}, Jb 24^{14}, 27^{7}, La 1^{20}, 2^{4}; also כִּמְעַט in such passages as ψ 105^{12} *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is 1^{9} *only just, a very small* ...

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[1] Schwabe (כְּ *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 כְּ as a preposition on the same footing as בְּ and לְ, and believes it to be probably connected with the stem כוּן as well as with כִּי and כֵּן. The above view of כְּ as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On כְּ in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

[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 1^{26} (כְּבָרִאשֹׁנָה and כְּבַתְּחִלָּה), Lv 26^{37} (כְּמִפְּנֵי) are to be explained from the fact that here the

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above (so also in Gn 27^{39}, 49^{25}, not *from above*). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. מִחוּץ לְ *outside as regards . . .*, i.e. *outside of something*, in 1 K 21^{13} even after a transitive verb of motion; מִתַּחַת לְ *below as regards . . .*, i.e. *under something* (cf. עַד־מִתַּחַת לְ *until they came under . . .*, 1 S 7^{11}), מֵעַל לְ *over something*, &c.; לְבַד prop. *in separation*; לְבַד מִן־ *in separation from*, i.e. *apart from, besides*. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26^{5} מִתַּחַת מַיִם *beneath* the *waters*; Neh 3^{28} (מֵעַל־).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—

(*a*) With מִן־, in מֵאַחַר, מֵאַחֲרֵי (see above) *from behind* something; מֵאֵת and מֵעִם *from with* (see above); מִבֵּין or מִבֵּינוֹת *from between* something (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49^{10}); מִלִּפְנֵי *from before* (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lv 5^{8}, &c.; מֵעַל־ *from upon*, i.e. *off from*; מִתַּחַת *away from under* (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

e (*b*) With אֶל־, in אֶל־אַחֲרֵי *to behind*, אֶל־בֵּינוֹת *to between*; אֶל־מִבֵּית לְ *forth between* 2 K 11^{15}; אֶל־מִחוּץ לְ *forth without*, i.e. *out in front of*, Nu 5^{3}; אֶל־תַּחַת *down under*.[1]—In Jb 5^{5} the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל־מִצִּנִּים (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 41^{12} *they*

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without, cf. also such examples as מִבְּלִי, מִמּוּל, מִנֶּגֶד, מִשָּׁם (*there*), &c. Since a מִן־ is not usually repeated after מִלְּבַד, it appears as if מִלְּבַד by a transposition of the מִן־ stood for the usual לְבַד מִן־. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְּבַד has a purely adverbial meaning = *taken by itself*, like מִלְּמַעְלָה מִמַּעַל (Syriac *men le'ēl*) *above* (adv.), as distinguished from מִמַּעַל לְ or מֵעַל־לְ (Syriac *le'ēl men*), *over, upon something*.—Also לְמִן־ *from . . . onward* is not for מִן־לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque* in *usque a, usque ad, usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

[1] Also in 1 S 21^{5} אֶל־תַּחַת by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵין־.

[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. Noordtzij, *Het hebreeuwsche voorzetsel* אל, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל־ and עַל־.

found him אֶל־מַ֫יִם רַבִּים *by the great waters*; cf. Dt 16^{6}, 1 K 13^{20}, and a still more remarkable instance in 8^{30} אֶל־מְקוֹם שִׁבְתְּךָ אֶל־הַשָּׁמָיִם. This combination of *two* different ideas, of motion *to* a place and being or acting *in* the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16^{6} *but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose*... shalt thou bring thine offering and *there shalt thou sacrifice*, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς, ἐς for ἐν, the Latin *in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere* (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions *zu* Hause, *zu* Leipzig sein, *zu* Bette liegen, &c.

h (*b*) בְּ.[1] Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time (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 בְּפִי פ׳, בְּדִבַּר פ׳, בְּעֵצַת פ׳, or in a comparison, as in Gn 1^{26} בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ *in our image, after our likeness*; cf. 1^{27}, $5^{1.3}$), or finally the idea of *relying* or *depending* upon . . ., or even of merely *striking* or *touching* something.

i Thus the use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7^{2} יָשָׁר בָּאָדָם אָ֫יִן *there is none upright among men*; in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7^{21} *and all flesh died* . . . *in* (=consisting of) *fowl*, &c. 8^{17}, 9^{10}, Ho 4^{3}. Also after ideas of *appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being*, in the sense of *as, in the capacity of* (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of* . . ., *tanquam*, the בְּ *essentiae* of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek ἐν, the Latin *in*,[2] and the French *en*, e. g. Ex 6^{3} *I appeared unto Abraham* . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדָּי *as El Shaddai*; Jb 23^{13} וְהוּא בְאֶחָד *but he is* (manifests himself as) *one*, i.e. he remains always the same; Dt 26^{5}, 28^{62} בִּמְתֵי מְעָט *in the condition of being few*, cf. 10^{22} *to the number of seventy*; Is 40^{10}, ψ 39^{7}.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18^{4} (ψ 35^{2}, 146^{5}) בְּעֶזְרִי *as my help*; Dt 26^{14} *being unclean*; Is 28^{16} *in Sion* (i.e. *I make Sion a foundation*); Ez 20^{41} *as a sweet savour*; Pr 3^{26}, perhaps also Ex 3^{2} *in* (i.e. *as*) *a flame of fire*; Is 66^{15} *with* (i.e. *like*) *fire*; ψ 31^{22}, 37^{20} (102^{4}). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54^{6} is especially instructive, since אֲדֹנָי בְּסֹמְכֵי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the סֹמְכִים, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i. e. *the Lord is one who upholds my soul*; so also ψ 99^{6}, 118^{7}, Ju 11^{35} [the plur. as in § 124 *g–i*].[3]—Cf. Gesenius, *Thes. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 f., and Delitzsch on ψ 35^{2}.

k (2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching, striking, reaching to* (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at, on*, &c., and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e. g. *anfassen* = אָחַז בְּ, *anrühren* = נָגַע בְּ, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* (מָשַׁל, מָלַךְ, נָגַשׂ, רָדָה, the last prop. *to tread on* . . .) with בְּ, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by בְּ after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending *to* some one or something: e. g.

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[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, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123^{4}. On the Hebrew בְּ *essentiae*, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

[3] Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26^{4}, ψ 55^{19}, where בְּ is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68^{5} בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ *Jah is his name*, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT.* Isaiah, p. 173, on Is 26^{4}.

קָרָא בְּ to call *on* some one, נִשְׁבַּע בְּ *iurare per aliquem*, שָׁאַל בְּ *to enquire of* some one. Again; רָאָה בְּ *to look upon*, שָׁמַע בְּ *to hearken to* (but cf. also *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence רָאָה בְּ *to see his desire on any one* or *anything*; cf. however, Gn 21[16] *let me not look upon the death of the child*; 1 S 6[19] *because they had looked* [irreverently] *at the ark of the Lord*.

Closely related to this is the use of בְּ:

l (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a *mental* act, e.g. הֶאֱמִין בְּ *to trust in* (to cleave trustingly *to*) somebody or something; בָּטַח בְּ *to have confidence in* ...; שָׂמַח בְּ *to rejoice in* or *at* something, &c.; דִּבֶּר בְּ *to speak of* (*about*) some one or something, Dt 6[7], 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 finally the *partitive* use of בְּ, e.g. אָכַל בְּ *to share in eating* something, Ex 12[43 ff.], Lv 22[11]; also simply *to eat, to taste of* something, Ju 13[16], Jb 21[25]; so also לָחַם בְּ *to eat of*, and שָׁתָה בְּ[1] *to drink of* something, Pr 9[5]; שָׁמַע בְּ *to hear* a whisper *of something*, Jb 26[14]; מָצָא בְּ *they found* remaining *of her* only..., 2 K 9[35]; נָשָׂא בְּ *to bear a share of* something, Nu 11[17], Ez 18[20], Jb 7[13]. Cf. also חָלַק בְּ *to give a share of* something, Jb 39[17]; בָּנָה בְּ *to do building to*, Neh 4[4].

n (5) With the idea of *touching, striking against anything* is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity *near*, and further that of association *with* something; cf. Gn 9[4] בְּנַפְשׁוֹ *with the life thereof*; 15[14], 32[11] בְּמַקְלִי *with my staff*. Sometimes בְּ combined with a verb of motion (*to come with* something), expresses the idea of *bringing*, e.g. Ju 15[1] *Samson visited his wife with a kid*, i.e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23[5], ψ 66[13], 1 Ch 15[19 ff.], 16[6].

o (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see *n*), is developed, finally, the *instrumental* use of בְּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something *with which* one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4[14] בַּשֵּׁבֶט *they smite with the rod*; Is 10[24]; ψ 18[30] בְּךָ *by thee* (so also 44[6], parallel with בִּשְׁמְךָ); Is 10[34], Ho 1[7], 12[14]; cf. also עָבַד בְּ *to labour by means of* some one, i.e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1[14], &c. On בְּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 *f*.

p A variety of the בְּ *instrumenti* is בְּ *pretii* (the price being considered as the *means* of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23[9], 29[18] (בְּרָחֵל); 30[16], 33[19], 34[15] (בְּזֹאת *on this* condition); 37[28]; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18[28] בְּ *for the sake of*; 1 S 3[13].

q Rem. The use of בְּ *instrumenti* to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44[20] *and thou coveredst over us* בְּצַלְמָוֶת *with the shadow of death*; Jb 16[10] פָּעֲרוּ עָלַי בְּפִיהֶם *they have opened wide their mouth against me* (prop. *have made an opening with their mouth*); cp. ψ 22[8], Ex 7[20] *he lifted up* בַּמַּטֶּה *the rod*; Lv 16[4] חָגַר and צָנַף followed by בְּ; Jos 8[18], La 1[17]. Analogous to some English expressions we find both *to gnash the teeth*, ψ 35[16], and *to gnash with the teeth*, Jb 16[9]; *to wink the eye*, Pr 10[10], and *to wink with the eye*, Pr 6[13]; *shake the head*, ψ 22[8], and *to shake with the head*, Jer 18[16], Jb 16[4].—In all these instances

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[1] To be distinguished from שָׁתָה בְּ = *to drink from* (a cup, &c., Gn 44[5], Am 6[6]), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5[2]). Cf. also ἐν ποτηρίοις (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνειν (3 Ezr 3[6]), *venenum in auro bibitur*, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French *boire dans une tasse*.

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Is 36^{9}; even before the verb, Jer 9^{2}.—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8^{1} *write upon it* . . . (the words) מַהֵר שָׁלָל וגו׳ (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37^{16}.

v (*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 1^{1}.

w (1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among* . . ., *e numero*, e. g. Gn 3^{1} *subtil as none other of the beasts*, &c.; cf. 3^{14}, Dt 33^{24}, 1 S 15^{33}, Ju 5^{24} (so especially after the idea of choosing *out of*[2] a larger class, 1 S 2^{28}; cf. Ex 19^{5}, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Is 22^{3} מִקֶּשֶׁת אָפָרוּ *without the bow* (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48^{45} מִכֹּחַ *without strength*; Ho 6^{6}, as the first half-verse shows, not *more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3^{6}, ψ 52^{5}, Jb 11^{15}, 19^{26}, 21^{9}, also such examples as Nu 15^{24} *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Pr 20^{3}.

x Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing to* any one, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15^{23} *he hath rejected thee* מִמֶּלֶךְ *away from* (being) *king*, instead of מִהְיוֹת מ׳ (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15^{13}, Is 17^{1} מֵעִיר *so that it is no longer a city*; Jer 17^{16}, Jb 28^{11} *he bindeth the streams* מִבְּכִי *that they trickle not*; Gn 16^{2}, 23^{6} מִקְּבֹר *that thou shouldst not bury thy dead*; Is 24^{10}.

y The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27^{1} *his eyes were dim* מֵרְאֹת *away from seeing*, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is 7^{8} *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מֵעָם *that it be not a people* (just as in Is 23^{1}, Jer $48^{2.42}$, ψ 83^{5}); Lv 26^{13}, Is 5^{6}, 49^{15}, 54^{9}, Ezr 2^{62} (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, *ff*)[3]; on מִבְּלִי and מֵאֵין *without*, cf. § 152 *y*.

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[1] Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen* min *i Bibelhebreisken*, 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* מִשָּׂרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*divers*) *of the princes of Israel*, 2 Ch 21^{4}; מִכָּל Lv 4^{2}; 1 K 18^{5}; מִדַּם הַפָּר *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex 29^{12}, &c.; Jb 27^{6} *my heart doth not reproach me* מִיָּמַי *for any*, i. e. for one, *of my days*; 38^{12} מִיָּמֶיךָ *one of thy days*, i. e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1^{6}; cf. also 1 S 14^{45}, 25^{28}). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אֶחָד, אַחַת is equivalent to *ullus*; e. g. Lv 4^{2} *and shall do* מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה *any one of these things*; 5^{13}, Dt 15^{7}, Ez 18^{10}; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 *t*), 1 S 14^{45} (2 S 14^{11}, 1 K 1^{52}) מִשַּׂעֲרַת רֹאשׁוֹ *not one hair of his head*.—מִן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7^{22} *of all that was*, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gn 6^{2} (= *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 נ such ideas as *to take away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (cf. *καλύπτω ἀπό, custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e. g. Is 33[15]. 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. מֵרֹב *for multitude*, 1 K 8[5].

(*e*) עַל-.[1] The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon* *aa* (*ἐπί*)[2] and *over* (*ὑπέρ, 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 1[14], Jb 7[20], 23[2], and especially 2 S 18[11] וְעָלַי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of עַל- after ideas *bb* of *covering, protecting, guarding* גָּנַן עַל-, כָּסָה עַל- ; also the combinations רִחַם עַל- *to have compassion upon . . .*, חוּם עַל-, חָמַל עַל- *to spare* some one, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also נִלְחַם עַל- Ju 9[17] = *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 41[1], &c., *Pharaoh . . . stood* עַל-הַיְאֹר *by the Nile* (above the water level ; cf. ψ 1[3]), and so especially עָמַד עַל- in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Zc 4[14] (cf. Is 6[2], where מִמַּעַל לְ is used for עַל-) ; הִתְיַצֵּב עַל- *to present oneself* by command *before* some one, Jb 1[6], &c. Cf. also עַל-יְדֵי, עַל-יַד (Jb 1[14]) *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 *over*power him ; cf. especially קוּם עַל- to rise up *over*, i. e. *against* some one, then with a transference of

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distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e. g. ψ 73[20] מֵהָקִיץ *after awaking* (cf. *ἐξ ἀρίστου, ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gn 38[24], Ho 6[2], and very frequently מִקֵּץ *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* (עַל), Halle, 1882.

[2] Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, עַל- also implies *in addition to* something, cf. Gn 28[9] (31[50]) ; 30[40], 32[12] (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*) ; Dt 22[6]. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e. g. Jb 10[7] *although thou knowest*, prop. *in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, נִלְחַם עַל־ *to fight against* . . . , חָנָה עַל־ *to encamp against* . . . , נֶאֱסַף עַל־ *to be gathered together, to assemble against* (Mi 4^{11}; cf. ψ 2^{2}), &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 prægnans* have been already noticed above in *x* and *y* under מִן־; for מִן־ cf. also ψ 22^{22} וּמִקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים עֲנִיתָנִי *and thou hast answered* and saved *me from the horns of the wild oxen* (in Is 38^{17}, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved* and delivered *my soul from the pit*, read חָשַׂכְתָּ with the LXX); Gn 25^{23}, 2 S 18^{19}, Jb 28^{12}; cf. also זָנָה מִן־ ψ 73^{27} *to go a whoring from* any one i.e. *to be unfaithful to him*; רָשַׁע מִן־ ψ 18^{22} = *to depart wickedly from God*; חָרַשׁ מִן־ ψ 28^{1} *to be silent from* one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 13^{13} [; so with מֵעַל Jb $30^{17.30}$].

gg Pregnant constructions with אַחֲרֵי: Nu 14^{24} equivalent to וַיְמַלֵּא לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי *and he made full to walk* i.e. walked fully *after me*; in 1 S 13^{7} read with the LXX חָרְדוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו *they trembled*, i.e. *went trembling away from him*; with תָּמַהּ אֶל־ Gn 43^{33} *to turn in astonishment to* some one (cf. Is 13^{8}); דָּרַשׁ אֶל־ Is 11^{10}, &c., *to turn inquiringly to* some one; הֶחֱרִישׁ אֶל־ Is 41^{1} *to turn in silence to* some one; חָרַד אֶל־ Gn 42^{28} *to turn trembling to* some one (cf. חָרַד לִקְרַאת *to come trembling to meet*, 1 S 21^{2} [also with שׁאג, הריץ, שׂמח and other verbs, Ju 14^{5}, 15^{14}, 19^{8}; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41^{7}, ψ 7^{7}, 2 Ch 32^{1}; with בְּ ψ 55^{19} *he hath redeemed* and hath put *my soul in peace*, exactly like ψ 118^{5}; with לְ ψ 74^{7} *they have profaned* and cast . . . *even to the ground*; cf. 89^{40}.

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 40^{19}, 48^{14} *he shall perform his pleasure* בְּבָבֶל *on Babylon, and his arm* shall be בַּשְׂדִּים (for בְּבַשְׂדִּים) *on the Chaldaeans*; Jb 15^{3}; לְ Is 28^{6}, 42^{22} (but probably לְ has fallen out after another לְ), Ez 39^{4}, Jb 34^{10} (perhaps also Gn 45^{8}; מִשְׁלָ may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 *ii*); לְמַעַן Is 48^{9}; מִן־ Is 58^{13}, ψ 141^{9} (unless וּמִמְּקֻשׁוֹת is to be read); עַד־ Is 15^{8}; תַּחַת Is 61^{7}.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. אֶל־חִנָּם *in vain*, Ez 6^{10}; אַחֲרֵי־כֵן *after this*; בְּכֵן (Ec 8^{10}, Est 4^{16}) *then, on this condition*; לָכֵן and עַל־כֵּן *therefore*; עַד־כֵּן *hitherto*.

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[1] Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 *z*.

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2 S 21[4].—A perfect is possibly subordinated in La 1[10]; but the explanation of בָּאָה 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 (וַ, וָ).[1] As a rule, here also (see above, *a*) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially שׁוּב, יָסַף,[2] הוֹסִיף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e. g. Gn 26[18] וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר *and he returned and digged*, i. e. he digged again; 2 K 1[11.13]; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6[13]; with הוֹסִיף, e. g. Gn 25[1] *and Abraham added and took a wife*, i. e. again took a wife; Gn 38[5] and frequently; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Jb 6[9]; in the imperative (cf. § 110 *h*), Ju 1 [6] הוֹאֶל־נָא וְלִין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night* (cf. the English *he was persuaded and remained*, for *to remain*); 2 S 7[29]; with מָהַר Gn 24[18.20], &c.; with חָמַד Ct 2[3].

e Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 *d*), e. g. Dt 31[12] *that they* יִלְמְדוּ וְיָרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה *may learn, and fear the Lord*, i. e. *to fear the Lord*; Is 1[19], Ho 2[11], Est 8[6], Dn 9[25 b]; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23[3] (*O that I knew how I might find him*); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7[7], Ec 4[1.7]; jussive and imperative, Jb 17[10]; cf., finally, Gn 47[6] וְאִם־יָדַעְתָּ וְיֶשׁ־בָּם *and if thou knowest and there are among them*, &c., i. e. that there are among them.

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e. g. Gn 42[25] *then Joseph commanded and they filled*[3] (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . .; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50[2]); a further command is then added by means of לְ and the infinitive; Ex 36[6]; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30[27] *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 קוּם (קוּמָה, קוּמִי,

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[1] Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it.*

[2] Of a different kind are the cases in which יָסַף with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11[25] *they prophesied and added not*, sc. *to prophesy*, i. e. *but they did so no more*; Dt 5[19], Jb 27[19] (reading וְלֹא יֹאסִיף).

[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 15[9], Jb 29[8], &c.

&c.) and לֵךְ (לְכָה, לְכִי, &c.) are exceedingly common with the sense of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e.g. קוּם הִתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gn 13[17], 19[15], 27[43]; in the plural, Gn 19[14]; Ex 19[24] לֵךְ־רֵד *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3[9]; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9[10] לְכָה נֵלְכָה *come, let us go*; Gn 31[44] and frequently.—Also with שׁוּב (a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zc 8[15]; in the imperfect, Mi 7[19], ψ 7[13], 59[7], 71[20]; in the jussive, Jb 10[16]; in the cohortative, Gn 30[31]; in the imperative, Jos 5[2], 1 S 3[5] *lie down again*; הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Dt 1[5], Ho 5[11]; in the imperative, Jb 6[28]; הִרְבָּה=*much*, 1 S 2[3] אַל־תַּרְבּוּ תְדַבְּרוּ גְּבֹהָה *do not multiply* and *talk*, i.e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, ψ 51[4]; הֵחֵל, Dt 2[24] רֵשׁ הָחֵל *begin, possess*; יָכֹל, La 4[14] בְּלֹא יוּכְלוּ יִגְּעוּ *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; מְהַר=*quickly*, in the perfect, ψ 106[13]; in the imperative, Gn 19[22], Ju 9[48], Est 6[10].—Other examples are: Ho 9[9] הֶעְמִיק=*deeply, radically*; Zp 3[7] הִשְׁכִּים=*early* (even in the participle, Ho 6[4], 13[3]); Is 29[4] שָׁפֵל=*low*, cf. Jer 13[18]; Jos 3[16] תָּמַם=*wholly*; ψ 112[9] פִּזַּר=*plentifully*.

Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (cf. e.g. Is 52[1], Ho 1[6], 9[9] with Gn 25[1], &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הָלַךְ Gn 30[31], Dt 1[5], 2[24], Jos 3[16], 1 S 3[5]) cf. also Neh 3[20], 1 Ch 13[2]. For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is 53[11] יִרְאֶה יִשְׂבַּע *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer 4[5] קִרְאוּ מַלְאוּ *cry, fill*, i.e. cry with a full (loud) voice. *h*

§ 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 proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of some other nearer definition; cf. § 117 *a*, *p*, *u*) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e.g. Gn 35[19] וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is also used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Dt 21[3f.], Is 16[10], Ez 16[34] (with a dative added, 2 S 17[16], Is 53[5], La 5[5]), or, more frequently, with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative,[1] e.g. Gn 27[42] וַיֻּגַּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i.e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 S 21[11], 1 K 18[13]. *a*

[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 4^{18} וַיִּוָּלֶד לַחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד *and unto Enoch was born Irad* (cf. Nu 26^{60}, and after an infinitive, Gn 21^{5}); Gn 17^{5}, 21^{8} (after an infinitive); 29^{27} (unless וְנִתְּנָה is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21^{28}, 25^{28}, Lv 6^{13}, Nu 7^{10} (after an infinitive); 26^{55} (cf. verse 53); Dt 20^{8} (where, however, for יִמַּס the Hiph. יַמֵּס should be read, according to 1^{28}); Jos 7^{15}, Is 16^{10}; with the object preceding, Ex 13^{7}, Lv 2^{8}, 19^{20}, Nu 16^{29}, Dan 9^{24}.[1]— Also after Pu'al, Jer 50^{20}; *before* Pu'al, Is 14^{3} (אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבָדָה = *which they have caused to be served by thee*); Jb 22^{9}; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46^{22}, where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יָלְדָה for יָלַד; the Samaritan in Gn 35^{26} and 46^{27} also reads יָלְדוּ, and this (or יָלַד) should certainly be read instead of יָלְדוּ in 2 S 21^{22}.—After Hoph., Ex 10^{8}, 27^{7}, Lv 10^{18}, 16^{27}, Nu 32^{5}, 1 K 2^{21}, Pr 16^{33}, Jb 30^{15}; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40^{20}, Ez $16^{4f.}$, 27^{7}; *before* Hoph., Is 17^{1}, 21^{2}, Ho 10^{6}, Zc 13^{6}; 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 אַרְאֶךָּ *which I will show thee* (Gn 12^{1}) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה מָרְאָה (Ex 25^{40}) *which thou hast been shown*, i.e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26^{30} (but in Lv 13^{49} with an accusative of the person); Jb 7^{3}. In ψ 22^{16} מַדְבַּק מַלְקוֹחָי depends on an assumed transitive הִדְבִּיק governing two accusatives (= *my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws*); also in Is 1^{20}, חֶרֶב תְּאֻכְלוּ *ye shall be devoured with the sword*, חֶרֶב is not an *accus. instrumenti*, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.[2]

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(*a*) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117 *cc*), ψ 80^{11}, כָּסּוּ הָרִים צִלָּהּ *the mountains were covered with the shadow of it* (the vine); Pr 19^{23}. So also some of the examples in § 116 *k* of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18^{11}, 1 S 2^{18}, 17^{5}, 1 K 22^{10},

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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 18^{30} יִנָּתֵן is to be read or אֹתוֹ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36^{15}.

[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 תְּאֻכְלוּ.

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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. אָח *brother*, אָחוֹת *sister*; עֶלֶם *a young man*, עַלְמָה *a young woman, maid*; פָּר *iuvencus*, פָּרָה *iuvenca*; עֵגֶל *vitulus*, עֶגְלָה *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: אָב *father*, אֵם *mother*; אַיִל *ram*, רָחֵל *ewe*; תַּיִשׁ *he-goat*, עֵז *she-goat*; חֲמוֹר *he-ass*, אָתוֹן *she-ass*; אַרְיֵה *lion*, לָבִיא *lioness*. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e.g. עֶבֶד *male slave, man-servant*, אָמָה or שִׁפְחָה *female slave, maid*; חָתָן *bridegroom*, כַּלָּה *bride*.

d Of (*b*): גָּמָל *camel*. Plur. גְּמַלִּים construed as masculine, Gn 24^{63}; as feminine, Gn 32^{16}; בָּקָר collect. *oxen*, Ex 21^{37}, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33^{13}, Jb 1^{14} as feminine. In Jer 2^{24} the construction of פֶּרֶה *wild ass*, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek ὁ, ἡ *παῖς*· ὁ, ἡ *βοῦς*.

e Of (*c*): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. ὁ *λύκος*, ἡ *χελιδών*, and the German *der* Löwe, *der* Adler, &c., but *die* Katze, *die* Taube, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e.g. אַלּוּף *ox* (ψ 144^{14} even referring to cows when pregnant), דֹּב *bear*, Ho 13^{8} דּוֹב שַׁכּוּל (*a bear that is bereaved of her whelps*; cf., however, 2 K 2^{24}, Is 11^{7}), זְאֵב *wolf*, כֶּלֶב *dog*, all masculine; but אַרְנֶבֶת *hare*, יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, דְּבוֹרָה *bee*, נְמָלָה *ant*, &c., feminine.

f Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, חֲמוֹר *ass*, 2 S 19^{27} for אָתוֹן; אַיָּל *hart*, ψ 42^{2} for אַיָּלָה. In Gn $23^{3\,ff.}$ מֵת *a dead body*, refers more especially to the body of a woman; אָמוֹן *a master workman*, in Pr 8^{30} refers to wisdom (חָכְמָה 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 נַעַר *naʿar*, according to the formerly common *g* opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 *n*). The use of the plural נְעָרִים in Jb 1[19] and Ru 2[21] in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e.g. אֹתָם Gn 1[27] and אֹתָהֶם 3[21]) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.[2]

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,[3] *h* 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 mothers[5] and nurses of the inhabitants; e.g. אַשּׁוּר *Assyria*, אֱדוֹם *Idumaea*, צֹר *Tyre*; cf. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל, בַּת צִיּוֹן *daughter of Babylon, daughter of Zion*, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e.g. Am 5[5] בֵּית־אֵל, הַגִּלְגָּל, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded *i* 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 יְהוּדָה masc. Is 3[8], &c., *Judaei*; but

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[1] So in early Arabic, *baʿl* (lord) and *żauǵ* (conjux) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; *ʿarūs* 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 *ḥāmil, bāṭin* (gravida), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אֹמֵן, at least in Nu 11[12] (Is 49[23]?), probably means *nurse* (for אֹמֶנֶת 2 S 4[4], &c.), not *nursing-father*.

[2] The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e.g. *el-abawāni*, the two fathers, i.e. *parentes*) *taghlîb* 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 קוּשׁ), 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 20[19]. In the same way אֵם (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phoenician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149[2]; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23[15], &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e.g. Jos 15[45 ff.], &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e.g. Ez 16[23], La 1[1], &c.

Is 7[6], fem., *Judaea*; אֱדֹם masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20[20]; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49[17]. 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 יְהוּדָה La 1[3]; cf. Gn 41[8], Ex 10[7], 12[33], 1 S 17[21], 2 S 8[2], 24[9], Is 7[2], 21[2], 42[11], Jer 50[10], Jb 1[15]. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e.g. Is 50[1], 54[1 ff.], and the use of the expressions בַּת בָּבֶל Is 47[1 ff.], בַּת צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

k (*b*) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, תֵּבֵל *world*, שְׁאוֹל *the abode of the dead*, כִּכָּר *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. אֹרַח and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), גַּיְא (גַּי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2[15], unless לְעָבְדָהּ, &c., is to be read), הֵיכָל *palace, temple*, חָצֵר *court*, כֶּרֶם *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,[1] &c.; also מָקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18[24] (referring to Sodom), Jb 20[9], and 2 S 17[12] *Kᵉthîbh*, 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*, יָתֵד *tent-peg*, כַּד *bucket*, כּוֹס *cup*, נַעַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׂ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אָרוֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאָרוֹן), תַּנּוּר *oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89.)—Also אֹזֶן *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבַּע *finger* (and so probably בֹּהֶן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יָמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בֶּרֶךְ *knee*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, כָּתֵף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כָּנָף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוֹעַ *arm* (masc. Is 17[5], &c.), לָשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22[16], Pr 26[28], &c.), עַיִן *eye* (masc. Zc 3[9], &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29[27]).[2]

o (*d*) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also *masc.*, ψ 19[6], 104[19]); אֵשׁ (Ethiopic *'ĕsât*)

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[1] מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

[2] אַף *nose*, גִּיד *sinew*, זָנָב *tail*, חֵךְ *palate*, כָּבֵד *liver*, לֵב, לֵבָב *heart*, מֵעִים, רַחֲמִים *bowels*, מֵצַח *forehead*, עוֹר *skin*, עֹרֶף *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, צַוָּאר *neck*, רֹאשׁ *head*, שֶׁכֶם *shoulder*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20[17], are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצֶם *bone* is common.

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s Abstract ideas include also—

(*c*) *Collectives* in the fem. form,[1] generally fem. participles used substantivally, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e. g. אֹרְחָה (fem. of *travelling*), prop. *the travelling* (company), i. e. travelling persons (a caravan); גּוֹלָה (fem. of גֹּלֶה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יוֹשֶׁבֶת (that which inhabits) i. e. *the population*, Is 12[6], Mi 1[11 f.]; אֹיֶבֶת (prop. that which is hostile) *the enemy*, Mi 7[8.10] (cf. Mi 4[6 f.] *the halting*, *cast off*, *driven away*, i. e. *those who halt*, &c.); דַּלָּה (the abject) *the poorest sort*; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of *cattle*, *beasts*; דָּגָה *a shoal of fish*, Gn 1[26] (but in Jon 2[2] as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. *t*, for דָּג *a fish*, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נִבְלָה *dead body*, Is 26[19], &c. (construed as masculine), for *a heap of dead bodies*.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת *daughter*, in בַּת עַמִּי, בַּת בָּבֶל (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. אֳנִי *a fleet* (1 K 9[26]), אֳנִיָּה *a* single *ship* (Jon 1[3 ff.]); צַיִד *hunting*, *game*, צֵידָה Gn 27[3] *K[e]th.* (צַיִד *Q[e]rê*) *a piece of venison*; שְׂעָר *hair* (coll.), שַׂעֲרָה *a* single *hair* (Ju 20[16]; in the plural, ψ 40[13], 69[5]); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a* single *song*; so probably also תְּאֵנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine *tin* is collective in Arabic); שׁוֹשַׁנָּה *a lily* (also שׁוֹשָׁן); לְבֵנָה *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*, יְרֻכָה or יַרְכָה *back part*, *border* (of a country, house, &c.); מֵצַח *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 *o*.

v Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e. g. Is 3[1] מַשְׁעֵן וּמַשְׁעֲנָה *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 16[6], Pr 8[13]. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43[6], 49[22], 60[4] (*sons and daughters*); 49[23], Ec 2[8].

§ 123. *The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words.*

a Besides the plural endings treated in § 87 *a–i*, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(*a*) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomina unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122 *t*).

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[1] Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἱππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., *the camel corps*.

Thus בָּקָר *cattle, oxen*[1] (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21[37] חֲמִשָּׁה בָקָר *five head of cattle*), but שׁוֹר *an ox*; צאן *small cattle*, i.e. sheep and goats (*μῆλα*), cf. Jb 1[3] שִׁבְעַת אַלְפֵי־צֹאן *seven thousand sheep*; but שֶׂה *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: זְיִז (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, טַף (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; יְשִׁי *fresh green herb*, i.e. young plants, יֶרֶק *green*, i.e. vegetation in general; עוֹף *birds, fowl*; רֶכֶב *chariots* or *cavalcade*, רֶמֶשׂ *worms*, שֶׁרֶץ *creeping things* (of small creatures), שֶׁרֶץ *swarming things*.

(*b*) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve as *nomina unitatis*; thus, אָדָם (never in plur.) means both *man* (homo) and *men* (homines); אִישׁ *a man* (vir) and *men* (viri); אִשָּׁה *woman* and *women* (Ju 21[16], 1 S 21[6]); אַרְבֶּה *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; נֶפֶשׁ *soul* and *souls* (persons); מַקֵּל *staff* and *staves* (Gn 30[37]); עַיִט *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; עָלֶה *a leaf* and *foliage*; עֵשֶׂב *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; עֵץ *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); פְּרִי *fruit* and *fruits*; שִׂיחַ *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid-servant*, חֲמוֹר *ass*, שׁוֹר *ox* (cf. Gn 32[6]).—On the singular (especially of gentilic names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12[2] חָסִיד, Pr 11[14] יוֹעֵץ) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 *l*. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 *l*. *b*

(*c*) The feminine ending; see § 122 *s*. *c*

(*d*) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed: *d*

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as יוֹם יוֹם Gn 39[10], &c., *day* by *day, every day*; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year* by *year*, Dt 14[22]; אִישׁ אִישׁ *every* man, Ex 36[4]; with בְּ before each, as בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר Ex 16[21] *every morning* (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24[8]), for which the *distributive* לְ is also used, לַבֹּקֶר לַבֹּקֶר 1 Ch 9[27], and with *one* plural לַבְּקָרִים ψ 73[14], לְבְקָרִים Jb 7[18] parallel with לְרִגְעִים *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with בְּ before the second word only, e.g. יוֹם בְּיוֹם *day* by *day*, 1 Ch 12[22]; שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, Dt 15[20], 1 S 1[7] (but in verse 3 מִימִים יָמִימָה), כַּפַּעַם בְּפַעַם Nu 24[1], Ju 16[20], 20[30 f.], 1 S 3[10] *as at other times*. Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ ψ 87[5], or אִישׁ וָאִישׁ Est 1[8]; דּוֹר וָדוֹר *all generations*, Dt 32[7]; יוֹם וָיוֹם Est 3[4]; cf. Est 8[9],

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[1] The plural form בְּקָרִים from בָּקָר is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10[37] (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even צֹאנֵינוּ *our sheep*, is also to bo read; Baer, however, has צֹאנֵנוּ), and 2 Ch 4[3]. In Am 6[12] read, with Hitzig, בַּבָּקָר יָם.

Ezr 10[14], 1 Ch 26[13] and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the ו 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 45[18] only in very late passages) with a pleonastic בְּלַ־ preceding, ψ 145[13], Est 2[11], 9[28], 2 Ch 11[12], &c.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly *distributive* sense[1] (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under *c*) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Nu 14[34] *forty days* יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה *counting for every day a year*; cf. Ez 24[6], Ex 28[34] (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד *apart*, עֵדֶר עֵדֶר לְבַדּוֹ *every drove by itself*, Gn 32[17]; cf. Zc 12[12]. Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 *q*), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24[8], Nu 13[2], 31[4]) or three (Nu 7[11], 17[21]), but even of six (Ex 26[3]) or seven (Ex 25[33], 26[19.21.25]); in Ex 25[35] five words even three times repeated.[2]

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e.g. 2 K 25[15] *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 2[27] בַּדֶּרֶךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ *only along by the* high *way*; cf. Nu 3[8], 8[16] *they are given, given to him*, i.e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3[16] גֵּבִים גֵּבִים *nothing but trenches*; Gn 14[10] בְּאֵרֹת בְּאֵרֹת חֵמָר *all asphalt-pits*.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5[22] *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex 8[10] (*countless heaps*), and Jo 4[14] (*countless multitudes*); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex 23[30] *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133 *k*.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express *of more than one kind*; thus Dt 25[13] (Pr 20[10]) אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *a weight and a weight*, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*); ψ 12[3] בְּלֵב וָלֵב *with two kinds of heart*, i. e. *with a double-dealing heart*; cf. the opposite בְּלֹא לֵב וָלֵב 1 Ch 12[33].

§ 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*

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[1] Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6[39 f.] *συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί* (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, beetweise*).

[2] These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ez 16[6], where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1[20], it is a mere *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.

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1 S 2^3 (thorough) *knowledge*; בַּטְחוֹת Jb 12^6 and מִבְטָחִים Is 32^{18} (full) *confidence*; בְּרָכוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21^7; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41^4; הַוּוֹת ψ 5^{10} (very) *wickedness*; חֲמוּדוֹת Dn 9^{23} (greatly) *beloved*; חֵמוֹת ψ 76^{11}, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חֲרָפוֹת Dn 12^2 (utter) *contempt*; יְשֻׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26^{18}, &c.; מַרְאוֹת Gn 46^2 (an important) *vision*; מֵישָׁרִים *uprightness*; תַּהְפֻּכוֹת *perversity*; נְקָמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11^{36}, &c.; חֲשֵׁכִים and מַחֲשַׁכִּים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים *a* (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים *nobility*; שְׁמָנִים Is 28^1 *fatness*; צַחֲצָחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מַמְתַּקִּים *sweetness*; מַחֲמַדִּים *preciousness*; שַׁעֲשָׁעִים *delight*; עֲדָנִים and תַּעֲנוּגִים *pleasure*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*; מְנוּחוֹת ψ 23^2 *rest*, *refreshment*; מְהוּמוֹת Am 3^9 *tumult*. Probably also יְדִידוֹת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45^1; מְרֹרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13^{26}; מִרְמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38^{13}; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33^{15}, &c.; שְׂמָחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16^{11}. On the other hand, חָכְמוֹת *wisdom* (Pr 1^{20}, &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 יְאֹרִים *the great river* (of the Nile, generally יְאֹר) Is 7^{18}, 19^6 (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30^{12}, ψ 78^{44}, but in Is 37^{25}, Ez 29^3 the usual explanation, *arms* or *channels of the Nile*, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהָרוֹת ψ 24^2 of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137^1 of the *great river*, i.e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18^1 נַהֲרֵי כוּשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16^{13} מְלָכִים (acc. to P. Haupt=the *great king*) is very doubtful. In נְשִׂיאֵי Ez 19^1 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 חֲנָטִים *embalming*, כִּפֻּרִים *atonement*, מִלֻּאִים (prop. *filling*, sc. of the hand) *ordination to the priesthood*, שִׁלֻּחִים *dismissal*, שִׁלֻּמִים *retribution*, פִּתֻּחִים *engraving* (of a seal, &c.); אֲהָבִים *fornication*, זְנוּנִים *whoredom*, נְאָפִים *adultery*; נֶחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תַּחֲנוּנִים *supplication*, נְדָדִים Jb 7^4 (restless) *tossing to and fro*, פְּלָאִים *wonder* La 1^9, עֳלָלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also נְגִינוֹת ψ 4^1, 6^1, &c., if it means *the playing on stringed instruments*, and שַׁלְמֹנִים Is 1^{23} *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number.[1]

g Of (*c*): the *plurālis excellentiae* or *maiestatis*, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics[2] 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.

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[1] Mayer Lambert in *REJ.* xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *îm*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

[2] The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רִבּוּי הַכֹּחוֹת *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae*, *magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *we* used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Macc. 10^{19}, 11^{31}); and the plural used by God in Gn 1^{26}, 11^7, Is 6^8 has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6^8, cf. also Gn 3^{22}), or according to others, an indication of *the fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1^{26}); but it is best explained as a plural of *self-deliberation*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12[12], &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 צַדִּיק ψ 7[10], &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).

h To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong the plurals קְדֹשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12[1], Pr 9[10], 30[3] (cf. אֱלֹהִים קְדֹשִׁים Jos 24[19], and the Aram. עִלָּיִן *the Most High*, Dn 7[18.22.25]); and probably תְּרָפִים (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 intended[1]; in Zc 10[2] alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5[7] גְּבֹהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

i Further, אֲדֹנִים, as well as the singular אָדוֹן, (lordship) *lord*, e.g. אֲדֹנִים קָשֶׁה *a cruel lord*, Is 19[4]; אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42[30], cf. Gn 32[19]; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדֹנֶיךָ, אֲדֹנַיִךְ ψ 45[12], אֲדֹנָיו, &c., also אֲדֹנֵינוּ (except 1 S 16[16]); but in 1st sing. always אֲדֹנִי.[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. בְּעָלָיו Ex 21[29], Is 1[3], &c.[3]

k On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשָׂי *my Maker*, Jb 35[10]; עֹשַׂיִךְ Is 54[5]; עֹשָׂיו ψ 149[2]; עֹשִׂיהָ Is 22[11]; נֹטֵיהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42[5]; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 *ss*.[4]—נֹגְשָׂיו Is 3[12] might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימָיו *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10[15] (but read probably מְרִימוֹ); שֹׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10[26], 22[21] (so Baer, but Ginsburg שֹׁלְחֵךְ), 25[13] (in parallelism with אֲדֹנָיו). These latter plurals, however (including מרימיו), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. *o* below.—For שֹׁמְרֵיךְ ψ 121[5] (textus receptus) and בּוֹרְאֶיךָ Ec 12[1] (textus receptus) the singular should be read, with Baer.

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[1] Even in Gn 31[34], notwithstanding the plural suffix in וַתְּשִׂמֵם and עֲלֵיהֶם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20[13], 35[7], and § 145 *i*.

[2] On אֲדֹנָי (for אֲדֹנְי) as a name of God, cf. § 135 *q*.

[3] Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Ḥâyel commonly speak of their ruler as *Ḫiyûkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

[4] בְּעָלֵיךְ, which in Is 54[5] is in parallelism with עֹשַׂיִךְ, 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. אָבָק *fine dust*, אֹפֶר *ashes*, בַּד *linen*, בְּדִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, חָלָב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עָפָר *dust, the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּדִים *linen garments*; כְּסָפִים *silver pieces*, Gn 42[25.35]; נְחשְׁתַּיִם (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֲצִים *ligna* (*timber* for building or *sticks* for burning); also in a wider sense, בְּדִילִים particles of *alloy* to be separated by smelting, Is 1[25]; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8[26], cf. Jb 28[6] עֲפַרוֹת 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, חִטִּים *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חִטָּה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between כֻּסְּמִים and כֻּסֶּמֶת *spelt*; עֲדָשִׁים and עֲדָשָׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׂעֹרִים and שְׂעֹרָה *barley*; also פִּשְׁתִּים *linen*, פִּשְׁתָּה (to be inferred from פִּשְׁתִּי) *flax*.

n (*c*) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דָּמִים requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23[24] of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דָּמִים as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1[15]) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 9[4]). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דָּמִים also denotes the blood which flows at child-birth or in circumcision), דָּמִים acquired (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, 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 17[5] אֶל־שְׁעָרֶיךָ *unto* one of *thy gates*; Zc 9[9] בֶּן־אֲתֹנוֹת (cf. Ct 2[9]); Ex 21[22] יְלָדֶיהָ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4[10] (*if one of them fall*).—So probably also Gn 8[4], 1 S 17[43], Dn 2[1], Neh 3[8], 6[2]; but *not* Gn 19[29], since the same document (Gn 13[12]) makes Lot dwell *in the cities* of the Jordan valley; in Gn 21[7] בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12[7] 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 חַיִל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7[2.9]; so also in compounds, e.g. בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 S 22[7], as the plur. of בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjamite*; but also

q (*b*) By using the plural of *both* nouns,[1] e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חֲיָלִים 1 Ch 7[5];

[1] Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

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Am 6^{14} גּוֹי ; ψ 77^{16} בְּוֹרְעַ ; Pr 21^{12} צַדִּיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God ; Jb 8^{10} מִלִּים meaning *important words*, but in 15^{13} מִלִּין *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, כְּנַעַן, סְדֹם 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, אֱדֹם, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentilic names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews*, Gn 40^{15} ; הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning *the* Philistines, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4^{7}, &c., הַפְּ׳) ; so always כַּפְתֹּרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגִּבְעָה *the hill*, in the construct state גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל, i. e. *the Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others ; הָרָמָה *the height* ; הָעַי *the heap* ; הַלְּבָנוֹן (prop. *the white mountain*) *the Lebanon* ; הַיְאֹר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*, cf. Am 8^{8} כְּיאוֹר מִצְרַיִם *like the river of Egypt* ; הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Mittheil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably *the drinking-place* [ירד, Arab. *warada*, meaning orig. *to go down to drink*]).

f **Rem. 1.** In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article ; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1^{1} and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός (cf. § 126 *e*) ; also the sing. אֱלוֹהַּ *God*, עֶלְיוֹן *the Most High*, and שַׁדַּי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5^{1} onwards (previously in 2^{7}, &c., הָאָדָם *the* first *man*) ; שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21^{1} (but Zc 3^{1}, Jb 1^{6}, &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

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[1] Consequently, הַמְנַשֶּׁה Dt 3^{13}, Jos 1^{12}, &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination שֵׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה (for which elsewhere שֵׁבֶט מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded *not* as a proper name but as a gentilic name (= *the tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29^{7} הַמְנַשִּׁי ש׳ is used, as in 10^{8} הַלֵּוִי ש׳ *the tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18^{1} הַדָּנִי ש׳ *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13^{7} הַמְנַשֶּׁה (like gentilic names in יִ_) 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*, תֵּבֵל *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1^{2}, &c.; but Is 63^{13}, ψ 106^{9} בַּתְּהֹמוֹת *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea.[1]

l 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 יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh* (the God) *of hosts*; the fuller form יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת Am 3^{13}, &c., or יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת 2 S 5^{10}, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת; אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 59^{6}, $80^{15.20}$, 84^{9} 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 אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים *Ur* (the city) *of the Chaldees*, Gn 11^{28}; אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם *Aram* (the region) *of the two rivers*; בֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem* (the city) *of Judah*; אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה 2 S 20^{14}, &c., to distinguish it from אָבֵל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16^{4}; יָבֵישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11^{1}, &c.; יַרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ Nu 22^{1}, $26^{3.63}$, &c.; on Ju 8^{32} cf. § 128*c*; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60^{14}; but in 1 S 1^{1} for צוֹפִים read צוּפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6^{2}) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל), 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.

i **3.** Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5^{29}) or as predicate (e. g. זֶה הַיּוֹם *this is the day*, Ju 4^{14}; אֵלֶּה חַדְבָרִים *these are the words*, Dt 1^{1}), or as object (e. g. אֶת־זֹאת 2 S 13^{17}), or as genitive (מְחִיר זֶה 1 K 21^{2}), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְזֹאת Gn 2^{23}; בָּזֶה 1 S 16^{8}, see § 102*g*).

k So also the personal pronouns הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה when they are used as demonstratives (=*is*, *ea*, *id*, *ille*, &c.) are always determinate in themselves, e. g. הוּא הַדָּבָר *that is the thing*, Gn 41^{28}. They

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[1] That various other words, such as אֱנוֹשׁ *man*, צַלְמָוֶת *deep darkness*, רוֹזֵן *prince*, שָׂדַי *field*, תּוּשִׁיָּה *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 תַּרְדֵּמָה *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. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה *these men*; בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4[1]. 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, הָ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also ὁ, ἡ, τό 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*); הַלָּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19[34]; הַפַּעַם *this time*, Gn 2[23]; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (=in this year) Is 37[30], Jer 28[16].

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. ψ 19[10] *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 הַנֶּחְמָדִים וגו׳ 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 49[21], Is 40[22 f.], 44[27 f.], 46[6], Am 2[7], 5[7], ψ 33[15], 49[7] (הַבֹּטְחִים in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); ψ 104[3], Jb 6[16], 28[4], 30[3], 41[25] and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e. g. Jb 5[10] *who giveth* (הַנֹּתֵן) *rain*, &c., *and sendeth* (וְשֹׁלֵחַ), &c.

c The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e. g. Dt 32[4] הַצּוּר תָּמִים פָּעֳלוֹ i. e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect in his work* (i. e. *whose work is perfect*); cf. ψ 18[31].

d **2.** The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e. g. Gn 1[3] *and God said, Let there be light*: verse 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 K 3[24] *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9[15]. (In 2 S 12[2] therefore לָעֲשִׁיר must be read.)

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[1] On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in ψ 18[33], &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.

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i (*i*) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29[7] עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33[13], 40[18], 41[26], Is 66[3].

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 2[11] הוּא הַסֹּבֵב *it is the compassing*, i. e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42[6], 45[12], Ex 9[27], Dt 3[21], 8[18], 11[7], 1 S 4[16], Is 14[27], Mal 3[2] (cf. in Greek, e. g. St. Mat. 10[20], where Winer, *Gram. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains *οἱ λαλοῦντες* as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 *q*), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1[5] הָרִים and הַגְּבָעוֹת, 2 Ch 3[17] מִימִין and מִהַשְּׂמֹאול.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (*a*) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. *the righteous, the wicked man*, Ec 3[17]; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7[26]; הָאוֹיֵב *the enemy*, i. e. *the enemies* (?) ψ 9[7]; הָאוֹרֵב *the lier in wait*, i.e. *the liers in wait*; הֶחָלוּץ *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*; הַמְאַסֵּף *the rearguard*; הַמַּשְׁחִית *the spoiler*, 1 S 13[17];[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 17[10] *as the courage of* הָאַרְיֵה *the lion*. Especially also with gentilic names, e.g. *the Canaanite*, Gn 13[7] (cf. 15[19 f.]); so in English *the Russian, the Turk*, &c., in Attic writers *ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος*, &c.

n (*b*) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire*, &c.), e. g. Gn 13[2] *and Abram was very rich* בַּמִּקְנֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב *in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jos 11[9] *and he burnt their chariots* בָּאֵשׁ *with fire*; cf. Gn 6[14], 41[42] (unless this means, *the chain* necessarily belonging to the official dress); Ex 2[3], 31[4] (35[32]), Is 1[22], &c, and בַּשֶּׁמֶן *with oil*[2] very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29[2],

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[1] But in Ex 12[23] הַמַּ֫ 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 הַמַּ֫ even in Ex 12[23] impersonally = *destruction*.

[2] In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בַּ, כַּ, לַ) and might therefore be merely

&c., and also Dt 33[24], 2 S 1[21], Is 1[6], ψ 23[5], &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הָאֵפָה Ex 16[36], &c.: הַחֹמֶר and הַבַּת Ez 45[11]; הָעֹמֶר Ex 16[22]; בַּחֹבֶל 2 S 8[2].

(*c*) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25[5] (בַּצֶּדֶק); Gn 19[11] *and they smote the men* . . . בַּסַּנְוֵרִים *with blindness*; Am 4[9], &c.; but in הַחֹשֶׁךְ Is 60[2] the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וַעֲרָפֶל has no article.

(*d*) *Comparisons*, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in English) individually but as a general term, e. g. Is 1[18] *white* כַּשֶּׁלֶג *as snow*, כַּצֶּמֶר *as wool*; *red* כַּתּוֹלָע *like crimson*; Is 34[4] *and the heavens shall be rolled together* כַּסֵּפֶר *as a scroll*; cf. Nu 11[12], Ju 8[18], 16[9] *as* פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֹרֶת *a string of tow is broken*; 1 S 26[20], 1 K 14[15], Is 10[14], 24[20], 27[10], 29[8], 53[6], Na 3[15], ψ 33[7], 49[15]; cf. also such examples as Gn 19[28], Ju 14[6], where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 *a*). *o*

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42[30], 1 K 10[27], 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 23[9], ψ 17[12]), e. g. Is 16[2] כְּעוֹף נוֹדֵד קֵן מְשֻׁלָּח *as wandering birds*, (as) *a scattered nest* (but cf. 10[14] כַּקֵּן); 14[19], 29[5] כְּמֹץ עֹבֵר (but ψ 1[4] כַּמֹּץ); Jer 2[30], Pr 27[8], Jb 29[25], 30[14].—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in כְּגִבּוֹר Jb 16[14] and seven other places (כַּגִּבּוֹר only in Is 42[13]), כְּאָב Jb 31[18], כְּגֶבֶר Jb 38[3], 40[7]. *p*

4. Peculiar to Hebrew[1] is the employment of the article to denote 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. *q*

Thus Am 5[19] *as if a man did flee from a lion* (הָאַרְיֵה, i.e. the particular lion pursuing him at the time), *and a bear* (הַדֹּב) *met him*, &c., cf. 3[12], 1 K 20[36] (John 10[12]); also Gn 8[7f.], 14[13] (הַפָּלִיט, i. e. *one that had escaped*, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24[26], 33[21]; cf. 2 S 15[13]); Gn 15[1.11], 18[7] *the servant*, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17[17] (but הַנַּעַר Nu 11[27] is used like הַפָּלִיט above); Gn 19[30], unless בַּמְּעָרָה means in *the* well-known *cave*; בַּמָּקוֹם Gn 28[11], according to Dillmann, upon *the* place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to *the* sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42[23], 46[2], 50[26], Ex 2[15], 3[2], 4[20], 21[20] (2 S 23[21]), Lv 23[42], 24[10] (Samaritan יִשְׂרְאֵלִי without the article); Nu 17[11], 21[6.9], 25[6], Dt 19[5], Jos 2[15], Ju 4[18], 8[25], 13[19], 16[19], 19[29], 20[16], 1 S 17[34], 19[13], 21[10], 2 S 17[17], 1 K 6[8], 13[14] (? most *r*

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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 2[14], 3[2], &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19[9], Is 7[14] (הָעַלְמָה, i. e. *the* particular *maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 S 1[4], 6[8], 19[13]]; Jb 9[31].

s So always *to write in the book* (or *on the scroll*, Nu 5[23], Jer 32[10]), i. e. not in *the* book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex 17[14], 1 S 10[25], Jb 19[23]. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of *the same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. *on a certain day*), 1 S 1[4], 14[1], 2 K 4[8], 11[18], Jb 1[6.13]. In Gn 39[11] even כְּהַיּוֹם 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 הָעֹרֵב, הַיּוֹנָה Gn 8[7], הַצִּרְעָה Ex 23[28].

u **5.** When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e.g. Gn 10[12] הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה *the great city*; Dt 3[24] יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 *a*, be determined either by the article, e.g. 1 S 25[25] אִישׁ הַבְּלִיַּעַל הַזֶּה *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36[18], where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 11[7] מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדֹל *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36[9] עַבְדֵי אֲדֹנִי הַקְּטַנִּים *the least of my master's servants*.

v When several attributes (whether connected by *Wāw* or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10[17] הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבֹּר וְהַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3[3], Dt 1[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 1[31] (cf. 2[3], Ex 20[10], &c.) יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day* namely

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[1] The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as עַמְּךָ הַזֶּה הַגָּדוֹל 2 Ch 1[10] the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to עַמְּךָ הַזֶּה.

[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 1[31], 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 הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mišnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

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God and אֱלֹהִים חַי *the living God.* In Ju 1^{15} גֻּלֹּת עִלִּית and גּ׳ תַּחְתִּית are strange; Jos 15^{19} has גּ׳ עִלְּיוֹת and גּ׳ תַּחְתִּיּוֹת.

z Of the remaining examples Is 11^{9} explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לַיָּם. In Ez 34^{12}, Hag. 1^{4} (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = וְהֵם סְפוּנִים), ψ 143^{10}, Ct 6^{12} (?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37^{2}, 42^{19}, 43^{14}, ψ 18^{18}, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ר, א, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos 16^{1} before ע, Nu 14^{37} before ר, 28^{4}, Ez 10^{9} before א, 21^{19} before ח).[1] In 1 S $13^{17 f.}$ (אֶחָד) and 2 K 25^{16} (שְׁנַיִם after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, *x*); in Is 65^{2} the לֹא prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26^{15} בַּחֻצִים and בַּאֲבָנִים are to be read, as in Jer 2^{21} גֶּפֶן for הַגֶּפֶן, in 22^{26} אֶרֶץ for הָאָ׳; in 2 S 6^{3} omit חֲדָשָׁה, and in Ez 39^{27} omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8^{13} and 11^{31}.

aa 2. When, as in Mi 7^{12} (יוֹם הוּא *in that day?*), the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3^{12}, the demonstrative even precedes (הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה = וְזֶה הַבַּיִת), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9^{12} לַחְמֵנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative וְזֶה (= *this our bread*, &c.), as in verse 13 נאדות is to אֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences, *this is our bread*, &c. So also in Ex 32^{1} מֹשֶׁה (= *that* [*iste*] *Moses*, &c.), and in ψ 48^{15} אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to וְזֶה. On ψ 68^{8} and Is 23^{13} 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. דְּבַר יְהוָה *the word of the Lord.*

(*b*) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) *the soldier* (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos 17^{1}, *a soldier*); אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה

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[1] The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּה, see above, under *y*. Also in Is 23^{7} (*is this your joyous . . .?*) the article is omitted before עַלִּיָּה probably only for euphony.

Nu 31[49], *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנָּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28[9] (but e. g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29[13]; דְּבַר־שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29[12]).

(*c*) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e. g. בֵּית־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(*d*) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e. g. Gn 3[2] מִפְּרִי עֵץ־הַגָּן *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10[12] four, and in 21[17] even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

b Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כֹּל (prop. a substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כֹּל 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 18[22], Nu 15[13], Jer 4[29], and cases like Nu 4[23.47], 21[8] where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כֹּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e. g. כָּל־עֵץ *every* (kind of) *tree*, Gn 2[9]; cf. 4[22], 24[10], 1 Ch 29[2]; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Ju 19[19]; בְּכָל־יוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7[12].

c It is, however, to be observed—

(*a*) That the article may in this case also (see § 126*h*) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e. g. כָּל־שֻׁלְחָנוֹת *all* (the) *tables*, Is 28[8].

(*b*) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e. g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i. e. *every* (not *every kind of*) *living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i. e. *all men* or *all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7[15] before a relative clause, and in Is 40[6]); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(*c*) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e. g. Is 1[5] *the whole head, the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head*, &c., which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 9[11], 2 K 23[3], Ez 29[7] *all* (i. e. *the whole of*) *their shoulders . . . all* (*the whole of*) *their loins*; 36[5].—On כֹּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e. g. Is 9[8] הָעָם כֻּלּוֹ *the people, all of it*, i. e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2[9]), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e. g. Gn 16[12]),[2] see the Lexicon, pp. 481[b], 482[b].

d 2. Gentilic names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (consisting of a nomen regens and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original

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[1] הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאִישׁ 2 S 15[2], *all men*, כָּל־הַבֵּן Ex 1[22] *all sons*, כָּל־הַבַּת *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

[2] In Ezr 10[17] instead of בְּכֹל אֲנָשִׁים read simply בְּכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בֶּן־יְמִינִי (see § 86 *h*) *a Benjamite*; בֶּן־הַיְמִינִי Ju 3[15], &c., *the Benjamite*; בֵּית־הַלַּחְמִי *the Bethlehemite*, 1 S 16[1], &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27[12] *Qerê* לַבֶּן יְמִינִי); בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי *the Beth-shemite*, 1 S 6[14]; אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי *the Abiezrite*, Ju 6[11], &c., cf. 1 K 16[34].

e 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16[7], where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21[28], where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 S 12[30] *the spoil found in the city*; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10[9] חַג יְהוָה *a feast of the Lord* (unless it is *the* spring festival), Dt 7[25], and frequently תּוֹעֲבַת יְהוָה *an abomination unto the Lord*; cf. also Gn 46[34], Dt 22[19] *a virgin of Israel*; 1 S 4[12] *a man of Benjamin*; Pr 25[1], Ct 2[1], 3[9]; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14[34]), 1 S 20[20] *three arrows*; 2 S 23[11] חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה *a plot of the ground* (but see Gn 33[19], Jos 24[32]); Ju 13[6], Jer 13[4], 41[16], Ct 1[11.13 f.], 5[13], 7[3], 8[2]. On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121[1], שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of '*the pilgrimage-songs*' (according to § 124 *r*), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20[24] בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם *in all the place*, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, *in every place*, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20[13] also כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means *in the whole place*) is remarkable, since elsewhere *every place* is always (8 times) כָּל־מָקוֹם.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under *e*, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(*a*) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a *proper name*, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 *h*, e.g. Nu 21[14] הַנְּחָלִים אַרְנֹן *the valleys*, namely the valleys *of Arnon*; 2 K 23[17] 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 בֵּית־אֵל *the God of Beth-el*[1] (equivalent to הָאֵל אֵל בֵּית), Gn 31[13] (the LXX read הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה אֵלֶיךָ בַּמָּקוֹם *the God who appeared to thee in the* holy *place*); הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *the king of Assyria*, Is 36[16] (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18[31]), cf. Jos 13[5], 2 K 25[11], Jer 38[6], Ez 47[15]; in the vocative, Jer 48[32], La 2[13]. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ Gn 24[67] is no doubt

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[1] According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בית־אל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלוֹן Ez 47[15] (for which, however, in 48[1] there is the correct reading דֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלוֹן) *by the way to Hethlon*; and in fact, Ez 47[15] may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex 39[27] as an accusative of the material.

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§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

a **1.** The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* nomen regens can be immediately connected with a nomen rectum, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) regens must be added with a suffix referring to the nomen rectum, e. g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבְנֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not בְּנֵי וּבְנוֹת דָּוִד); cf. 1 K 8[28]. [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 14[19], Nu 20[5], 31[54] [1 Ch 13[1]], 1 S 23[7], 2 S 19[6], Is 22[5], ψ 5[7], 8[3]),[3] and rather tends to repeat the nomen regens, e. g. Gn 24[3] אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וֵאלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8[1] the regens is five times repeated). A lengthened series of genitives may, however, be formed by a nomen rectum serving at the same time as *regens* to a genitive depending on it (cf. § 127 *a* [*d*]); e. g. Gn 47[9] יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתָי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12[24], where there are three genitives, Is 10[12] four, and 21[17] five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 *d*).

b Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 *a*), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which genitives are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed genitives following a regens which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 *f–h*. Compare, moreover :

c (*a*) Genitives after the absolute state, e. g. Is 28[1] גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים הֲלוּמֵי יָיִן *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים forms *one* single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

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[1] Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31[16] (מִבְחַר וְטוֹב־לְבָנוֹן); Pr 16[11].—In Is 11[2] *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, דַּעַת may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also סֵפֶר Dn 1[4].

[2] In ψ 114[1] 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 הֲלוֹמִי יָיִן then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15^{18} מִשְׁנֶה would be expected; in Jos 3^{11} הַבְּרִית is a later addition; in Is 32^{13} (מָשׂוֹשׂ), and ψ 68^{22} (שְׂעָר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju $6^{25\,ff.}$ the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8^{32} (cf. 6^{24}) בְּעָפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקָּבֵר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי as a gloss (from 6^{24}); in Is 63^{11} מֹשֶׁה is probably a gloss on יְמֵי־עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4^{2} לְאִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת, according to the *LXX*, has dropped out before בֶּן; in Ez 6^{11} רָעוֹת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21^{6} the text is altogether uncertain (the *LXX* read מְבַקְשֵׁי for מוֹקְשֵׁי); in 1 Ch 9^{13} the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מְלֶאכֶת (cf. 12^{25}).—Elsewhere (Dt 3^{5}, 1 K 4^{13}, 2 Ch 8^{5}) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i.e. *with high walls, gates, and bars.* In Jer 8^{5} ירושלים is either in apposition to העם הזה or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

d (*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 הַזָּכָר after עֶרְכְּךָ[1] 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 6^{3} מִדּוֹ בַד *his garment*, namely the garment *of linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 *d* (or read מִדֵּי?); Lv 26^{42}, where בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וגו׳ could at most be explained as an ellipse for בְּרִיתִי בְרִית יַעֲקֹב, cf. § 125 *h* (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אברהם; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); equally strange is בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer 33^{20}, &c. On the other hand, אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֲכֶם יְהוָה Nu 12^{6} could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably נְבִיאֲךָ מִיְהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45^{7} כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אלהים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read כֵּאלֹהִים *like God*(*'s throne*): cf. § 141 *d*, note]. In Jer 52^{20} two readings are probably combined, לִנְחֹשֶׁת without any addition, and לִנְחֹשֶׁת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים. In Nu 25^{12} שָׁלוֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On דַּרְכֵּךְ זְמָה Ez 16^{27}, cf. § 131 *r*.

e (*c*) The interposition of a word is assumed between כָּל־ (*the whole*; cf. § 127 *b*) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1^{9}, Jb 27^{3} (עוֹד), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14^{3} (תִּשָּׂא). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עוֹד כָּל־, &c.), and כָּל־ is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e.g. 2 S 1^{9} *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*.

f 2. The dependence of the nomen rectum on the nomen regens by no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under *g–i*). Very frequently the nomen

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[1] Halévy, *J. A.* xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֶרְכֵּךְ.

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. Ob[10] מֵחָמַס אָחִיךָ *for the violence done to thy brother*[2] (but in Ez 12[19] מֵחָמַס is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20[2] אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ *the terror of a king*; Gn 18[20] זַעֲקַת סְדֹם *the cry concerning Sodom*; Is 23[5] שֵׁמַע צֹר *the report of* (*about*) *Tyre*, cf. 2 S 4[4]; Am 8[10] אֵבֶל יָחִיד *the mourning for an only son*; Dt 20[14] שְׁלַל אֹיְבֶיךָ *praeda hostibus tuis erepta*; cf. Is 3[14]. In a wider sense this includes such examples as דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים *the way of* (i. e. *to*) *the tree of life*, Gn 3[24]; cf. Pr 7[27], Jb 38[20]; דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם *the way of* (*by*) *the sea*, Is 8[23]; זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים *the sacrifices of* (i. e. *pleasing to*) *God*, ψ 51[19]; שְׁבֻעַת יְהוָה *the oath of* (i. e. *sworn before*) *the Lord*, 1 K 2[43]; דִּבְרֵי לְמוּאֵל *the words of* (i. e. *addressed to*) *L.*, Pr 31[1].

i (*c*) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e. g. חַכְמוֹת שָׂרוֹתֶיהָ *the wisest of her ladies*, Ju 5[29]; 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 כְּנַעַן *the land of Canaan*; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל *the virgin Israel* (not *of Israel*), Am 5[2].

l (*e*) Of the *genus*, e. g Pr 15[20] (21[20]) כְּסִיל אָדָם *a fool of a man* (=*a foolish man*); cf. Gn 16[12], Is 1[4], 29[19], Ho 13[2], Mi 5[4], &c.

m (*f*) Of the *species*, e. g. אֲחֻזַּת קֶבֶר *a possession of a burying-place*, i. e. *hereditary sepulchre*, Gn 23[4], &c.; תְּאֵנִי הַבִּכֻּרוֹת *the early figs*, Jer 24[2]; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי *the tabernacle of my house*, i. e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132[3].

n (*g*) Of the *measure, weight, extent, number*, e. g. מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *people of number*, i. e. *few in number*, Gn 34[30], Dt 26[5]; cf. also Ez 47[3–5] *waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming*, i. e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם בִּרְכַּיִם.

o (*h*) Of the *material*[3] of which something consists, e. g. כְּלִי חֶרֶשׂ *a vessel of earthenware*, Nu 5[17]; כְּלֵי כֶסֶף *vessels of silver* (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); אֲרוֹן עֵץ *an ark of wood*, שֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל *a rod of iron*, ψ 2[9]; cf. Gn 3[21], 6[14], Ju 7[13], &c.

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[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. εὔνοια τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 1 Cor. 1[18].

[3] In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אָרוּן *made of cedar*, a denominative from אֶרֶז, and נְחוּשׁ *brazen* are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāṭûl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בַּרְזִלַּי *ferreus*.

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בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 S 28[7]; cf. Na 3[4]; in the plural, e.g. בַּעֲלֵי חִצִּים *archers*, Gn 49[23], בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gn 14[13]; בַּעֲלֵי שְׁבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh 6[18].

v (*c*) Of בֶּן־, &c.: בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*, 1 K 1[52]; בֶּן־מֶשֶׁךְ *heir*, Gn 15[2]; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex 12[5], &c.; בֶּן־מְאַת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gn 21[5]; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 S 20[31] (*Luther*, 2 S 12[5] *ein Kind des Todes*); cf. Dt 25[2] בֶּן־הַכּוֹת *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e.g. בַּת־בְּלִיַּעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 1[16]; frequently also אִישׁ בְּלִיַּעַל, בְּנֵי בְ׳, אַנְשֵׁי בְ׳, and even simply בְּלִיַּעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *scelestissimus*, 2 S 23[6], Jb 34[18]. Plural masculine, e. g. בְּנֵי מְרִי *children of rebellion*, Nu 17[25]. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e. g. Is 5[1] בֶּן־שָׁמֶן *a fat*, i. e. a fruitful (hill); Jon 4[10] בֶּן־לַיְלָה i. e. *grown in a night*; Jb 41[20] *son of the bow* (i. e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Jb 5[7]; La 3[13]; בְּנוֹת Ec 12[4] *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים or בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים Gn 6[2.4], Jb 1[6], 2[1], 38[7] (cf. also בְּנֵי אֵלִים *ψ* 29[1], 89[7]) properly means not *sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֵלִים; בְּנֵי־הַנְּבִיאִים 1 K 20[35] (singular in Am 7[14]) persons *belonging to the guild of prophets*; בֶּן־הָרַקָּחִים Neh 3[8] *one of the guild of apothecaries*, cf. 3[31] where בֶּן־הַצֹּרְפִים is to be read. Similarly בְּנֵי שִׁלֵּשִׁים Gn 50[23] are most probably not *great-grandsons* but *grandsons*, i. e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגֵּרְשֻׁנִּי Nu 4[27 f.] *Gershonites*, בְּנֵי הַקְּהָתִים 2 Ch 20[19], &c., *Kohathites*; בְּנֵי קֶדֶם *dwellers in the East*.

w 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 *o*) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28[4] צִיצַת נֹבֵל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיץ נֹבֵל *the fading flower*; cf. further, Is 22[24], Jer 22[17] (?), 52[13], *ψ* 73[10], 74[15] (but אֵיתָן may be a substantive), 78[49]; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e.g. in Pr 2[14] *b*, 6[24] (אֵשֶׁת רַע), &c., analogous to the New Testament phrase *ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Luke 16[8], and the French *un homme de bien*.[1]—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an epexegetical genitive; cf. דְּמֵי חִנָּם *blood shed wilhout cause*, 1 K 2[31]; Pr 24[28], 26[2]; Ez 30[16] (יוֹמָם).

x 3. The epexegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 *f–l*). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e. g. חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 K 15[23]), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

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[1] On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36[2] (2 K 18[17]), Zc 14[4], Ec 8[10], &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חֵיל Is 36[2] and גֵּיא Zc 14[4] must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

(§ 116 *f* and *k*) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the *material*, e. g. Ex 3[8], &c., אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey*; or of the *means*, e. g. חַלְלֵי־חָרֶב *slain with the sword*, Is 22[2]; or the *cause*, Ct 2[5] *sick of love*; or of the *scope* of the attribute,[1] e. g. Gn 39[6] יְפֵה־תֹאַר *fair of form*; cf. Gn 41[2.4], Ex 34[6], Is 1[4], Jer 32[19], Na 1[3], ψ 119[1], Jb 37[16]; or of the *manner*, e. g. ψ 59[6] בֹּגְדֵי אָוֶן *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless).

y Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e. g. ψ 24[4] נְקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 S 9[3], Is 6[5], Jb 17[9]; Is 19[10] אַנְמֵי־נָפֶשׁ *grieved in soul*; 1 S 1[10], Jb 3[20]. Also such examples as Am 2[16], Pr 19[1], where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14[2], see § 116 *k*.

§ 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

a Besides the construction of a nomen rectum dependent upon a nomen regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 *r*, expresses, besides other ideas, like that of *belonging to*,[2] or by the addition of a relative clause (לְ אֲשֶׁר, see *h* below).

b 1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e. g. 1 S 14[16] הַצֹּפִים לְשָׁאוּל *the watchmen of Saul*; ψ 37[16], 2 Ch 28[18] (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

c (*a*) To prevent a nomen regens being determined by a following determinate genitive, e. g. 1 S 16[18] בֵּן לִישַׁי *a son of Jesse* (בֶּן־יִשַׁי would be, according to § 127 *a*, *the son of Jesse*); cf Gn 14[18], 36[12], 41[12], Nu 16[22] (27[16]), 1 S 17[8], 2 S 19[21], ψ 122[5]. Hence, regularly מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד (ψ 3[1], &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד *of David* is used alone elliptically in ψ 11[1], 14[1], &c. Such a case as לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר (ψ 24[1], &c.) is not to

[1] Cf. the Latin *integer vitae scelerisque purus*; *tristes animi*, &c.

[2] Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by لِ, and the other by مِنْ [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e. g. *la fille à Mr. N.*. laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de* . . . of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but מִזְמוֹר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לְדָוִד (as it were, a poem *of David, a psalm*). Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

d (*b*) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e. g. Ru 2[3] חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבֹעַז *the portion of field belonging to Boaz* (חֵ֫לֶק שְׂדֵה בֹעַז would be *the portion of the field of Boaz*); 2 K 5[9] *at the house-door of Elisha*. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e. g. 1 K 14[19] עַל־סֵ֫פֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel*; 15[23], &c.; cf. also Jos 19[51].

e (*c*) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e. g. Lv 18[20], where שְׁכָבְתְּךָ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15[16 ff.], &c., שִׁכְבַת־זָ֫רַע; Ju 3[28] *the Jordan fords of Moab* (יַרְדֵּן as a *proper name* cannot be used in the construct state); Ex 20[5] *upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me*; וְעַל־רִבֵּעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עַל־שִׁלֵּשִׁים, and for the same reason also לַאֲלָפִים לְאֹהֲבַי.

f (*d*) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8[14] בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the seven and twentieth day of the month*; cf. 7[11], 16[3] and frequently, or as in Hag 1[1] בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָוֶשׁ *in the second year of Darius*; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under *b*) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3[18] בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי *on the third day of my giving birth* (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first* (day) *of the month*, Gn 8[5] and frequently.

g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3[2] *and his firstborn was Amnon* לַאֲחִינֹעַם *of Ahinoam*, the genitive expressed by circumlocution with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לַאֲחִינֹעַם *a son of Ahinoam*); cf. 2 S 3[3.5], 1 K 14[13], Am 5[3] (unless לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on *thus spake the Lord*), and the remarks on לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר under *c* above.

h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of אֲשֶׁר לְ is used principally to state the *possessor*, e. g. Gn 29[9] הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ *her father's sheep* (prop. *the sheep which* belonged *to her father*); Gn 47[4] and frequently. So also (according to § 128 *a*) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gn 40[5] *the butler and the baker who* (belonged) *to the king of Egypt* (וְאֹפֵה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples under *d* above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4[3]); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Ct 1[1] שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה *the Song of songs, of Solomon*; 1 S 21[8], 2 S 2[8], 1 Ch 11[10]; cf. also Gn 41[43].[1]

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[1] In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שֶׁלְּ = לְ אֲשֶׁר, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1[6], 3[7] שֶׁלִּי, שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה) is used like the simple relative דִּי, דְ in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

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Cf. also מִיּוֹם אֲ followed by a *perfect* in 1 S 29[8], and יְמֵי אֲ Lv 13[46], Nu 9[18.1]

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 4[13] בְּיַד־תִּשְׁלָח prop. *by the hand of* him whom *thou wilt send*; Nu 23[3] דְּבַר מַה־יַּרְאֵנִי *the matter of* that *which he shall show me*, i. e. whatever he shall; Is 29[1] קִרְיַת חָנָה דָוִד *the city where David encamped*; Jer 48[36], ψ 16[3] (if the text be right), 65[5] (Pr 8[32]), ψ 81[6], Jb 18[21] *the place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29[16], La 1[14] (if the text be right) *into the hands* of those against whom *I cannot stand*.[2] In Gn 39[4] (כָּל־יֶשׁ־לוֹ) the כָּל־ takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9[4], still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרֵי followed by a perfect, Lv 25[48], 1 S 5[9]; בְּיוֹם ψ 102[3] (before a noun-clause), Ex 6[28], Nu 3[1], Dt 4[15], 2 S 22[1], ψ 18[1], 59[17], 138[3] (in every case before a following perfect), ψ 56[10] (before an imperfect); מִיּוֹם followed by the perfect, Jer 36[2]; כָּל־יְמֵי Lv 14[46], 1 S 25[15], Jb 29[2] (כִּימֵי *as in the days when* . . .[3]; cf. כִּימוֹת and שְׁנוֹת before a perfect, ψ 90[15]); בְּעֵת before a perfect, Jer 6[15] (cf. 49[8], 50[31]); before an imperfect, Jb 6[17]; תְּחִלַּת before a perfect, Ho 1[2].

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 37[22]; cf. 23[12], Jer 14[17]; also 1 S 28[7] אִשָּׁה בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב *a woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21[11].—Gn 14[10], Ju 19[22] (but read probably אֲנָשִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13[14], Ju 20[13], 1 K 21[10]); 2 K 10[6], 17[13] *Qᵉrê*; Jer 46[9], ψ 35[16] (?), 78[9], Jb 20[17b] (unless נֶהֱרֵי or נֶחֱלֵי be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspenso*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is 37[22], &c.; Jb 20[17a]. Elsewhere (Dt 33[19], ψ 68[34]) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.[4]

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[1] In Dt 23[5] the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the *conjunction* אֲשֶׁר (עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר *by reason of the fact that*, i.e. *because*); so also in 1 S 3[13].

[2] Probably Gn 22[14] is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30[18], which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יְכַפֵּר בְּעַד כָּל־לְבָבוֹ הֵכִין *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 2[9] מִימֵי הָיְתָה, usually explained to mean *from the days* that *she* hath been, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

[4] So also Is 28[16] *a corner stone of the preciousness* (יְקָרַת is a *substantive* not an *adjective*) *of a fixed foundation*, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20[19] the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119[188] read כָּל־פִּקּוּדֶיךָ.

(6) The numeral אַחַד *one* for אֶחָד in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e. g. Gn 3^{22}, 48^{22}, 1 S 9^{3}, 2 S 17^{22}, Is 27^{12}, Zc 11^{7}.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

§ 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two sub- *a*
stantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic languages[1]) 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 אַלְמָנָה *a woman* *b*
(who was) *a widow*, 1 K 7^{14}; נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה *a damsel* (that is) *a virgin*, Dt $22^{23.28}$, Ju 4^{4}, 19^{1}, 21^{12}, 1 S 30^{17}, 1 K 1^{2}; cf. Gn 13^{8}, 21^{20} (where, however, קֶשֶׁת is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24^{5} (1 S 11^{15}), 2 S 15^{16}, 1 K 3^{16}, 5^{29} (but probably סֹבֶל should be read instead of סַבָּל); Is 3^{24} (unless מַעֲשֶׂה is to be read), Jer 20^{1}. Perhaps also כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ *the priest* (who is) *the chief man*, 2 K 25^{18}, &c.; others take כֹּהֵן as constr. st.—In 2 S 10^{7} read כָּל־צְבָא הַגִּבּוֹרִים with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19^{9} for כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּ֫בּוֹרִים, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(*b*) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e. g. Jb 20^{29} *c*
(27^{13}) זֶה חֵלֶק־אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the portion of a man*, (who is) *a wicked man* (but רָשָׁע might also be an adject.); cf. Pr 6^{12}.—Lv 6^{13}, 16^{4} (where, however, קֹדֶשׁ is probably a gloss); Pr 22^{21} אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת *words* (which are) *truth*; (immediately after אִמְרֵי אֱמֶת) cf. 1 S 2^{13}, Mi 1^{11} (where, however, בֹּשֶׁת is most probably a gloss on עֶרְיָה); Zc 1^{13} (=*comfortable words*); ψ 45^{5} (?), 68^{17} (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60^{5} יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה *wine* which is *staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering[2]; 1 K 22^{27}, 2 Ch 18^{26} מַיִם לַחַץ (in

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[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 22^{27} *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); cf. ψ 80^{6} and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *kk*. More-

Is 30[20] parallel with לֶחֶם צַר) *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 K 5[3] בְּקַר רְעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6[7] *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִמַּסָּע. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18[6] (unless בְּנִדָּתָהּ is to be read).—In 1 S 4[1] read אֶבֶן הָעֹ֫ז, as in 5[1], 7[12].

d (*c*) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28[36]) or *thing* (form) and *material*,[1] or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e. g. 1 Ch 15[19] בִּמְצִלְתַּיִם נְחֹשֶׁת *with cymbals* which were *brass*, i. e. of brass; cf. Ex 26[25], Dn 11[8], 1 Ch 28[15.18] (?); Ex 28[17] *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39[10] has טוּרֵי אֶבֶן); cf. 2 Ch 4[13], Lv 6[3] (see, however, § 128 *d*); 2 K 7[1] סְאָה סֹלֶת *a seah* of *fine flour*; cf. 2 K 7[16.18], Gn 18[6], Ex 16[33], Lv 5[11], Ru 2[17], 1 K 16[24], 2 K 5[23] כִּכָּרַיִם כֶּסֶף *two talents* of *silver*;[2] cf. 5[17], Ex 39[17], Ez 22[18] (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30[23 f.].—A *period of time* and its contents are placed in apposition חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a month* of *days*, i. e. a month's time = for a whole month, Gn 29[14], Nu 11[20.21], cf. Dt 21[13], 2 K 15[13], and שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים *two years' time*, i. e. two full years, Gn 41[1], 2 S 13[23], 14[28], Jer 28[3.11], Dn 10[2 f.].

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. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *trias* sc. *filii*, § 97 *a* and § 134 *b*.

e (*d*) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e. g. Nu 9[20] יָמִים מִסְפָּר *days*, (a small) *number*, i. e. only a few days; כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנֶה *money*, *repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43[12] (unless כֶּסֶף be constr. st.); מַיִם בִּרְכַּיִם *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47[4] (also מֵי מָתְנַיִם *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 *c*) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e. g. Neh 2[12] אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *men*, *a few*, i. e. some few men; 1 K 5[9] תְּבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding*, *much-making*, i. e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with וַיִּתֵּן, as in 2 S 8[8] with לָקַח.

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over, having regard to יַיִן הָרֹקַח *spiced wine*, Ct 8[2], and עַיִר פֶּרֶא *a wild ass's colt*, Jb 11[12] (in which passages יַיִן and עַיִר must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in ψ 60[5] to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יֵין).

[1] Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 *h*.

[2] On the anomalous form כִּכְּרַיִם (instead of כִּכָּרַיִם; cf. כִּכָּרִים immediately before), see § 88 *b*.

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Ez 42[5] (?), Dn 11[11], 1 Ch 4[42], 2 Ch 26[14].[1]—Cf. finally, Ct 3[7], where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שֶׁלּ, as in Ez 9[1], where the genitive is expressed by לְ.[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 29[23] *when he* (or rather) *his children see*, &c. (but יְלָדָיו is clearly a gloss); cf. ψ 83[12]; in Jb 29[3] read בַּהֲהִלּוֹ (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בַּהִלּוֹ.

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 מִשְׁנֶה כֶּסֶף *a double amount in money*, Gn 43[15]; cf. Jer 17[18]; 1 S 17[5] *five thousand shekels in brass*, but this might also be taken (as in *d*) *shekels* which were *brass*; certainly such cases as Jb 15[10] *older than thy father in days*, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. טוֹב מְאֹד *very good*, Gn 1[31] (cf. also Ec 7[16] צַדִּיק הַרְבֵּה *righteous over much*), and the very frequent הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד prop. *a much-making exceedingly*, i. e. *exceedingly great*, Gn 15[1], 41[49], also Pr 23[29] פְּצָעִים חִנָּם *wounds without cause*,[3] perhaps also Gn 34[25] (בְּטַח).

r (*b*) A few examples, in which an epexegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16[27] מִדַּרְכֵּךְ זִמָּה *of thy conduct in lewdness* (but it is also possible to explain it (as in *c*) *of thy conduct*, which is *lewdness*); cf. Ez 24[13], 2 S 22[33] מָעוּזִּי חָיִל *my fortress in strength*, i. e. my strong fortress (cf., however, ψ 18[33]); Hb 3[8], ψ 71[7]. 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 חִבֻּלְתּוֹ חוֹב Ez 18[7], i. e. according to the context *his pledge for a debt*; Ezr 2[62] כִּתְבָם הַמִּתְיַחְשִׂים, i. e. *their register*, namely of *those that were reckoned by genealogy* (but perhaps הַמִּתְיַ֫חְשִׂים is in apposition to the suffix in כִּתְבָם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 *d*) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26[42]), and in Jer 33[20] with הַיּוֹם.[4]

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[1] But in Is 17[6] we should certainly divide the words differently and read בִּסְעִפֵי הַפְּרִיָה, in Jer 48[44] read אֵלֶיהָ for אֵלֶיהָ, and in Pr 14[13] אַחֲרִית הַשִּׂמְחָה; in Gn 2[19] נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41[25] אֶל־הַלְּחוֹת הַהֵיכָל a gloss on אֲלֵיהֶן.

[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 10[3]) 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 69[5] חִנָּם (like שֶׁקֶר *in a false way, falsely*, ψ 35[19] and 38[20]) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 *q*.

[4] But in Nu 25[12] שָׁלוֹם may also be explained, according to *c*, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33^4 (מוֹרָשָׁה, perhaps מוֹר׳ לִקְהִלַּת is to be read), 33^{27} (מְעֹנָה), Ju 7^8 *S* (צְדָדָה), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 31^{11} עָוֹן is evidently intended to combine the readings עֲוֹן פְּלִילִים and עָוֹן פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ $80^{8.15}$ 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 59^6, $80^{5.20}$, and 84^9 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 3^6 *and she gave also* לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ *unto her husband with her* (= *her husband who was with her*); in Gn 9^{16} (*that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh*) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

§ 132. *Connexion of the Substantive with the 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 8^{15} עֲטֶרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה *a great crown of gold*.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 *u*.

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[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 *o*, with the note; § 135 *n* and § 141 *c* (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 *u* (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 *q*. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e. g. אָבִיר *the strong one*, i. e. *God*; אַבִּיר *the strong one*, i. e. *the bull* (in Jer 8^{16}, &c., *the horse*); קַל *swift* = *the runner* (of the *horse*, Is 30^{16}); לְבָנָה *alba*, i. e. *luna*; פְּרִיָּה (*fructifera*) *a fruitful tree*, Is 17^6 (so פֹּרָת Gn 49^{22}); רֹבֵץ *a croucher*, i. e. *a crouching beast of prey*, Gn 4^7. Cf. also רָזֵן (*gravis*, *augustus*) and נָשִׂיא (*elatus*?), i. e. *a prince*. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ὑγρή = *the sea*; *merum* for *vinum*, &c.

b Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10^{30} עֲנִיָּה עֲנָתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּהּ *answer her*, is to be read); cf. 23^{12}, 53^{11} (*a righteous man, my servant*; but in 28^{21} זָר and נָכְרִי are *predicates* preceding the substantives); Jer $3^{6.10\,f.}$, ψ 18^{4} *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 92^{12} (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16^{16}, Neh 9^{28} (in ψ 145^{7} רַב is a *subst. regens*, in 89^{51} the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

c 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15^{16} (unless גְּדֹל should be read); 1 S 16^{7} (*the height of his stature*); in the plural, 1 S 17^{40} חַלְקֵי אַבְנֵים *smooth ones of* (among) *stones*, i.e. *smooth stones*; Is 35^{9}, Ez 7^{24}, ψ 46^{5}, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e.g. Is 29^{19} אֶבְיוֹנֵי אָדָם *the poor among men*, i.e. *poor men*; Jer 49^{20}, Zc 11^{7}; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 *g*).

d 3. When *two* adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e.g. 1 K 19^{11} רוּחַ גְּדֹלָה וְחָזָק וגו׳ (but read גָּדוֹל); 1 S 15^{9} (but cf. § 75 *y*); Jer 20^{9}, ψ 63^{2}. A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 *p* and *t*.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 *d*), e.g. Neh 9^{13} חֻקִּים וּמִצְוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer 34^{9}, Zc 8^{5}.

When *three* attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, cf. Zc 1^{8}.

e 4. After feminines plural ending in ־וֹת (§ 87 *p*) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under *a*) takes the ending ־וֹת, e.g. Is 10^{14} בֵּיצִים עֲזֻבוֹת *forsaken eggs*; Gn 32^{16}. For a strange exception see Jer 29^{17} (differently in 24^{2}).

f 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—

(*a*) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e.g. ψ 18^{28} (Pr 6^{17}) עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת *haughty eyes*; Is 35^{3}, Jb $4^{3\,f.}$, cf. § 88 *a*.

g (*b*) *Collective* ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e.g. צֹאן *sheep* [with *fem. plur.*], Gn 30^{43}, 1 S 25^{18}; עַם = *men*, 1 S 13^{15}, Is 9^{1}; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 S 2^{14}; גָּלוּת = *the exiles*, Jer 28^{4}; cf. also נֶפֶשׁ 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 7^{10} אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק; 2 K $19^{4.16}$ (= Is $37^{4.17}$); Is 19^{4}; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים[2] Dt 5^{23}, 1 S $17^{26.36}$, Jer 10^{10}, 23^{36}, perhaps also

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[1] But it is impossible to take תְּמִימִם in Ez 46^{6} as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28^{11}, where *two* young bullocks are required.

[2] Cf. 1 S 28^{13}, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of *a spirit*) is followed by עֹלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S $19^{13.16}$, a singular suffix refers back

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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 7^{15}, cf. Dt 14^{2} (also יִתְרוֹן . . . מִן *the excellence of* . . . *over* . . ., Ec 2^{13}); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37^{3} וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אָהַב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו *now Israel loved Joseph more than all his* (other) *children*; 29^{30}, 1 S 2^{29}, Ho 6^{6}.[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 7^{13} הַמְעַט מִכֶּם *is it a small thing* (i. e. too little) *for you to . . .?* Jb 15^{11}; after an intransitive verb, e. g. Gn 32^{11} *I am too insignificant* (קָטֹנְתִּי) *for all the mercies* (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions כָּבֵד מִן *to be too heavy for one*, Ex 18^{18}, Nu 11^{14}, ψ 38^{5}; קָשָׁה מִן *to be too hard for one*, Dt 1^{17}; מָעַט מִן *to be too few for something*, Ex 12^{4}; גָּבַר מִן *to be too strong for one*, ψ 65^{4}; עָצַם מִן *to be too mighty for one*, Gn 26^{16}; רוּם מִן *to be too high for one*, ψ 61^{3}; צַר מִן *to be too narrow for one*, Is 49^{19}; קָצַר מִן *to be too short for something*, Is 50^{2}, and very frequently נִפְלָא מִן *to be too wonderful for one* (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18^{14}, Dt 17^{8}, 30^{11}, Jer 37^{17}, Pr 30^{18}; in ψ 139^{6} פְּלִיאָה in the same sense is followed by מִן.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by מִן with an infinitive, e. g. 1 K 8^{64} *the brazen altar* . . . *was* קָטֹן מֵהָכִיל *too little to receive* (to be able to receive) *the burnt offering*, cf. Gn 4^{13}, 36^{7} *too great for them to dwell together*; after verbs, e. g. Ex 12^{4}, Is 28^{20}, ψ 40^{6}. Finally, cf. רַב לָכֶם מִן, followed by the infinitive, *it is enough* (prop. *too much*) *for you to . . .*, meaning *ye have . . . long enough*, 1 K 12^{28}; cf. Ex 9^{28} and Ez 44^{6} (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־יִבָּצֵר מֵהֶם כֹּל וגו׳ *nothing will be unattainable for them* (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11^{6}, Jb 42^{3}.

C 3. The attributive idea, on which מִן logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the מִן (see the analogous examples in § 119 *ff*), be supplied from the context, e. g. Is 10^{10} וּפְסִלֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם *whose graven images* were more numerous *than* those at *Jerusalem*, &c.;[4] Mi 7^{4} worse *than a thorn hedge*; ψ 62^{10} lighter *than a breath*; Jb 11^{17} clearer *than the noonday*; Ec 4^{17} better *than*, &c.

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[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 צָדַק מִן expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38^{26} צָדְקָה מִמֶּנִּי means, *she is in the right as against me*; cf. ψ 139^{12}, Jb 4^{17}, 32^{2}.—In Pr 17^{12} *rather* (to meet with so and so) *than* . . . is expressed by וְאַל before the second member.

[3] Cf. also 2 K 4^{3}, where the idea of *doing something too little* is paraphrased by the Hiph. הַמְעִיט = *do not too little*, sc. לִשְׁאֹל *in borrowing* empty vessels.

[4] With this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4^{8}, מֵעֵת *greater gladness than at the time*, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1[16], 19[31.34], 27[15], 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 9[21] הַצְּעִרָה *the least*; 16[11] הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i. e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17[14] *David was* הַקָּטָן *the youngest, and the three great*, i. e. elder, &c.; Gn 42[13], 44[2], Ct 1[8].—So also with a qualifying adjective, e. g. Gn 9[24] בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14[15]; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21[17] קְטֹן בָּנָיו *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30[24] *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7[4] טוֹבָם *their good one*, i. e. the best of them; Jon 3[5] מִגְּדוֹלָם וְעַד־קְטַנָּם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6[13], 31[34].

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative* *h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e. g. Dt 33[19] *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5[29] *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14[30], 19[11], 23[8 f.], 29[19], Jer 49[20], Ez 28[7], Zc 11[7], ψ 45[13], Jb 30[6] (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41[22]; probably also ψ 35[16]. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 *c*.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantivally (§ 128 *w*) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is 22[24] כֹּל כְּלֵי הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7[10] see § 126 *x*.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the *i* construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex 26[33] קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים *the most holy place*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Ct 1[1]) *the most excellent song*; cf. Gn 9[25] (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3[32], Dt 10[17] (ψ 136[2.3])[2]; 1 K 8[27], Is 34[10] (cf. Gal 1[5], Rev 22[5]); Jer 3[19], Ez 16[7], 26[7] (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadrezzar; cf. 1 Tim 6[15], Rev 17[14], 19[16], and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95[3]); Ec 1[2]. Similarly in Jer 6[28] two participles are combined, and in Ho 10[15] two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex 31[15], &c.) or of the same meaning (e. g. חֹשֶׁךְ אֲפֵלָה *a thick darkness*, Ex 10[22]).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *k* to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Ec 7[24] עָמֹק עָמֹק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2[3], Pr 20[14]; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6[3].—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7[19], Nu 14[7] (מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד Ex 1[7], &c.); Ez 42[15].—On the other hand, in Dt 28[43] the repetition expresses

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[1] Cf. also עֶלְיוֹן *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 2^{27} (see § 123 *e*) and 16^{20} (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23^{30} מְעַט מְעַט *little by little, very gradually*.[1]

l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לְדֹר דֹּר (Ex 3^{15}) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17^{16}, Jer 6^{14}, 8^{11} (*perfect peace*); Ez 21^{32} (עָוְהָ three times);[2] 35^{7}, Na 1^{2}; cf. also Ho $2^{21\,f.}$ and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33^{10}. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 22^{5}, Ez 6^{14} ($33^{28\,f.}$, 35^{8}); 32^{15}, Na 2^{11}, Zp 1^{15} (Jb 30^{3}, 38^{27}).

§ 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 בָנִים *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 שָׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gn 32^{15}. Nu 7^{17}, 28^{19}. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.[4]

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[1] Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6^{9}, Is 29^{5}, 30^{13}; of different stems in Is 5^{26} and Jo 4^{4}. In Nu 12^{2} the particles רַק אַךְ 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 18^{33}, Jer 7^{4} and 22^{29}, and the double exclamation in Jer 4^{19} and La 1^{16} (?).

[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 28^{10} the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת־שֵׁמוֹת הַשִּׁשָּׁה; for the omission of the article before שׁ, cf. § 126 *w*.

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Ez 42^{17}; after מְאַתַּיִם 1 S 25^{18}, 1 K 7^{20}; after אֶלֶף 1 S 25^{2}, 1 K 3^{4}, 5^{6}, 2 K 3^{4}, ψ 90^{4}; after אַלְפִים 1 S 17^{5}, Jb 42^{12}; after אַלְפֵי Mi 6^{7}; after אַלְפַּיִם Is 36^{8}.— In Dn 12^{11} the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

h 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5^{20} שְׁתַּיִם וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה *two and sixty years* (שָׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה Dt 2^{14}), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9^{26}, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 K 6^{1}, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23^{1}, $25^{7.17}$ thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12^{4} חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה *seventy and five years*; Gn 23^{1} מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשֶׁבַע שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn $5^{6\,ff.}$

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 וְ, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

k 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv $25^{10\,f.}$, Nu 16^{35}, Jos 4^{4}, 2 S 23^{13}) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 2^{11} שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one* (the first) *is Pishon*; Gn 14^{9} *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. 1 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 19^{9} (but cf. also Gn 9^{19}, 22^{23}, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (1 Ch 25^{19}, 27^{15}) or before עָשָׂר (Jos 4^{4}); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3^{46}.

l In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15^{14} אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֲנָק, where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18^{28}, Jos $6^{8.22}$, 1 S 17^{14}, 1 K 11^{31}, and the passages discussed above in § 126 *x*, Gn 21^{29}, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. 1 K $7^{27.43\,f.}$ עָשָׂר and עֲשָׂרָה; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנַיִם 2 K 25^{16} after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28^{4}, 1 S $13^{17\,f.}$, Jer 24^{2}, Ez 10^{9}, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אַחַת 1 S 1^{2} for הָאַחַת.

Such cases as שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים Ju 14^{17} (which is determined by a following determinate genitive) are explained from § 127 *b*; 1 Ch 9^{25} perhaps from § 126 *q*; in Is 30^{26} probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 9^{20} and 25^{38} the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted. *m*

3. Certain specifications of *measure*, *weight*, or *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals, e.g. Gn 20^{16} אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף *a thousand* (shekels) *of silver*; so also before זָהָב Gn 24^{22}, 1 K 10^{16}, Is 7^{23}, cf. ψ 119^{72}. Moreover, Ru 3^{15} שֵׁשׁ שְׂעֹרִים *six* (ephahs) *of barley*; 1 S 10^{4} שְׁתֵּי־לְחֶם *two* (sc. *loaves*, see verse 3) *of bread*, cf. 17^{17} עֲשָׂרֵה לֶחֶם; 2 S 16^{1}, where before קַיִץ a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26^{2}, &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez $40^{5.21}$, 47^{3}. Zc 5^{2}, 1 Ch 11^{23}, 2 Ch $4^{2\,f.}$) by the addition of בָּאַמָּה prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex 27^{11} the Samaritan and LXX read בָּאַמָּה after אֹרֶךְ, and in 27^{15} אַמָּה after עֶשְׂרֵה. *n*

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e.g. Gn 7^{11} בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the seventeenth day*; Dt 1^{3} בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the fortieth year*; cf. Gn 14^{5}, 2 K 25^{27}, and, with repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K 6^{1}; such a cardinal occurs without בְּ (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118 *k*) in Gn 14^{4} (the Samaritan, however, has ובשלש); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under *k*), 1 K 19^{19}.[1]—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e.g. 1 K 16^{10} בִּשְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשֶׁבַע *in the twenty and seventh year*, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12^{18}, Nu 33^{38}, Dt 15^{9}. In this case, however, שָׁנָה is very frequently repeated, e.g. Gn 7^{11}, 2 K 13^{10}; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25^{10}.[2] *o*

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e.g. בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם 1 K 15^{25}; בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ 2 K 18^{1}, &c., cf. Dt 15^{9}. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (בָּרִאשׁוֹן, בַּשֵּׁנִי, &c., up to בָּעֲשִׂירִי), but not the days of the month, e.g. בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ Gn 8^{5}, &c., בְּאַרְבָּעָה בְּחֹדֶשׁ Zc 7^{1}; בַּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ Ez 1^{1}, &c., בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ 2 K 25^{8}, בְּעָשׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ Lv 23^{32} (always, however, *on the tenth day of the month*). On the *p*

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[1] Somewhat different from this is Ex 19^{15} *be ready* לִשְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים prop. *after three days*, i.e. *on the third day* (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10^{8} the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30^{13} כִּי חָלִיתִי הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה *because three days agone I fell sick*, prop. *to-day three* (days).

[2] All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e.g. in Lv 25^{10}, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i.e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard שְׁנַת or בִּשְׁנַת 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 יוֹם in all these cases see under *n*; only in late passages is יוֹם added, e.g. 2 Ch 29[17] בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנָה לַחֹדֶשׁ; Ezr 3[6] מִיּוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ.—Finally, when the year is stated by בִּשְׁנַת governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17[6] בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year*; 2 K 25[1] (in Jer 52[4] בִּשְׁנָה), Jer 28[1] *Keth.*, 32[1] *Keth.*, 46[2], 51[59], Ezr 7[8]; בִּשְׁנַת in such cases is again (see note 2 on *o*) to be explained according to § 128 *k*. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28[1], 32[1] requires in the *Qerê* בַּשָּׁנָה 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 21[20] שֵׁשׁ וָשֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e.g. Jos 3[12] אִישׁ אֶחָד לַשֵּׁבֶט אִישׁ אֶחָד *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13[2], 34[18] (אֶחָד מִן, as in Neh 11[1], *one out of every ten*); cf. § 123 *d*; or a periphrasis with אֶחָד לְ is used, Nu 17[18], Dt 1[23], cf. Is 6[2] לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לַבְּקָרִים, § 123 *c*), e.g. לְמֵאוֹת וְלַאֲלָפִים *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 פַּעַם, פְּעָמִים; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40[5]; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lv 26[21.24], Pr 24[16]; cf. also אַחַת *once*, 2 K 6[10], Jb 40[5], for which in Jb 33[14] בְּאַחַת[1] along with בִּשְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18[21]); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שִׁבְעָתַיִם Gn 4[15] (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30[26], ψ 12[7], 79[12]; אַרְבְּעָתַיִם 2 S 12[6];[2] or periphrastically by פַּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפַּעַם *this time*; cf. also בַּפַּעַם הַזֹּאת, with בְּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as פַּעַם אחת *once* (Neh 13[20] פַּעַם וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), בְּעַמַּיִם *twice*, שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים (for which in Ex 23[14], Nu 22[28.32] שָׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים) *three times*; cf. Ez 41[6] *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24[3] *an hundred times*; Dt 1[11] *a thousand times*; 1 K 22[16] עַד־כַּמָּה פְעָמִים *until how many times*, i.e. how often. Cf. also עֲשֶׂרֶת מֹנִים *ten times*, Gn 31[7.14], and רַבּוֹת עִתִּים *many times*, Neh 9[28].—In Gn 43[34], *five times* is expressed by חָמֵשׁ יָדוֹת (prop. *five hands*),[3] and in Ex 16[5] the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנֶה עַל־ (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שֵׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22[15], &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בַּשְּׁלִישִׁת *the third time*, 1 S 3[8]; פַּעַם חֲמִישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6[5]; בַּשְּׁבִעִית *at the seventh* (time), 1 K 18[44], and בַּפַּעַם הַשְּׁ׳ Jos 6[16].

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[1] But בְּאַחַת Nu 10[4] is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

[2] Probably also כִּפְלַיִם Jb 11[6] (from כֶּפֶל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold.*

[3] But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת Gn 47[24] means *the* (other) *four parts*; cf. 2 K 11[7], Neh 11[1].

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a trace of popular language), e.g. 1 S 23^{22} (?), Ct 5^5, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 1^{16}, $2^{1.11.15}$, $3^{17f.}$ and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5^{16}.

C 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e.g. Gn 3^{12} *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (הִוא) *gave me*, &c.; 14^{24} (הֵם); 15^4, 24^7, &c.; but הוּא in Is 7^{14} after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.[1]

d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronoun serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

e Examples of emphasis:—

(*a*) On a *verbal* suffix by means of אֲנִי (אָנִי), Gn 27^{34} בָּרְכֵנִי גַם־אָנִי *bless me, even me also* (prop. *bless me, I also* would be blessed); Zc 7^5; cf. also Ez 6^3, $34^{11.20}$ הִנְנִי אָנִי; by אַתָּה (אָתָּה) Pr 22^{19} (but the text is most probably corrupt). —The separate pronoun *precedes* in Gn 24^{27} (אָנֹכִי); 49^8 (אַתָּה, not *Judah, thou art he whom*, but *Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!*), and Ec 2^{15} גַּם אֲנִי.

f (*b*) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אֲנִי 2 S 19^1, Pr 23^{15}; by אַתָּה 1 K 21^{19} אֶת־דָּמְךָ גַּם־אָתָּה *thy blood, even thine*; by הוּא 2 S 17^5, Jer 27^7, Mi 7^3; by אֲנַחְנוּ 1 S 20^{42}, after שְׁנֵינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5^2 (?); by אַתֶּם Nu 14^{32}; by הֵם ψ 38^{11} (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 9^7.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in Jb 21^4 (אָנֹכִי); Gn 40^{16}, Is 45^{12}, 1 Ch 28^2 (אֲנִי); Zc 9^{11} (אַתְּ); Jos 23^9 (אַתֶּם); Ez 33^{17} (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 89^{48}, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חלד (equivalent in sense to חֶלְדִּי), we should read אֲדֹנָי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

g (*c*) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25^{24} בִּי אֲנִי *upon me, upon me*; 1 K 1^{26} אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35^{21} לֹא־עָלֶיךָ אַתָּה *not against thee*; 1 S 19^{23} גַּם עָלָיו גַּם הוּא *upon him also*; Dt 5^3 כִּי אִתָּנוּ אֲנַחְנוּ *but with us, even us*; Hag 1^4 לָכֶם אַתֶּם *for you yourselves*; Jer 25^{14} בָּם גַּם־הֵמָּה.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in 1 S 12^{23} לִי . . . אָנֹכִי; 1 K 1^{20} עָלֶיךָ . . . אַתָּה; Mi 5^1 מִמְּךָ . . . אַתָּה, and 2 Ch 28^{10} אַתֶּם עִמָּכֶם.

h The same principle also explains Gn 4^{26} לְשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא *to Seth, to him also* (not גַּם־לוֹ); cf. 10^{21}, and Ex 35^{34}, Nu 4^{22}.

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[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 2^{17}, 2 S 6^{22}, 2 K 22^{18}, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* אֵת with suffix, e.g. 1 S 15^9 (where וְנִמְאָסֵת is certainly to be read), Is 8^{13}.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i*
a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אֵת) with a suffix may be used either
in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,[1] as לוֹ *to him*, but also *to himself*,
e.g. Ju 3[16] *and Ehud made* לוֹ *for himself a sword*, cf. Gn 33[17]; so also
לָהֶם *sibi*, Is 3[9]; אֵלָיו *unto him*, and Gn 8[9] *unto himself*; אִתּוֹ *with him*,
and Gn 22[3] *with himself*; עִמָּהּ *with her*, and 1 S 1[24] *with herself*; also
apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 *s*), Jb 12[11], 13[1].

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative* *k*
of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* אֵת with
a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations
Niph'al and *Hithpa'ēl*[2]); thus, אֹתָם *se ipsos*, Ex 5[19], Jer 7[19] in sharp
antithesis to הָאֹתִי; Ez 34[2.8.10]. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with
note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49[26] 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. חֲמָסִי *the wrong done against me*, Gn 16[5], Jer 51[35]; cf.
Gn 9[2], 18[21], 27[13] (2 S 16[12] *Keth.*); Gn 30[23], 39[21] (cf. Ex 3[21], &c.); 50[4],
Ex 20[20], 21[35], Ju 4[9], 13[12] (מַעֲשֵׂהוּ *the treatment of him*); Is 56[7], Jer 9[7],
Na 3[19], Pr 1[27], 24[22], Jb 20[29], 23[14], 34[6]. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20[3] יִשְׁלַח עֶזְרֵךְ *he will send thy help* (*help for thee*), i.e. he
will send thee help; Gn 30[18], 39[21], Ex 2[9], Is 1[26] (*and I will restore*
judges for thee); Ez 37[15].

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be
attached to each singly, e.g. Gn 36[6] *and Esau took* אֶת־נָשָׁיו וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־
בְּנֹתָיו *his wives and his sons and his daughters*, &c.; 38[18], &c. In 2 S 23[5] the text
is hardly correct.

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[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'ēl* 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 2[21] הַנְּעָרִים
אֲשֶׁר לִי *the young men, which* are *to me*, i.e. *my young men*; so especially, when
the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by
a genitive, e.g. 1 S 17[40]. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes
attached pleonastically, e.g. Ct 1[6] כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי *my vineyard, which* belongs *to me.*
Cf. Ct 3[7], and the analogous pleonasms in 2 S 22[2] (but see ψ 18[2]) and ψ 27[2].

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־קָדְשִׁי prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, ψ 2[6], &c.; עִיר קָדְשֶׁךָ *thy holy city*, Dn 9[24]; אֱלִילֵי כַסְפּוֹ *his idols of silver*, Is 2[20], 30[22], 31[7];[1] cf. Dt 1[41], Is 9[3], 28[4], 41[11], Ez 9[1f.], ψ 41[10], 150[1], Jb 18[7] צַעֲדֵי אוֹנוֹ *his steps of strength*; 38[6]; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13[3] (Zp 3[11]) עַלִּיזֵי גַאֲוָתִי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e. g. כְּלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ Dt 1[41] *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41[12]]; Is 56[7] בֵּית תְּפִלָּתִי *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

o Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 *k*, 144 *a*, 145 *p*, *t*, *u*) and which probably passed from the colloquial language[2] into that of literature, *masculine* suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to *feminine* substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex 11[6], 25[19], Ju 11[34];[3] in the plural, Gn 31[9], 32[16], 41[23], Ex 1[21], 2[17], Nu 27[7] (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36[6] (Samaritan אֲבִיהֶן, but also בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); Ju 19[24], 21[22], 1 S 6[7.10*b*] (בְּנֵיהֶם); 9[20], Is 3[16], Ez 23[45 ff.] (alternating with הֵן); Am 4[1f.] (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 1[14], 39[3] (חֶבְלֵיהֶם in parallelism with יַלְדֵיהֶן); 42[15], Ct 4[2], 6[6], Ru 1[8 ff.] (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1[5], 8[9]. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22[25]; in the plural, Ju 16[3], Pr 6[21], Jb 1[15]. But Gn 26[15.18], 33[13], Ex 2[17], 1 S 6[10*a*] are to be explained according to § 60 *h*. On הֵמָּה as feminine, see § 32 *n*. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122 *g*.

p 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Nu 14[41]. Jos 1c[13], Ju 14[4]) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15[6], Nu 23[19], 1 S 11[2], 1 K 11[12], Is 30[8], Am 8[10]; cf. Gn 24[14] (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42[36], 47[26], Ex 10[11] (אֹתָהּ *that*), Is 47[7]. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e. g. 2 K 3[3]

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[1] On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44[2] אֶת־גְּבִיעִי גְּבִיעַ הַכָּסֶף *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 מִמֶּנּוּ, where מִמֶּנָּה would be expected (Ju 11[34], where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25[15] (?), Lv 6[8], 7[18], 27[9], Jos 1[7]; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

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§ 136. *The Demonstrative Pronoun.*

a The *demonstrative pronouns* are זֶה, fem. זֹאת, plur. אֵלֶּה (§ 34), *hic*, *haec* (*hoc*), *hi*, &c., and the personal pronoun הוּא, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵמָּה, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32 *b*), *is*, *ea* (*id*), or *ille*, &c., *ii*, *eae* or *illi*, &c. The distinction between them in usage is that זֶה (like *hic*, ὅδε) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הוּא (like *is*, *ille*, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).[1]

b Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32[5], Ju 7[4] *of whom I say unto thee, this* (זֶה) *shall go with thee, he* (הוּא) *shall go with thee* (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 26[33], &c.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gn 15[18], 26[32]) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5[30], 7[18.20 ff.]) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless זֶה and אֵלֶּה are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הֵמָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, plur. הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, but בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה or בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) זֶה occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10[27], 21[16], 1 K 22[27], Is 6[10], &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, זֹאת is more common than זֶה, as Is 5[25], 43[9], &c., but הוּא more common than הִיא.

c 2. Both זֶה and הוּא are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 38[2] מִי זֶה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . .? 1 S 17[55 f.], Is 63[1], Jer 49[19], ψ 24[8], 25[12], &c; מַה־זֶּה *what now?* 1 S 10[11]; *how now?* Gn 27[20]; *why now?* Ju 18[24]; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה־זֹּאת Gn 3[13], 12[18], Ex 14[5], Ju 15[11]; לָמָּה־זֶּה *wherefore now?* Gn 18[13], 25[22], 1 S 17[28], 2 S 12[23], &c.—So also מִי־הוּא Is 50[9], Jb 4[7 ff.]; and still more emphatically מִי הוּא־זֶה ψ 24[10], Jer 30[21].

d 3. זֶה is likewise used as an enclitic (see *c* above): (*a*) *of place*, in such passages as Gn 27[21] הַאַתָּה זֶה וגו׳ *whether thou* (that art here) *be my son Esau?* 2 S 2[20] *is it thou?* הִנֵּה־זֶה *behold, here*, 1 K 19[5], Is 21[9];[2] cf. also the strengthen-

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[1] On זֶה and הוּא 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 זֶה in ψ 104[25] (זֶה הַיָּם), Is 23[13] (זֶה הָעָם), Ju 5[5], ψ 68[9] (זֶה סִינַי) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder*, &c.). In ψ 104[25] הַיָּם may be in apposition to זֶה; cf. § 126 *aa*, on Ex 32[1], and Zc 5[7], where אִשָּׁה אַחַת is in apposition to זֹאת depending on הִנֵּה, and also Ez 4c[45], where הַלִּשְׁכָּה is in apposition to זֶה; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23[13], Ju 5[5], 1 K 14[14], and ψ 68[9] might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43^{25} (אֲנֹכִי), 1 S 7^{28}, Is 37^{16}, ψ 44^{5} (אַתָּה), and אֵלֶּה הֵם *these are*, Gn 25^{16}, 1 S 4^{8}; (*b*) *of time*: עַתָּה וְהִ *now*, 1 K 17^{24}; *just now*, 2 K 5^{22}; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e. g. Gn 27^{36} וְהִ פַּעֲמַיִם *twice, now*; cf. 31^{38}, 2 S 14^{2}, Jb 1^{12}, 7^{3}, 19^{3}; separated from the numeral in Gn 31^{41} וְהִ־לִי elliptically for *this*, i. e. this present period, *is to me*, i. e. makes altogether, *twenty years*, &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

§ 137. *The Interrogative Pronoun.*

The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine *a* or feminine person (Ct 3^{6}), or even to a plural, e. g. מִי אַתֶּם *who are ye?* Jos 9^{8}; מִי־אֵלֶּה Gn 33^{5}, Nu 22^{9} (more minutely, מִי וָמִי Ex 10^{8}, i. e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e. g. מִי־שְׁכֶם *who are the Shechemites?* Ju 9^{28}, 13^{17}, Gn 33^{8}, Mi 1^{5}; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18^{18}, 2 S 7^{18}.—Another interrogative is אֵי־זֶה *which, what?*; of persons only in Est 7^{5}.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e. g. *b* בַּת־מִי אַתְּ *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24^{23}, 1 S $17^{55.56.58}$; דְּבַר מִי *whose word?* Jer 44^{28}, 1 S 12^{3}; in the accusative, אֶת־מִי *quemnam?* 1 S 28^{11}, Is 6^{8}; with prepositions, e. g. בְּמִי 1 K 20^{14} (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gn 32^{18}; אַחֲרֵי מִי 1 S 24^{15}.—Similarly מָה, מַה־, מֶה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8^{9}), or with prepositions, e. g. עַל־מָה *whereupon?* Is 1^{5}, Jb 38^{6}; *why?* Nu 22^{32}, &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 39^{8} (but read מְאוּמָה with Samar. and LXX), 43^{22}, Ex 32^{1}.—On the meaning of מִי and מָה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e. g. Ex 32^{26}, Ju 7^{8}, 1 S 20^{4}, Is 50^{10} (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54^{15}, Pr $9^{4.16}$, 2 Ch 36^{23}; even שִׁוְּרוּ־מִי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, 2 S 18^{12} (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מָה (*whatever it be*) Jb 13^{13}, 1 S 19^{3}, 2 S $18^{22.23}$; cf. Nu 23^{3} וְדָבָר מַה־יַּרְאֵנִי *and whatsoever he showeth me.* Cf. also מִי אֲשֶׁר *whosoever* Ex 32^{33}, 2 S 20^{11}, and מִי־הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר *any man who* Dt $20^{5\,ff.}$,

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corrupt. In Ju 5^{5} in fact זֶה סִינַי 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 5^{8} *will ye not tell him?* i. e. *I charge you that ye tell him*, and 7^{1} = *look now at the Shulamite*, corresponding to the late Arabic *mâ tarâ, just see! mâ taqûlu, say now!* It has long been recognized that מָה is used as a negative in Ct 8^{4}.

Ju 10[18]. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מָה is the combination מַה־שֶּׁ *that which*, Ec 1[9], 3[15] (just like the Syriac ܡܐ ܕ); cf. Est 8[1], and בַּל . . . מָה Pr 9[13], מָה . . . לֹא Neh 2[12], *nothing whatever*.—On מְאוּמָה *quicquam*, *anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb *in any way*, 1 S 21[3], 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 24[7] . . . הוּא יִשְׁלַח . . . יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לָקָחַנִי *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send*, &c. (=*who took me*); Gn 2[2] *and God finished* מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *his work, istud, he had made* (it). Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

b Rem. 1. In the above examples אֲשֶׁר in Gn 24[7] is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2[2] in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24[7] the main idea (יהוה), to which אֲשֶׁר is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in

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[1] The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of אֲשֶׁר, as an original substantive, with the Arabic *ʾaṯar*, *trace*, Aram. אֲתַר *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 אֲשַׁל. According to Hommel (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 708 ff.) אֲשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from שֶׁ and שַׁ (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as זֶה and זוּ 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 שֶׁ, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic אש (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 35[2].

[3] This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *ʾalladi*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. הַלָּז, הַלָּזוֹ), and from the use of זֶה and זוּ as relatives.

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49[1], 1 S 16[3ff.], Mi 6[1] (אֵת אֲשֶׁר); and even preceding the verb, e. g. Is 52[15], ψ 69[5]; אֲשֶׁר as genitive, Ez 23[28] *I will deliver thee* בְּיַד אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵאת *into the hand of those—thou hatest* (them); depending on a preposition, e. g. לַאֲשֶׁר Gn 44[4], 2 K 10[22]; בַּאֲשֶׁר Gn 21[17], בַּאֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם *in that* (place)—*he is there*, i. e. *where he is*; cf. Ju 17[8] and Ru 1[16] אֶל־אֲשֶׁר *whither*;[1] 1 K 18[12] עַל־אֲשֶׁר *whither*; מֵאֲשֶׁר Ex 5[11].

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.] אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ . . . וָמֵת *he—it* (the cup) *is found with him,—shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in וָמֵת cf. § 143 *d*). In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31[32] עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא *with whomsoever thou findest*, where אֲשֶׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47[12] (and probably also 56[4]) בַּאֲשֶׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, op. cit., p. 37) by reference to 47[15], as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . ., with those—thou hast laboured* (with them).

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אֲשֶׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אֲשֶׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, the demonstratives proper זֶה, זוֹ, זוּ (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 זֶה, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(*a*) זֶה in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104[26] לִוְיָתָן זֶה־יָצַרְתָּ (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed* (him), i. e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is 42[24] (זוּ); in the accusative, Is 25[9], ψ 74[2] (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; זוּ is used without it in ψ 132[12]); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23[22] שְׁמַע לְאָבִיךָ זֶה יְלָדֶךָ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee*, i. e. *who begat thee*; ψ 17[9] (זוּ).—In ψ 104[8] אֶל־מָקוֹם זֶה יָסַדְתָּ לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130 *c*), זֶה is in the genitive after the construct state מְקוֹם *to the place of that, thou hadst*

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[1] In Zc 12[10] also, instead of the unintelligible אלי את אשר, we should probably read אֶל־אֲשֶׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

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

[3] The etymological equivalent דִּי, דְ 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 78[54] (חַר זֶה) and Ex 15[13] (עַם־זוּ גָּאָלְתָּ), 15[16], Is 43[21], ψ 9[16], 10[2], 31[5], 32[8], 62[12], 142[4], 143[8] (all examples of זוּ).

h To introduce independent relative clauses זֶה is used as a nominative in Jb 19[19]; as accusative, Jb 15[17] and זוּ Hb 1[11], ψ 68[29] (after a preposition, זֶה Ex 13[8]; but the text is evidently corrupt).

i (*b*) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Ch 26[28] כֹּל הַהִקְדִּישׁ שְׁמוּאֵל *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 1 Ch 29[8] (where נִמְצָא can only be *perfect Niph'al*); 2 Ch 29[36], Ezr 10[14]. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10[24] *the chiefs of the men of war* הַהֹלְכוּ אִתּוֹ *who went with him*; Ezr 8[25], 10[17], 1 Ch 29[17]. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5[13] (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדָּבָר). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9[24] *the thigh* וְהָעֶלְיָהּ *and that which was upon it* (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 1[4] בַּהֵכִין equivalent to בַּאֲשֶׁר הֵכִין *to the place, that he had prepared*.

k In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9[24] (where וְהָאַלְיָה should probably be read for וְהָעֶלְיָהּ) the הַ is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18[21], 46[27], Jb 2[11] הַבָּאָה; Is 51[10] הַשָּׂמָה; Ez 26[17] הַהֳלָלָה Ru 1[22], 2[6] and 4[3] הַשָּׁבָה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21[3] הַנּוֹלַד; 1 K 11[9], Dn 8[1] הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56[3] הַנִּלְוָה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26[17] הַהֳלָלָה for הַמְהֻלָּלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלָד, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְוָה.

§ 139. *Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.*

a Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

b 1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man*, *woman*, are used to express—

(*a*) The idea of *each*, *every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,[1] and even animals (Gn 15[10]), e.g. Gn 10[5], feminine Ex 3[22]; אִישׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12[15]. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

c In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיַּד אִישׁ אָחִיו Gn 9[5], according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיַּד אֲחֵי אִישׁ *at the hand of the brother of every man*. But although the explanation seems to be

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[1] As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44[11]; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44[13].

supported by Gn 42[25] and Nu 17[17], it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9[5] *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings מִיַּד אִישׁ and מִיַּד הָאָדָם]; similarly 15[10] *and he laid each* or, more exactly, *one piece of it*, &c., and so probably also Nu 17[17] *every one*, sc. *his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41[12], 42[25] (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42[35], where צְרוֹר־כַּסְפּוֹ בְשַׂקּוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12[4], 28[21], Nu 5[10], 26[54], 2 K 23[35], and especially Zc 7[10].[1]

d (*b*) *Any one, some one*, e.g. Gn 13[16], Ct 8[7], with a negative *no one*;[2] so after אַל־ Ex 16[19.29]; before לֹא Gn 23[6] and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e. g. Lv 1[2] (cf. כְּאַחַד הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16[7.11]), נֶפֶשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lv 2[1], 5[1], &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) for *anything*, Gn 18[14], or כָּל־דָּבָר Lv 5[2], Nu 31[23]. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אַל־ Gn 19[8]; after לֹא Ec 8[5].—Cf. finally, מְאוּמָה *any one*, Dt 15[7]; *anything*, Ez 18[10] (but in Lv 4[2], 5[13] מֵאַחַת) and the expressions noticed in § 144 *e*. The latter include also instances like Ez 18[32] *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 אֲחוֹתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעוּתָהּ *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 13[11] *and they separated themselves* אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו *the one from the other*; Ex 26[3] *five curtains* (יְרִיעָה fem.) *shall be coupled together* אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחוֹתָהּ *one to another*.

f 2. נֶפֶשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,[4] both in the singular, Pr 19[8.16], 29[24], Jb 18[4] (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37[9], &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gn 18[12] (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.[5]

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[1] Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9[5] are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zc 7[10] וְרָעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו אַל־תַּחְשְׁבוּ בִּלְבַבְכֶם, which in the light of 8[17], וְאִישׁ אֶת־רָעַת רֵעֵהוּ אַל־תַּחְשְׁבוּ בִּלְבַבְכֶם, 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 אֵין־אִישׁ Gn 39[11]. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אֵין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152 *l*.

[3] Elsewhere זֶה . . . זֶה are used in a similar sense, Ex 14[20], Is 6[3]; also הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 S 14[6], or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47[21] (*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 (*âtman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גּוּף *body*,

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CHAPTER II

THE SENTENCE

I. The Sentence in General.

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

a **1.** Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יְהוָה מַלְכֵּנוּ *the Lord is our king*, Is 33^{22}; וְאַנְשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13^{13}; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115^{5}; see further, § 141.

b **2.** Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *and God said*, Gn 1^{3}; וַיִּבָּדֵל *and he divided*, 1^{7}; 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 afformatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.**

d **3.** Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. ψ 18^{31} הָאֵל תָּמִים דַּרְכּוֹ *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34^{8} שְׁכֶם בְּנִי חָשְׁקָה נַפְשׁוֹ בְּבִתְּכֶם *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.

f Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 *a* of the 22nd to the 24th 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.*

a **1.** The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 *a*) may be—

(*a*) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יֹצֵא מֵעֵדֶן *and a river went out* (was going out) *of Eden*, Gn 2[10].

(*b*) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 7[4] אָנֹכִי מַמְטִיר *I will cause it to rain*; 14[18] וְהוּא כֹהֵן *and he was priest*; 2[23] (זֹאת before a feminine predicate, as אֵלֶּה before a plural in Ex 32[4]); מִי חָכָם *who is wise?* Ho 14[10].—In 1 Ch 5[2] וְלוֹ נָגִיד מִמֶּנּוּ *and of him* one became *a prince*, the subject is contained in מִמֶּנּוּ.[1]

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

(*a*) A substantive, e. g. Dt 14[1] בָּנִים אַתֶּם וגו׳ *ye are children of the Lord your God*; Gn 42[13]. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e. g. Ez 41[22] הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ . . . וְקִירֹתָיו עֵץ *the altar* (was) *wood* . . ., *and the walls thereof* (were) *wood*, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, *c*.

(*b*) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gn 2[12] וּזְהַב הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא טוֹב *and the gold of that land is good*; וְעֶפְרוֹן יֹשֵׁב *now Ephron was sitting*, &c., Gn 23[10].[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 42[13] שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר עֲבָדֶיךָ *the twelve* (of us) *are thy servants*.

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[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 10[12] (הִיא), Ex 9[27] (אֲנִי), Gn 24[65] (מִי), 1 K 9[13] (מָה).[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. שָׁם הַבְּדֹלַח *there is the bdellium*, Gn 2[12]; אַי הֶבֶל *where is Abel?* 4[9]; לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ *his mercy* endureth *for ever*, ψ 136[1f.]; עֹשֶׁר בְּבֵיתוֹ *riches* are *in his house*, ψ 112[3]; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ *we are his*, ψ 100[3] *Qerê*.

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 1[10]; ψ 25[10] *all the paths of the Lord are* חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת *lovingkindness and truth* (i. e. *wholly lovingkindness*, &c.; cf. Jer 10[10]); Ez 38[5], ψ 10[5], 19[10], 23[5], 88[19], Pr 3[17],[3] Jb 22[12], 23[2], 26[13], Ru 3[2]. Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 *e*), e. g. ψ 110[3] *thy people* are נְדָבֹת *altogether willingness*; Ct 5[16], Dn 9[23].

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as *regens* of the predicate, e. g. Jb 6[12] אִם־כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי *is my strength the strength of stones?* Pr 3[17]. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45[9] *myrrh and aloes and cassia* are *all thy garments* (i. e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1[15] *thine eyes* are *doves*, i. e. dove's eyes (but 5[12] כְּיוֹנִים);[4] ψ 23[5], 109[4], Jb 8[9], 12[12], Ct 2[13]. In prose, e. g. Ex 9[31], Ezr 10[13] הָעֵת גְּשָׁמִים *the season* is *rain showers*, i. e. *the rainy season*; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34[30] וַאֲנִי מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *and I* (with my family) *am* persons few *in number*. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gn 11[1], 12[2], Ex 17[12], Is 5[12], Jer 2[28], and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29[15] *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame*, but in prose, Nu 10[31] *and thou shalt be to us* לְעֵינַיִם.

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[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 1[2] *and the earth was a waste and emptiness*; cf. ψ 35[6], Pr 8[30], Jb 3[4]) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29[4] *the voice of the Lord is with power*, i. e. *powerful*.

[3] שָׁלוֹם here, as in Jb 21[9], is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gn 43[27], 2 S 20[9], ψ 120[7], &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

[4] As a rule, in such comparisons כְּ (which is then to be regarded as *nominative*) stands before the predicate, e. g. Is 63[2] *wherefore* are *thy garments* כְּדֹרֵךְ בְּגַת *like* those of *one that treadeth in the wine-press?* (prop. *the like of one* that treadeth, *instar calcantis*); Jer 50[9]. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

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i Of (*b*): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה, in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1[2] *and the earth was* (הָיְתָה) *waste and emptiness*, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; הָיְתָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3[1]. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which הָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e. g. Ju 1[7], Jb 1[14] (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Nu 14[33], &c.; cf. § 116 *r*. However, especially in the latter case, הָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books[1] than in the earlier.

k Rem. On the employment of יֵשׁ *existence*, and אַיִן *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], 43[4], &c.), see above, § 116 *q*, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

l 4. The natural *arrangement* of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i. e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,[2] or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e. g. Gn 3[19] עָפָר אַתָּה *dust thou art*; 4[9], 12[13] (*my sister*, not my wife); 20[2.12], 29[14], Is 6[3b], Jb 5[24], 6[12]; with an adjectival predicate, e. g. Is 6[3a], 28[21], Jer 10[6]; with a participle, Gn 30[1], 32[12]; with an interrogative pronoun, e. g. Gn 24[65];[3] with an adverbial interrogative, e. g. Gn 4[9].

m Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatze,' *ZAW*. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e. g. Gn 4[13]; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having, possessing*, e. g. Gn 18[14], 29[16], &c.; cf. also 26[20], 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

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[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 4[7]) 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 20[19]; (*c*) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 S 16[4]; finally (*d*) in a relative clause, when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gn 2[11] אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם; 1[29f.] אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ.

§ 142. *The Verbal-clause.*

1. By § 140*f* there is an essential distinction between verbal- *a*
clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gn 7[19], 1 S 18[1], 2 S 19[12]; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gn 3[13] (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, cf. Gn 2[5], &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— *b*

(*a*) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed above in § 106*f* (1 S 28[3], &c.); also Gn 6[8] (not *Noah found grace*); 16[1], 18[17], 20[4], 24[1], 39[1] (*and Joseph* in the meanwhile *had been brought down to Egypt*); 41[10], Ju 1[16], 1 S 9[15], 14[27], 25[21], 1 K 1[1], &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gn 2[6] (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 *c*
the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with הָיָה (provided that הָיָה has not, as in Gn 1[2], 3[1], &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; cf. § 141 *i*, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116 *r*); as an example of the second class, cf. e.g. Gn 13[12] וגו׳ אַבְרָם יָשַׁב בְּאֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן *Abraham* accordingly *continued to dwell in the land of Canaan*, but *Lot dwelt*, &c.

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[1] This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e.g. Gn 32[13] אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33[3] הוּא *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 ו (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 *e*. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18^{18} *seeing that* nevertheless *Abraham shall surely become*, &c.; 24^{56}, 26^{27}, Is 29^{13}, Jer 14^{15}, ψ 50^{17}, Jb 21^{22}, and such examples as Gn $4^{2.4}$, 29^{17}, where by means of ו a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under *b* and *c* (1 S 28^{3}, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by ו, which then corresponds to the Greek δέ, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 *b*.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of ו and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38^{25} הִיא מוּצֵאת וְהִיא שִׁלְחָה *she was already brought forth, when she sent*, &c.; $44^{3.4}$, Ju 18^{3}, 19^{11}, 2 S 20^{8}; 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 30^{40}, 37^{4}, 1 S 15^{1}, 2 K 23^{19} and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn $3^{10.14.18}$, 6^{16}, 8^{17}, 9^{13}, Ex 18^{23}, Ju 14^{3}, 1 S 18^{17}, 20^{9}, 21^{10}, 2 K 22^{8}, Pr 13^{5}, &c.

(*b*) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21^{7}, Nu 5^{23}, 1 S 15^{33}, 2 S 24^{16} (but המלאך is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19^{13}, ψ 34^{22}, Jb 11^{19}, &c.

(*c*) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3^{17}, 11^{8}, 13^{18}, Ho 12^{11}, ψ 6^{10}, 11^{5}, Jb 29^{25}.[2]

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[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 17^{9}, 23^{6}, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetical 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 $2^{7.10}$); cf.

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b (*b*) An independent verbal-clause: (*a*) with a retrospective suffix,[1] e. g. Gn 9^{6} (cf. § 116 *w*); 17^{15} *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26^{15}, 28^{13}, 34^{8}, Ex 30^{37}, 32^{1}, 1 S 2^{10}, 2 K 10^{29}, Is 9^{1}, 11^{10}, Ez 33^{2}, Ho 9^{11}, ψ 11^{4}, 46^{5}, 65^{4}, 74^{17}, Dn 1^{17}; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24^{27}; (*β*) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19^{17} *every one* that *mentions it* (Judah) *to it* (Egypt), *it* (Egypt) *is afraid.*

c Rem. 1. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*[2]) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e. g. Na 1^{3} if it were דַּרְכּוֹ יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה); cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé.* But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13^{15}, 21^{13}, 35^{12}, 47^{21} (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps הֶעֱבִיר); 1 S 25^{29}; a specification of place, Gn 2^{17}, 2 K 22^{18}, &c.; a substantive with לְ, 1 S 9^{20}, 2 S 6^{23}; cf. the examples in § 135 *a*.—In Nu 15^{29} a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i. e. there is a transition to a different construction.

d 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *wāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e. g. Jer 6^{19}, 33^{24}), cf. § 111 *h*; with a following perfect consecutive (e. g. Ex 4^{21}, 12^{44}, Nu 23^{3}, 1 S 25^{27}, 2 S 14^{10}, Is 9^{4}, $56^{6\,\mathrm{f.}}$), § 112 *t* and *mm*; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 *oo* and § 116 *w*.—In Jb 15^{17} *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23^{12}, ψ 115^{7}, the imperfect is separated by אֵין from the *wāw apodosis*; in Jb 4^{6} as for *thy hope*, it is *the integrity of thy ways*, 36^{26}, Ec 5^{6}, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 *oo* at the end, and Gn 40^{9}, 2 S 15^{34} וְעַתָּה וַאֲנִי עַבְדְּךָ *and now* (so far as the present is concerned) *I will be thy servant*, Nu 12^{12}, Jer 4^{1} (*me thou needest not fear*).

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by לְ (*in respect to*; cf. § 119 *u*) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18^{8} (unless the לְ here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 *n*); Is 32^{1} (where, however, וְשָׂרִים should most probably be read); Ec 9^{4}, 1 Ch 7^{1}, $24^{20\,\mathrm{ff.}}$, 2 Ch 7^{21}. On the other hand, ψ 16^{3}, 17^{4}, 32^{6}, 89^{19}, 119^{91}, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9^{4}, and in לְכֹל Gn 9^{10}, 23^{10}, Ex $27^{3.19}$, Ez 44^{9}, &c., לְ is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lă*, *surely*; Assyrian *lû*; with כֹּל it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also לְ—לְ *sive—sive*, *et—et*, Jos 17^{16}, Ezr 1^{11}, Assyrian *lû—lû*.

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[1] Cf. the Mêša' inscription, l. 31, *and Ḥoronain, 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).*

a **1.** According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a specification of the subject in the form of *personal affformatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of preformatives). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. וְיַדְעֻתֶּם Ez 23[49]; עֲשִׂיתֶם Ru 1[8]; in the imperfect, Jo 2[22], Ct 2[7]; in the imperative, Am 4[1], Zc 13[7] (for other examples, see § 110 *k*). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 *a* and *b*.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 *g*; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 *o*, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 *d*, between subject and predicate, § 145 *p*, *t*, *u*.

b **2.** The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially in the masculine, e.g. וַיְהִי *and it came to pass*, וְהָיָה *and it shall come to pass*; חָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i.e. *he became angry*, Gn 4[6], &c.; וַתֵּצֶר לוֹ lit. *and it became strait to him, he was distressed*, Gn 32[8];[1] also in the feminine, e.g. 1 S 30[6] (Ju 10[9]) וַתֵּצֶר לְדָוִד; Ju 11[39], Jer 7[31], Ez 12[25], Jb 15[32] (unless תְּמוּרָתוֹ in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1[6] (רֻכָּכָה), 29[6] (תִּפָּקֵד). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7[7], 14[24], Jer 10[7], Jb 4[5], 18[15] (in 2 K 24[7] כָּל־אֲשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19[5] אֲשֶׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17[11] וְהָיָה *and this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

c Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. אוֹר *it becomes light*, 1 S 29[10] (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44[3]); וַיְאֹר *and it became light*; so also יַחְשֶׁךְ *it grows dark*, Jer 13[16]; but וְחָשְׁכָה Mi 3[6]; תֶּעְפָּה *though there be darkness*, Jb 11[17]; תַּמְטִיר *it rains*, Am 4[7] (where, however, the context requires the reading אַמְטִיר); ψ 50[3] נְשָׂעֲרָה *it is tempestuous*.

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[1] In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms חַם *hot*, טוֹב *good, well*, מַר *bitter*, צַר *narrow*, רַע *evil* (frequently joined by לִי, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on ψ 18[7], 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. קָרָא *one* (sc. any *one who named* it, see the Rem.) *called* (or *calls*) it, Gn 11[9], 16[14], 19[22], Ex 15[23]; וַיִּקְרָא Gn 35[8.10], 2 S 2[16], Is 9[5]; וַיֹּאמֶר *one said*, Gn 48[1], 1 S 16[4]; [2] other examples are Gn 38[28] *one put out a hand*; Nu 23[21], 1 K 22[38], Is 6[10] וְרָפָא לוֹ *and one heals them*; 8[4] (יִשָּׂא); 46[7] (יִצָּעֵק); Am 6[12], Mi 2[4], Jb 27[23]; by the 3rd singular feminine (יָלְדָה) Nu 26[59].

e Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. קָרָא הַקּוֹרֵא. This view is supported by the fact that such a complement sometimes occurs, e. g. Is 16[10] יְרֹךְ הַדֹּרֵךְ *the treader treads out*, for *one treads out*; 28[4.24] (*doth one plow continually?*); Dt 17[6] (Ez 18[32]), Dt 22[8], 2 S 17[9] (Ez 33[4]), Jer 9[23]; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun*, *a sayer says*, i. e. *some one says*), e. g. Nu 6[9], Am 9[1]; cf. above, § 116 *t*, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16[4].

f (*b*) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29[2] *for out of that well* יַשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) *watered the flocks*; 26[18], 35[5], 41[14], 49[31], 1 K 1[2], Is 38[16], Ho 12[9], Jb 18[18], 34[20], Est 2[2], Neh 2[7].

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e.g. Gn 34[27]. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 *c*); e.g. Jb 7[3] *wearisome nights* מִנּוּ־לִי *have they allotted to me* (equivalent to *were allotted to me*; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4[19], 6[2], 18[18], 19[26], 34[20], Ez 32[25], ψ 63[11], Pr 2[22] (in parallelism with a passive); 9[11].

h (*c*) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7[25] לֹא־תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *one will* (or *can*) *not come thither* (prop. *thou wilt . . .*); Jer 23[37], Pr 19[25], 30[28] (unless the reading should be תִּתָּפֵשׂ). Cf. also עַד־בֹּאֲךָ or simply בֹּאֲךָ (Gn 10[19.30], 13[10] בֹּאֲכָה) prop. *until thy coming*, i. e. *until one comes*.

i (*d*) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38[23] *and all thy wives and thy children* מוֹצִאִים (prop. *are they bringing out* =) *they will bring out*, &c.; cf. Is 32[12], Ez 13[7], Neh 6[10] (*for some are coming to slay thee*)

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[1] In 1 S 9[9] הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

[2] Elsewhere in such cases וַיֹּאמְרוּ usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e.g. 1 S 23[22]), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48[1], &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 *d*, note. In Gn 48[2] for the extraordinary וַיִּגַּד the common form וַיֻּגַּד is to be read; so in 50[26] for וַיִּישָׂם (after a plural) either וַיּוּשַׂם or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21[23] וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

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person; cf. e.g. Gn 40^{22} (41^{13}), 41^{14}, 43^{34} (*and he commanded to set before them*, &c.); 46^{29}, 2 S 12^{9}.

o 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24^{11} after וְתַחְתֵּם either עֵינִי has dropped out (through confusion with עָלֶיךָ) or we should read with the LXX ואחם. In 2 S 13^{39} (וַתִּכַל דָּוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

p 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language[1] there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49^{4} (?), Is 31^{6} (?), 42^{20}, 52^{14}, 61^{7}, Mal 2^{15} (where, however, for יִבְגֹּד we should undoubtedly read תִּבְגֹּד); ψ 22^{9} [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22^{16}, 47^{8}, 48^{1}, $54^{1.11}$, Jer 22^{16}, $49^{4.16}$, Am $5^{6\,f.}$, Mic 1^{2} (= 1 K 22^{28}), Mal 3^{9}, 2 K 9^{31}; and after הוֹי Is 5^{8}, 29^{15}, Jer 22^{13}]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32^{15}, Is 1^{29} (but read probably חֲמַדְתֶּם for חֲמַדְתֶּם, which has caused the insertion of אֲשֶׁר), 5^{8}, Jer 29^{19}, Jb 16^{7}, cf. also Dt 32^{17}. From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3^{1} (in a relative clause). In Jb 13^{28} the 3rd pers. וְהוּא is probably employed *δεικτικῶς* for the 1st.

§ 145. *Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.*

a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. זֹאת בְּרִיתִי *this is my covenant*, Gn 17^{10}). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see *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*): (*α*) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30^{38} הַצֹּאן תָּבֹאנָה (cf. 30^{39}, 31^{8} and 33^{13}); Ju $1^{22\,f.}$ בֵּית representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4^{3} גּוֹי; 2 K 25^{5} חֵיל *army*; Pr 11^{26} לְאֹם

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[1] In prose, Lv 2^{8}; but וְהִקְרִיבָהּ here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26^{7}, where there is a transition to direct narration.

the people; Nu 10[3] כָּל־הָעֵדָה *all the congregation* (cf. 1 K 8[5]); 1 K 1[40], Is 9[8], 25[3], Am 1[5] עַם; 1 S 17[47], Ezr 10[12] קָהָל *assembly*. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 *i*), e. g. 1 K 20[20] וַיָּנֻסוּ אֲרָם *and the Syrians fled*; 1 S 4[5].—(*β*) with the predicate following, 1 K 8[5] צֹאן וּבָקָר *sheep and oxen*, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 1[14] הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the cattle* (cows) *were ploughing*; 2 S 3[1] and 1 Ch 10[6] בַּיִת=*family* (in 1 S 6[13] בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ on the analogy of names of countries, is used for *the inhabitants of Bethshemesh*); Ho 11[7], Ezr 4[4] עַם; ψ 68[11] חַיָּה *herd* [if correct, figuratively for *people*]; Is 26[19] נִבְלָה *dead bodies*; Is 27[11] קְצִיר *boughs*; 1 S 4[1] יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(*b*) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (*a*) with the predicate preceding, Gn 34[24] זָכָר; Ju 9[55], 15[10] אִישׁ; Is 16[4] רֹמֵס *the treader down*.—(*β*) with the predicate following, Jb 8[19] אַחֵר=*others*; Ez 28[3] סָתוּם *a secret*; [ψ 9[7], and even after זֶה Jb 19[19].] *d*

(*c*) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (*a*) with the predicate preceding, 1 S 17[46] וְיֵדְעוּ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *that all the earth may know*, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9[28], ψ 66[1], 96[1.9], &c.; Am 1[8] שְׁאֵרִית *remnant*; (ψ 33[8] כָּל־הָאָרֶץ).—(*β*) with the predicate following, Gn 41[57], 2 S 15[23], 1 K 10[24], Gn 48[6] מוֹלֶדֶת *issue*; 1 S 2[33] כָּל־מַרְבִּית *all the increase*; Jb 30[12] פִּרְחָה *rabble*. In Hag 2[7] read חֶמְדַּת with the LXX. *e*

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35[11], Ex 10[24], 14[10], Dt 1[39], &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 *c*. *f*

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially when the predicate precedes; see *o* below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e. g. Ex 1[20] וַיִּרֶב הָעָם וַיַּעַצְמוּ מְאֹד *and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty*; 33[4]. *g*

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.), אֲדֹנִים *master*, Ex 21[4] בְּעָלִים *master, owner*, Ex 21[29]; cf., moreover, פָּנִים with the singular, Jb 16[16] *Keth.*, רַחֲמִים Pr 12[10].—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e. g. Ec 12[9] הָיָה קֹהֶלֶת חָכָם *the preacher was wise*. *h*

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים *God* with the plural of the predicate may be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19[2], 20[10], where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *E* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 *g*, note 2. So Gn 20[13] (but in conversation with a heathen); 31[53], 35[7], cf. also Jos 24[19]. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9[18] compared with Ex 32[4.8], and 1 Ch 17[21] compared with 2 S 7[23]. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20[13] in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77. *i*

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate[1] (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 *s*); thus Jo 1[20] בַּהֲמוֹת שָׂדֶה תַּעֲרֹג *the beasts of the field long*; Jer 12[4] (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12[7]; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24[13], Is 34[13], Jer 4[14], 51[29], ψ 18[35], 37[31], 73[2] *Keth.*, 103[5] (unless הֻמְחַדְּשׁ is to be read for תִּתְחַדֵּשׁ), Jb 14[19], 27[20]; with the predicate following, Gn 49[22] (בָּנוֹת=*branches*); Dt 21[7], 1 S 4[15] (וְעֵינָיו קָמָה),[2] 2 S 10[9], Is 59[12], Jer 2[15] *Keth.*, 48[41], 49[24], Pr 15[23], 20[18], Jb 41[10].[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 27[29] (Nu 24[9]) אֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר וּמְבָרֲכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ *those that curse thee, cursed be* every one of them, *and those that bless thee, blessed be* every one of them; Ex 31[14], Lv 17[14] and 19[8] (in both places the Samaritan has אֹכְלוֹ); Is 3[12] unless נֹגְשָׂיו is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 *k*; Pr 3[18.35] (?), 18[21] (?), 21[27*b*], 27[16], 28[1*b*], 28[16] *Keth.*

m Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent[4] use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal*-suffixes in Dt 21[10], 28[48], Am 6[10]; and the *noun*-suffixes in Is 2[8], 30[22], Jer 31[14], Ho 4[8] (but since ו follows, נַפְשׁוֹ is undoubtedly a dittography for נַפְשׁ), Zc 14[12], ψ 5[10] (where, however, פִּימוֹ is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62[5], 141[10] (?), Jb 38[32], Ec 10[15] [but LXX הַכְּסִיל]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2[20] אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ־לוֹ *which they made* each one *for himself* (according to others, *which they* (*the makers*) *made for him*); 5[26], 8[20], Jb 24[5], in each case לוֹ; in Gn 2[19] לוֹ refers to the collectives חַיָּה and עוֹף; cf. further, Jos 24[7], Is 5[23] מְסַּנֵּנוּ after צַדִּיקִים (but read probably צַדִּיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1[11] עִבְרִי לָכֶם [cf. Jer 13[20] *Keth.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

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[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 1[20], ψ 37[31], 103[5].

[3] In Pr 14[1] an abstract plural חָכְמוֹת (to be read thus with 9[1], &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 16[7].]

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Dt 21³ (according to the accents); 22²³, Is 18⁵ וּבֹסֶר גֹּמֵל יִהְיֶה נִצָּה *and a ripening grape the flower becometh.*

r (*b*) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. ψ 119¹³⁷ יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *upright* are *thy judgements*; cf. verse 155.[1]—On the other hand, רֹעֶה in רֹעֶה צֹאן עֲבָדֶיךָ *thy servants are shepherds*, Gn 47³, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for רֹעֵי.

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 1¹⁴ יְהִי מְאֹרֹת . . . וְהָיוּ (see *o* above); Nu 9⁶, 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 רִגְזָה, and afterwards עוֹרֵר (but עוֹרֵר is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading הָקֵם for הֵקִים); 33⁹ אָבַל אֻמְלְלָה אָרֶץ *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 afformative *î*, Is 57⁸, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³² (תִּהְיֶה 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 נֶפֶשׁ *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 הָאֶחָד instead of הָאַחַת; וְהָיָה then follows correctly; 1 S 2²⁰ read with Wellhausen שָׁאֵל, according to 1²⁸, instead of שָׁאַל; 1 S 16⁴ read וַיֹּאמְרוּ; Ez 18²⁹ instead of יִתֵּן read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20³⁸ for יָבוֹא,[2] and in Jb 6²⁰ for בָּטַח; in La 5¹⁰ read נִכְמָר, and cf. in general, § 7 *d*, note; 1 Ch 2⁴⁸ read יָלְדָה; 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 רַגְלָיו), ψ 11⁴ (after עֵינָיו), 63⁴, Pr 5², 10²¹.³² 18⁶, 26²³, Jb 15⁶ (all after שִׂפְתַיִם), Pr 3² (after מִצְוֹתַי), ψ 102²⁸, Jb 16²² (after שָׁנוֹת), Dn 11⁴¹ (read וְרִבּוֹת), 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 f. יִהְיֶה, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.[3]—In Gn 4⁷ רֹבֵץ

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[1] This does not include such cases as Jb 24⁷.¹⁰, where עָרוֹם is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 *n*.

[2] יבוא probably an error for יבאו. The Masora on Lv 11³⁴ reckons fourteen instances of יָבֹא, 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 אִשֵּׁי יְהוָה . . . הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ *the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance*; in number and gender, Lv 25³³ *Qerê*; Jer 10³.

is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gn 47[24] יִהְיֶה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28[22], Ex 12[49], 28[7.32], Nu 9[14], 15[29], Jer 50[46], Ec 2[7] (הָיָה לִי as if the sentence began afresh, *and servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot* this possession also). In Jb 20[26] לֹא־נֻפַּח may (unless אֵשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122 *o*) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16[8] and Hb 3[17] the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׁרֵמוֹת (see *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87[3], Pr 2[10], 12[25], 29[25], Jb 8[7], 36[18].

§ 146. *Construction of Compound Subjects.*

a **1.** When the subject is composed of a nomen regens (in the construct state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the nomen regens, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.[1] Thus 1 S 2[4] קֶשֶׁת גִּבֹּרִים חַתִּים *the bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex 26[12], Lv 13[9], 1 K 1[41] (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17[16], Is 2[11], 21[17], Zc 8[10], Jb 15[20], 21[21], 29[10], 32[7] (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38[21]; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10[9], unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

b Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4[10] *the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. *as one crying*) . . . ! = *hark! thy brother's blood is crying*, &c.; Is 13[4], 66[6]. In Is 52[8] an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen!*; in Jer 10[22] and Ct 2[8] an independent noun-clause; in Is 40[3] קוֹל קֹרֵא *the voice of one that crieth!* i.e. *hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6[9] קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

c **2.** When the substantive כֹּל (כָּל־) *entirety* is used in connexion with a genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֹּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5[5] וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were*, &c. (in 5[23], 9[29] וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads ויהיו here also); Ex 15[20]; with the predicate following, ψ 150[6], &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17[14] (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8[25], Is 64[10], Pr 16[2], Na 3[7]. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12[16] the agreement of the

[1] Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with כָּל־ is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d **2.** When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(*a*) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e. g. Gn 8[22] *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁבֹּתוּ); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 *d*), e. g. Gn 18[11] אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זְקֵנִים *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28[32], 1 K 1[21].

e Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27[9] שֶׁמֶן וּקְטֹרֶת יְשַׂמַּח־לֵב *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine שֶׁמֶן (as in Is 51[3] with שָׂשׂוֹן); on the other hand, in Ex 21[4] (where הָאִשָּׁה וְיָלְדֶיהָ are the subjects) it agrees with הָאִשָּׁה as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9[4], it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.[1]

f (*b*) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40[1], Jb 3[5], &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9[23], 11[29], 21[32], 24[50], 34[20], Ju 14[5]; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e. g. Gn 3[8], 24[55] *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother*; 33[7]; before a masculine singular and a plural, e. g. Gn 7[7] וַיָּבֹא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and Noah went in, and his sons*, &c.; Gn 8[18] (where feminines plural also follow); 44[14], Ex 15[1], 2 S 5[21]; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12[2].

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e. g. Gn 31[14] וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e. g. Gn 24[61]; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12[1] וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5[1]; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e. g. Gn 33[7] (cf., on the other hand, ψ 75[4] נְמוֹגִים אֶרֶץ וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֶיהָ *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8[13].—In Jer 44[25] for אַתֶּם וּנְשֵׁיכֶם read אַתֶּם הַנָּשִׁים with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (*c*) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21[32], 24[61], 31[14], 33[7], &c., and § 145 *s*.

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[1]. Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33[2] *he put . . . Leah and her children* אַחֲרֹנִים *after*; אַחֲרֹנִים agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

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subject and copula (as Gn 18[9] הִנֵּה בְאָהֳלָה *behold* she is *in the tent*; 42[28]), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to הִנֵּה with the suffix, as in the frequent use of הִנֵּנִי, הִנֶּנִּי *here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הִנֵּה (or הֵן Gn 11[6], Jb 31[35]), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22[7] הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *here is the fire and the wood*, &c.; 12[19] *behold* thou hast *thy wife!* Ex 24[8]; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7[1] וְהִנֵּה לֶקֶשׁ וגו׳ *and lo*, it was *the latter growth*, &c. By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9[19], *lo, here am I!*

c 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(*a*) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7[20] *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon!* (verse 18 without חֶרֶב); 2 S 20[1] and 2 Ch 10[16] (cf. also 1 K 22[36]) *every man to his tents, O Israel!* (i.e. *let every man go to* or *remain in his tent*); without אִישׁ 1 K 12[16]; moreover, Is 1[28], 13[4] (on the exclamatory קוֹל equivalent to *hark!* cf. § 146 *b*); 28[10], 29[16] (הַפִּכְּכֶם *O your perversity!* i.e. how great it is!); Jer 49[16] (if תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee!*); Jo 4[14], Mal 1[13] (הִנֵּה מַתְּלָאָה *behold what a weariness!*); Jb 22[29]; perhaps also Gn 49[4] פַּחַז כַּמַּיִם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אַתָּה (*thou wast*).—(*b*) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4[20], cf. § 152 *k*; Jb 15[23] אַיֵּה *where* sc. is bread?—(*c*) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7[18] (see above); 1 K 12[16] (see above); 2 K 9[27] גַּם אֹתוֹ *him also!* explained immediately afterwards by הַכֵּהוּ *smite him!* Ho 5[8] *after thee, Benjamin!* sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5[14]); ψ 6[4], 90[13], Hb 2[6] עַד־מָתַי; ψ 74[9] עַד־מָה.—On וְלֹא *and if not* (unless וְלוּ is to be read), 2 S 13[26], 2 K 5[17], see § 159 *dd*.

d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections אֲהָהּ, אוֹי, הוֹי, הַס;[1] cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with לְ (cf. *vae tibi*) or אֶל־ or עַל־, e.g. אוֹי לָנוּ *woe unto us!* 1 S 4[8], Is 6[5]; of. also אֲהָהּ לַיּוֹם *alas for the day!* Jo 1[15]; 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, הוֹי אָחִי *alas, my brother!* 1 K 13[30],

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[1] We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הַס Ju 3[19], Am 6[10]) stand quite disconnectedly (so always אָח and הֶאָח).

Jer $2\,2^{18}$; הוֹי גּוֹי חֹטֵא *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1^{4}, $5^{8.11.18.20.22}$ (*ah! they that . . .*).— For הֵם cf. Hb 2^{20}, Zp 1^{7}, Zc 2^{17}.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *e* may perhaps occur in יְדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם ψ 115^{7}, for יָדַיִם לָהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פֶּה־לָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ Gn 22^{24}, and וְחָלְיוֹ Ec 5^{16} are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נְבִיאֲכֶם Nu 12^{6}; 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 וָה or וֹאת according to § 136 *c*.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מָה Jb 31^{1}) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!*; in Jo 1^{18} by מָה.

Examples:—

מָה (or מַה־ with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27^{20} (מַה־זֶּה); 38^{29}, Nu 24^{5} (*how goodly are . . .!*); ψ 21^{2}, Ct 7^{2}; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28^{17}, ψ 8^{2}; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6^{20} (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer 22^{23}, Jb $26^{2\,f.}$; indignantly, Gn 3^{13} מַה־זֹּאת; 4^{10}, 20^{9}, 31^{26} *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26^{9}, ψ 73^{19}; 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 39^{9}, 44^{8}, ψ 11^{1}, 137^{4}; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2^{4}.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is 1^{21}, La 1^{1}; with the imperfect, La 2^{1}, 4^{1}.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7^{18} מִי־אֵל כָּמוֹךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18^{20}; cf. 33^{11}, Is 7^{9}, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 *ee*.

§ 149. *Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.*

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gn 22^{16}) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as חַי־יְהוָה,

חַי־נַפְשְׁךָ[1], חַי אָנִי, בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2^{30}, 2 S 20^{20}, Jb 27^{5} 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 14^{24}, 22^{14}, Jer 22^{6}, Ez 3^{6}, 35^{6}, ψ 95^{11}. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם־לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25^{22}, where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְדָוִד with the LXX for לְאֹיְבֵי דָוִד.

Examples:—

c (*a*) The particles אִם and אִם־לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11^{11} (see note on *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי נַפְשֶׁךָ אִם־אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14^{45}, 2 K 5^{16} (after חַי יְהוָה; in 1 S 14^{39} and 29^{6} חַי־י׳ is followed by a simple כִּי); Ct 2^{7}, 3^{5} (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14^{23}, 21^{23}, 26^{29}; spoken by God, Dt $1^{34\,f.}$, 1 S 3^{14}, ψ 95^{11}; similarly אִם־לֹא Gn $24^{37\,f.}$; spoken by God, Is 14^{24}, where אִם־לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106 *n*, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer 22^{6}; in Gn 31^{52} the negative oath introduced by אִם־אָנִי, אִם־אַתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34^{10} the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם־לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.

d (*b*) אִם and אִם־לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3^{17} כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־תְּכַחֵד מִמֶּנִּי דָבָר וג׳ *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me*, &c.; cf. 1 S 25^{22}. On the other hand, כִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14^{44}, 1 K 2^{23} (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3^{35} כִּי אִם; in 1 S 25^{34} the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20^{13} the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.

e (*c*) אִם and אִם־לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5^{8} מָגֵן אִם־יֵרָאֶה וָרֹמַח וג׳ *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen*, &c.; Is 22^{14}, Jb 6^{28} (in the middle of the sentence); after חָלִילָה חָלִילָה *absit*, 2 S 20^{20}; אִם־לֹא with the imperf. Is 5^{9}, with the perfect, Jb 22^{20}.

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[1] Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי נַפְשְׁךָ 1 S 20^{3}, 25^{26} *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul* (i.e. *thou*) *liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11^{11} read חַי־יהוה instead of the impossible חַיֶּיךָ). On חַי and חֵי in these noun-clauses (prop. *living* is *the Lord*, &c.), cf. § 93 *aa*, note.

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אִם נֵחְדַּל[1] *shall we go . . . or shall we forbear?* Cf. also אָן *where? whither?* אָנָה *whither*, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(*a*) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e. g. Gn 43[7] הַעוֹד אֲבִיכֶם חַי הֲיֵשׁ לָכֶם אָח *is your father yet alive? have ye* another *brother?* for הֲיֵשׁ cf. Gn 24[23], 1 S 9[11]; for הֲכִי *is it that?* Jb 6[22]; for הֲכִי יֵשׁ *is there yet?* 2 S 9[1] (but in 2 S 23[19] for הֲכִי read הֲנוֹ with 1 Ch 11[25]); for הַאֵין *is there not?* 1 K 22[7], &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e. g. Jb 2[3] *hast thou considered* (הִשַּׁמְתָּ לִבְּךָ) *my servant Job?* In other cases הֲ (=*num?*) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14[14] *if a man die,* הֲיִחְיֶה *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 7[5] הַאַתָּה תִּבְנֶה־לִּי בַיִת *shalt thou build me an house?* (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17[4] לֹא אַתָּה וגו׳ *thou shalt not*, &c.); Gn 4[9] הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי *am I my brother's keeper?* cf. 2 K 5[7], and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (*constr.* Jb 34[18], *absol.* Jb 40[2]; on both, see § 113 *ee*, with the note). —On the other hand, in 1 K 16[31] for הֲנָקֵל (after וַיְהִי) read הַנָּקֵל.

e Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3[11] *surely thou hast eaten*; Gn 27[36] הֲכִי קָרָא prop. *is it so that one names?* &c., i. e. *of a truth he is rightly named Jacob*; Gn 29[15] *verily thou art my brother*; Dt 11[30], Ju 4[6], 1 S 2[27] *I did indeed*, &c.; 20[37], 1 K 22[3] *ye know surely . . .*; Mi 3[1], Jb 20[4].—In 1 S 23[19] (cf. ψ 54[2]) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9[7] a concession is expressed by הֲלוֹא *I have, it is true*, &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים Jos 10[13] or הֲלֹא הִיא כְתוּבָה equivalent to *surely it is, they are* written (the latter in 1 K 11[41], 14[29], and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הִנֵּה כְתוּבָה 2 S 1[18], and הֵנָּם כְּתוּבִים 1 K 14[19], 2 K 15[11], 2 Ch 27[7], 32[32].

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e. g. 2 S 2[22] *turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground?* i. e. *otherwise I will* (or *must*) *smite*, &c.; cf. 1 S 19[17], and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25[16]; also Gn 27[45], Ex 32[12] (Jo 2[17], ψ 79[10], 115[2]); Ct 1[7], Ec 5[5], 7[17], Dn 1[10].

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pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵי, 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 8[4] מַה־תָּעִירוּ *why should ye stir up?* i. e. *pray, stir not up*; cf. also Jb 31[1]; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by אִם (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1[27], Is 29[16], Jb 6[12], 39[13]. *f*

(*b*) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by הֲ—אִם (*utrum—an?*) or sometimes by וְאִם[1]—הֲ, e. g. Jo 1[2], Jb 21[4] (even with הֲ repeated after וְאִם in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17[17]). In Jb 34[17], 40[8 f.] special emphasis is given to the first member by הַאַף prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by אוֹ *or* in 2 K 6[27], Jb 16[3], 38[28], 31[36] (Mal 1[8] הֲ (אוֹ), in each case before מ, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination אִם מ׳; cf. also Ju 18[19], Ec 2[19]. *g*

Double questions with (וְאִם) הֲ—אִם need not always be mutually exclusive; frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e.g. Gn 37[8]) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4[17] *shall mortal man be just before God? or* (אִם) *shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6[5 f.], 8[3], 10[4 f.], 11[2.7], 22[3], Is 10[15], Jer 5[29]. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple וְ, e.g. Jb 13[7], 15[7 f.], 38[16 f. 22. 32. 39]; cf. also ψ 8[5] after מָה; Jb 21[17 f.] after בַּמָּה; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8[11], 22[4]; after מָה ψ 144[3]. *h*

(*c*) With regard to *indirect* questions[2] after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining,[3] &c., simple questions of this kind take either הֲ *whether*, Gn 8[8],[4] or אִם Gn 15[5], 2 K 1[2], Ct 7[13]; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5[1]; in 1 S 20[10] the indirect question is introduced by אוֹ, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) הֲ—אִם Nu 13[18] at the end (or הֲ—אִם־לֹא Gn 24[21], 27[21], 37[32], Ex 16[4]), and הֲ—הֲ Nu 13[18], which is followed by הֲ—אִם; also הֲ—אוֹ Ec 2[19]. The formula מִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם has an affirmative force, *who knows whether . . . not*, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4[14]. *i*

In Jon 1[7.8] the relative pronouns שֶׁ and אֲשֶׁר owing to the following לְמִי have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?* *k*

(*d*) זֶה and הוּא (cf. § 136 *c*) immediately after the interrogative serve to give vividness to the question; so also אֶפוֹא (for which אֵפוֹ five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27[33] מִי־אֶפוֹא הוּא *who then is he?* Ju 9[38], Is 19[12], Jb 17[15]; אַיֵּה אֵפוֹ; *l*

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[1] וְאִם occurs in Pr 27[24] after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read וְאַיִן. Not less irregular is הֲלֹא instead of אִם לֹא in the second clause of Ju 14[15], but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Judges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23[11] the second הֲ introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17[28] and in the third clause of Jb 6[13], הַאִם is best taken with Ewald in the sense of הֲלֹא, since אִם 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 43[6] the הַ after לְהַגִּיד is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

[4] Also in Ec 3[21] we should read הָעֹלָה and הַיֹּרֶדֶת (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . .? However, אֵפוֹא may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33[16], Is 22[1]; also Ho 13[10], since either אֵיֵּ֫הוּ is a dialectical form of אַיֵּה, or אַיֵּה should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27[37]. [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 5[4] after מַדּוּעַ *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i.e. wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is 50[2]; after הֲ Nu 32[6], Jer 8[4], also Nu 16[22] (read הָאִישׁ); after הֲלֹא Jos 22[20]; after לָמָּה Is 58[3], 2 Ch 32[4]; after אֶל־מִי Is 40[25]. [2] But הֲ Jb 4[2] and הֲלֹא 4[21] are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24[58], 27[24], 29[5], Ju 13[11]), Gn 29[6], 37[32 f.], 1 S 23[11], 26[17], 1 K 21[10], Jer 37[17]. (On וְיֵשׁ *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10[15], see § 159 *dd*.) As a negative answer the simple לֹא is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19[2], 1 K 3[22], &c.; cf. § 152 *c*; and in Ju 4[20] the simple אַיִן 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 נָא § 108 *c*), jussive (§ 109; with נָא § 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 מִי followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e.g. 2 S 15[4] מִי־יְשִׂמַנִי שֹׁפֵט *who maketh me judge?* i.e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20[10], 2 S 23[15]. On the other hand, מִי with the perfect (Gn 21[7], Nu 23[10], 1 S 26[9], Is 53[1], &c.) or participle (ψ 59[8], Pr 24[22], &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i.e. a denial, cf. § 150 *d*. Especially frequent is the use of מִי־יִתֵּן (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under *b*).—In Mal 1[10] the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

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[1] On the other hand, in Jb 9[24] and 24[25] אֵפוֹ is not prefixed to the מִי, but appended to the conditional sentence.

[2] Cf. the analogous sentences after יַעַן *because*, Is 65[12], Jer 35[17]; after causal אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26[23]; after כִּי Is 12[1]; likewise after גַּם § 153 at the end; after פֶּן Dt 8[12–14], 25[3], Jos 6[18], 2 S 12[28].

[3] The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e.g. in Nu 11[4] *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i.e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

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§ 152. *Negative Sentences.*

a **1.** Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6^{21}, where instead of the *K^{e}th.* לוֹ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek *οὐ*, *not*, אַל־=*μή* (Jb 24^{25} as a substantive), אַיִן (*it is*) *not*; טֶרֶם *not yet*, אֶפֶס *not*, אַפְסִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בַּל, בְּלִי, בִּלְתִּי *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and אַיִן the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negatived by לֹא (besides its use as negativing *single* words[1]), while אַיִן is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

b The conjunctions פֶּן־ and לְבִלְתִּי *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 כֹּל, כָּל־ (=*any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus*, *none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne*, *ne . . . rien*), usually in the order כֹּל . . . לֹא, e.g. Gn 3^{1} לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9^{11}, Ex 10^{15}, 20^{10}, Lv 7^{23}, Dt 8^{9}, Jer 13^{7}, 32^{17} (לֹא . . . כָּל־דָּבָר *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32^{27}); Pr 12^{21}, 30^{30}

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[1] Especially in compounds, e.g. לֹא־אֵל lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32^{21}; לֹא אֱלֹהַּ verse 17, cf. Jer 5^{7}, 2 Ch 13^{9}; לֹא־עָם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Dt 32^{21}; לֹא דָבָר *a nothing*, Am 6^{13}; לֹא עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10^{15}; לֹא־אִישׁ, לֹא־אָדָם lit. *not-man*, *superhuman* (of God), Is 31^{8}; לֹא־צֶדֶק *unrighteousness*, Jer 22^{13}, cf. Ez 22^{29}; לֹא־סְדָרִים *disorder*, Jb 10^{22}; לֹא־חָמָס *not-violence*, 16^{17}; after לְ Jb $26^{2f.}$ (לֹא־כֹחַ, לֹא־עֹז *helplessness*, לֹא חָכְמָה *insipientia*); cf. also Is 55^{2} בְּלוֹא לְשָׂבְעָה *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44^{13}, Jb 8^{11}, 15^{32}, 1 Ch 12^{33}.—In Nu 20^{5} a construct state with several genitives is negatived by לֹא.—Also לֹא is used with an infinitive, Nu 35^{23}; with an adjective, לֹא חָכָם *unwise*, Dt 32^{6}, Ho 13^{13}; לֹא־חָסִיד *impius*, ψ 43^{1}; לֹא־עָז and לֹא־עֲצוּם *not strong*, Pr $30^{25f.}$; לֹא־כֵן *unsuitably*, 2 K 7^{9}; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65^{2}, Ez 20^{25}, &c.; לֹא טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30^{17}; with a participle, e.g. Jer 2^{2} (*unsown*); 6^{8}, Ez 4^{14}, 22^{24}, Zp 2^{1}, 3^{5}; the Masora, however, requires נֶחָמָה in Is 54^{11}, נֶעֱזָבָה in 62^{12}, נוֹשָׁבָה in Jer 6^{8}, רֻחָמָה in Ho 1^{6}, i.e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause=*she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54^{11}, Ho 1^{6}, and especially 2^{25}) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the abc7e 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.

מִפְּנֵי־כֹל . . . לֹא and turneth *not* away *for any*; 2 Ch 32^{15}; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12^{16} כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12^{43}, 15^{26}, 22^{21}, Lv 16^{17}, Jb 33^{13}, Dn 11^{37}. The meaning is different when כֹּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e. g. Nu 23^{13} כֻּלּוֹ לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see them all*, but only a part.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23^{6}, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אֵין־כֹּל *nothing at all*, see under *p*.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, *c* equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 19^{2} (לֹא according to the context for לֹא נָסוּר &c.); 23^{11}, 42^{10}, Hag 2^{12}, Jb 23^{6}, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gn 19^{2} (see above); Jos 5^{14}, 1 K 3^{22}.

2. The negation of *noun*-clauses by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation *d* by אֵין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e. g. Ez 36^{32}), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3^{34} יָדֶיךָ לֹא־אֲסוּרוֹת *thy hands* were *not bound*, a participle is thus specially negatived by לֹא; cf. ψ 74^{9}, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֹתָנוּ, and Jb 12^{3}. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negatived by לֹא, Gn 20^{12}, Nu 35^{23} (Dt 4^{42}, 19^{4}); 1 S 15^{29}, 2 S 21^{2}, Jer 4^{22}, ψ 22^{7}, Jb 28^{14}, parallel with אֵין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e. g. Ex 4^{10} לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אָנֹכִי *I* am *not a man of words*; Am 5^{18}.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gn 29^{7}, Nu 23^{19}, Is 22^{2}, 44^{19}, Hag 1^{2}, ψ 22^{3}, Jb 9^{32}, 18^{17}, 21^{9}, 22^{16}, 36^{26} (with וְ of the apodosis); 41^{2}; in Jb 9^{33} even לֹא יֵשׁ *non est* is used instead of אֵין.—In Pr 18^{5} לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20^{26} (where a preceding noun-clause is negatived by בִּלְתִּי) read לֹא טָהוֹר with the LXX, for לֹא טָהוֹר. On לֹא for אֵין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is *e* separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22^{7}, Ec 10^{10} before the object and verb; Nu 16^{29} before the subject and verb; Dt 8^{9}, 2 S 3^{34}, ψ 49^{18}, 103^{10}, Jb 13^{16}, 34^{23} before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32^{5} לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנָיו are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 *v*.

(*b*) אַל 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 אַל with the imperfect, see § 107 *p*; with the cohortative, see § 108 *c*; on 2 K 6^{27}, see § 109 *h*.

Rem. 1. אַל (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound *g* word, as in Pr 12^{28} אַל־מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אֶל־מָוֶת. The instances in which אַל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like μή for μὴ γένηται), e. g. Ru 1^{13} אַל בִּנֹתַי *nay, my daughters*, and Gn 19^{18}, 33^{10} (אַל־נָא), are also due (see under *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13^{25} such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1^{21}, Is 62^{2}, ψ 83^{2} יְהִי is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2^{13}, Am 5^{14}, Pr 8^{10} the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17^{12} from the preceding infinitive absolute.

h 2. אַל־, like לֹא, regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64^{8}, Jer 10^{24}, 15^{15}, ψ 6^{2}, 38^{2} before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.[1]

i (*c*) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf. שְׁנֵים for שְׁנַיִם § 97 *d*) of אַיִן *non-existence* (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of יֵשׁ *existence*; cf. e.g. Gn 31^{29} with Neh 5^{5}. As יֵשׁ (*he, she, it is, was*, &c.) includes the idea of *being* in all tenses, so אַיִן, אֵין includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence—

k (1) The absolute state אַיִן, with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always *follows* the word negatived, e.g. Is 37^{3} (2 K 19^{3}) וְכֹחַ אַיִן לְלֶדֶת *and strength does not exist to bring forth*; Gn 2^{5} אַיִן *was not* present; Ex 17^{7} הַאִם־אַיִן *or is he not?* after הֲיֵשׁ *is he . . .?* (cf. Nu 13^{20}); Lv 26^{37}, Nu 20^{5}, Ju 4^{20} (אַיִן *no*). In 1 S 9^{4} and 10^{14} אַיִן is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18^{10}, Is 41^{17}, 45^{21}, 59^{11}, Mi 7^{2}, Pr 13^{4}, 25^{14}, Jb 3^{9} וְאַיִן *and let there be none, let none come!* Ec 3^{19}.—Cf. finally הַאִם־אַיִן *if it be not so*, Gn 30^{1}, Ex 32^{32}, Ju 9^{15}, 2 K 2^{10}.—Quite anomalous is אַיִן Jb 35^{15} 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 negatived. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26^{12} וְאֵין רֹאֶה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ וְאֵין מֵקִיץ *and there was not one seeing*, &c., i.e. *and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake*; so especially וְאֵין with a participle in subordinate *circumstantial* or *descriptive clauses*, such as Is 5^{29} וַיַּפְלִיט וְאֵין מַצִּיל *and he shall carry it away*, while there is none delivering, i.e. *without any one's delivering* it; ψ 7^{3}, &c.; Lv 26^{6} &c., וְאֵין מַחֲרִיד *without any one's making you afraid*; cf. § 141 *e*. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39^{23}, Nu 14^{42} אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם *the Lord is not among you*; Gn 37^{29} אֵין־יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר *Joseph was not in the pit.*

m (3) When the subject which is to be negatived is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין, according to § 100 *o*, e.g. אֵינֶנִּי *I am not, was not, shall not be*; אֵינְךָ, fem. אֵינֵךְ, *thou art not*, &c.; אֵינֶנּוּ, fem. אֵינֶנָּה *he, she is not*, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42^{13} *he is* (5^{24} *he was*) *no* longer *alive*; אֵינָם *they are not*, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see *l*) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5^{10} אֵינֶנִּי נֹתֵן *I will not give*; 8^{17}, Dt 1^{32}.

n Rem. In Neh 4^{17} אֵין אֲנִי for אֵינֶנִּי is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין־אֲנַחְנוּ.—In Hag 2^{17} אֵין אֶתְכֶם the pronominal complement of אֵין appears

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[1] In Jer 51^{3} the pointing אֶל־ occurs twice instead of אַל־, and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against* him that *bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read אַל־.

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לְבִלְתִּי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 *s*; on לְבִלְתִּי as a conjunction, see *x* below.

On אִם as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 *c* above.

u Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e.g. 2 S 23^4 בֹּקֶר לֹא עֲבוֹת *a morning* when there are *not clouds*, i.e. *a cloudless morning*; cf. Jb 12^{24}, 26^{2b}, 38^{26} (לֹא־אִישׁ *where no man is*, i.e. *uninhabited*); 1 Ch $2^{30.32}$ לֹא בָנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e.g. Jb 24^{10} and אֵין e.g. ψ 88^5 *I am as a man* אֵין־אֵיל *there is not help*, i.e. *like a helpless man*; Is 9^6 אֵין־קֵץ *endless*; 47^1, Ho 7^{11}; אֵין־מִסְפָּר *countless*, Ct 6^8, &c., but usually (ψ 104^{25}, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 *e*) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין־מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 *e*), e.g. Jb 30^{13} לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ they *for whom there is no helper*, i.e. *the helpless* (but probably עֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29^{12}, and we should read עֹצֵר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29^{12} translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in ψ 72^{12} וְאֵין־עֹזֵר is used in the same sense); Hb 1^{14}; with אֵין Is 45^9 *thy work* is that of a man *who hath no hands*; Zc 9^{11} *out of the waterless pit*.[1]

v How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1^6, ψ 72^{12}, Jb 29^{12}; cf. also Is 59^{10}, where כְּאֵין־עֵינַיִם is parallel with כַּעֲוֵרִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e.g. Is 40^{29} (= *and to the powerless*); Jb $26^{2\,a.3}$, Neh 8^{10}.

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w (*i*) פֶּן־ *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32^{12}, &c. (cf. δείδω μή, *vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמֶר, הִשָּׁמְרוּ Gn 24^6, 31^{24}, &c., *taking care*, 2 K 10^{23}, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which פֶּן־ depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e.g. Gn 19^{19} *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), פֶּן־תִּדְבָּקַנִי הָרָעָה *lest some evil overtake me*; Gn 26^9, 38^{11}; also in Gn 44^{34} from the rhetorical question *how shall I . . .?* we must understand *I cannot*, governing פֶּן. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case פֶּן־ is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e.g. Gn 11^4, 19^{15}, Nu 20^{18} (where פֶּן־ *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15^{12} after *swear unto me*; Pr 24^{18}.—In Gn 3^{22} *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., פֶּן־ is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26^7, 31^{31}, 42^4 Ex 13^{17}, 1 S 13^{19}, 27^{11}, ψ 38^{17}, in every case after כִּי אָמַרְתִּי, כִּי אָמַר, &c. = *I thought*, &c., *I must beware lest*, &c.

Rem. According to § 107 *q*, פֶּן־ is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20^6, 2 K 2^{16}, see § 107 *q*, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10^{23} רְאוּ פֶּן־יֵשׁ־פֹּה *look lest there be here*, &c.

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[1] In Pr 9^{13} (perhaps also 14^7; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal-clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex 20[20], 2 S 14[14] (in Jer 23[14] *x* read the infinitive שׁוּב for יָשֻׁבוּ, in 27[8] יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ez 13[3] בִּלְתִּי 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 οὐδείς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. Zp 2[2] (if the text is correct) בְּטֶרֶם לֹא־יָבוֹא *before there shall* (not) *come*.[1] This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of אֵין or בְּלִי with מִן־ *without* (§ 119 *y*), e. g. Is 5[9] (6[11]) מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב (for which in Jer 2[15] מִבְּלִי יֹשֵׁב), prop. *without no inhabitant*, i. e. *so that no inhabitant is left there*. On the other hand, in Is 50[2] מֵאֵין מַיִם the מִן־ is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex 14[11] הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין־ *is it because there were no . . . ?* 2 K 1[3.6.16]. In Ec 3[11] מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא *except that* (*yet so that man cannot*, &c.).

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to *z* a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e. g. 1 S 2[3] *talk not so much arrogancy; let* (not) *boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex 28[43], Lv 19[12], 22[9.15 f.], Nu 16[14], 23[19], Dt 7[25], Is 23[4], 28[27], 38[18], 47[14], Ez 16[47], ψ 9[19], 13[5], 35[19], 38[2], 44[19], 75[6], Jb 28[17] (so לָמָּה לֹא *why . . . not ?* in Jb 3[11] also affects the parallel clause).

§ 153. *Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.*

The particles אַךְ, רַק *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and גַּם, אַף *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 אַךְ Gn 7[23], 34[15]; רַק Gn 6[5], Am 3[2]; even הֲרַק אַךְ *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12[2]; גַּם Gn 27[34], Jb 7[11]; אַף Dt 15[17]), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אַךְ, e. g. Nu 14[9], 1 K 17[13], Pr 17[11], Jb 13[15], 14[22], 16[7], 23[6]; רַק Gn 20[11], 24[8], ψ 32[6], Pr 13[10]; גַּם Gn 27[33], 32[21] (גַּם הִנֵּה), 44[10]; 1 S 22[7], 28[20], Zc 9[11], Pr 17[26], 20[11]; אַף Jb 14[3], 15[4].—In Mal 1[10] and Jb 2[10] גַּם is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 *m*.

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[1] In 1 K 10[21] אֵין־כֶּסֶף goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to כִּי הַכֶּסֶף.

§ 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

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[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 25^{34}, five perfects with וְגַם) 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 ו (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(*a*) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12^{16} wāw copulativum six times, 24^{35} seven times, $15^{19\text{ff.}}$ nine times, and in Jos 7^{24} ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5^{32}, 10^{1}, 11^{26}, 13^{2}, 14^{1}, 30^{39}, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2^{26}); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45^{9}; cf. § 132 *d*. The formula תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם *yesterday* (and) *the day before yesterday*, Ex 5^{8}, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5^{27} *at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay*; Ex 15^{9}, Dt 32^{15}, 1 S 15^{6}, Jer 4^{7}, Am 5^{21}, ψ 10^{10}, 14^{1}, 45^{5}, Jb 20^{19}, 28^{4}, 29^{8}, Ct 2^{11}, 5^{6}, &c.

(*b*) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also *explanatory* (like *isque, et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English *to wit*), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4^{4} *and* (i.e. *namely*) *of the fat thereof* (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24^{12}, 25^{12} (*to wit two*); 27^{14}, 28^{23}, Ju 17^{3} (in וּמַסֵּכָה; here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17^{8}, Ez 3^{15}, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT.* Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17^{34} *and that too with the bear*; 2 S 13^{20}, Is 57^{11}, Jer 17^{10}, Am 3^{11}, 4^{10}, Ze 9^{9}, Pr 3^{12}, Neh 8^{13}, 2 Ch 23^{10} (but in 1 S 28^{3} the ו before בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as וְעַד—מִן *from . . . and even to . . .*, Gn 13^{3}, 14^{23}, $19^{4.11}$, &c.—In 1 S 6^{11} (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 1^{23}, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea, and*; in Is 32^{7} *even*.

ו is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gn 3^{16} וְהֵרֹנֵךְ; Is 2^{1}, ψ 18^{1}, perhaps also in Jb 10^{17} *yea, a* whole *host*; 2 Ch 16^{14}.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41^{12} *a seething pot* וְאַגְמֹן *with* burning *rushes*; cf. Ex 10^{10} (*with your little ones*), 12^{8}, Lv 1^{12}, Is 42^{5}. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

ו—ו is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76^{7}, Dn 1^{3}, 8^{13}. On ו—ו as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. §·162 *b*.

(*c*) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as גַּם *also, moreover*, summing up a number, e.g. גַּם־שְׁנֵיהֶם *both together*, Gn 27^{45}, Pr 17^{15}; גַּם־כֹּל *all together*; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gn 30^{8}, 37^{7}, 1 S 30^{8}; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24^{12} *see, yea see!* גַּם—גַּם or וְגַם—גַּם Gn 24^{44} = *both—and*; גַּם occurs three times in Gn 24^{25} and 32^{20}; also אַף, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also, in addition to this, even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44^{10}, &c.; and אַף—אַף (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. גַּם וְאַף *and even*, Lv 26^{44}; אַף־כִּי prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

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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 אֲשֶׁר, &c.; see § 138 *f*.

d In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*ṣila*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*ṣifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *allaḏî*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28^{49} (גּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִשְׁמַע לְשֹׁנוֹ *a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand*; cf. Is 66^{18}, and especially 1 S 3^{11}), 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 9^{22}, 12^{23}, 29^{1} (read prob. אֲשֶׁר for אֶחָד), 2 Ch 15^{11}; after כָּל־ 1 Ch 29^{3}, 2 Ch 18^{23}, 30^{17}, 31^{19}, Ezr 1^{5}, but also Gn 39^{4}; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*[8], p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18^{20}, Ju 8^{1}, 20^{15}, 1 K 13^{12} (= which way), so 2 K 3^{8}, 2 Ch 18^{23}; Neh 13^{23}; after a pronominal subject, 1 S 6^{9}. In Jer 52^{12} for עָמַד read עֹמֶד with the LXX.

e **2.** If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(*a*) Of a noun-clause, e.g. 2 S 20^{21} *a man of the hill country of Ephraim* שְׁבַע שְׁמוֹ *whose name was Sheba*; Zc 6^{12}, Jb 1^{1}, 3^{15} *with princes* זָהָב לָהֶם *that had gold*; ψ 11^{4}, Pr 22^{11}; when referring to a noun-suffix, e.g. ψ 49^{14} זֶה דַרְכָּם כֶּסֶל לָמוֹ *this is the way of them who have* (self-)*confidence*.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38^{26} עַל־אֶרֶץ לֹא־אִישׁ *on a land* where *no man* is, see § 152 *u*, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15^{13} בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם *in a land* that belongs *not to them*; Dt 32^{17} (לַשֵּׁדִים לֹא אֱלֹהַּ); Hb 1^{6}, Pr 26^{17} (לֹא־לוֹ).

f (*b*) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

(1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the

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[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 34[9] *happy is the man* יֶחֱסֶה־בּוֹ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3[3b] הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said*; after כָּל־ ψ 71[18]; referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54[1], or to a noun-suffix (see under *e*), ψ 16[4]; after an indeterminate substantive, e. g. Jb 31[12] *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32[17b], 1 S 6[9], Is 55[13], 56[2], ψ 68[31], 78[6], Pr 30[17], La 1[10], 2 Ch 28[9]; referring to the suffix in הִנֵּנִי Is 28[16], prop. *behold me, who have laid*, &c., but perhaps the participle יֹסֵד is to be read; 29[14], 38[5] (but probably again the participle יוֹסֵף should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25[7]. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e. g. Gn 49[27] זְאֵב יִטְרָף *a wolf* that *ravineth*, i. e. *a ravining wolf*; Is 51[12]; to express a negative quality, e. g. Is 40[20], Ho 4[14] עָם לֹא־יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

g Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives which have the particle of comparison כְּ, e. g. Jb 7[2] כְּעֶבֶד יִשְׁאַף־צֵל *as a servant* that *earnestly desireth the shadow*, &c.; Dt 32[11], Is 62[1], Jer 23[29], Ho 6[3], ψ 42[2], 83[15], Jb 9[26], 11[16]; so also after כְּמוֹ ψ 58[5]; after a determinate substantive, e. g. Is 53[7] (but the better reading is כְּשֶׂה without the article), 61[10 f.], Hb 2[14], ψ 49[13.21], 125[1]; 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 כְּ (for כַּאֲשֶׁר; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 *b*) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards ψ 90[5], 125[1], Is 53[7], 61[11], but it can hardly be right.

h (2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 *b*. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32[17] אֱלֹהִים לֹא יְדָעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with כְּ (see above, *g*), Jer 23[9], Jb 13[28]. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8[1], ψ 33[12] (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר); Jb 28[1]. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15[7] (יִתְרָה עָשָׂה, for which Jer 48[36] יִתְרַת עָשָׂה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 *d*), ψ 7[16], 51[10], La 1[21].—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e. g. Is 6[6] רִצְפָּה בְּמֶלְקָחַיִם לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15[17], Is 42[16] (48[17], ψ 25[12], all after בְּדֶרֶךְ; but ψ 32[8] תֵּלֵךְ־זוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ); Is 64[2]; Ec 10[5] (in 6[1] the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14[18] read with the LXX אֶל־אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land* (that) *they know not*.

i (3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2[6] end.

Thus after a determinate substantive, ψ 18[3] צוּרִי אֶחְסֶה־בּוֹ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18[20], Is 42[1]; in Jb 3[3a] also, the omission of the article with יוֹם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2[6], last clause but one; ψ 32[2].

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51[1] *look unto the rock* חֻצַּבְתֶּם (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit* נִקַּרְתֶּם (whence) *ye were digged*; Jb 21[27] *the devices* (wherewith) *ye act violently against me.*—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38[19] *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth?* cf. 38[24].

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 *d*, cf. the following: after בְּיוֹם Lv 7[35], ψ 56[10]; after מִיּוֹם Jer 36[2]; after simple יוֹם ψ 56[4] (יוֹם אִירָא *on the day* when *I am afraid*); after בְּעֵת 2 Ch 29[27] (בְּעֵת הֵחֵל הָעוֹלָה *at the time* when *the burnt offering began*); 20[22], 24[11], Jb 6[17]; after לְעֵת Dt 32[35]; after עַד־עֵת Mi 5[2]; after מֵעֵת ψ 4[8] *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time* (when) *their corn and their wine are increased.*

m 2. The agreement (§ 138 *d*) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26[14] *who art thou* (that) *criest?* Cf., however, Is 63[19] *we are become* as they *over whom* (בָּם not בָּנוּ) *thou no longer bearest rule.*

n 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even *independent* relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 *e*. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(*a*) As subject, Is 41[24] *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you* (but read perhaps לְבָחוֹר); Jb 30[13], cf. § 152 *u*.

(*b*) As object, Is 41[2], with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2[16] וְכִסָּה *and* him *that covereth* (or read וְכֹסֶה?); Jb 29[12] *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and* him *that had none to help him.*

(*c*) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 *d*), Ex 4[13] שְׁלַח־נָא בְיַד־תִּשְׁלָח *send, I pray thee, by the hand of* him *whom thou wilt send*, i.e. by the hand of some one else; ψ 65[5] and Pr 8[32], verbal-clauses after אַשְׁרֵי *O the happiness of* the man, &c.; ψ 81[6], 141[9], Jb 29[16], La 1[14]; after כָּל Gn 39[4], but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, כָּל־אֲשֶׁר יֶשׁ־לוֹ as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9[4]; verbal-clauses after כָּל 1 Ch 29[3], 2 Ch 30[19], 31[19], Ezr 1[5].

(*d*) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אַחֲרֵי Jer 2[8]; after אֶל (=*to the place where*), 1 Ch 15[12], but Ex 23[20] before the same

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&c.;[1] so also *to cast oneself down*, אַפַּיִם אַרְצָה *the face* being turned *to the earth*, Gn 19[1], &c. (for אַרְצָה we find אֶרֶץ in 1 K 1[31], Is 49[23]).[2]—Cf. finally the formula אֵם עַל־בָּנִים *mother with children*, Gn 32[12]; cf. Ho 10[14] 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[11 b] woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, יַיִן יַדְלִיקֵם *while wine inflames them*; Is 1[5], 10[24], 30[31], Jer 7[26], 20[15], ψ 4[3], 5[12], 21[13], 62[5]. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44[12], 48[14] = *crossing his hands*; Dt 2[27], Ju 6[19]; antithetically, 1 K 13[18] כִּחֲשׁ לוֹ *wherewith however he lied unto him*. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7[7] מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ *since thou hast commanded judgement*; a consequence in ψ 103[5].[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 קוּם), 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 1[17] לֹא יַבְדִּיל *without dividing* it *asunder*; Jb 31[34]; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44[4], Ex 34[28], 1 S 30[2], Jb 20[26] (*without its being blown upon it*). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27[9] לְבִלְתִּי קוּם *so that they shall rise up no more*.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without* doing, &c.) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20[2], Jb 24[22], 42[3]; in a concessive sense, Is 33[1], ψ 44[18].

g Of (3), cf. לֹא יָדַע (prop. *he knows it not*) *unawares*, ψ 35[8], Pr 5[6] לֹא יַחְמֹל *unsparingly*, Is 30[14] (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1[17], Jb 6[10] (but וְלֹא יַחְמֹל Jb 16[13], 27[22]; see *f* at the end); לֹא כָחֲדוּ (prop. *they hide not*) *openly*, Is 3[9] (but

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[1] The expression הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים *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 פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים.

[2] That אַרְצָה (אֶרֶץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפַּיִם, and not אַפַּיִם as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 49[23], where אַפַּיִם אֶרֶץ precedes the verb.

[3] Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 *a-c*.

[4] In Gn 21[14] the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׂם עַל־שִׁכְמָהּ is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read וְאֶת־הַיֶּלֶד שׂ׳ ע׳ ש׳. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17[25] he was about 16 or 17 years old.

Jb 15[18] וְלֹא כִחֲדוּ) ; בְּלִי חָשְׂךְ (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14[6] ; בַּל־יָמוּט Jb 41[15] (ψ 93[1] בַּל־תִּמּוֹט) and לֹא יָמוּט Is 40[20] (*without tottering*) *immovably* ; cf. also לֹא אֶמְעָד *without wavering*, ψ 26[1].

§ 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 12[13] אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ *say, I pray thee, thou art my sister* ; ψ 10[13], Jb 25[3 *a*.14], Neh 6[6] ; Zc 8[23] (after שָׁמַע) ; ψ 9[21] (after יָדַע) ; verbal-clauses, e. g. ψ 50[21] *thou thoughtest* הָיוֹת־אֶהְיֶה כָּמוֹךָ *I was surely like thyself* [but read הָיוֹ for הָיוֹת] ; Gn 41[15], Ju 9[48] *what ye have seen me do* ; Is 48[8], Ho 7[2].

b (*b*) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gn 6[5] וַיַּרְא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת 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 *ὅτι recitativum* ; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26[9], 27[20]), e. g. Gn 21[30], 22[16 f.], 26[22], 29[32], 37[35], Jos 2[24], &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4[25], 32[31], 41[51 f.], Ex 18[4].—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 *h*.[2]

c (*c*) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Est 3[4] כִּי־הִגִּיד לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר־הוּא יְהוּדִי *for he had told them that he was a Jew* ; 1 S 18[15], Ez 20[26], Ec 8[12],[3] even before direct narration, 1 S 15[20], 2 S 1[4]. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

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[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 Jahrbb. 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 21[23] וְלֹא־נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבֹר בִּגְבֻלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border* ; 20[21] ; followed by an infinitive with לְ, e. g. Gn 20[6], 31[7], Ex 3[19].—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28[56] (after נִסָּה *to venture* ; see § 113 *d*) ; Ju 11[20] (after הֶאֱמִין *to trust*) ; 1 K 19[4] (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

[3] In Jer 28[9] a *subject*-clause is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אֵת־ (equivalent to *the circumstance, the fact, that*), e. g. Jos 2^{10}, 1 S $24^{11.19}$, 2 S 11^{20}, Is 38^{3}, but in Gn 30^{29}, Dt 29^{15} equivalent to *the way in which.*

§ 158. *Causal Clauses.*

a A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw copulative*, e. g. ψ 60^{13} *give us help against the adversary, and* (for) *vain is the help of man*; Gn 6^{17} (וְאֲנִי), 22^{12}, Ex 23^{9}, Jb 22^{12}, perhaps also ψ 7^{10}; or even without *Wāw*, e. g. Gn 17^{14}. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.

b The most common causal conjunctions are יַעַן כִּי Is 3^{16}, &c., and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *because*, prop. *on account of the fact that*; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יַעַן Nu 20^{12}, &c., or to כִּי *because*, Gn $3^{14.17}$, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30^{18}, 31^{49}, $34^{13.27}$, 1 S 15^{15}, 20^{42}, $26^{16.23}$, 1 K 3^{19}, 8^{33}, Ho 14^{4}, Zc 1^{15}; also בַּאֲשֶׁר Gn $39^{9.23}$. On the other hand, the simple יַעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יַעַן וּבְיַעַן (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26^{43}, Ez 13^{10} (without וּ 36^{3}); also עַל־אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3^{30}, and עַל־כִּי[1] Dt 31^{17}, Ju 3^{12}, Mal 2^{14} *on the ground that*; עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר *because of the circumstance that*, Dt 23^{5}; עַל־כָּל־אֹדוֹת אֲשֶׁר *for this very cause that*, Jer 3^{8}. But just as the simple יַעַן is used for יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל־ with the perfect stands for עַל־אֲשֶׁר ψ 119^{136}, Ezr 3^{11}; cf. עַל־בְּלִי Gn 31^{20} and מִבְּלִי Dt 28^{55} both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not.*—Cf. further עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר Gn 22^{18}, 26^{5}, 2 S 12^{6}, all with the perfect, and עֵקֶב כִּי (2 S 12^{10} with the perfect; Am 4^{12} with the imperfect) prop. *in return* for the fact *that*; similarly again the simple עֵקֶב Nu 14^{24} with the perfect, and Dt 7^{12}, 8^{20} with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43^{4} *arising from* the fact *that*, = *because*; תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26^{21}, &c., and תַּחַת כִּי Dt 4^{37}, Pr 1^{29} *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 1^{9} עַל־הַסְגִּירָם . . . וְלֹא זָכְרוּ *because they delivered up . . . and remembered not*, &c.; 1^{11}, 2^{4}; without *Wāw*, Is 30^{14}.

d 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 ff., viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 *f*) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e.g. Dt 7^{12}, 8^{20}, 1 K 8^{33}, 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.

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[1] Also כִּי־עַל־כֵּן prop. *for therefore*, Gn 18^{5}, 19^{8}, 33^{10}, 38^{26}, Nu 10^{31}, 14^{43}, 2 S 18^{20} *Qerê*, and אֲשֶׁר עַל־כֵּן Jb 34^{27}, always mean *forasmuch as.*

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what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8[12]); with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47[25], Ex 33[5]; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5[8] (see § 107 *x*).

d (*b*) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 *h*, *i*) and apodosis, ψ 104[10] תָּשֶׁת־חֹשֶׁךְ וִיהִי לָיְלָה (if) *thou makest darkness, it is night*; imperfect in the apodosis, ψ 104[29 *b*]; cohortative Pr 1[23]. Also in Ex 7[9] יְהִי לְתַנִּין *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down*; so in 2 K 5[10] וְיִשְׁבֹּ 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 40[6]; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19[18] אָקוּמָה וַיְדַבְּרוּ־בִי (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 139[11] וְאֹמַר *if I say*, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2[16].

g (*e*) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 *kk* and *ll*), Gn 44[22] וְעָזַב אֶת־אָבִיו וָמֵת *and should he leave his father, his father would die*; 9[15], 44[29], Ex 4[14], 12[13], 1 S 16[2], 19[3], 2 S 13[28], 1 K 8[30]; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16[21] (referring to the past, Jer 20[9]); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by לֹא), Nu 23[20], Jb 5[24]; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2[37]; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10[19]; a noun-clause, ψ 37[10], Jb 7[21].

h (*f*) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18[22] מָצָא אִשָּׁה מָצָא טוֹב *has one found a wife, he has found a good thing*; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19[4], 23[10]; an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20[25], Pr 11[2], Jb 3[25], 23[13 *b*], 29[11]; an interrogative clause, Nu 12[14], Jb 7[20] *if I have sinned* (prop., well, now I have sinned!) *what can I do unto thee?* 21[31], 35[6] Am 3[8]; a noun-clause, Jb 27[19].

i (*g*) *A participle* as *casus pendens* (cf. § 143 *d*, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 *w*) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw apodosis*, e.g. Pr 23[24] *Keth.* יוֹלֵד חָכָם וְיִשְׂמַח בּוֹ *if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him*; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2[13], &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21[12] (cf. § 112 *n*); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7[2.19]; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6[13].

k (*h*) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 *mm*), e.g. 2 S 7[14 ff.] בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ וְהֹכַחְתִּיו וגו׳ *if he commit iniquity, I will correct him*; Ex 34[34 f.] (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate *imperatives*, see § 110 *f*.

l 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes הֵן, see below, under *w*) and לוּ[1] (1 S 14[30], Is 63[19] לוּא; Ec 6[6], Est 7[4] אִלּוּ, from אִם לוּ) *if*, negative אִם לֹא and לוּלֵא (לוּלֵי) *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 (אִם לֹא) and לוּ (לוּלֵא), 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 לוּ 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, אִם 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, לוּ (לוּלֵא) 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, לוּ and לוּלֵא 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 *m* speaker (see under *a*), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between אִם and לוּ is not always consistently observed. Although naturally לוּ and לוּלֵא cannot take the place of אִם and אִם לֹא (on the strange use of לוּ in Gn 50[15] see below), yet conversely אִם is sometimes used where לוּ would certainly be expected; cf. e.g. ψ 50[12], 137[5], 139[8], Ho 9[12] (cf. verse 11). These examples, indeed (אִם with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of לוּ with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to לוּ) a still open possibility. But אִם is also used for לוּ in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by אִם, e.g. ψ 7[4 ff.] . . . אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת . . . יִרְדֹּף וגו׳ *if I have done this . . . , let the enemy pursue my soul*, &c., cf. Jb 31[9 ff.] The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with אִם see § 113 *o* above.

Examples :—

A. אִם 1. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have *n* been completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106 *o*). The apodosis[1] takes—

(*a*) A *perfect* also, e.g. Pr 9[12] אִם־חָכַמְתָּ חָכַמְתָּ לָּךְ *if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself*; ψ 73[15] (see below on לוּ).

(*b*) *Imperfect*, e.g. Dt 32[41] אִם־שַׁנּוֹתִי *if I whet my glittering sword* . . . אָשִׁיב *I will render vengeance*, &c.; Jb 9[15 f. 30] (in both cases we should expect לוּ rather than אִם; so also in ψ 44[21 f.], with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11[13] (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(*c*) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. Jb 31[9 ff.] (see *m* above); Gn 18[3].

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[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 11[10], ψ 63[6 f.], 137[6], and according to Dillmann Is 4[4].

o (*d*) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 *gg*), e. g. Gn 43⁹ אִם־לֹא הֲבִיאֹתִיו וגו׳ *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 ו is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.

(*e*) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 *q*), e. g. Jb 8⁴ *if thy children have sinned* (חָטְאוּ) . . ., וַיְשַׁלְּחֵם *he has delivered them*, &c.

(*f*) *Imperative*, e. g. Gn 50⁴ אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם דַּבְּרוּ־נָא וגו׳ *if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you*, &c.; the imperative precedes in Gn 47¹⁶ and Jb 38⁴.¹⁸.

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. אִם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 *b*) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—

(*a*) The *perfect*, e. g. Nu 32²³ וְאִם־לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן כֵּן הִנֵּה חֲטָאתֶם *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 אִם־יְחַיֻּנוּ נִחְיֶה *if they save us alive, we shall live*, &c.; Gn 13¹⁶, 18²⁸.³⁰, 28²⁰ ff., Ex 20²⁵ (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1¹⁸, 10²², Am 9²⁻⁴, ψ 50¹² (where אִם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8⁵ f. (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9³.²⁰, 14⁷; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31⁸ אִם־כֹּה יֹאמַר *if* (ever) *he said thus . . .*, וְיָלְדוּ *then they bare . . .*; Ex 40³⁷. In Gn 42³⁷ 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 אִם־פָּקֹד יִפְקְדַנִּי אָבִיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ *if thy father miss me at all, then shalt 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 וַיָּלִינוּ 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 לֵךְ), 21¹⁰, Jb 33⁵.

t (*h*) A noun-clause, e. g. Gn 4⁷, ψ 139⁸, Jb 8⁶, 31²⁶ f.

3. אִם with *cohortative*, e. g. Gn 30³¹; cf. the passages in § 108 *e*.

u 4. אִם with *infinitive*, Jb 9²⁷ אִם־אָמְרִי prop. *if my saying is* (but probably we should read אֹמְרָה־לִּי).

v 5. אִם 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 יֵשׁ, 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. אִם־יֶשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ

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its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34[36], where this אבי 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 אוֹ *or*, e.g. Ex 21[36] אוֹ נוֹדַע וגו׳ *or* (another possible case) *it is known that*, &c., i.e. *but if it be known*, &c., LXX ἐὰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*; cf. Lv 4[23.28], 5[1], 25[49], 2 S 18[13]; with a following imperfect, Ez 14[17f.].—On the hypothetical use of אֲשֶׁר (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lv 4[22] (in verses 3 and 27 אִם), Dt 11[27] (verse 28 אִם), Jos 4[21], see the Lexicon.

dd 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13[9], 24[49], 1 S 2[16] 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 6[9]. The use of וְיֵשׁ alone in Ju 6[13] is peculiar, as also וְיֵשׁ in 2 K 10[15] (where read with the LXX וַיֹּאמֶר יֵהוּא וְיֵשׁ) in the sense of *if it be so*.—In 2 S 13[26], 2 K 5[17] 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 וְלוּ *would that!*—In 1 S 13[13], Jb 3[13] the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by כִּי עַתָּה, in Jb 31[28] by כִּי, in 2 K 13[19] by אָז.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gn 4[24], Is 43[2]) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gn 30[27], 38[17], 50[15] (see *y* above), Ex 32[32], ψ 27[13], Jb 38[5], where properly הַגֵּד must be supplied with כִּי תֵרֵעַ as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 *a*.—In ψ 8[4], instead of the apodosis *I exclaim* which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

ee 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of כִּי Is 7[9]; כִּי אָז 2 S 2[27], 19[7], Jb 11[15]; or כִּי עַתָּה *now verily*, Nu 22[29], 1 S 14[30] after לוּ, Gn 31[42], 43[10] after לוּלֵי, Jb 8[6] after אִם. On this *corroborative* כִּי cf. such passages as Gn 18[20], &c., and § 148 *d*. On כִּי אִם after an oath cf. 163 *d*.

ff 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of אִם Pr 9[12], Jb 10[15], 16[6], 22[23], and כִּי Is 43[2].

gg 5. In Ex 33[20] a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, *for a man doth not see me and live*, instead of *for if a man sees me, he does not live*; 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 9[15] with perfect, *if* (=*though*) *I had been in the right*; Is 1[18] and 10[22] with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

b (*b*) By כִּי גַם *yea though*, Is 1[15] with imperfect; for which we find simply גַּם in Is 49[15] with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .*; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36[25], ψ 95[9], Neh 6[1]; finally גַּם כִּי *even if, though*, Ec 4[14].

(c) By the preposition עַל־ governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16^{17} *C* עַל לֹא־חָמָס בְּכַפָּי *notwithstanding* that *no violence is in mine hands*, or a verbal-clause, Is 53^{9}. On עַל־ with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to *in addition to the fact* that = *notwithstanding* that), cf. § 119 *aa*, note 2.

§ 161. *Comparative Clauses.*

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *a* simply uniting them with *wāw copulative*, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e. g. Jb 5^{7} *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12^{11} (in an interrogative form; in 34^{3} the same comparison as a statement); $14^{11\,f.}$, Pr 17^{3}, 25^{3}, $26^{3.9.14}$, 27^{21}, &c.[1] Even without the connecting ו Jb 24^{19} *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, שְׁאוֹל חָטְאוּ so doth *Sheol* those who *have sinned* (cf. § 155 *n*); cf. Jer 17^{11}.

2. The conjunction כַּאֲשֶׁר (cf. § 155 *g*; the simple אֲשֶׁר occurs in the *b* same sense in Ex 10^{6}, 14^{13}, 34^{18}) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob [15]), frequently with כֵּן *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31^{4}, $52^{14\,f.}$. Sometimes, however, כֵּן (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55^{9}, Jer 3^{20}.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5^{15} by כְּכָל־עֲמַת שֶׁ[2] *in all points as.*

Rem. On the use of כְּ *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *c* comparisons, cf. 118 *s*; on the alleged use of כְּ as a conjunction (equivalent to כַּאֲשֶׁר), cf. § 155 *g*.—It is to be further remarked that כְּ—כְּ when used in correspondence with one another, *as*—*so* (e. g. Lv 7^{7}, Ju 8^{18}, Is 24^{2}, Ho 4^{9}; also *so*—*as*, Gn 18^{25}, 44^{18}, Dt 1^{17}, 1 K 22^{4}; in Jos 14^{11}, 1 S 30^{24} וְכְ—כְּ; ψ 127^{4} and often, כֵּן—כְּ, cf. Jo 2^{4}), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; כְּכֶם כַּגֵּר יִהְיֶה Nu 15^{15} properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i. e. *your duty shall be* (also) *the stranger's duty*; cf. Lv 24^{22}.

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[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 25^{25}, 26^{21}, 27^{21} (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions נֶחְשַׁב עִם prop. *to be counted with some one*, ψ 88^{5}, and נִמְשַׁל עִם *to be likened with some one*, ψ 28^{1}, 143^{7}, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of עִם cf. Jb 9^{26}, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

[2] In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with כֹּל־, כָּל *all*. The expression is compounded of כְּ and לְעֻמַּת, like the Aramaic כָּל־קֳבֵל for כְּלָקְבֵל; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

a The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by אוֹ *or*, e.g. Ex 21[36], equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2[16]; so Is 27[5] אוֹ = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere אוֹ כִּי.

b In the sense of *sive—sive* we find אוֹ—אוֹ, or אִם—אִם, or וְאִם—אִם (see the examples in the Lexicon), also וְ—וְ Lv 5[3], Nu 9[14], Dt 24[7], Is 2[13 ff.], Jer 32[20], ψ 76[7], Jb 34[29], perhaps also Ex 21[16] (but not Pr 29[9]; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and לְ—לְ (see § 143 *e*); cf. also גַּם—גַּם (in Gn 24[44] וְגַם—גַּם) *both—and*; but גַּם לֹא—גַּם לֹא (in Gn 21[26] וְגַם לֹא—וְגַם לֹא; Zp 1[18] גַּם—לֹא . . . גַּם) *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 כִּי אִם, e.g. 1 S 8[19] *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; ψ 1[2], &c.; frequently also by כִּי alone, e.g. Gn 18[15], 19[2], or even simply connected with וְ, Gn 17[5], וְהָיָה as perfect consecutive; 42[10]; cf. Ex 5[18].

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 31[18]); כִּי or כִּי אִם in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.

c **2.** *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by אֶפֶס כִּי *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) כִּי אִם[1] *unless*; especially כִּי אִם with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32[27] *I will not let thee go, except thou hast* previously *blessed me*; Lv 22[6], Is 55[10], 65[6], Am 3[7], Ru 3[18]. Finally, אִם בִּלְתִּי *unless*, Am 3[4] (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply בִּלְתִּי Gn 43[3] with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10[4] after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

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[1] Very probably this use of כִּי אִם arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (כִּי in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22[22] as a forcible resumption of the preceding אִם. Thus, e.g. Ju 15[7] is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease*, equivalent to, I will not cease, until I have, &c. When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3[18] *surely* (or *for*) *when he has finished it* (then the man will rest). It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with כִּי אִם *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

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and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), *thou shalt say unto them.* Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *kk* and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וַיְהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16[6], cf. § 112 *oo*.—In 1 S 29[10] an imperative with וְ 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 טֶרֶם (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24[15]),[1] is then connected by וְ (or וְהִנֵּה) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19[4] (cf. Jos 2[8]) טֶרֶם יִשְׁכָּבוּ וְאַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר . . . נָסַבּוּ וגו׳ *they had not yet lain down, and* (=when) *the men of the city . . . compassed*, &c.; Gn 24[25].

d **2.** Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are כִּי (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6[1], Ju 1[28], 16[16], 1 S 1[12]; with imperfect, Gn 4[12], 12[12], 24[41], Ex 3[21], Lv 21[9], Dt 31[21], Is 1[12], 8[19]) and אֲשֶׁר[2] *when* (כִּי with the imperfect also=*as often as*, ψ 8[4]; with perfect Jb 1[5]); less frequently אִם[3] (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38[9], Nu 21[9], Ju 6[3], ψ 41[7], 94[18], cf. also Is 24[13]=*quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36[4]; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4[4]. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds כְּמוֹ *when*, Gn 19[15]; כַּאֲשֶׁר *when, after that*; עַד־אֲשֶׁר, עַד־כִּי *until* (also the simple עַד, e.g. Gn 38[11], Jos 2[22], 1 S 1[22] [with the imperfect=*only when*, as in 2 S 10[5]]); 2[5], &c.; especially in the formula עַד־בִּלְתִּי הִשְׁאִיר לוֹ *until there was none left remaining to him* (where indeed it would be very natural to read הַשְׁאִיר the infin. constr., as elsewhere after בִּלְתִּי, § 114 *s*) Nu 21[35], Dt 3[3], Jos 8[22], 11[8] (but 1 S 14[19] *while, as long as*); עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא *before that*, Ec 12[1.2.6] with an imperfect, as in Pr 8[26] עַד with a perfect; עַד־אִם, עַד־אֲשֶׁר אִם *until the time when*; אַחֲרֵי־אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40[1] אַחַר־אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25[48], 1 S 5[9] simply אַחֲרֵי; Lv 14[43], Jer 41[16], Jb 42[7] simply אַחַר) *after that*; מֵאָז (prop. *since that time*; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138 *e*) *since*, Gn 39[5]; בְּטֶרֶם (and simply טֶרֶם § 107 *c*) *before*; קִדְמַת (for קִדְמַת אֲשֶׁר) *before*, ψ 129[6].

e Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158 *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106 *f*, and in the latter to the

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[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 נָשׁוּב is 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 טֶרֶם, בְּטֶרֶם, and עַד with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 *c*.

f 2. Clauses introduced by עַד, עַד־כִּי, or עַד־אֲשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַד with the imperfect, ψ 110[1]; עַד־כִּי with the perfect, Gn 26[13], with impf. 49[10]; עַד־אֲשֶׁר with the perfect, Gn 28[15]; with the imperfect, ψ 112[8].—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עַד may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15[16] עַד־יַעֲבֹר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—*they passed through*, i.e. *so they passed through*.

g 3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 *d*, *e*) is very frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בְּ may usually be rendered by *when*, *as*, or *whilst*; the infinitive with כְּ by *when*, *as soon as* (in Pr 10[25] followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after מִן by *since*. According to § 111 *g* such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17[55] (cf. Driver on the passage) וּכְרָאוֹת 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, כְּ appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in כְּמֵשִׁיב *as he drew back*, Gn 38[29] (unless we should read כְּהָשִׁיב [or כְּמוֹ הֵשִׁיב, cf. Gn 19[15]]), and in כְּפָרְחַת *when it budded*, 40[10].

§ 165. *Final Clauses.*[1]

a 1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw copulative* to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the connexion: (*a*) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of וְ, La 1[19], see § 107 *q*; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9[1.3], Jb 38[24]; with an optative, ψ 51[9]; with an imperative, 1 K 11[21]; (*β*) of a cohortative with an imperative by וְ, Gn 29[21], 1 S 15[16], or a jussive, Neh 2[5] (§ 108 *d*); (*γ*) of a jussive with an imperative by וְ, Ex 9[1], 2 S 16[11], 1 K 5[20], ψ 59[14], 86[17]; with a jussive, Jb 21[19], or cohortative, § 109 *f*, *g* (cf. also 2 S 24[21] the infinitive with לְ, Jon 1[11] מַה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29[10] עִם־לְבָבִי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (*δ*) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by וְ, § 110 *i*; (*ε*) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lv 14[36]; after an imperfect, § 112 *m* and *p*; similarly after a jussive, § 112 *q*; after an imperative, § 112 *r*.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex 28[43], 30[20]; and 2 S 13[25] after אַל־נָא with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 *g*. In Ex 28[32], 39[23] the negative final clause is simply connected by לֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of 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 13[9] *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9[7] a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא), cf. § 120 *f*.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without לְ) see § 120 *c*.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12[13], 27[25], Ex 4[5], ψ 51[6], &c.; בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gn 27[10], and simply בַּעֲבוּר Gn 27[4], Ex 9[14], 20[20]; also the simple אֲשֶׁר[1] Dt 4[10.40], 6[3], 32[46], Jos 3[7], Neh 8[14f.]; negatively, אֲשֶׁר לֹא Gn 11[7], 24[3], 1 K 22[16]; or שֶׁ Ec 3[14]; also negatively, עַל־דְּבַרְתִּ שֶׁלֹּא *for the matter* (*purpose*) *that . . . not*, Ec 7[14]; לִבְלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex 20[20], 2 S 14[14] *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of מִן־ (if the text be right) in Dt 33[11] מִן־יְקוּמוּן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִקּוּם].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 *q* (on the apparent exception in Jos 4[24], see § 74 *g*).—On the negative conjunctions אַל and פֶּן *that not, lest*, see § 152 *f* and *w*. On the infinitive with לְ[2] (also לְמַעַן Gn 18[19], 37[22], &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11[5], 28[4], &c.), see § 114 *f*, *h*, *p*. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 *r*. On the negation of the final infinitive by לִבְלְתִּי, § 114 *s*. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31[29], 1 S 15[23], &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 23[19] לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וְיִכְזָּב וּבֶן־אָדָם וְיִתְנֶחָם *God is not a man, that he should lie, and* (i. e. neither) *the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53[2] וְנֶחְמְדֵהוּ; Ho 14[10] מִי חָכָם וְיָבֶן אֵלֶּה נָבוֹן וְיֵדָעֵם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5[12] וְלֹא=*so that . . . not*; in Pr 30[3] לֹא is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16[10] a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10[5] 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

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[1] In Ez 36[27] a final clause is introduced by אֵת אֲשֶׁר, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

[2] On לְ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 K 6[19], see § 66 *i*.

[3] That such examples as וְיִכְזָּב are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14[10] and Jb 9[33].

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pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66^{18} (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).[1] On Gn 23^{13} (לוּ with the imperative), see § 110 *e*.

c **3.** We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24^{14} and $^{42\,ff.}$, and Gn $28^{6\,ff.}$

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[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 31^{40} (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.* קָטְלָה is the model for קָטְלוּ, which likewise has only a vocalic afformative, and קָטַלְתְּ is the model for קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתְּ and קָטַלְנוּ, which in the same way have a toneless afformative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטַלְתֶּם and קָטַלְתֶּן, 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.

Nominative of the Pronoun, or *Pronomen separatum.*	*A. The Personal* Accusative of the Pronoun,
	A. Simple form.
Sing. 1. *comm.* אָנֹכִי, in pause אָנֹכִי; אֲנִי, in pause אָנִי *I.*	נִי; נִי־; נִי־ *me.*
2. *m.* אַתָּה (אַתְּ), in pause אָתָּה; *f.* אַתְּ (אַתִּי) *thou.*	ךָ; ךָ־, in pause ךָ־, ךָ־; ךְ; ךְ־; ךְ־, ךְ־ *thee.*
3. *m.* הוּא *he.*	הוּ, וֹ; הוּ־ (הֹ), וֹ; הוּ־ *him.*
f. הִיא *she.*	הָ; ה־; הָ־ *her (eam).*
Plur. 1. *comm.* אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ), in pause אָנָחְנוּ (נָחְנוּ) *we.*	נוּ; נוּ־; נוּ־ *us.*
2. *m.* אַתֶּם; *f.* אַתֶּן, אַתֵּנָה *you.*	כֶם; כֶם־; [כֶן; כֶן־] *you.*
3. *m.* הֵם, הָמָּה; *f.* הֵנָּה *they.*	(הֵם), ם; ם־, ם־, מוֹ־*; ם־, (ם־), מוֹ־* *them (eos).* [הֵן], ן; ן־, (ן־); [ן־] *them (eas).*

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B. Strong

		Qal.			*Niph'al.*	*Pi"el.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*קָטַל	*פָּבֵד	*קָטָן	*נִקְטַל	*קִטֵּל, קִטַּל
	3. *f.*	*קָטְלָה	*פָּבְדָה	*קָטְנָה	*נִקְטְלָה	*קִטְּלָה
	2. *m.*	*קָטַלְתָּ	*פָּבַדְתָּ	*קָטַנְתָּ	*נִקְטַלְתָּ	*קִטַּלְתָּ
	2. *f.*	קָטַלְתְּ	פָּבַדְתְּ	קָטַנְתְּ	נִקְטַלְתְּ	קִטַּלְתְּ
	1. *c.*	קָטַלְתִּי	פָּבַדְתִּי	קָטַנְתִּי	נִקְטַלְתִּי	קִטַּלְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	קָטְלוּ	פָּבְדוּ	קָטָנוּ	נִקְטְלוּ	קִטְּלוּ
	2. *m.*	*קְטַלְתֶּם	*פְּבַדְתֶּם	*קְטַנְתֶּם	נִקְטַלְתֶּם	קִטַּלְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	קְטַלְתֶּן	פְּבַדְתֶּן	קְטַנְתֶּן	נִקְטַלְתֶּן	קִטַּלְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	קָטַלְנוּ	פָּבַדְנוּ	קָטַנּוּ	נִקְטַלְנוּ	קִטַּלְנוּ
Inf.		*שְׁבֹר, קְטֹל			*הִקָּטֵל	*קַטֵּל
Inf. absol.		*קָטוֹל			*הִקָּטֹל, נִקְטֹל	*קַטֵּל, קַטֹּל
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*קְטֹל	*פְּבַד		*הִקָּטֵל	*קַטֵּל
	2. *f.*	*קִטְלִי	*פִּבְרִי		*הִקָּטְלִי	*קַטְּלִי
Plur.	2. *m.*	קִטְלוּ	פִּבְדוּ		הִקָּטְלוּ	קַטְּלוּ
	2. *f.*	*קְטֹלְנָה	*פְּבַדְנָה		*הִקָּטַלְנָה	*קַטֵּלְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִקְטֹל	*יִכְבַּד	*יִקְטַן	*יִקָּטֵל	*יְקַטֵּל
	3. *f.*	תִּקְטֹל	תִּכְבַּד		תִּקָּטֵל	תְּקַטֵּל
	2. *m.*	תִּקְטֹל	תִּכְבַּד		תִּקָּטֵל	תְּקַטֵּל
	2. *f.*	*תִּקְטְלִי	*תִּכְבְּדִי		*תִּקָּטְלִי	*תְּקַטְּלִי
	1. *c.*	אֶקְטֹל	אֶכְבַּד		אֶקָּטֵל	אֲקַטֵּל
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ		יִקָּטְלוּ	יְקַטְּלוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּקְטֹלְנָה	*תִּכְבַּדְנָה		*תִּקָּטַלְנָה	*תְּקַטֵּלְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ		תִּקָּטְלוּ	תְּקַטְּלוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּקְטֹלְנָה	תִּכְבַּדְנָה		תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תְּקַטֵּלְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִקְטֹל	נִכְבַּד		נִקָּטֵל	נְקַטֵּל
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).						
Part. act.		*קֹטֵל	כָּבֵד	קָטֹן	*נִקְטָל	*מְקַטֵּל
pass.		*קָטוּל				

Verb.

Pu'al.	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
*קֻטַל	*הִקְטִיל	*הָקְטַל	*הִתְקַטֵּל
*קֻטְלָה	*הִקְטִילָה	*הָקְטְלָה	*הִתְקַטְּלָה
*קֻטַלְתָּ	*הִקְטַלְתָּ	*הָקְטַלְתָּ	*הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קֻטַלְתְּ	הִקְטַלְתְּ	הָקְטַלְתְּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתְּ
קֻטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הָקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קְטָלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הָקְטְלוּ	הִתְקַטְּלוּ
קֻטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הָקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קֻטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הָקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קֻטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הָקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting.	*הַקְטִיל	wanting.	*הִתְקַטֵּל
*קֻטֹל	*הַקְטֵל	*הָקְטֵל	*הִתְקַטֵּל
wanting.	*הַקְטֵל *הַקְטִילִי הַקְטִילוּ *הַקְטַלְנָה	wanting.	*הִתְקַטֵּל *הִתְקַטְּלִי הִתְקַטְּלוּ *הִתְקַטַּלְנָה
*יְקֻטַל	*יַקְטִיל	*יָקְטַל	*יִתְקַטֵּל
תְּקֻטַל	תַּקְטִיל	תָּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
תְּקֻטַל	תַּקְטִיל	תָּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
*תְּקֻטְלִי	*תַּקְטִילִי	*תָּקְטְלִי	*תִּתְקַטְּלִי
אֶקְטַל	אַקְטִיל	אָקְטַל	אֶתְקַטֵּל
יְקֻטְלוּ	יַקְטִילוּ	יָקְטְלוּ	יִתְקַטְּלוּ
*תְּקֻטַלְנָה	*תַּקְטֵלְנָה	*תָּקְטַלְנָה	*תִּתְקַטֵּלְנָה
תְּקֻטְלוּ	תַּקְטִילוּ	תָּקְטְלוּ	תִּתְקַטְּלוּ
תְּקֻטַלְנָה	תַּקְטֵלְנָה	תָּקְטַלְנָה	תִּתְקַטֵּלְנָה
נְקֻטַל	נַקְטִיל	נָקְטַל	נִתְקַטֵּל
	*יַקְטֵל		
	*מַקְטִיל		*מִתְקַטֵּל
*מְקֻטָל		*מָקְטָל	

C. Strong Verb

		Suffixes	1 *Sing.*	2 *Sing. m.*	2 *Sing. f.*	3 *Sing. m.*
Perf. Qal		3. *m.*	קְטָלַנִי / שְׁכֵבַתְּנִי	קְטַלְתָּ	קְטָלַתְּ	קְטָלָהוּ / קְטָלוֹ
		3. *f.*	קְטָלַתְנִי	קְטָלַתְּ	קְטָלָתָה	קְטָלַתְהוּ / קְטָלָתוּ
		2. *m.*	קְטַלְתַּנִי	—	—	קְטַלְתָּהוּ / קְטַלְתּוֹ
		2. *f.*	קְטַלְתִּינִי	—	—	קְטַלְתִּיהוּ
		1. *c.*	—	קְטַלְתִּיךְ	קְטַלְתִּי	קְטַלְתִּיו / קְטַלְתִּיהוּ
	Plur.	3. *c.*	קְטָלוּנִי	קְטָלוּךְ / אֲהֵבוּךְ	קְטָלוּךְ	קְטָלוּהוּ
		2. *m.*	קְטַלְתּוּנִי	—	—	קְטַלְתּוּהוּ
		1. *c.*	—	קְטַלְנוּךְ	קְטַלְנוּ	קְטַלְנוּהוּ
Inf. Qal			קְטָלַנִי / קְטָלֵנִי	כְּתָבְךָ / קְטָלְךָ	קְטֹל	קְטֹלוֹ
Imp. Qal 2. (from an *Imperf.* in *a* שְׁמָעֵנִי, שְׁלָחֵנִי)			קְטָלֵנִי	—	—	קְטָלֵהוּ
Impf. Qal	3. *m.*		יִקְטָלֵנִי / יִלְבָּשַׁנִי	יִקְטָלְךָ / יִלְבָּשְׁךָ	יִקְטֹל / יִלְבַּשׁ	יִקְטְלֵהוּ / יִלְבָּשֵׁהוּ
	3. *m.* with *Nûn energ.*		יִקְטָלֶנִּי	יִקְטָלְךָ	—	יִקְטָלֶנּוּ
	Plur. 3. *m.*		יִקְטְלוּנִי	יִקְטְלוּךְ	יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּהוּ / יִנָּאֲלוּהוּ
Perf. Pi"ēl	3. *m.*		קִטְּלַנִי	קִטֵּלְךָ	קִטְּלָה	קִטֵּל

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D. Verbs primae gutturalis

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'al.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	עָמַד	*נֶעֱמַד	*הֶעֱמִיד	*הָעֳמַד
	3. *f.*	עָמְדָה	*נֶעֱמְדָה	הֶעֱמִידָה	*הָעֳמְדָה
	2. *m.*	עָמַדְתָּ	נֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הָעֳמַדְתָּ
	2. *f.*	עָמַדְתְּ	נֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הָעֳמַדְתְּ
	1. *c.*	עָמַדְתִּי	נֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הָעֳמַדְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	עָמְדוּ	נֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הָעֳמְדוּ
	2. *m.*	עֲמַדְתֶּם	נֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הָעֳמַדְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	*עֲמַדְתֶּן	נֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הָעֳמַדְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	עָמַדְנוּ	נֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הָעֳמַדְנוּ
Inf.		*עֲמֹד	*הֵעָמֵד	*הַעֲמִיד	
Inf. absol.		עָמוֹד	*נַעֲמוֹד, הֵאָסֵף	*הַעֲמֵד	*הָעָמֵד
Imp.	*Sing.* *m.*	*עֲמֹד	*חֲזַק	*הֵעָמֵד	הַעֲמֵד
	f.	עִמְדִי	חִזְקִי	הֵעָמְדִי	הַעֲמִידִי
	Plur. *m.*	עִמְדוּ	חִזְקוּ	הֵעָמְדוּ	הַעֲמִידוּ
	f.	*עֲמֹדְנָה	*חֲזַקְנָה	הֵעָמַדְנָה	הַעֲמֵדְנָה
Impf.	*Sing.* 3. *m.*	*יַעֲמֹד	*יֶחֱזַק	*יֵעָמֵד	*יַעֲמִיד
	3. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹד	תֶּחֱזַק	תֵּעָמֵד	תַּעֲמִיד
	2. *m.*	תַּעֲמֹד	תֶּחֱזַק	תֵּעָמֵד	תַּעֲמִיד
	2. *f.*	*תַּעֲמְדִי	*תֶּחֱזְקִי	תֵּעָמְדִי	*תַּעֲמִידִי
	1. *c.*	*אֶעֱמֹד	אֶחֱזַק	אֵעָמֵד	אַעֲמִיד
Plur.	3. *m.*	*יַעַמְדוּ	*יֶחֱזְקוּ	יֵעָמְדוּ	יַעֲמִידוּ
	3. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹדְנָה	תֶּחֱזַקְנָה	תֵּעָמַדְנָה	תַּעֲמֵדְנָה
	2. *m.*	תַּעֲמֹדוּ	תֶּחֱזְקוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תַּעֲמִידוּ
	2. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹדְנָה	תֶּחֱזַקְנָה	תֵּעָמַדְנָה	תַּעֲמֵדְנָה
	1. *c.*	נַעֲמֹד	נֶחֱזַק	נֵעָמֵד	נַעֲמִיד
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).				יֵעָמֵד	
Part. act.		עֹמֵד	*נֶעֱמָד	*מֵעֲמִיד	
pass.		עָמוּד			מְעָמָד

wanting.

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Pi"ēl.*	*Pu'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	*בֵּרֵךְ	*בֹּרַךְ	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
	3. *f.*	*שָׁחֲטָה	*נִשְׁחֲטָה	בֵּרְכָה	[בֹּרְכָה]	הִתְבָּרְכָה
	2. *m.*	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בֵּרַכְתָּ	בֹּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
	2. *f.*	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בֵּרַכְתְּ	בֹּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
	1. *c.*	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בֵּרַכְתִּי	בֹּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	*שָׁחֲטוּ	*נִשְׁחֲטוּ	בֵּרְכוּ	בֹּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *m.*	שְׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בֵּרַכְתֶּם	בֹּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	שְׁחַטְתֶּן	[נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן]	[בֵּרַכְתֶּן]	בֹּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בֵּרַכְנוּ	בֹּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
Inf.		שְׁחֹט	הִשָּׁחֵט	*בָּרֵךְ	wanting.	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
Inf. absol.		שָׁחוֹט	נִשְׁחוֹט	*בָּרֵךְ		
Imp.	*Sing.* *m.*	*שְׁחַט	הִשָּׁחֵט	*בָּרֵךְ		*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
	f.	*שַׁחֲטִי	*הִשָּׁחֲטִי	*בָּרֲכִי	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרֲכִי
	Plur. *m.*	שַׁחֲטוּ	הִשָּׁחֲטוּ	בָּרֲכוּ		הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
	f.	שְׁחַטְנָה	הִשָּׁחַטְנָה	*בָּרֵכְנָה		הִתְבָּרֵכְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִשְׁחַט	יִשָּׁחֵט	*יְבָרֵךְ	*יְבֹרַךְ	*יִתְבָּרֵךְ
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשָּׁחֵט	תְּבָרֵךְ	תְּבֹרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשָּׁחֵט	תְּבָרֵךְ	תְּבֹרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *f.*	*תִּשְׁחֲטִי	*תִּשָּׁחֲטִי	תְּבָרֲכִי	[תְּבֹרְכִי]	[תִּתְבָּרֲכִי]
	1. *c.*	אֶשְׁחַט	אִשָּׁחֵט	אֲבָרֵךְ	אֲבֹרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרֵךְ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִשְׁחֲטוּ	יִשָּׁחֲטוּ	יְבָרֲכוּ	יְבֹרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשָּׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרֵכְנָה	תְּבֹרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁחֲטוּ	תִּשָּׁחֲטוּ	תְּבָרֲכוּ	תְּבֹרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשָּׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרֵכְנָה	תְּבֹרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִשְׁחַט	נִשָּׁחֵט	נְבָרֵךְ	נְבֹרַךְ	נִתְבָּרֵךְ
Impf. with Suff.		יִשְׁחָטֵהוּ				
Part. act.		שֹׁחֵט	נִשְׁחָט	*מְבָרֵךְ		*מִתְבָּרֵךְ
pass.		שָׁחוּט			*מְבֹרָךְ	

F. Verbs

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Pi'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	*שִׁלַּח
	3. *f.*	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלְחָה	שִׁלְּחָה
	2. *m.*	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
	2. *f.*	*שָׁלַחַתְּ	*נִשְׁלַחַתְּ	*שִׁלַּחַתְּ
	1. *c.*	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
	2. *m.*	שְׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	שְׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
Inf.		*שְׁלֹחַ	*הִשָּׁלַח	*שַׁלַּח
Inf. absol.		שָׁלוֹחַ	נִשְׁלוֹחַ	שַׁלֵּחַ
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*שְׁלַח	*הִשָּׁלַח	*שַׁלַּח
	f.	שִׁלְחִי	הִשָּׁלְחִי	*שַׁלְּחִי
Plur.	*m.*	שִׁלְחוּ	הִשָּׁלְחוּ	שַׁלְּחוּ
	f.	*שְׁלַחְנָה	הִשָּׁלַחְנָה	*שַׁלַּחְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִשְׁלַח	*יִשָּׁלַח	*יְשַׁלַּח
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשָּׁלַח	*תְּשַׁלַּח
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשָּׁלַח	תְּשַׁלַּח
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשָּׁלְחִי	תְּשַׁלְּחִי
	1. *c.*	אֶשְׁלַח	אִשָּׁלַח	אֲשַׁלַּח 2 / אֲשַׁלֵּחַ 1
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשָּׁלְחוּ	יְשַׁלְּחוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	*תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה	*תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשָּׁלְחוּ	תְּשַׁלְּחוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה	תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִשְׁלַח	נִשָּׁלַח	נְשַׁלַּח
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).				
Impf. with Suff.		יִשְׁלָחֵנִי		
Part. act.		*שֹׁלֵחַ	נִשְׁלָח	*מְשַׁלֵּחַ
pass.		*שָׁלוּחַ		

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G. Verbs mediae geminatae

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*סָבַב, תַּם	*נָסַב, נָמַס
	3. *f.*	סָבְבָה, תַּמָּה	*נָסַבָּה
	2. *m.*	*סַבּוֹתָ	*נְסַבּוֹתָ
	2. *f.*	סַבּוֹת	נְסַבּוֹת
	1. *c.*	סַבּוֹתִי	נְסַבּוֹתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	סָבְבוּ, תַּמּוּ	נָסַבּוּ
	2. *m.*	סַבּוֹתֶם	נְסַבּוֹתֶם
	2. *f.*	סַבּוֹתֶן	נְסַבּוֹתֶן
	1. *c.*	סַבּוֹנוּ	נְסַבּוֹנוּ
Inf.		*סֹב	*הִסֵּב
Inf. absol.		סָבוֹב	הִמֵּס, הִסּוֹב
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*סֹב	הִסֵּב
	f.	*סֹבִּי	*הִסַּבִּי
Plur.	*m.*	סֹבּוּ	הִסַּבּוּ
	f.	[סֹבֶּינָה]	[הִסַּבֶּינָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יָסֹב (יָקֹל § 67 *p*) *יִסֹּב	*יִסַּב
	3. *f.*	תָּסֹב	תִּסֹּב	תִּסַּב
	2. *m.*	תָּסֹב	תִּסֹּב	תִּסַּב
	2. *f.*	*תָּסֹבִּי	תִּסֹּבִי	*תִּסַּבִּי
	1. *c.*	אָסֹב	אֶסֹּב	אֶסַּב
Plur.	3. *m.*	יָסֹבּוּ	יִסֹּבוּ	יִסַּבּוּ
	3. *f.*	*תָּסֻבֶּינָה	[תִּסֹּבְנָה]	[תִּסַּבֶּינָה]
	2. *m.*	תָּסֹבּוּ	תִּסֹּבוּ	תִּסַּבּוּ
	2. *f.*	[תָּסֻבֶּינָה]	[תִּסֹּבְנָה]	[תִּסַּבֶּינָה]
	1. *c.*	נָסֹב	נִסֹּב	נִסַּב
Impf. with Wāw consec.		*וַיָּסָב (pause וַיָּסֹב)		
Impf. with Suff.		*יְסֻבֵּנִי		
Part. act.		סֹבֵב		נָסָב
pass.		*סָבוּב		(*fem.* נְסַבָּה)

or double ע.

Hiph'îl.	*Hoph'al.*	*Po'ēl.*	*Po'al.*
*הֵסֵב, הֵסַב	*הוּסַב	*סוֹבֵב	*סוֹבַב
*הֵסֵבָּה	הוּסַבָּה	סְוֹבֵבָה	[סְוֹבֵבָה
*הֲסִבּוֹתָ	[הוּסַבּוֹתָ	סוֹבַבְתָּ	סוֹבַבְתָּ
הֲסִבּוֹת	הוּסַבּוֹת	סוֹבַבְתְּ	סוֹבַבְתְּ
הֲסִבּוֹתִי	הוּסַבּוֹתִי]	סוֹבַבְתִּי	סוֹבַבְתִּי
הֵסַבּוּ, הֵחֵלּוּ	הוּסַבּוּ	סְוֹבְבוּ	סְוֹבְבוּ
הֲסִבּוֹתֶם	[הוּסַבּוֹתֶם	סְוֹבַבְתֶּם	סְוֹבַבְתֶּם
הֲסִבּוֹתֶן	הוּסַבּוֹתֶן	סְוֹבַבְתֶּן	סְוֹבַבְתֶּן
הֲסִבּוֹנוּ	הוּסַבּוֹנוּ]	סוֹבַבְנוּ	סוֹבַבְנוּ]
*הסב		סובב	
הָסֵב	הָשַׁמָּה	סוֹבֵב	[סוֹבַב]
*הָסֵב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסֵבִּי	wanting.	[סְוֹבְבִי	wanting.
הָסֵבּוּ		סְוֹבְבוּ	
[הָסֵבְּנָה]		סוֹבַבְנָה]	
*יָסֵב, יַסֵּב	*יוּסַב, יֻסַּב	יְסוֹבֵב	[יְסוֹבַב
תָּסֵב	תּוּסַב]	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבַב
תָּסֵב	תּוּסַב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבַב
[תָּסֵבִּי	*תּוּסַבִּי	[תְּסוֹבְבִי	תְּסוֹבְבִי
אָסֵב	[אוּסַב	אֲסוֹבֵב]	אֲסוֹבַב
יָסֵבּוּ, יַסֵּבּוּ	יוּסַבּוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ
*תְּסֻבֶּינָה	*[תְּוּסַבֶּינָה	[תְּסוֹבֵבְנָה	תְּסוֹבַבְנָה
תָּסֵבּוּ	תּוּסַבּוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ
תְּסֻבֶּינָה	תְּוּסַבֶּינָה	[תְּסוֹבֵבְנָה	תְּסוֹבַבְנָה
נָסֵב	[נוּסַב	נְסוֹבֵב]	נְסוֹבַב]
וַיָּסֶב			
(יְסִבֶּם) *יְסִבֵּנִי		יְסוֹבְבֵנִי	
*מֵסֵב	מוּסָב	מְסוֹבֵב	מְסוֹבָב

H. Verbs פ"נ.

	Qal.		*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'al.*
Perf. Sing. 3. *m.*	[נָגַשׁ]	נָפַל	*נִגַּשׁ	*הִגִּישׁ	*הֻגַּשׁ
3. *f.*			נִגְּשָׁה	הִגִּישָׁה	הֻגְּשָׁה
2. *m.*			נִגַּשְׁתָּ	הִגַּשְׁתָּ	הֻגַּשְׁתָּ
2. *f.*			נִגַּשְׁתְּ	הִגַּשְׁתְּ	הֻגַּשְׁתְּ
1. *c.*			נִגַּשְׁתִּי	הִגַּשְׁתִּי	הֻגַּשְׁתִּי
Plur. 3. *c.*		regular.	נִגְּשׁוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ	הֻגְּשׁוּ
2. *m.*			נִגַּשְׁתֶּם	הִגַּשְׁתֶּם	הֻגַּשְׁתֶּם
2. *f.*			נִגַּשְׁתֶּן	הִגַּשְׁתֶּן	הֻגַּשְׁתֶּן
1. *c.*			נִגַּשְׁנוּ	הִגַּשְׁנוּ	הֻגַּשְׁנוּ
Inf.	*גֶּשֶׁת	*נְפֹל	הִנָּגֵשׁ	*הַגִּישׁ	*הֻגַּשׁ
Inf. absol.	נָגוֹשׁ		נִגּוֹשׁ, הִנָּגֵשׁ	*הַגֵּשׁ	*הֻגֵּשׁ
Imp. Sing. m.	*גַּשׁ	*נְפֹל	הִנָּגֵשׁ	*הַגֵּשׁ	
f.	גְּשִׁי	נְפֹלִי	הִנָּגְשִׁי	הַגִּישִׁי	wanting.
Plur. m.	גְּשׁוּ	נְפֹלוּ	הִנָּגְשׁוּ	הַגִּישׁוּ	
f.	גַּשְׁנָה	נְפֹלְנָה	הִנָּגַשְׁנָה	הַגִּשְׁנָה	
Impf. Sing. 3. *m.*	*יִגַּשׁ	*יִפֹּל	[יִנָּגֵשׁ]	*יַגִּישׁ	*יֻגַּשׁ
3. *f.*	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תַּגִּישׁ	תֻּגַּשׁ
2. *m.*	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תַּגִּישׁ	תֻּגַּשׁ
2. *f.*	תִּגְּשִׁי	תִּפְּלִי		תַּגִּישִׁי	תֻּגְּשִׁי
1. *c.*	אֶגַּשׁ	אֶפֹּל		אַגִּישׁ	אֻגַּשׁ
Plur. 3. *m.*	יִגְּשׁוּ	יִפְּלוּ	regular.	יַגִּישׁוּ	יֻגְּשׁוּ
3. *f.*	תִּגַּשְׁנָה	תִּפֹּלְנָה		תַּגִּשְׁנָה	תֻּגַּשְׁנָה
2. *m.*	תִּגְּשׁוּ	תִּפְּלוּ		תַּגִּישׁוּ	תֻּגְּשׁוּ
2. *f.*	[תִּגַּשְׁנָה]	[תִּפֹּלְנָה]	[תַּגִּשְׁנָה]	[תַּגִּשְׁנָה]	
1. *c.*	נִגַּשׁ	נִפֹּל	נַגִּישׁ		
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).				*יַגֵּשׁ	
Part. act.	נֹגֵשׁ	*נִגָּשׁ	*מַגִּישׁ		
pass.	נָגוּשׁ				מֻגָּשׁ

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K. Weak Verbs,

	Qal.	*Niph'al.*
Perf. Sing 3. *m.*	יָשַׁב	*נוֹשַׁב
3. *f.*		*נוֹשְׁבָה
2. *m.*		נוֹשַׁבְתָּ
2. *f.*		נוֹשַׁבְתְּ
1. *c.*	regular.	נוֹשַׁבְתִּי
Plur. 3. *c.*		נוֹשְׁבוּ
2. *m.*		נוֹשַׁבְתֶּם
2. *f.*		נוֹשַׁבְתֶּן
1. *c.*		נוֹשַׁבְנוּ
Inf.	יָשׁוֹב, יְסֹד, רֶשֶׁת, *שָׁבֶת	*הִוָּשֵׁב
Inf. absol.	יָשׁוֹב	wanting.
Imp. Sing. m.	*שֵׁב, דַּע	*הִוָּשֵׁב
f.	שְׁבִי	הִוָּשְׁבִי
Plur. m.	שְׁבוּ	הִוָּשְׁבוּ
f.	שֳׁבְנָה	[הִוָּשַׁבְנָה]
Impf. Sing. 3. *m.*	*יֵשֵׁב	*יִוָּשֵׁב, *יִרַשׁ
3. *f.*	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּוָּשֵׁב, תִּירַשׁ
2. *m.*	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּוָּשֵׁב, תִּירַשׁ
2. *f.*	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִּוָּשְׁבִי, תִּירְשִׁי
1. *c.*	אֵשֵׁב	*אִוָּשֵׁב, אִירַשׁ
Plur. 3. *m.*	יֵשְׁבוּ	יִוָּשְׁבוּ, יִירְשׁוּ
3. *f.*	תֵּשַׁבְנָה	[תִּוָּשַׁבְנָה], [תִּירַשְׁנָה]
2. *m.*	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תִּוָּשְׁבוּ, תִּירְשׁוּ
2. *f.*	[תֵּשַׁבְנָה]	[תִּוָּשַׁבְנָה], [תִּירַשְׁנָה]
1. *c.*	נֵשֵׁב	נִוָּשֵׁב, נִירַשׁ
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).		
Impf. with Wāw consec.	*וַיֵּשֵׁב	
Part. act.	יֹשֵׁב	*נוֹשָׁב
pass.	יָשׁוּב	

L. Verbs properly פ״י.

פ״י (*for* פ״ו).

Hiph'îl.	*Hoph'al.*	*Qal.*	*Hiph'îl.*
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוּשַׁב	יָטַב	*הֵיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוּשְׁבָה		הֵיטִבָה
הוֹשַׁבְתָּ	הוּשַׁבְתָּ		הֵיטַבְתָּ
הוֹשַׁבְתְּ	הוּשַׁבְתְּ		הֵיטַבְתְּ
הוֹשַׁבְתִּי	הוּשַׁבְתִּי		הֵיטַבְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוּשְׁבוּ	regular.	הֵיטִיבוּ
הוֹשַׁבְתֶּם	הוּשַׁבְתֶּם		הֵיטַבְתֶּם
הוֹשַׁבְתֶּן	הוּשַׁבְתֶּן		הֵיטַבְתֶּן
הוֹשַׁבְנוּ	הוּשַׁבְנוּ		הֵיטַבְנוּ
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוּשַׁב	*יֵיטִיב	יִיטַב
*הוֹשִׁיב		*יֵיטֵב	יִיטָב
*הוֹשִׁיב	wanting.	*הֵיטֵב	
הוֹשִׁיבִי		הֵיטִיבִי	
הוֹשִׁיבוּ		הֵיטִיבוּ	
[הוֹשַׁבְנָה]		[הֵיטַבְנָה]	
*יוֹשִׁיב	*יוּשַׁב	*יֵיטִיב	*יִיטַב
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוּשַׁב	תֵּיטִיב	תִּיטַב
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוּשַׁב	תֵּיטִיב	תִּיטַב
תּוֹשִׁיבִי	תּוּשְׁבִי	תֵּיטִיבִי	תִּיטְבִי
אוֹשִׁיב	אוּשַׁב	אֵיטִיב	אִיטַב
יוֹשִׁיבוּ	יוּשְׁבוּ	יֵיטִיבוּ	יִיטְבוּ
[תּוֹשַׁבְנָה]	תּוּשַׁבְנָה	[תֵּיטַבְנָה]	תִּיטַבְנָה
תּוֹשִׁיבוּ	תּוּשְׁבוּ	תֵּיטִיבוּ	תִּיטְבוּ
[תּוֹשַׁבְנָה]	[תּוּשַׁבְנָה]	[תֵּיטַבְנָה]	[תִּיטַבְנָה]
נוֹשִׁיב	נוּשַׁב	נֵיטִיב	נִיטַב
*יוֹשִׁיב		יֵיטֵב	
וַיּוֹשֶׁב		וַיִּיטֵב	וַיִּיטַב
*מוֹשִׁיב		מֵיטִיב	יִטַּב
	*מוּשָׁב		יָטוּב

M. Weak

			Qal.		*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'îl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*		*קָם	*מֵת	*נָקוֹם	*הֵקִים
	3. *f.*		*קָמָה	*מֵתָה	*נָקוֹמָה	*הֵקִימָה
	2. *m.*		*קַמְתָּ	*מַתָּה	[נְקוֹמוֹתָ	*הֲקִימוֹתָ
	2. *f.*		קַמְתְּ	[מַתְּ]	נְקוֹמוֹת]	הֲקִימוֹת
	1. *c.*		קַמְתִּי	מַתִּי	נְקוֹמוֹתִי	הֲקִימוֹתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*		קָמוּ	מֵתוּ	נְקוֹמוּ	הֵקִימוּ
	2. *m.*		קַמְתֶּם	[מַתֶּם	נְקוֹמוֹתֶם	הֲקִימוֹתֶם
	2. *f.*		[קַמְתֶּן]	מַתֶּן]	[נְקוֹמוֹתֶן	[הֲקִימוֹתֶן]
	1. *c.*		קַמְנוּ	מַתְנוּ	נְקוֹמוֹנוּ]	הֲקִימוֹנוּ
Inf.			*קוּם	*הָקוֹם	*הָקִים	*הָקֵם
Inf. absol.			*קוֹם	*הָקוֹם, נָסוֹג		*הָקֵם
Imp. Sing.	*m.*		*קוּם	*הָקוֹם		*הָקֵם
	f.		*קוּמִי	[הָקוֹמִי]		*הָקִימִי
Plur.	*m.*		קוּמוּ	הָקוֹמוּ		הָקִימוּ
	f.		*קֹמְנָה			[הָקֵמְנָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*		*יָקוּם, יָבוֹא	*יְקוֹם		*יָקִים
	3. *f.*		תָּקוּם	תְּקוֹם		תָּקִים
	2. *m.*		תָּקוּם	תְּקוֹם		תָּקִים
	2. *f.*		*תָּקוּמִי	[תְּקוֹמִי]		*תָּקִימִי
	1. *c.*		אָקוּם	אָקוֹם		אָקִים
Plur.	3. *m.*		יָקוּמוּ	יְקוֹמוּ		יָקִימוּ
	3. *f.*		*תְּקוּמֶינָה, תָּשֹׁבְנָה			*תָּקֵמְנָה, תְּקִימֶינָה
	2. *m.*		תָּקוּמוּ	תְּקוֹמוּ		תָּקִימוּ
	2. *f.*		תְּקוּמֶינָה			[תָּקֵמְנָה]
	1. *c.*		נָקוּם	נְקוֹם		נָקִים
Shortened Impf.			*יָקָם			*יָקֵם
Impf. with Wāw consec.			וַיָּקָם (pause *וַיָּקָם)			*וַיָּקֶם
Impf. with Suff.			*יְשׁוּפֵנִי			*יְקִימֵנִי
Part. act.			*קָם	*נָקוֹם		*מֵקִים
pass.			*קוּם			

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O. Weak

		Qal.		*Niph'al.*	*Pi"ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*מָצָא	מָלֵא	*נִמְצָא	דִּבֵּא, מִצֵּא
	3. *f.*	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	[מִצְּאָה]
	2. *m.*	*מָצָאתָ	מָלֵאתָ	*נִמְצֵאתָ	*מִצֵּאתָ
	2. *f.*	מָצָאת	מָלֵאת	נִמְצֵאת	[מִצֵּאת]
	1. *c.*	מָצָאתִי	מָלֵאתִי	נִמְצֵאתִי	מִצֵּאתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	מָצְאוּ	מָלְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מִצְּאוּ
	2. *m.*	מְצָאתֶם	מְלֵאתֶם	נִמְצֵאתֶם	מִצֵּאתֶם
	2. *f.*	[מְצָאתֶן]	[מְלֵאתֶן]	[נִמְצֵאתֶן]	[מִצֵּאתֶן]
	1. *c.*	מָצָאנוּ	מָלֵאנוּ	נִמְצֵאנוּ]	מִצֵּאנוּ
Inf.		מְצֹא	הִמָּצֵא	נִמְצֹא	מַצֵּא
Inf. absol.		מָצוֹא	נִמְצֹא		מַצֹּא
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*מְצָא	הִמָּצֵא		מַצֵּא
	f.	מְצָאִי	[הִמָּצְאִי		[מַצְּאִי]
Plur.	*m.*	מְצָאוּ	הִמָּצְאוּ		מַצְּאוּ
	f.	*מְצָאנָה	[הִמָּצֶאנָה]		[מַצֶּאנָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִמְצָא	*יִמָּצֵא		יְמַצֵּא
	3. *f.*	תִּמְצָא	תִּמָּצֵא		תְּמַצֵּא
	2. *m.*	תִּמְצָא	תִּמָּצֵא		תְּמַצֵּא
	2. *f.*	תִּמְצְאִי	תִּמָּצְאִי		[תְּמַצְּאִי]
	1. *c.*	אֶמְצָא	אֶמָּצֵא		אֲמַצֵּא
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמָּצְאוּ		יְמַצְּאוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּמְצָאנָה	*תִּמָּצֶאנָה		*תְּמַצֶּאנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּמָּצְאוּ		[תְּמַצְּאוּ]
	2. *f.*	תִּמְצָאנָה	תִּמָּצֶאנָה		תְּמַצֶּאנָה
	1. *c.*	נִמְצָא	[נִמָּצֵא]		נְמַצֵּא
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).					
Impf. with Suff.		יִמְצָאֵךְ, יִמְצָאֵנִי			יְמַצְּאֵנִי
Part. act.		מֹצֵא	נִמְצָא		מְמַצֵּא
pass.		מָצוּא			

Verbs, ל״א.

Pu'al.	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
קֹרָא [מֻצָּא	הִמְצִיא	[הֻמְצָא]	[הִתְמַצֵּא
מצאה	המציאה	המצאה	התמצאה
*מְצֻאָתָ	*הִמְצֵאתָ	*[הֻמְצֵאתָ	*הִתְמַצֵּאתָ
מְצֻאת	הִמְצֵאת	הֻמְצֵאת	הִתְמַצֵּאת]
מְצֻאתִי	הִמְצֵאתִי	הֻמְצֵאתִי	הִתְמַצֵּאתִי
מְצָאוּ	הִמְצִיאוּ	הֻמְצָאוּ	הִתְמַצְּאוּ
מְצֻאתֶם	הִמְצֵאתֶם	הֻמְצֵאתֶם	[הִתְמַצֵּאתֶם
מְצֻאתָן	[הִמְצֵאתֶן	הֻמְצֵאתָן	הִתְמַצֵּאתָן
מְצֻאנוּ]	הִמְצֵאנוּ]	הֻמְצֵאנוּ]	הִתְמַצֵּאנוּ]
wanting.	הַמְצִיא הַמְצֵא	wanting.	הִתְמַצֵּא wanting.
wanting.	הַמְצֵא הַמְצִיאִי הַמְצִיאוּ [הַמְצֵאנָה]	wanting.	[הִתְמַצֵּא הִתְמַצְּאִי הִתְמַצְּאוּ הִתְמַצֵּאנָה]
יְמֻצָּא	יַמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא	יִתְמַצֵּא
[תְּמֻצָּא	תַּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצֵּא
תְּמֻצָּא	תַּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצֵּא
[תְּמֻצָּאִי	תַּמְצִיאִי	תִּמְצְאִי	[תִּתְמַצְּאִי
אֶמְצָא]	אַמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	אֶתְמַצֵּא]
יְמֻצְאוּ	יַמְצִיאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ	יִתְמַצְּאוּ
[תְּמֻצֶּאנָה	*תַּמְצֶאנָה	*תִּמְצֶאנָה	[תִּתְמַצֶּאנָה
תְּמֻצְאוּ	תַּמְצִיאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּתְמַצְּאוּ
תְּמֻצֶּאנָה	תַּמְצֶאנָה	תִּמְצֶאנָה	[תִּתְמַצֶּאנָה
נְמְצָא]	נַמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	נִתְמַצֵּא]
יַמְצֵא			
יַמְצִיאֵנִי			
מְמֻצָּא	מַמְצִיא		מִתְמַצֵּא
מְמֻצָּא		מְמֻצָּא	

P. Weak

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Pi'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*גָּלָה	*נִגְלָה	*גִּלָּה
	3. *f.*	*גָּלְתָה	*נִגְלְתָה	*גִּלְתָה
	2. *m.*	*גָּלִיתָ	*נִגְלֵיתָ , ־ִיתָ	*גִּלִּיתָ
	2. *f.*	גָּלִית	נִגְלֵית	גִּלִּית
	1. *c.*	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלֵיתִי	גִּלִּיתִי , גִּלֵּיתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	*גָּלוּ	נִגְלוּ	גִּלּוּ
	2. *m.*	גָּלִיתֶם	[נִגְלֵיתֶם	גִּלִּיתֶם
	2. *f.*	גָּלִיתֶן	נִגְלֵיתֶן]	[גִּלִּיתֶן]
	1. *c.*	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גִּלִּינוּ
Inf.		*גָּלוֹת	*הִגָּלוֹת	*גַּלּוֹת
Inf. absol.		גָּלֹה	נִגְלֹה , הִגָּלֵה	גַּלֵּה , גַּלֵּה
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*גְּלֵה	*הִגָּלֵה	*גַּלֵּה , גַּל
	f.	*גְּלִי	*הִגָּלִי	*גַּלִּי
Plur.	*m.*	גְּלוּ	הִגָּלוּ	גַּלּוּ
	f.	*גְּלֶינָה	[הִגָּלֶינָה]	[גַּלֶּינָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִגְלֶה	*יִגָּלֶה	*יְגַלֶּה
	3. *f.*	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגָּלֶה	תְּגַלֶּה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגָּלֶה	תְּגַלֶּה
	2. *f.*	*תִּגְלִי	[תִּגָּלִי]	*תְּגַלִּי
	1. *c.*	אֶגְלֶה	אֶגָּלֶה , אִגָּ׳	אֲגַלֶּה
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִגְלוּ	יִגָּלוּ	יְגַלּוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּגְלֶינָה	*תִּגָּלֶינָה	*תְּגַלֶּינָה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגָּלוּ	תְּגַלּוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּגְלֶינָה	תִּגָּלֶינָה	תְּגַלֶּינָה
	1. *c.*	נִגְלֶה	[נִגָּלֶה]	נְגַלֶּה
Shortened Impf.		*יִגֶל	*יִגָּל	*יְגַל
Impf. with Suff.		יִגְלְךָ , *יִגְלֶנִּי		יְגַלְּךָ , *יְגַלֶּנִּי
Part. act.		*גֹּלֶה	*נִגְלֶה	*מְגַלֶּה
pass.		*גָּלוּי		

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Q. Verbs ל״ה

	1. *Sing.*	2. *Sing. m.*	2. *Sing. f.*
Perf. Qal. 3. *m.*	נָחַנִי	רָאַהּ, עָשָׂהּ	
	P. עָשַׂנִי	*P.* כָּנָּהּ, עָנָהּ	
3. *f.*	עָשְׂתְנִי		
2. *m.*	רְאִיתַנִי		
	P. עֲנִיתָנִי		
2. *f.*	*Pi.* רִמִּיתְנִי		
1. *c.*		רְאִיתִיהּ	עִנִּתְהּ
Plur. 3. *c.*	עָשׂוּנִי	רָאוּהּ	*Pi.* כִּסּוּהּ
1. *c.*		*Pi.* קִוִּינוּהּ	
Imper. 2. *m.*	נְחֵנִי / עֲנֵנִי		
2. *f.*	*Hiph.* הַרְאִינִי		
Plur. 2. *m.*	*Pi.* כַּסּוּנִי		
Impf. 3. *m.*	יִרְאֵנִי	יִפְדֶּהּ / יַחְתֶּהּ	
3. *f.*		תִּשְׁבְּהּ	
2. *m.*	תִּרְאֵנִי		
2. *f.*			
1. *c.*		אֶרְאֶהּ	אֶעְבְּדֶהּ
		אֶעֱנֶךָּ	
Plur. 3. *m.*	יְעַשּׂוּנִי	*Pi.* יְכַסּוּהּ	
2. *m.*	תְּצַוֵּנִי		

with Suffixes.

3. *Sing. m.*	3. *Sing. f.*	1. *Plur.*	3. *Plur. m.*
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָה	עָשָׂנוּ	עָשָׂם
Pi. כִּלָּהוּ	*Pi.* צִוָּתָה	*Hiph.* הֶעֱלָתַם	
Pi. כִּסִּיתוֹ	עָשִׂיתָה	*Pi.* דִּבִּיתָנוּ	עִנִּיתָם
עָשִׂיתִיהוּ / רָאִיתִיו	רְאִיתִיהָ		רְעִיתִים
עָשׂוּהוּ	רָאֻתָה		שָׁבוּם
Pi. קִוִּנָהוּ			
	Hiph. הַרְאֲנוּ		רְעֵם
תְּלֻהוּ		*Hiph.* הַכּוּם	
יְרָאֻהוּ / יִלְּוֻנוּ	יְרָאֻהָ / יְרָאֻנָה	*Pi.* יְצַוֻּנוּ	יְחֻצֵם / יְעֻשֵּׂם
Hiph. תַּשְׁקֵהוּ			
תַּעֲשֶׂנּוּ	תַּעֲשֶׂהָ	*Hiph.* תַּחֲלֵנוּ	תְּוֻרֵם
			Pi. תְּכַפְּסִים
אֶרְאֶנּוּ	אֶעֱשֶׂנָּה		אֶפְדֵּם
אֶעֱנֵהוּ			
Pi. יְפַתְּחוּהוּ	יְעֻשֶּׂהָ	*Pi.* יְעַנֵּנוּ	
נַשְׁקֶנּוּ	נַעֲשֶׂנָּה		תְּצֻוֵּם

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1 *c*, *m*, 2 *q*, *t*, 24 *e*, 44 *c*, 47 *a* N, *c* N: Pi'ēl, 52 *a*: Nûn epentheticum, 58 *i–l*: Aram. forms of verbs, ע״ע, 67 *g*: of verbs ע״ו, 72 *ee*: of verbs ל״ה, 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 prepositions, 35 *n*: original form of, 35 *l*: א elided after it, 35 *d*: omitted with זֶה, זֹאת, אֱלֶּה 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.
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[1] Cf. Driver, *Introd.*[8], p. 466: Segal, *Mišn. Hebr.*, p. 63.

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דַּיֵּהּ 91 *d*
דַּיָּן 84[b] *b*
דַּל 93 *x*, 95 *f*
דַּלְיוּ 67 *dd*, 75 *u*, *bb*
דַּלְיָו 93 *z*
דַּלְיוֹתָיו 84[a] *g*
דָּלְלוּ 67 *cc*
דַּלָּת 95 *f*
דַּלְתוֹת 95 *f*
דַּלְתַּיִם 93 *n*
דָּם 93 *mm*
דָּמִים 124 *n*
דַּנֵּנִי 58 *i*, 59 *f*
דֵּעַ 69 *m*
דֵּעָה 69 *c*, *m*[2]
דְּעֵה 48 *l*
דַּק 67 *bb*
דְּרֹבוֹן 85 *u*
דְּרָכִים 93 *n*
דְּרָכֶיךָ ? 91 *k*
דָּשָׁא 80 *h*
דָּשֶׁא 22 *e*

ה with Mappîq 14, as a weak consonant 23 *k*, *l*, in verbs ל״ה 75, as a mere vowel-letter 6 *d*, 7 *b*, *c*, 24 *g*

ה locale, origiu 90 *b*, use 90 *c*–*i*, with constr. st. before a genitive 90 *c*, sometimes otiose 90 *e*, mere poetic ornament 90 *f*, *g*, in placenames 90 *g*[1], added in segholate nouns to the developed form 90 *i*, 93 *i*

הַ (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126: *see* Article in Index I
הֲ interrog. 100, origin and pointing 100
הֲ...(וְ)אִם *i–n*, uses of 150; 150 *h*
ה֫ (with the tone), ending of fem. nouns 80 *c*
ה֪ (toneless), ending of the Cohortative and Imperative 48 *c, d, i*; an old case-ending 90 *a–i*
ה 3rd masc. sing. pronominal suffix 91 *e*
ה֪ (without Mappîq) anomalous 3rd fem. sing. pronom. suff. 91 *e*
הֵא 105 *b*
הַאֻכָּה (Mi 6[11]) 47 *b*[1]
הֶאֱנִיחוּ 53 *g*
הָאוֹקִים 35 *d*
הֶאָח 105 *a*
הָאִישׁ *one*, 144 *d*[1]
הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל 127 *f*[1]
הֶאָנַח 65 *e*
הָאָרוֹן 35 *o*
הֻבָאת 74 *g*
הֻבָאתָה 74 *d*
הֻבָאתָ 72 *w*
הֻבָה 105 *b*
הָבִיא 72 *y*, 74 *l*
הֻבִישׁוֹתָה 78 *b*
הֹבִישׁ 72 *x*, 78 *b*
הבמת זאת (Moab.) 80 *f*[1]
הִבָּרוּ 67 *t*
הַבְרָכָה 10 *g* (end)
הַבְרָכָה 16 *g*
הַגָּה *Qerê* for הַגֹּג 118 *e*[2]
הגה 69 *w*
הגו 75 *n, aa*
הַגְּרָנוֹת 93 *r*
הָדוּשׁ 72 *v*
הַדֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלוֹן 127 *f*[1]
הַדַּשְׁנָה 54 *h*
הַהֵימִיר ? 72 *e*
†ההלכתי 90 *n*
הַהֻלָּלָה 52 *s*
הוּא, הִיא 32 *k*; הוא with *Qerê* הִיא 17 *c*, הוא as fem., not an archaism 32 *l*
הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) = *ipse* or *idem* 135 *a*[1], demonstrative 136, for the copula 141 *h*, resuming the subject 145 *u*[3], in questions 136 *e* (end), 150 *l*
הֻוָא 75 *lh*
הוֹבִישׁ 72 *x*
הוֹדַע 69 *w*
הוֹי 105 *a*
הוֹכַח 65 *f*
הוֹלֶדֶת 71
הוֹלֻלוֹת 86 *l*
הֹלֹם פַּעַם 29 *f*
הוּפַח ? 72 *ee*[1]
הוֹפִיעַ ? 69 *v*
הוֹצִיא 74 *l*
הוֹרַדְתָּנוּ 59 *h*
הוֹשַׁע 65 *f*
הַזּוֹנָה ? 80 *i*
הִזִּילוּהָ 67 *y*, 72 *ee*
הִזַּפּוּ 54 *d*
הִזְכַּרְכֶּם 53 *l*
הֶחְבְּאַתָּה 75 *oo*
הֶחָבֵה 75 *pp*
הֶחֱדַלְתִּי 63 *k*
הֶחָי, הֶחָי 35 *f*, 27 *q*
הֶחֱל 67 *t*
הֶחֱלִי 74 *k*, 75 *ii*
הֲחָמִנִים 35 *f*
הֲחֻרִיטִים 35 *f*
הַחֲרָסָה 90 *f*
הַחְתֹּתָ 67 *w*
הֲטָהֳרוּ 27 *q*
הָיָא 32 *k*
הָיָה 16 *f*, 6 with participle 116 לְ before infin. 114 copula 141 *g–i*. C
הֱיֵה 75 *n*
הַיּוֹם = *one* 126 *s*
הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה 134 *o*[1]
הֱיֵטַב 113 *k*
הֵיכָל 9 *i*, 85
? הֵילִיכִי 69 *x*,
? הֲיָמָה 90 *f*
הֵיצֵא 69 *v*
הֵיקִין 70 *e*
הֲיָשַׁר 24 *f*[3],
הית 75 *m*[1]
הַפּוֹת (inf. a
הֲכִי 150 *d*
הֲכֵין 72 *z*
הַכִּינִי 75 *m*
הֶכְלַמְנוּ 53 *p*
הֲכַנּוּ 72 *w*
הֲלֹא expre assurance 150 *e*
הֲלֵדֶת 69 *w*,
הֲלָז 34 *f*
הַלָּזֶה 34 *f*
הַלָּזוּ 34 *f*
הָלַךְ inflex 69 *x*, use of, to exp tinuance 113 *u*
הֲלַךְ 69 *m*
? הֲלִכוּא 23 *i*

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וְאֹכַל 68 *e*
וְאָכְלָה 49 *e*
וַאֲכַסֵּךְ 49 *c*
וְאַל- = *rather than* 133 b^2
וֶאֱלַךְ 69 *p*
וֵאלֹהִים 102 *d*, 104 *d*
וְאֶסְחָבֵהּ (Moab.) 7 *c*
וְאָעִידָה ? 49 *e*
וְאָקוּם 49 *e*, 72 *t*
וְאֶקְרָאָה ? 48 *d*
וארב 75 *gg*
וְאֶרֶץ 29 i^1
וְבֶטֶן 104 *g*
וְדִיגוֹם 73 *b*
†וְהַאֲזִינִיחוּ 53 *g*
וְהֵבִיאתִי 76 *h*
וְהִנְלָה 75 *ee*
וְחוֹשְׁבוֹתִים ? 72 *x*
וְהַחֲתִתִּי 67 *dd*
וְהִטַּלְתִּי 72 *k*, *w*
וְהָיָה in prophetic style 112 *y*, *z*
וְהָיָה 28 *b*
וְהָיוּ 28 *b*
וְהִימְבֹתִי 70 *e*
וְהָיִיתֶם 63 *q*, 104 *f*
וְהִמְטַרְתִּי (Am 4^7) 112 h^3
וְהַמַּתִּי 72 *w*
וַהֲמִתִּיהָ 72 *w*
וַהֲמִתֶּן 72 *w*
וְהִנִּיחָה ? 72 *ee*
וְהִנַּפְתָּ 72 *w*
וְהַצִּיתוּהָ 71
וַהֲצֵרֹתִי 67 *ee*
וַהֲקִאתוֹ 76 *h*
וְהִקְדַּשְׁנוּ 29 *l*
וַהֲקִמֹתִי 72 *i*
וְהִרְאֵיתִי 53 *p*, 75 *ee*

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.

וְאַבֵּדְךָ 23 *d*, 68 *k*
וַאֲבָרְכֵם: 60 *d*
†וַאֲגָרֵשׁ 49 *c*
וַאֲדֹנָי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*
וָאוֹצְרָה. 53 *n*, *g*, 68 *i*
וָאֹחֲזוּ 68 *e*
וַאֲחַלְלֵךְ 111 w^1
וָאֵחַר 64 *h*, 68 *e*
†וְאַחֲרֵי שָׁתָה 113 e^3
וַאֲחַשְׁבָה ? 49 *e*
וַאֲיַחֲלָה ? 49 *e*

וְתִתְמַהְמְהוּ ? 55 *g*
וַהֲתָמֵךְ 67 *v*
הִתְנַבּוֹת 75 *qq*
הִתְנַבֵּיתְ 75 *qq*
הִתְפַּקְדוּ 54 *l*
הֻתְפַּקְדוּ 54 *l*
הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים 156 c^1
הִתְרַחֲצִתִּי 64 *d*

וְ ? 75 *r*, 76 *b*
וְזָבַח 65 *e*
וְיִחַק 29 *g*
וַיְחַטֵּא 74 *l*
וַיְחִי 16 *g*
וַיְחַלְּא 75 *rr*
וַיְחַלְּאוּ (Ho 8[10]) ? 111 *w*[1]
וְיֻחַלּוּ 24 *e*
וַיְחַלְּפֵהוּ (Moab.) 7 *c*
וַיְחַלֵּק ? 63 *n*
וַיְחַמּוּ 69 *f*
וַיְחַמְּנָה 69 *f*
וַיְחַן 75 *r*
וַיַּחַר 75 *r*
וַיֵּט 75 *r*
וַיְטַמְּנוּ 47 *i*
וַיְיַחֵל 69 *t*
וַיִּיף 76 *f*
וַיְיַצֵּר 71
וַיִּישָׁם 53 *u*, 73 *f*
†וַיְכֻן 60 *d*
וַיְכֻם־שָׁם 58 *g*
וַיְכַנְּנוּ 72 *cc*
וַיְכַתּוּ 67 *g*, *y*
? וְיֻלַּדְתְּ 80 *d*, 94 *f*
וְיֻלַּלַת 24 *e*
וַיַּלֵּן 72 *ee*
וַיְמַלְּאוּם 60 *h*
וַיַּנַּח 72 *ee*
וַיַּסֵּב 67 *y*
וַיַּסְּבוּ 67 *g*
וַיָּסֶךְ 67 *p*, 73 *f*
וַיְסַרְנִי 59 *h*
וַיַּעַט 72 *ff*
ויענו (Moab.) 75 *b*[2]
וַיַּעַף 72 *t*
וַיְעַקְּבֵנִי 63 *m*
? וַיְעַקְּשֵׁנִי 53 *n*
וַיְעֻרוּ 75 *cc*
וַיָּפֶר 67 *x*
וַיִּפְתְּ 75 *q*
וַיְצַלַּח 65 *f*
וַיֻּצַק 71
וַיִּצַק 71
וַיְקַד 67 *g*
וַיְקָדוּ 67 *g*
? וַיְקַץ 71
וַיַּרְא 75 *q*
ויראו המוראים 75 *rr*
וַיֻּרַב 68 *i*
וַיְרַדְּ 75 *q*
וַיְרִיבֵן 49 *d*[1]
וַיָּרֶם 27 *o*, 67 *o*; with accus. 121 *d*[2]
וַיְרַפּוּ 75 *qq*
וַיְרַפּוּ 23 *f*, 75 *qq*
וַיְרַשֵּׁךְ 69 *s*
וַיְרַשְּׁהָ 69 *s*
וַיְרִשְׁתָּהּ 44 *d*
וַיְרִשְׁתֶּם 44 *d*
וַיִּשְׁבְּ 26 *p*[2], 75 *q*
וַיְשַׁבְּתֶם 69 *k*
וַיְשַׁנּוּ 60 *d*, 75 *bb*, 131 *m*[3]
? וַיְשַׁעֲכֶם 65 *f*
וַיְשַׁרֵּם 69 *u*
וַיְשַׁרְנָה 71
וַיִּשְׁתְּ 75 *q*
וַיְשַׁתַּחוּ 75 *kk*
וַיִּתְּא 68 *h*
†וַיְתָו 75 *bb*
וַיְתַמְּהֲמָה 55 *g*
וַיְתַמּוּ 67 *g*
וְכֻחַשׁ בּוֹ 29 *g*
וְלֹא 104 *g*
וְלָנָה 73 *d*
וְלַפּוּ 73 *d*
וְ– in perfect (rare) 44 *l*; in imperfect 47 *m*, *n*; less frequent with wāw consec. 49 *d*[1]. Cf. יְ–.
†ונאשאר 64 *i*
? וְנִירָם 69 *r*, 76 *f*
וְנָעָל 112 *tt*[1]
וְנַעֲמִיד 49 *e*[2]
וְנַעֲשֶׂה 75 *hh*
וְנָשׁוּב 49 *e*[2]
וְנַשִּׁים 67 *y*
וְנִשְׁכַּחַת 44 *f*
? ונשקה 19 *k*[2]
וְנִשְׁתָּעָה 75 *l*
וַעֲצֹר 28 *b*, 104 *d*
וָעֶחֱר 104 *g*
וּפִשְׁחֶם 44 *d*
וְצָמִת 75 *qq*
וְקַדְמָה 104 *g*
וְקוֹיֵ 8 *k*
וְקַצּוֹתָהּ 67 *ee*
וְרָאֳיָה 75 *n*
וְרָצְאתִי 75 *rr*
וְשָׁבַת 44 *f*, 72 *o*
? (ψ 23[6]) וְשַׁבְתִּי 69 *m*[1]
וֹת– nouns ending in 86 *k*, 95 *t*, plur. of 95 *u*
וַתָּאֹרֶנָה 72 *k*
†וַתָּבֹאת 76 *h*
ותבאתי 48 *d*
וַתִּגְבְּהֶינָה 47 *l*
וַתֵּהֹם 72 *h*
וַתּוּכַל 69 *r*
וַתִּזְנִי־שָׁם 75 *ii*
וַתְּזָרֵנִי for "וְתַאֲזֵ 23 *f*, 68 *k*
וַתַּחְבֵּא 74 *l*
וַתְּחִי 23 *f*
זְ– 73 *d*

וַתַּחְלְקֵם 63 *m*
וַתַּחַשׁ 72 *ff*
וַתַּחַשׁ 72 *ff*
וַתֵּיפֶי 76 *f*
ותלוש ? 72 *t*
וַתְּמוּגֵנוּ 72 *cc*
וַתְּנִיקֵהוּ 70 *e*
וַתַּעְגַּב 63 *m*
וַתַּעַט 72 *ff*
וַתֶּעָצַר 65 *e*
†וַתְּצַפְּנוֹ 60 *d*
וַתְּקָרְבוּ ? 60 *a*[1]
וַתֵּרָא 75 *p*
וַתָּרֶן 27 *o*, 67 *p*
וַתְּשַׁיְּמוּן ? 58 *g*
† וַתֶּחֱצַב 71
ז (Moab.) for וְהָ 7 *d*[1]
וְאֵת 34, use of 136
וְהָ 34, use of 136; enclitic 136 *c*, *d*; = *here* or *now* 136 *d*; as a relative 138 *g*
וְהָב 82
זֹו, זוֹ 34 *b*
זוּ demonst. pron. 34 *d*; relat. pron. 138 *g*
זוּלַת 90 *l*, 101 *a*
זוּרָה 73 *d*
זְיָקוֹת 20 *n*
זַכּוּ 67 *ee*
זְמֻמֹתַי 67 *aa*
זַמָּרָה 52 *p*
זְמָרָת ? 80 *g*
זַנְבוֹת 93 *ee*
זְעִיר 86 *g*[1]
זְעֻמָּה 63 *p*, 64 *c*
זֵעַת 95 *e*
זֹרוּ 67 *m*
זְרֻמוּ 55 *b*

ח with dageš f.
implicitum 22 *c*
חֲבִי 75 *qq*
חַבְּלֵהוּ 63 *l*
חִבַּלְתָּךְ 59 *g*[1]
חֲבַרְתּוֹ 84[b] *g*
חָגָא 95 *d*
חַגְוֵי 93 *x*
חָגֵי 67 *ff*
חַד (אֶחָד) 96
חָדְלוּ 20 *i*
†חֲוָחִים 93 *w*
חוֹטָא 75 *oo*
חול תחיל ? 73 *d*
חוֹמֹתַיִם 95 *o*
חוּקִּי 27 *n*
חוֹרַי 86 *i*, 87 *g*
חוֹתָם 84[a] *r*
חֲזוֹאֵל 23 *k*[1]
חֲזֵה (2S24[11])? 93 *rr*
חֲזִיר 84[a] *o*
חֲזִיר 84[a] *o*
חֲזָקָה 45 *d*
חֲזֵקִי 93 *ee*
חִטִּאים 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*
חֲטֹו 75 *qq*
חַי יְהוָה, חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ 93 *aa*[1], 149 *a*[1], *c*
חַי אֲנִי 32 *c*
חָיָה what forms take Metheg 16 *f*, pointing of 63 *q*, shortened forms of in imperfect 75 *s*, perfect forms as if from חָיַי 76 *i*
חִיצוֹן 27 *w*
חַיַת ? 80 *f*
חַיְתוֹ 90 *o*
חַכֵּי 23 *l*, 75 *aa*, *hh*
חָכְמוֹת 86 *l*

חֶלֶב 93 *dd*
†חַלּוֹנָי 87 *g*
חַלּוֹתִי הִיא 67 *r*
חֲלִילָה 105 *b*
חָלַל 67 *cc*
חלכאים ? 93 *x*
חָם 96
חֵמָה 23 *f*
חֲמוּטָל 90 *k*
חַמּוֹתִי 67 *ee*
חֲמָלָה, חָמְלָה 45 *b*
חֲמִשִּׁי 98 *a*
חֲמֻשֶּׁת 94 *f*
חֲמַשֶּׁת עָשָׂר 97 *e*
†חֲמִשָּׁתָיו 91 *l*
חֲנוֹת 67 *r*
חָנָךְ 91 *e*
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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 *q*, 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 *q*, 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 *q*
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*

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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 *g*
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 *j*
5 . . . . . 118 *g*
9 . . . . . 75 *r*
14 . . . . . 102 *b*
18 . . . 75 *n*, 133 *c*
20 . . 155 *d*, 155 *i*
21 . . . . . 97 *h*
22 . . . . . 127 *b*
23 . . . . . 49 *i*
26 . . . 47 *g*, 112 *g*
27 . . . . . 119 *s*
19 1 . . . . . 102 *f*
3 . . . . . 53 *n*
5 . . . . . 113 *o*
8 . . . . . 135 *r*
13 . . . . . 69 *t*
15 . . . 134 *o* N.
18 . . . . 93 *dd*
19 . . . . 113 *u*
23 . . . 72 *w*, 72 *x*
20 2 . . . 15 *p*, 138 *d*
3 . . 107 *o*, 132 *h*
5 . . . 60 *b*, 129 *e*
8 . . . . 113 *bb*
9 . . . . . 118 *k*
15 . . . . . 107 *o*
18 . . . . . 116 *o*
20 . . 135 *m*, 152 *x*
24 . . . . . 127 *e*
25 . . 72 *k*, 117 *kk*
21 2 . . . . 159 *bb*
4 . . . 145 *h*, 146 *e*
5 . . . . . 113 *o*
8 . 61 *b*, 75 *ee*, 103 *g*
12 104 *g*, 112 *n*, 116 *w*
13 . . . . . 112 *ii*
18 . . . . . 47 *m*
20 . . . . . 126 *r*
28 . . 117 *d*, 121 *b*
29 . . . . . 124 *i*
31 . . . . 29 *i* N.
35 . . . . . 135 *m*
36 . . . . . 159 *cc*

Exodus
21 37 . . . 47 *f*, 123 *a*
22 1 . . . . 124 *n*
3 . . . 51 *k*, 113 *o*
4 . . . . . 53 *n*
5 . . . . . 117 *q*
8 . . . . . 138 *e*
11 . . . . . 113 *o*
17 . . . . . 94 *d*
22 . 113 *m*, 163 *c* N.
25 . . . . . 135 *o*
29 . . . . . 60 *d*
30 . . . . . 131 *k*
23 4 . . . . . 21 *h*
8 . . . . . 107 *g*
9 . . . . 158 *a*
16 . . . . . 61 *a*
21 . . . 51 *n*, 67 *y*
22 . . . . . 113 *o*
24 . . . . . 60 *b*
26 . . . . . 94 *d*
27 . . . 117 *ii* N.
28 . . . . . 126 *t*
30 . . 123 *e*, 133 *k*
31 . . . . . 58 *g*
24 3 . . . . . 118 *q*
4 . . . . . 134 *f*
10 . . . . 139 *g*
12 . . . 154 *a* N.
25 5 . . . . . 52 *q*
11 . . . . . 49 *l*
15 . . . 135 *o* N.
18 . . . . 117 *hh*
28 . . . . 117 *hh*
29 . . 20 *f*, 117 *hh*
31 . . . . . 63 *h*
33 . . . . . 123 *d*
35 . . . . . 123 *d*
40 . . . . . 121 *c*
26 2 . . . . 134 *n*
3 . . 123 *d*, 139 *e*
19 . . . . . 123 *d*
33 . 49 *h*, 53 *r*, 133 *i*
27 11 . . . . 134 *n*
28 9 . . . . 117 *d*
10 . . . 134 *c* N.
17 . . . . . 131 *d*
20 . . . . . 117 *y*
21 . . . . . 139 *c*
32 . . . . . 165 *a*
43 . . . . 165 *a*
29 1 . . . . . 66 *g*
2 . . . . 126 *m*
12 . . . 119 *w* N.
31 . . . . 128 *p*
35 . . . . 103 *b*
30 4 . . . . . 103 *g*
20 . . . 117 *y* N.
32 . . . . . 73 *f*
31 4 . . . . . 63 *i*
13 . . . . . 60 *f*

Exodus
31 17 . . . . . 51 *m*
18 . . . . . 124 *g*
32 1 . . 126 *aa*, 137 *c*
3 . . . 54 *f*, 117 *w*
4 . . . 72 *t*, 145 *i*
6 . . . 52 *n*, 113 *e*
12 . . . . . 150 *e*
25 . . *n*, 58 *g*, 116 *i*
26 . . . . . 137 *c*
29 . . . . . 114 *p*
30 . . . . 108 *h*
32 . . 159 *dd*, 167 *a*
33 . . . . . 137 *c*
34 . . . . 112 *oo*
33 3 . . . . . 27 *q*
6 . . . 54 *f*, 117 *w*
7 107 *e*, 112 *e*, 113 *h*
10 . . . . 112 *kk*
11 . . . . . 156 *c*
12 . . . . . 75 *gg*
13 . . 69 *b* N., 91 *k*
14 . . . . 150 *a*
19 . . . . . 67 *ee*
20 . . 60 *d*, 159 *gg*
23 . . . . . 124 *b*
34 1 . . . . . 124 *q*
10 . . . . . 122 *q*
13 . . . . . 47 *m*
19 . . . . . 51 *g*
24 . . . . . 51 *l*
34 . . . . 159 *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 *q*
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 *g*
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 *κ*
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*

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Deuteronomy

33 3 . . . . 116 *s*
4 . . . . 131 *s*
9 . . 19 *c*, 117 *b* N.
11 116 *i*, 117 *ll*, 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 *q*, 135 *p*
5 . . . . 114 *k*
6 . . . . . 59 *g*
10 . . 117 *c*, 157 *c*
13 . . . 63 *q*, 96
15 . . . . 126 *r*
16 . 63 *c*, 72 *q*, 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*, 150 *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*, 72 *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 *q*, 135 *a*
19 . . 53 *n*, 156 *d*
20 . . . . 34 *f*
25 . . 126 *w*, 128 *c*
28 . . . . . 63 *p*
31 . . 73 *e*, 100 *m*
36 . . 116 *q*, 159 *v*
39 . . . 109 *a* N.
7 3 . . . . 137 *c*
4 . . . . 136 *b*
6 . . . . . 93 *n*

Judges
7 8 . . . . . 131 *s*
12 36
13 . . . . . 112 *qq*
19 . . . . . 113 *z*
20 . . . . . 147 *c*
23 . . . . . 102 *b*
25 . . . . . 124 *r*
8 1 74 *h*, 155 *d*, 155 *h*
2 . . . . . 20 *m*
4 . . . . . 118 *n*
10 . . . . . 97 *e*
11 . . . 130 *a* N.
18 . . 126 *o*, 161 *c*
19 . . 63 *q*, 159 *x*
32 . . 125 *h*, 128 *c*
9 8 . . . . . 113 *o*
9 63 *k*, 100 *n*, 106 *n*
10 . . . 46 *d*, 46 *e*
15 . . . . 159 *v*
16 . . . . 167 *a*
17 . . . . 119 *bb*
28 . . . . 137 *a*
29 48 *l*, 76 *e*, 151 *b*, 154 *b*
39 . . . . . 69 *p*
41 . . . . . 35 *d*
45 . . . . 117 *ee*
48 . . . . 157 *a*
53 27 *o*, 67 *p*, 125 *b*
55 . . . . 145 *d*
10 4 96
11 . . . . 167 *b*
18 . . . . 137 *c*
11 5 . . . . . 21 *b*
10 . . . 159 *n* N.
18 . . . . . 47 *m*
20 . . . 157 *b* N.
25 . 51 *i*, 133 *a* N.
29 . . . . 118 *f*
33 . . . . 134 *e*
34 . 135 *o*, 135 *o* N.
35 . . . . 119 *i*
36 . . . . 124 *e*
39 . . . . 144 *b*
12 5 . . 100 *m*, 112 *ee*
6 . . . . . 2 *w*
7 . . . . 124 *o*
13 2 . . . . 125 *b*
5 . . . . . 80 *d*
6 . 44 *d*, 64 *f*, 127 *e*
8 . . . . . 52 *s*
12 . . . . 135 *m*
16 . . . . 119 *m*
21 . . . . . 75 *y*
23 . . . . 90 *h* N.
25 . . . . . 61 *c*
14 2 . . . . . 90 *e*
3 . . . . 135 *a*
4 . . 122 *q*, 135 *p*
6 . . . . 152 *p*

Judges
14 15 . 9 *v*, 69 *n*, 150 *g* N.
17 . . . . 134 *m*
18 37 *d*, 90 *f*, 93 *x*, 133 *a*
15 1 . . . . 119 *n*
7 . 163 *c*, 163 *d* N.
12 . . . . 152 *w*
13 . . . . 113 *p*
14 . . . . 164 *b*
16 5 . . . . . 66 *h*
9 . . . . 126 *o*
10 . . . . 67 *dd*
11 . . . . 113 *o*
13 . . . . 28 *c* N.
14 . . . . 127 *g*
15 . . . . 141 *e*
16 10 *g*, 52 *d*, 60 *d*, 164 *d*
18 . . . . 112 *tt*
20 . . . . 123 *c*
25 . . . . . 52 *n*
26 . . . . . 67 *v*
27 . . . . 126 *x*
28 34 *a* N., 88 *f*, 97 *b* N.
30 . . . . . 72 *r*
17 2 . . . 32 *h*, 121 *f*
3 . . . . 154 N.
18 3 . . . . . 142 *e*
19 . . . 20 *g*, 150 *g*
23 . . . 67 *g*, 67 *y*
29 . . . . . 52 *q*
30 . . . . . 5 *n*
19 1 . . . . 131 *b*
2 . . . . . 75 *t*
5 . . 9 *u*, 64 *c* N., 117 *ff*
6 . . 110 *h*, 120 *d*
8 64
9 . . . . . 91 *k*
11 . . . . . 19 *i*
13 . . . 69 *x*, 73 *d*
18 . . . 118 *e* N.
20 . . . 29 *q*, 73 *e*
22 . . . 54 *c*, 130 *e*
30 . 112 *ee*, *oo*, 116 *w*
20 2 . . . . . 29 *f*
15 . . . 54 *l*, 155 *d*
16 . . . . 90 *i* N.
31 . . . . . 66 *f*
32 . . . . . 20 *h*
38 . . . . 75 *gg*
39 . . . . 118 *u*
43 . . . . . 22 *s*
44 . . . . 117 *m*
21 7 . . . . 131 *n*
9 . . . . . 54 *l*
16 . . . . 123 *b*
21 . . . . 145 *p*

1 Samuel
1 1 . 49 *b* N., 125 *b*, 125 *h*, 156 *b*
2 . . 134 *l*, 145 *o*
3 . . 112 *dd*, 123 *c*
4 . . 112 *g*, 126 *s*
6 20 *h*, 22 *s*, 59 *g*, 117 *p*
7 . . 107 *e*, 123 *c*
8 . . . 37 *e*, 102 *l*
9 . 91 *e*, 113 *e* N., 141 *e*
10 . . . . 128 *y*
11 . . . . 113 *o*
12 112 *uu*, 114 *n* N., 164 *d*
13 . . . . . 20 *g*
14 . . . . . 47 *o*
16 . . . . 128 *v*
17 . . . 23 *f*, 95 *h*
20 . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*
22 . . . . 112 *oo*
24 . . . . 135 *i*
27 . . . . . 95 *h*
28 . . . . . 64 *f*
2 1 . . . 2 *r*, 106 *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 *g*
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 *q*, 118 *q*, 145 *e*
3 2 . . 107 *b*, 120 *b*
3 . . 107 *c*, 152 *r*
5 46 *c*, 120 *g*, 120 *h*
7 . . . . 107 *c*
10 54 *k*, 118 *u*, 123 *c*
11 67 *g*, 67 *p*, 116 *w*, 155 *d*
12 . . . . 113 *h*

1 Samuel

3 13 112 *qq*, 130 *c* N., 119 *p*
14 . . . . 149 *c*
17 . . . . 149 *d*
21 . . . . . 75 *y*
4 1 . . 131 *c*, 145 *c*
3 . . . . 127 *g*
5 . . 72 *h*, 145 *c*
6 . . . . . 37 *f*
7 . . . . . 125 *e*
8 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*
10 . . 124 *b*, 145 *o*
12 . . . . 127 *e*
15 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*
16 . . . . 126 *k*
19 . . 69 *m*, 112 *tt*
21 . . . . 152 *q*
5 3 . . . . 116 *d*
7 . . . . 112 *rr*
9 . . 67 *v*, 130 *d*, 164 *d*
10 . . 115 *c*, 145 *m*
11 . . . . 117 *e*
6 4 . . 118 *h*, 135 *r*
7 . . 72 *i* N., 135 *o*
9 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*
10 . . 60 *h*, 75 *qq*
11 . . . 154 *a* N.
12 . 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*, 113 *s*
14 . . . . 127 *d*
18 . . . . 126 *x*
19 . . . . 119 *k*
7 9 . . . . 131 *k*
10 . . . . 116 *u*
11 . . . . 119 *c*
12 . . . . 111 *d*
14 . . . . 72 *k*
16 . . . . 112 *f*
17 . . . . 29 *i* N.
8 11 . . . . . 72 *l*
12 . . . . 114 *p*
19 . . 20 *g*, 163 *a*
9 2 . . . . 133 *a*
3 . 96, 117 *d*, 130 *g*
4 . . 104 *g*, 152 *k*
7 . . . 159 *w* N.
9 . 107 *e*, 144 *d* N1
10 . . . . 120 *g*
11 . . . . 116 *u*
13 . . . 35 *n*, 47 *m*
17 . . . . 138 *b*
20 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*
21 . . . . 133 *g*
24 . . 138 *i*, 138 *k*
10 3 . . . . . 97 *c*
4 . . . . 134 *n*
5 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*, 112 *z*
6 . . . . 75 *qq*

1 Samuel

10 8 . . . . 112 *v*
9 . . . . 112 *uu*
11 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*, 116 *w*, 136 *c*
12 . . . . 154 *b*
13 . . . . 75 *qq*
14 . . . . 152 *k*
16 . . . . 113 *o*
18 . . . . 135 *a*
23 . . . . 133 *b*
24 . . . 22 *s*, 100 *l*
25 . . . . 126 *s*
27 . . . . 136 *b*
11 1 . . . . 125 *h*
2 . . . . 135 *p*
5 . . . . 107 *v*
11 . . 111 *g*, 116 *w*
12 . . . . 150 *a*
12 3 . . . . 137 *b*
7 . . . . 51 *p*
13 . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*
14 . . . . 167 *a*
17 . . . . 114 *o*
19 . . . . 107 *p*
20 . . . . 135 *a*
23 . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*
24 . . . . 75 *oo*
25 . . . 29 *o*, 113 *o*
13 3 . . . . . 2 *b*
6 . . . . . 93 *w*
7 . . . . 119 *gg*
8 . . . . . 69 *t*
11 . . . . 67 *dd*
12 . . . . . 54 *k*
13 . . . . 159 *dd*
15 . . 93 *oo*, 132 *g*
17 118 *q*, 126 *m*, 126 *z*, 134 *l*
19 . . . . 152 *w*
20 . . . . 118 *f*
21 . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*
22 . . . . 112 *ee*
23 . . . . . 92 *g*
14 1 . . . . 126 *s*
13 . . . . . 72 *m*
14 . . . 118 *s* N.
15 . . . . . 95 *g*
16 . . . . 129 *b*
19 111 *h*, 113 *u*, 164 *d*
21 . . . . . 2 *b*
22 . . . . . 53 *n*
24 . . 76 *d*, 112 *w*
27 . . . . . 72 *k*
28 . . . . . 72 *t*
29 . . . . 126 *x*
30 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*
33 . 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*
34 . . 96 (p. 286)
36 48 *g* N., 67 *dd*, 109 *d*
38 . . . . . 66 *c*

1 Samuel

14 39 . 100 *o* N., 149 *c*
43 . . . . 113 *p*
44 . . . . 149 *d*
45 . . . 119 *w* N.
49 . . . . 47 *b* N.
52 . . . . 112 *ll*
15 1 . . . . . 9 *v*
2 . . . . 106 *g*
4 . . . . . 93 *x*
5 . . . . . 68 *i*
6 20 *g*, 22 *s*, 60 *f*, 68 *h*, 154 *a* N.
9 67 *t*, 75 *y*, 132 *d*, 135 *c* N.
13 . . . . 121 *f*
14 . . . 37 *f*, 154 *b*
16 . . . . 165 *a*
19 . . . . . 72 *ff*
20 . . . . 157 *c*
23 29 *q*, 53 *l*, 111 *h*, 119 *x*
32 . . . . 118 *q*
33 . . . . 119 *w*
16 1 . . 65 *h*, 127 *d*
2 . . 114 *g*, 159 *g*
3 . . . . 138 *e*
4 141 *n*, 144 *d*, 145 *u*, 150 *a*
7 . . . 35 *g*, 132 *c*
8 . . . . 125 *i*
11 . . . . 133 *g*
12 . . . . 128 *x*
14 . . . . 112 *h*
16 . 120 *b* N., 124 *i*
18 . . 128 *t*, 129 *c*
20 . . . . 128 *q*
23 112 *ee*, 112 *oo*, 126 *x*
17 5 . . 121 *d*, 131 *q*
12 . . . . 126 *x*
14 . . 133 *g*, 134 *l*
15 . . 113 *u*, 118 *g*
16 . . . . 113 *k*
17 . . 126 *x*, 134 *n*
20 . . . . 112 *rr*
21 . . . . 122 *i*
24 . . . . 111 *h*
25 22 *s*, 53 *n*, 60 *g*, 100 *l*, 114 *g*, 116 *s*
26 . . . 34 *f*, 132 *h*
28 . . . . 136 *c*
32 . . . . 112 *p*
34 . 112 *kk*, 126 *r*, 154 *a* N.
38 . . . . 112 *tt*
40 . . . . 132 *c*
41 . . . . 113 *u*
43 . . . . 124 *o*
46 . . . . 145 *e*
47 . . . 53 *q*, 145 *c*
48 . . . . 112 *uu*

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2 Samuel

6 2 . . . . . 125 *c*
3 . . . . . 126 *z*
6 . . . . . 117 *g*
16 . . . . . 112 *uu*
20 . . 75 *y*, 148 *b*
7 5 . . 112 *r*, 150 *d*
14 . . . . 112 *mm*
29 . . . . 120 *d*
8 2 . . . . 126 *m*
3 . . . . . 17 *b*
4 . . . . . 69 *v*
8 . . . . 131 *e*
9 1 . . . . 165 *a*
3 . . 128 *g*, 152 *s*
10 7 . . . . 131 *b*
9 . . 145 *k*, 146 *a*
12 . . . . . 54 *k*
11 1 . . . . . 23 *g*
4 . . . . 141 *e*
11 . . . 149 *a* N.
19 . . . 142 *f* N²
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 N¹
5 . . . . 75 *cc*
8 . . . . . 72 *t*
12 . . 75 *hh*, 107 *g*
14 . . . . 117 *u*
15 . . . . 117 *q*
17 . . . . . 64 *c*
18 47 *l*, 112 *tt* N., 156 *b*
19 . . . . 113 *t*
20 . 84 *a s*, 118 *p*, 154 *a* N
23 . . . . 131 *d*
25 . . 152 *g*, 165 *a*
26 . . . . 159 *dd*
28 . . 72 *w*, 159 *g*
31 . . . . 116 *k*
32 . . . . . 73 *f*
39 . . 131 *g*, 144 *o*
14 2 . . 75 *m*, 136 *d*
3 . . . . . 76 *g*
4 . . . . 126 *e*
6 . . . . . 60 *d*

2 Samuel

14 7 . . . . . 73 *b*
10 . . . . 116 *w*
11 . 75 *ff*, 119 *w* N.
13 . . . 92 *b*, 115 *i*
19 . . 47 *b* N., 70 *c*
21 . . . . 106 *m*
26 . . 118 *h*, 134 *g*
30 71
31 . . . . . 102 *l*
15 2 . 111 *g*, 127 *b* N.
4 . . 112 *p*, 151 *a*
5 . . . 10 *g* N³
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 *ll*
16 1 . . . . 134 *n*
5 . . 112 *tt*, 113 *t*
7 . . . . 128 *t*
13 . . 93 *gg*, 112 *f*
17 5 . . . . 135 *f*
8 . . . . 117 *h*
9 . . . . 144 *e*
10 . . . . . 67 *t*
11 . . . . 106 *i*
12 . . 109 *d*, 122 *l*
13 . . . . 106 *o*
15 . . . . 135 *a*
16 . . . . 121 *a*
17 . . 112 *k*, 126 *r*
22 . . . 96, 130 *g*
23 . . . . . 51 *m*
26 . . . . 118 *g*
18 3 . . . 63 *i*, 97 *g*
11 114 *l*, 119 *aa*, 154 *b*, 159 *w* N.
12 . . 137 *c*, 154 *b*
13 . . . . 159 *cc*
14 . . 108 *c*, 156 *c*
16 . . . . . 22 *s*
18 . . . . 117 *d*
19 . . . . 119 *ff*
22 . . . . . 74 *i*
23 . . . . 110 *b*
29 . . 114 *f*, 150 *a*
33 . . . 133 *l* N.
19 1 . . 135 *f*, 151 *b*
6 . . . 70 *c*, 128 *a*
13 . . . . 112 *i*
14 . . . . . 68 *h*
18 . 97 *e*, 112 *tt*

2 Samuel

19 19 . . . . . 53 *q*
20 . . . . 115 *g*
25 . . . 52 *l*, 127 *f*
27 . . . . 122 *f*
30 . . . . 106 *i*
43 . . . . . 76 *b*
44 . . . . 67 *w*
20 1 . . . . 147 *c*
5 . . . . . 68 *i*
8 . . . . 142 *e*
9 . . . 68 *h*, 141 *c*
11 . . . . 137 *c*
12 . . 112 *oo*, 116 *e*
13 . . . . 69 *w*
14 . . . . 125 *h*
18 . . . . 113 *w*
19 . . . 130 *f* N.
20 . . 149 *a*, 149 *e*
21 . . . 53 *s*, 155 *e*
23 . . . 16 *b*, 127 *f*
21 2 . . . . . 74 *h*
3 . . . . 110 *i*
4 . . . . 120 *c*
9 . . . . 118 *i*
11 . . . . 121 *a*
12 . . . . 75 *rr*
15 . . . . . 72 *t*
20 . . . . . 35 *n*
22 . . . . 121 *b*
22 1 . 2 *s*, 53 *l*, 130 *d*
24 . . . . . 49 *e*
27 . . . . . 67 *l*
33 . . . 35 *d*, 131 *r*
37 . . . . 103 *d*
38 . . . . 108 *e*
40 . . . . . 68 *k*
41 . . 19 *i*, 116 *w*
44 . . . . . 87 *f*
23 1 . . . 2 *s*, 29 *g*
3 . . . . 116 *w*
4 . . . . 152 *u*
5 . 135 *m*, 150 *a* N.
6 . . . 91 *f*, 143 *a*
7 . . . . 113 *w*
8 . . . 47 *b*, 87 *f*
11 . . . . 127 *e*
13 . . . . 134 *k*
17 . . . . 167 *a*
19 . . . . 150 *d*
24 3 . . 145 *n*, 154 *b*
6 . . . . . 90 *i*
11 . . . . . 93 *rr*
13 . . . . 145 *h*
16 . . . . 142 *f*
21 . . . . 165 *a*
22 . . . . 93 *pp*
23 . . . . 106 *m*
24 . . 75 *n*, 113 *p*

1 Kings
1 1 . . . 49 *b*, 67 *g*
2 . . 131 *b*, 144 *f*
5 . . . . 116 *o*
6 . . . 119 *w* N.
12 . . . . 117 *p*
14 . . . . 116 *u*
15 . . . 80 *d*, 90 *c*
20 . . . . 135 *g*
21 . . . . 146 *d*
24 . . 150 *a*, 150 *b*
26 . . . . 135 *g*
27 . . . . 150 *f*
31 . . . . 156 *c*
40 . . 117 *q*, 145 *c*
41 . . . . 146 *a*
47 . . . . . 70 *e*
52 . . . . 119 *w* N.
2 2 . . . . 116 *p*
3 . . 95 *u*, 114 *o*
6 . . . . 109 *d*
7 . . . . 116 *h*
17 . . . . 131 *g*
18 . . . . 135 *a*
21 . . . . 121 *b*
22 . . 110 *a*, 154 *b*
23 . . . . 149 *d*
26 75 *z*, 93 *ss*, 118 *f*, 128 *t*
30 . . . . . 75 *ll*
31 . . . . 128 *w*
36 . . . 80 *i*, 90 *i*
40 . . . . . 90 *i*
42 . . . . 72 *aa*
43 . . . . 128 *h*
3 4 . . . . 107 *b*
7 . . . . 114 *c*
8 . . . . 166 *b*
11 . . . . 112 *tt*
12 . . . . 166 *b*
15 71
16 . . . . 107 *c*
18 . . 128 *f*, 135 *r*
26 . . . . . 46 *e*
4 5 . . . . . 93 *ll*
7 . . . . 112 *l*
12 . . . . . 90 *i*
13 . . . . 128 *c*
14 . . . . . 90 *d*
5 1 . . . . 144 *i*
3 . . . . 131 *c*
7 . . . . 112 *dd*
9 . . . . 131 *e*
12 . . . . 134 *g*
17 . . . . 117 *h*
20 . . . . . 68 *c*
25 . . . 23 *f*, 107 *e*
29 . . . . 131 *b*
6 1 . . 134 *h*, 134 *o*
6 . . . . . 63 *i*
7 . . . . 131 *c*

1 Kings
6 16 . . . . . 117 *d*
19 . . . . . 66 *i*
7 6 . . . . . 92 *g*
7 . . 118 *p*, 126 *w*
8 . . . . 118 *g*
14 . . . 41 *o*, 131 *b*
15 . . . . 117 *hh*
27 . . . . 134 *l*
28 . . . . . 20 *m*
37 . . . . . 91 *f*
8 1 . . 107 *c*, 109 *k*
5 . . 119 *z*, 145 *c*
12 . . . . 138 *e*
13 . . . . 118 *k*
29 . . . . . 91 *k*
30 . . 119 *g*, 159 *g*
31 . . . . 145 *o*
32 . . . . 118 *g*
33 . . . . 158 *d*
44 . . . . . 75 *w*
46 . . . . . 49 *m*
48 . . . . . 44 *i*
64 . . . . 133 *c*
9 3 . . . . . 75 *w*
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 *n*
16 . . . . . 23 *c*
17 . . . . 116 *u*
19 . . 129 *d*, 150 *e*
21 . . . . . 10 *g*
24 . . . . 127 *g*
15 13 . . . . 119 *x*
23 . . . . 118 *q*
25 . . . . 134 *p*
16 2 . . . . . 74 *l*
10 . . . . 134 *o*
24 . . . 29 *f*, 88 *b*
25 . . . . . 67 *x*
31 . . . . 150 *d*
17 1 . . . . 93 *pp*
3 . . . . 119 *s*
9 . . . . . 90 *i*
11 . . . . . 66 *g*
13 . . . . 75 *m*
14 . . . 66 *i*, 75 *rr*
15 . . . . . 32 *l*
16 . . . . 146 *a*
18 5 . . . 119 *w* N.
10 . . . . 107 *e*
27 . . . 53 *q*, 67 *y*
32 . . 117 *ii*, 117 *kk*
43 . . . . 152 *p*
44 . . . . . 58 *g*
19 4 . . . 157 *b* N[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 *q*, 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 *g*
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* N³
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* N¹
6 5 . . . 117 *m* N.
8 . . . . . 91 *n*
9 . . . . . 51 *n*
10 . . . . 134 *r*
11 36
19 . . 34 *b* N³, 52 *n*
22 . . . p. 457 N¹
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* N¹
13 . . . . 127 *f*
18 . . . . . 10 *h*
8 1 . . . . . 32 *h*
6 . 53 *m*, 72 *y*, 91 *e*
8 . . . . 126 *g*
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* N¹
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* N³
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.

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Isaiah
10 16 . . . . . 69 *f*
17 . . . . . 93 *v*
18 . . . . . 67 *cc*
22 . . . . . 117 *z*
24 . 58 *i*, 119 *o*, 156 *d*
30 . . 132 *b*, 144 *m*
32 . . 114 *k*, 119 *o*
33 . . . . . 23 *c*
34 . . . . . 119 *o*
11 2 . . . . . 128 *a*
7 . . . . . 122 *e*
8 . . . . . 142 *f*
9 106 *u*, 114 *c*, 115 *d*, 116 *f* N., 117 *n*, 126 *z*
10 . . . . 119 *gg*
12 . . . . . 20 *m*
14 . . . . 93 *hh*
12 1 . . . . . 109 *k*
2 . . . . . 80 *g*
5 . . . . . 116 *e*
6 . . . . . 122 *s*
13 3 . . . . 135 *n*
4 . . 146 *b*, 147 *c*
6 . . . . 118 *x*
8 . . 47 *m*, 119 *gg*
18 . . . . . 52 *n*
19 . . . . . 115 *d*
20 . . . . . 68 *k*
22 . . . . . 145 *o*
14 2 54 *f*, 57 N[2], 117 *w*
3 22 *s*, 102 *b*, 115 *g*, 121 *b*, 121 *f*
4 . 49 *k*, 49 *m*, 148 *b*
6 . . 117 *q*, 130 *a*
9 . . . . . 145 *t*
11 . . . 93 *ss*, 145 *o*
14 . . . . . 87 *s*
17 . . 116 *x*, 117 *o*
19 . 29 *f*, 126 *p*, 130 *a*
23 . . . 55 *f*, 113 *e*
24 . . 144 *b*, 149 *b*
27 . . 116 *q*, 126 *k*
30 . . . 72 *w*, 133 *h*
31 . . 72 *v*, 113 *bb*
15 2 . . . . 70 *d*, 96
5 . . . . . 72 *cc*
7 . . . . . 155 *h*
8 . . . . 119 *hh*
16 2 . . . . . 126 *p*
4 . . . . . 145 *d*
6 . . . . . 122 *v*
7 . . . . . 70 *d*
8 . . 75 *m*, 145 *u*
9 . . . . . 75 *dd*
10 72 *bb*, 121 *a*, *b*, 144 *e*
17 1 . . 119 *x*, 121 *b*
4 . . . . . 128 *r*
5 . . . . 122 *n*
6 118 *u*, 131 *n* N[1], 134 *s*

Isaiah
17 8 . 35 *f*, 154 *a* N. (*b*)
10 . . 20 *m* N., 47 *k*
11 . . . . . 72 *n*
12 . . . 47 *m*, 75 *u*
18 1 . . . . . 124 *e*
2 . . . 52 *s*, 103 *m*
3 . . . . . 66 *b*
4 . . . . . 10 *h*
5 29 *q*, 67 *v*, 72 *dd*, 142 *f*, 145 *q*
6 . . . . . 73 *b*
19 1 . . . . . 72 *l*
3 . . . . 67 *dd*
4 . . 124 *i*, 132 *h*
6 . 53 *g*, 53 *p*, 124 *e*
9 . . . . . 86 *i*
10 . . . . . 128 *y*
11 . . . . . 133 *h*
12 . . . . . 109 *f*
13 . . . . . 142 *f*
17 . 80 *h*, 95 *d*, 143 *b*
18 . . . . . 2 *a*
22 . . . . . 113 *s*
20 1 . . . . . 115 *k*
2 . . . 113 *i*, 118 *n*
4 . . . 87 *g*, 118 *o*
21 1 . . . . . 114 *o*
2 . 44 *o*, 72 *s*, 121 *b*
7 . . 93 *dd*, 117 *q*
8 . . . . . 118 *r*
9 . . . . . 136 *d*
11 . 90 *f*, 93 *w*, 116 *t*
12 29 *t*, 75 *u*, 75 *rr*, 76 *d*
14 . . . . . 76 *d*
17 127 *a*, 128 *a*, 146 *a*
22 1 . . . 91 *e*, 150 *l*
2 75 *v*, 91 *e*, 117 *z*, 126 *e*, 128 *x*, 152 *d*
3 . . . . 119 *w*
5 . . . 128 *a*, 133 *l*
7 . . . . . 128 *r*
10 . . . . . 20 *m*
11 . . . 95 *v*, 124 *k*
13 75 *n*, 113 *d*, 113 *f*, 113 *dd*
14 107 *c*, 112 *ss*, 149 *b*, 149 *e*
16 . . 90 *m*, 144 *p*
17 . . . . . 113 *r*
18 . . . . . 118 *r*
19 . . . . 144 *p*
24 . . 128 *w*, 133 *h*
23 1 . . 110 *k*, 119 *y*
4 . . . . . 152 *z*
5 . . 118 *u*, 128 *h*
7 . . . . 126 *z* N.
8 . . . . . 93 *pp*
11 . . . 20 *o*, 53 *q*

Isaiah
23 12 . 35 *b*, 46 *e*, 118 *f*, 130 *e*, 132 *b*
13 . . . 136 *d* N.
15 . 44 *f*, 116 *p*, 118 *t*
17 . . . 72 *l*, 91 *e*
24 2 . 35 *g*, 116 *s*, 127 *i*
3 . . . . . 67 *t*
10 . . . . 119 *x*
12 . . . . . 121 *d*
16 . . . . . 117 *q*
19 . . . 67 *o*, 113 *w*
22 . . . . . 117 *q*
25 6 . . 75 *dd*, 93 *ss*
7 . . . . . 72 *p*
10 . . . . . 72 *v*
26 4 . . . . 119 *i* N.
9 . . . . 144 *m*
10 . . . . . 159 *c*
11 . . . . . 47 *m*
16 . . . 44 *l*, 72 *o*
18 . . . . . 124 *e*
19 . . . 95 *h*, 122 *s*
20 . . . . . 75 *qq*
27 3 . . . . . 60 *a*
4 10 *h*, 65 *b*, 71, 117 *x*, 151 *b*
5 . . . . . 162 *a*
8 . . . . . 55 *f*
9 . . . . . 156 *f*
11 . . 70 *a* N., 124 *e*
18 . . . . . 152 *x*
28 1 . . . 124 *e*, 128 *c*
2 . . . . . 125 *c*
3 . . . . . 47 *k*
4 91 *e*, 128 *w*, 135 *n*, 144 *e*
6 . . 90 *i*, 119 *hh*
7 . . . 72 *l*, 118 *g*
8 . . . . . 127 *c*
9 . . . . . 130 *a*
10 . . 102 *h*, 147 *c*
11 . . . . . 116 *b*
12 . . 23 *i*, 114 *m* N.
16 71, 119 *i*, 130 *f* N., 155 *f*
17 . . . 29 *u*, 142 *f*
18 . . . . . 145 *o*
20 . . . . . 133 *c*
21 . . . 118 *t*, 132 *b*
24 . . . . . 144 *e*
26 . . . . 112 *rr*
27 . . . . . 152 *z*
28 112 *m*, 113 *w* N. 150 *a*
29 1 19 *c*, 66 *f*, 69 *h* N., 130 *d*
4 . . . . . 120 *g*
5 . 126 *p*, 133 *k* N.
6 . . 84[a] *s*, 144 *b*
7 . 75 *qq*, 116 *i*, 118 *t*

Isaiah
29 8 . . . . . 116 *s*
9 . . . 55 *g*, 72 *l*
13 115 *d*, 127 *a*, 142 *d*
14 . 50 *e*, 113 *w*, 155 *f*
15 . . . 53 *q*, 112 *n*
16 . . . 147 *c*, 150 *f*
19 128 *l*, 132 *c*, 133 *h*
23 . . . . . 131 *o*
30 1 . . . . 69 *h* N.
2 . . . 63 *i*, 72 *q*
5 . . . . . 78 *b*
6 . . . . . 135 *p*
8 . . . 61 *f*, 135 *p*
11 . . . . . 102 *b*
12 61 *d*, 111 *v*, 114 *d*, 114 *r*
13 . . . . 116 *d*
14 . 63 *i*, 113 *i*, 156 *g*
18 . . . 67 *cc*, 130 *a*
19 . 58 *g*, 67 *n*, 75 *ll*
20 . . 131 *c*, 145 *n*
21 56
22 . . 135 *n*, 145 *m*
23 . . . . . 93 *ss*
24 . . . . . 52 *s*
25 . . . . . 74 *i*
26 . . . 114 *r*, 134 *r*
28 . . . . . 72 *z*
31 . . . . . 156 *d*
33 . . . . . 32 *l*
31 2 . . . . . 141 *f*
3 . . . . . 75 *u*
5 . . . 67 *p*, 113 *t*
6 . 138 *f* N., 144 *p*
8 . . 125 *c*, 152 *a*
32 1 . . . . 143 *e*
7 . . . 154 *a* N.
9 . . . . . 44 *o*
11 . 48 *i*, 67 *o*, 110 *k*
12 . . 116 *s*, 144 *i*
13 . . . . 128 *c*
17 . . . . 113 *c*
18 . . . . 124 *e*
33 1 20 *h*, 53 *q*, 53 *u*, 67 *v*, 120 *b*, 156 *f*
3 . . . . 67 *dd*
4 . . . . . 85 *h*
5 . . . . 116 *s*
6 . . . . 130 *b*
7 . . . . . 75 *u*
9 . . . 29 *q*, 145 *t*
10 . . . 54 *c*, 133 *l*
12 . . . . . 20 *i*
14 . . 84[a] *s*, 117 *bb*
15 117 *r* N., 119 *z*, 124 *e*
16 . . . . 124 *b*
20 . . . . 152 *t*
34 4 . . . 67 *t*, 126 *o*
5 . . . . . 52 *k*

Isaiah
34 6 . . . . . 54 *h*
10 . . . . 102 *i*
11 . . . 21 *c*, 80 *g*
13 . . . . 117 *z*
17 . . . . . 59 *g*
35 1 . . . . . 47 *n*
2 . . 117 *q*, 130 *b*
4 . . . . . 65 *f*
7 . . . . 135 *p*
9 . . 84[b] *f*, 132 *c*
36 2 . . . 128 *w* N.
8 . . . . 127 *f*
9 . . 119 *s*, 119 *u*
11 . . . . . 2 *a*
14 . . . . . 74 *l*
16 . . 110 *f*, 127 *f*
17 . . . . 114 *r*
37 3 . . 69 *m*, 152 *k*
11 . . . . 150 *a*
14 . . . 124 *b* N.
17 . . . . . 10 *g*
19 . . 113 *f*, 113 *z*
22 . . . . 130 *e*
24 . . . . 128 *r*
25 . . . . 124 *e*
26 75 *qq*, 114 *k*, 117 *ii*
28 . . . . 114 *c*
29 . . . . 112 *nn*
30 113 *z*, 113 *ee*, 126 *b*
38 3 . . 16 *f* N., 157 *c*
5 50 *e*, 113 *bb*, 155 *f*
9 . . . . 114 *r*
10 . . 108 *g*, 121 *d*
14 . 48 *i* N., 61 *f* N.
15 . . . . . 55 *g*
16 75 *mm*, 103 *g*, 135 *p*
17 . . . . 119 *ff*
18 . . 116 *h*, 152 *z*
20 . . . 86 *i*, 114 *i*
39 1 . . . 124 *b* N.
2 . 15 *e* N., 126 *x*
40 1 . . . . 107 *f*
3 . . . . 146 *b*
4 . . . . . 93 *v*
6 . . 112 *qq*, 127 *c*
9 . . . . 119 *s*
10 . . . . 119 *i*
11 . . . . . 93 *x*
14 . . . . 124 *e*
18 . . . 15 *c*, 75 *dd*
19 . . . . 119 *hh*
20 . . 155 *f*, 156 *g*
22 . . . . 126 *b*
25 . . . . 150 *m*
26 . . . . 124 *e*
29 . . . . 152 *v*
30 . . . . . 69 *q*
31 . . . . . 8 *k*
41 1 . . . . 119 *gg*
2 35 *n* N., 75 *gg*, 155 *n*

Isaiah
41 3 . . . . 118 *q*
4 . . . 135 *a* N.
5 . . . . . 75 *u*
7 . . . . . 29 *f*
8 . . . . 138 *d*
10 . . . . . 75 *bb*
12 . . . . 135 *n*
15 96
17 . . . . . 20 *i*
23 48 *g* N., 75 *l*, 75 *v*, 109 *d*
24 . . . . 155 *n*
25 . . . 23 *d*, 76 *d*
28 . 109 *h*, cf. 159 *d*
42 4 . . . . . 67 *q*
5 . 65 *d*, 93 *ss*, 124 *k*
6 . 107 *b* N., 109 *k*
13 . . . . 126 *p*
18 35 *g*, 126 *e*, 126 *f*
20 . . 75 *n*, 144 *p*
21 . . . . 120 *c*
22 29 *q*, 72 *g*, 119 *hh*, 124 *q*
24 113 *d*, 114 *m* N., 138 *g*
25 . . . . 131 *k*
43 1 . 61 *h*, 74 *e*, 91 *d*
2 . . 159 *dd*, 159 *ff*
6 . . . . 122 *v*
8 . 53 *m*, 69 *v*, 74 *l*
9 . 51 *o*, 106 *n* N[2]
10 . . . 135 *a* N.
25 . . . . 141 *h*
44 3 71
9 . . . . . 5 *n*
13 . . . . . 64 *i*
15 . . 66 *e*, 103 *f* N.
16 . . . . 67 *ee*
19 . . . . 150 *a*
21 20 *f*, 57 N., 117 *x*
24 . . . . 65 *d*
28 . . 53 *n*, 114 *p*
45 1 . . . . . 67 *p*
2 . . . . . 70 *b*
4 . 111 *b* N., 131 *g*
9 . . . . 152 *u*
10 . . . . . 47 *o*
14 . . . . . 10 *g*
46 5 . . . . 75 *dd*
47 1 . . . . 120 *c*
2 . . . 46 *d*, 63 *l*
5 . 100 *g* N[2], 118 *o*
7 . . . . . 94 *g*
8 . . . 90 *l*, 144 *p*
10 59 *g*, 61 *h*, 75 *v*, 116 *f*
12 . . . . . 138 *f*
14 . . . 28 *b*, 67 *cc*
48 8 . . . 52 *k*, 157 *a*
9 . . . . 119 *hh*

Isaiah
48 11 . . . . . 67 *t*
14 . . . . . 119 *hh*
17 . . . 61 *h*, 93 *qq*
18 . . 111 *x*, 151 *e*
49 6 67 *t*, 115 *a*, 142 *f* N²
7 . . . . 111 *q*
11 . . . . 145 *u*
13 . . . . 126 *o*
15 . . . . 160 *b*
18 . . . . . 32 *c*
19 . . . . 67 *dd*
21 . . . . . 72 *p*
23 . 122 *f* N., 156 *c*
26 . . . . 135 *l*
50 2 133 *c*, 150 *m*, 152 *y*
8 . . . 15 *c*, 20 *f*
9 . . . . 136 *c*
10 . . . . 137 *c*
11 . . . . . 20 *n*
51 1 . . . . 155 *k*
2 . . . 107 *b* N.
3 . . . . 146 *e*
9 72 *s*, 118 *u*, 124 *q*
10 . . 93 *pp*, 138 *k*
12 . . 61 *h*, 111 *m*
13 . . . . . 52 *k*
15 . . . . . 65 *d*
17 . . . . 128 *q*
19 . . . 47 *b*, 122 *q*
21 . . . 50 *f*, 130 *b*
52 1 . . . . 120 *c*
5 . . . . . 55 *b*
7 . . 75 *x*, 106 *g*
8 . 117 *a* N², 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 *cc*
21 . . . . 143 *a*
60 3 . . . 107 *b* N.
4 . . 51 *m*, 122 *v*
7 . . . . . 60 *e*
9 . . . . . 58 *g*
14 . . 118 *q*, 125 *h*
61 1 . . . . 84[b] *n*
7 . . . . 119 *hh*
62 2 . . . . . 16 *f*
9 . . . 20 *m*, 52 *p*
12 . . . 152 *a* N.
63 3 . . . 53 *p*, 76 *c*
11 . . . . 128 *c*
16 . . . . . 60 *d*
19 . . 151 *e*, 155 *m*
64 3 . . . . 75 *hh*
6 . . . . . 72 *cc*
65 1 . . . 51 *c*, 155 *n*
2 . . . . 126 *z*
5 . . . . 117 *x*
11 . . . . . 35 *g*
14 . . . . . 70 *d*
17 . . 29 *i* N., 51 *m*
18 . . . . 110 *c*
20 . . . . 75 *oo*
24 . . . . 107 *c*
66 13 . . . . 155 *d*
15 . . . . 119 *i*
18 . . . . 167 *b*

Jeremiah
1 10 . . . . . 45 *g*
13 . . . . . 90 *e*
2 2 , ... 49 *k*
8 . . . . 155 *n*
11 . . . 72 *e*, 155 *n*
12 . . . . . 46 *d*
15 . . . . . 44 *m*

Jeremiah
2 16 . . . . 117 *ll*
17 . . . 116 *g* N.
19 . . . . . 60 *a*
20 . . . . 44 *h* N.
21 . . . . 126 *z*
24 . . . 60 *c*, 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 *cc*
19 . . 57 N⁴, 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* N³
4 . . . . 109 *g*

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Ezekiel
1 6 . . . 87 *t*, 88 *f*
11 . . . . . 91 *l*
14 . . . 113 *s* N.
20 . . . 123 *d* N²
2 3 . . . . 126 *x*
10 . . . . . 19 *h*
3 3 . . . . . 49 *e*
15 67 *cc*, 154 *a* N. (*b*)
4 9 . . . . . 87 *e*
12 . . . 58 *k*, 95 *e*
5 11 . . . 72 *r*, 109 *d*
12 . . 52 *n*, 75 *hh*
13 . . . . . 54 *c*
16 . . . . 109 *d*
6 3 . . . . . 93 *v*
6 . . 67 *p* N., 67 *dd*
8 . . . . . 91 *l*
9 . . . . 72 *dd*
10 . . . . 119 *ii*
11 . . . . 128 *c*
12 . . . . . 91 *e*
14 . . . . 133 *l*
7 7 . . . . 127 *g*
14 . 72 *z*, 113 *z* N.
24 . . . . 93 *oo*
8 2 . . . . . 90 *f*
3 . . . . 75 *qq*
16 . . . . 75 *kk*
9 2 . . . . 116 *k*
3 . 116 *k*, 121 *d* N¹
7 . . . . 112 *tt*
8 . . . . . 64 *i*
11 . . . . 116 *k*
10 3 . 131 *n*, 131 *n* N²
15 . . . . 72 *dd*
17 . . 72 *q*, 72 *dd*
11 3 . . . 150 *a* N¹
13 . . . 150 *a* N¹
24 . . . . . 90 *c*
13 2 . . . . 93 *oo*
3 . . 152 *x*, 155 *n*
11 . . . . 35 *m*
18 . . 87 *f*, 103 *f* N²
19 . . . 72 *k*, 93 *r*
20 . . . 32 *i*, 91 *l*
14 3 . . . 51 *k*, 51 *p*
14 . . . . 112 *ll*
22 . . 117 *l*, 126 *w*
16 4 22 *s*, 52 *q*, 53 *s*, 64 *e*, 71
5 71
6 . . . 123 *d* N²
10 . . . . . 49 *c*
27 . . . . 131 *r*
31 . . . . . 91 *l*
32 . . . . 117 *d*
33 . . . 20 *l*, 64 *c*
34 . . . . 121 *a*
45 96
47 . . . . 103 *m*

Ezekiel
16 50 . . . . . 47 *l*
51 96
52 52 *p*, 91 *n*, 95 *p*, 96
53 . . . 91 *e*, 91 *f*
54 . . . . 103 *b*
55 . . . . . 72 *k*
57 . . . . . 72 *p*
59 . . . . . 44 *i*
17 5 . . . 19 *i*, 66 *g*
7 . . . . . 52 *d*
9 45 *e*, 93 *m*, 150 *a* N¹
15 . . . 29 *i*, 93 *rr*
19 . . . . . 67 *v*
21 . . . . 117 *m*
18 6 . . . . 131 *c*
7 . . . . 131 *r*
10 . 119 *w* N., 139 *d*
14 . . . . 103 *l*
28 . . . . . 75 *t*
29 . . . . 145 *u*
32 . . . . 139 *d*
19 1 . . . . 124 *e*
2 . . . . . 80 *h*
12 . . . . . 53 *u*
20 9 . . . . . 67 *t*
16 . . . . 117 *m*
22 . . . . 112 *tt*
37 . . . . . 23 *f*
38 . . . . 145 *u*
41 . . . . . 119 *i*
21 12 . . . . . 67 *t*
15 . . . . . 75 *n*
18 . . . . . 64 *d*
21 . . . . . 73 *a*
22 . . . . 124 *o*
29 . . . . . 53 *l*
31 . . . 113 *bb* N³
32 . . . . 133 *l*
33 . . . 45 *c*, 68 *i*
35 . . . . . 72 *y*
22 4 . . . . . 47 *k*
20 . . . . . 66 *f*
23 5 . . . . 63 *m*
20 . . . . . 48 *d*
28 . . . 91 *e*, 138 *e*
32 . . . . . 47 *k*
42 . . . . . 21 *c*
44 96
45 . . . . 103 *b*
47 . . . . 103 *b*
48 . . . 55 *k*, 91 *f*
49 . 74 *k*, 76 *b*, 144 *a*
24 11 . . . . . 67 *q*
19 . . . . 75 *m*
26 . . . 53 *e*, 54 *k*
25 3 . . . . . 67 *u*
4 . . . . . 91 *e*
6 . . . 23 *c*, 74 *e*
15 . . . . 117 *q*

Ezekiel
26 2 . . . . . 67 *t*
10 . . . . 130 *b*
14 . . . . . 47 *k*
15 . . . . . 51 *l*
17 . . . 52 *s*, 138 *k*
21 . . . . . 10 *g*
27 3 . . . . 90 *m*
7 . . . . 121 *b*
19 . . . . . 20 *i*
31 . . . . . 80 *h*
32 . . . . . 23 *k*
34 . . . 116 *g* N.
35 . . . . 117 *q*
28 4 . . . . . 32 *g*
16 23 *d*, 68 *k*, 75 *qq*, 111 *w* N.
17 . . . . . 75 *n*
23 . . . . . 55 *d*
24 . . . . . 72 *p*
29 3 . . 117 *x*, 124 *e*
7 . . . . 127 *c*
30 9 . . . . . 93 *y*
12 . . . . 124 *e*
16 . . . . . 73 *d*
31 3 . . . . . 67 *v*
5 . . . . . 44 *f*
7 . . . . . 76 *f*
16 . . . 128 *a* N¹
32 12 . . . . . 51 *n*
19 . . . 46 *a* N²
30 . . . 20 *m*, 72 *n*
32 . . . . . 53 *s*
33 17 . . . 143 *a* N³
26 . . . . . 44 *k*
34 2 . . . . 57 N⁴
8 . . . . 57 N⁴
10 57 N⁴, 149 *c*, 167 *b*
21 . . . . 103 *b*
31 . . . . . 32 *i*
35 6 . . . . . 10 *h*
9 . . . . . 72 *k*
10 . . . . 117 *m*
12 . . . . 84ᵇ *e*
36 3 . 67 *r*, 75 *y*, 113 *g*
5 . . . . . 91 *e*
11 . . . . . 70 *e*
12 . . . . . 69 *s*
25 . . . . . 34 *f*
32 . . . . 152 *d*
37 2 . . . . 112 *pp*
7 . . . . 60 *a* N.
8 . . . 9 *u*, 29 *i*
11 . . 116 *t*, 119 *s*
16 . . 66 *g*, 119 *u*
17 . . . 52 *n*, 64 *h*
19 . . . 117 *m* N.
38 21 . . . . . 49 *l*
23 . . . . . 54 *k*
39 2 . . . . . 55 *f*
9 . . . . . 66 *e*

Ezekiel
39 26 . . . . . 75 *qq*
40 3 . . . . . 74 *l*
4 . . . . . 74 *d*
5 . . . . . 134 *n*
16 . . . . . 91 *l*
17 . . . . . 121 *d*
19 . . . . . 80 *k*
27 . . . . . 134 *g*
28 . . . . . 126 *w*
31 . . . . . 93 *ss*
43 . . . . . 20 *m*
45 . . . . 136 *d* N.
48 . . . . . 92 *g*
41 7 . . . . . 67 *dd*
15 . . . . . 91 *l*
18 . . . . . 121 *d*
20 . . . . . 5 *n*
22 . . . . . 141 *b*
25 . . . . 131 *n* N[1]
42 5 . . 68 *h*, 131 *n*
43 7 . . . . . 117 *m*
17 . . . . . 103 *o*
27 . . . . . 75 *rr*
44 3 . . . . . 117 *m*
8 . . . . . 58 *g*
9 . . 93 *hh*, 143 *e*
12 . . . . 112 *e* N.
45 2 . . . . . 65 *d*
12 . . . . . 97 *e*
16 . . . . . 127 *g*
46 6 . . . . 132 *g* N.
9 . . . . . 93 *q*
17 . . . . . 72 *o*
19 . . . . . 127 *f*
22 . . . 53 *q*, 53 *s*
23 . . . . . 121 *d*
24 . . . . . 124 *r*
47 3 . . . . . 128 *n*
4 . . . . . 131 *e*
7 . . . . . 91 *e*
8 . . . . . 75 *oo*
15 . . 127 *f* and N.
17 . . . . . 117 *m*
48 14 . . . . . 72 *dd*

Hosea
1 2 . . 52 *o*, 130 *d*
6 . 120 *c*, 152 *a* N.
7 . . . . . 119 *o*
2 1 . . . . . 130 *c*
3 96
5 . . . . . 72 *w*
6 . . . . . 52 *n*
11 . . . . . 120 *e*
14 . . . . . 91 *e*
21 . . . . . 133 *l*
25 . . . 152 *a* N.
3 1 . . . . . 125 *c*
2 . . . . . 20 *h*

Hosea
3 5 . . . . . 2 *v* N.
4 2 . . . . . 113 *ff*
3 . . . . . 119 *i*
8 . . . . . 145 *m*
14 . . . . . 155 *f*
15 . . . . . 145 *m*
16 . . . . . 150 *a*
18 . . . . . 55 *e*
5 2 . . . . . 64 *a*
3 . . . . . 135 *a*
8 . . . . . 147 *c*
15 . . . . . 60 *e*
6 1 . . . . . 109 *k*
2 . 119 *y* N., 134 *s*
3 . . . . . 155 *g*
4 . . . . . 120 *g*
6 . . 119 *w*, 133 *b*
9 . 23 *l*, 75 *aa*, 93 *s*
10 . . . . . 114 *l*
7 2 . . . . . 157 *a*
4 . . . . . 80 *k*
5 . . . . . 93 *ss*
6 . . . . . 91 *c*
12 . . . 24 *f*, 70 *b*
14 . . . . . 70 *d*
16 . . . . 34 *b* N.
8 3 . . . . . 60 *d*
4 . . . . . 67 *v*
7 . . . . . 90 *f*
9 . . . . . 119 *s*
10 . 20 *g*, 111 *w* N.
9 6 . . . . . 130 *a*
9 . . . . . 120 *g*
11 . . . . . 69 *m*
12 . . . . . 159 *m*
15 . . . . . 109 *d*
10 4 . . . . . 75 *n*
6 . . . . . 121 *b*
10 . . . 60 *a*, 71
11 . . . . . 90 *l*
14 9 *b*, 23 *g*, 53 *u*, 72 *p*, 156 *c*
15 . . . . . 133 *i*
11 1 . . . . . 68 *f*
3 . 19 *i*, 55 *h*, 66 *g*
4 . . . . . 68 *c*
7 . . . . . 75 *rr*
12 1 . . . . . 124 *h*
5 . . . . . 58 *k*
11 . . . . . 112 *dd*
14 . . . . . 118 *q*
18 2 . . . 91 *e*, 128 *l*
3 . . . . . 120 *g*
8 . . . . . 122 *e*
10 . . . . . 150 *l*
14 . . . . . 93 *q*
15 . . . . . 75 *rr*
14 1 . . 84[a] *a*, 145 *u*
3 . . . . . 128 *e*
4 . . . . . 68 *f*

Hosea
14 5 . . . . . 118 *q*
10 . 69 *b*, 166 *a* N.

Joel
1 2 100 *n*, 126 *e*, 150 *g*
5 . . . . . 126 *e*
6 . . . . . 152 *v*
7 . . . . . 113 *n*
8 . . . 63 *l*, 116 *k*
12 . . . . . 102 *b*
15 . . . . . 147 *d*
17 . . . . . 20 *h*
18 . . . . . 148 *a*
20 . . . . . 145 *k*
2 2 . . . . . 109 *d*
4 . . 72 *u*, 126 *p*
6 . . . . . 23 *d*
13 . . . . . 152 *g*
17 . . . . . 150 *e*
21 . . . . . 46 *e*
22 . . . . . 144 *a*
24 . . . . . 93 *r*
26 . . . . . 114 *o*
4 1 . . . . . 125 *k*
3 . . . . . 69 *u*
11 . . . 51 *o*, 64 *h*
14 . . 123 *e*, 147 *c*
18 . . . . . 117 *z*
21 . . . 49 *k*, 75 *z*

Amos
1 3 . . 134 *s*, 158 *c*
4 . . . . . 49 *m*
5 . . . . . 145 *c*
8 . . . . . 145 *e*
9 . . 114 *r*, 158 *c*
11 . 58 *g*, 112 *i*, 114 *r*
2 6 . . . . . 61 *b*
7 . . . . . 126 *b*
9 . . . . . 53 *n*
10 . . . . . 69 *x*
12 . . . . . 51 *n*
16 . . 118 *n*, 128 *y*
3 4 . . . . . 163 *c*
5 . . . . . 113 *q*
7 . . . . . 163 *c*
8 . . . . . 159 *h*
9 . . . . . 124 *e*
11 . 67 *t*, 154 *a* N.
12 . . . 88 *f*, 126 *r*
13 . . . . . 125 *h*
4 1 . . 135 *o*, 144 *a*
2 . . 75 *oo*, 112 *x*
3 . . . . . 44 *k*
4 . . . . . 113 *z*
7 . 112 *h* N., 144 *c*

Amos

4 8 . . . . . 134 *s*
9 . . . . . 126 *n*
10 . . . 154 *a* N.
11 . . . . . 115 *d*
13 . 29 *e* N., 116 *g* N.
5 2 . . . . . 128 *k*
3 . . 117 *z*, 129 *g*
4 . . . . . 110 *f*
5 . . . . . 122 *h*
7 . . . . . 126 *b*
8 . . 111 *u*, 117 *ii*
11 . . . . . 61 *e*
14 . . 109 *k*, 152 *g*
15 . . . . . 67 *cc*
18 . . . . . 152 *d*
19 . . 112 *m*, 126 *r*
21 20 *h*, 106 *g*, 154 *a* N.
26 . . 112 *x*, 112 *rr*
6 1 . . . . . 112 *n*
2 . . 125 *h*, 126 *y*
6 63 *e*, 93 *k*, 119 *m* N.
10 114 *l*; 145 *m*, 152 *s*
12 . 123 *a* N., 144 *d*
13 . . . 152 *a* N.
14 . . . . . 125 *c*
7 1 . . . 86 *i*, 147 *b*
2 . . . . . 112 *uu*
4 . . . . . 112 *tt*
7 . . . . . 156 *b*
14 . . . . . 128 *v*
15 . . . . . 119 *b*
8 4 . . . . . 53 *q*
8 . . . . . 125 *e*
9 . . . . . 49 *l*
10 . . 128 *h*, 135 *p*
13 . . . 54 *k*, 146 *g*
9 1 . . . 61 *g*, 144 *e*
3 . . . . 112 *p*
7 . . . . 150 *e*
8 53 *k*, 113 *n*, 113 *v*
11 . . 116 *d*, 118 *u*
13 . . . . . 54 *k*

Obadiah

3 . . . 90 *l*, 93 *x*
10 . . . . . 128 *h*
11 . 9 *v*, 61 *f* N., 69 *u*
13 . . . . . 47 *k*

Jonah

1 3 116 *d*, 122 *t*, 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 *g*, 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*

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Psalms

12 3 . . 117 *t*, 123 *f*
4 . . . . 122 *q*
7 . . . 10 *g*, 97 *h*
8 . . . . 126 *g*
9 . . . . . 54 *k*
13 4 . . . 117 *r* N.
5 . 44 *e*, 59 *i*, 152 *z*
14 1 . . . 154 *a* N.
3 . . . . 152 *o*
5 . . . . 117 *p*
7 . . . . 151 *b*
15 2 . . . . 118 *n*
16 1 . 48 *i* N², 61 *f* N.
2 . . . 44 *i*, 152 *t*
3 . . 130 *d*, 143 *e*
4 93 *m*, 145 *p*, 155 *f*
5 . . . . . 50 *e*
6 . . . 80 *g*, 122 *q*
8 . . . . 116 *s*
9 . . . . 111 *r*
10 . . . . 114 *m*
11 . . 122 *q*, 124 *e*
17 3 . . . . . 59 *h*
4 . . . . 143 *e*
5 . . . . 113 *gg*
9 . . . . 138 *g*
10 . . . . . 91 *f*
12 . . . . 126 *p*
13 . . . . 144 *m*
18 1 2 *r*, 53 *l*, 130 *d*, 154 *a* N.
3 . . 93 *pp*, 155 *i*
4 . . 116 *e*, 132 *b*
7 . 10 *g* N⁸, 107 *b*
10 . . . . . 69 *p*
12 . . . . 109 *k*
17 . . . . 117 *g*
18 . . . . 126 *z*
22 . . . . 119 *ff*
26 . . . 93 *h*, 93 *s*
28 . . . . 132 *f*
30 . . . 67 *g*, 119 *o*
31 126 *c*, 140 *d*, 143 *a*
33 116 *f*, 116 *x*, 117 *cc*
35 . . . . 145 *k*
38 . . . 107 *b* N²
40 . . . . . 116 *i*
41 . . . 117 *ii* N.
49 . . . . . 116 *i*
19 3 . . . . . 20 *f*
4 . . . . . 152 *t*
5 . . . . 135 *p*
6 . . . . 122 *o*
8 . . . . 116 *g*
10 . . 126 *b*, 141 *c*
11 . . . . . 116 *e*
14 . . . 49 *k*, 67 *p*
20 3 . . . . 135 *m*
4 . . . . . 48 *d*
21 2 109 *k*, 126 *h*, 148 *b*

Psalms

21 4 . . . . 117 *ff*
7 . . 117 *ii*, 124 *e*
13 . 117 *ii* N., 156 *d*
22 2 . . . . . 59 *h*
3 . . . . 152 *d*
4 . . . . 117 *bb*
6 . . . . 112 *h*
7 . . . . . 116 *l*
8 . . . . 119 *q*
9 . . . . 144 *p*
14 . . . . 118 *r*
15 . . . . . 67 *t*
16 . . . 121 *c*, 122 *n*
18 . . . . 107 *s*
22 . . . 23 *f*, 119 *ff*
29 . . . . . 116 *s*
32 . . . . . 116 *e*
23 2 . . 124 *e*, 128 *p*
4 . . 107 *x*, 159 *bb*
5 126 *n*, 141 *c*, 141 *d*
6 . . . 69 *m* N.
24 1 . . 129 *c*, 130 *a*
2 . . 107 *b*, 124 *e*
4 . . . . 128 *y*
10 . . . . . 136 *c*
25 1 . . . . . 5 *h*
10 . . . . . 141 *c*
11 . . . . 112 *nn*
14 . . . . . 114 *i*
26 2 . . . . . 48 *i*
3 . . . . 112 *rr*
4 . . . . . 128 *t*
7 . . . . . 53 *q*
10 . . . . . 20 *f*
12 . . . . . 93 *qq*
27 7 . . . . 144 *m*
13 5 *n*, 159 *dd*, 167 *a*
28 1 . . . . 119 *ff*
7 . . . . . 53 *q*
9 . . . . . 10 *g*
29 1 . . 124 *q*, 128 *v*
4 . . . 141 *c* N²
10 . . . . . 111 *r*
30 2 . . . . . 60 *f*
4 . . . . . 69 *m*
8 . . 90 *n*, 93 *aa*
31 2 . . . . . 108 *c*
21 . . . . . 93 *r*
32 1 . . 75 *qq*, 116 *k*
2 . . . . . 155 *i*
6 . . . 143 *e*, 153
8 107 *q*, 138 *g*, 156 *c*
9 114 *a*, 114 *k*, 114 *s*
33 5 . . . . . 116 *s*
7 . . . . 118 *w*
8 . . . . 145 *e*
10 . . . . . 67 *v*
12 . . . . 155 *h*
15 . . . . 126 *b*
34 1 . . . . . 5 *h*

Psalms

34 2 . . . . . 21 *d*
6 . . . . . 109 *e*
9 . . . . . 155 *f*
12 . . . 60 *f*, 126 *o*
35 1 . . . . . 73 *d*
8 . . . . 156 *g*
10 . . . . . 9 *u*
14 . . . . 93 *hh*
16 . . . . 113 *h*
19 . . . 131 *q* N.
36 6 . . . . . 35 *n*
8 . . . . . 75 *u*
9 . . . . . 75 *u*
13 . . . . . 64 *d*
37 1 . 5 *h*, 35 *b*, 75 *bb*
5 . . . . . 67 *n*
9 . . . . . 20 *f*
14 . . . . . 45 *g*
15 . . . . . 20 *h*
16 . . . . 129 *b*
20 . . . 29 *o*, 75 *m*
23 . . . . . 121 *f*
24 . . . . 159 *bb*
31 . . . . 145 *k*
38 11 . . . . . 55 *e*
13 . . . . . 124 *e*
21 . . . . . 61 *c*
39 13 . . . . . 10 *h*
14 . . . . 75 *gg*
40 2 . . . . 75 *aa*
5 . . . . . 93 *oo*
6 . . . . . 108 *f*
15 . . . . 29 *o* N.
18 . . . . . 29 *q*
41 3 . . . . 109 *e*
5 . . . . . 74 *h*
8 . . . . . 54 *f*
42 2 . . 122 *f*, 155 *g*
4 . . . . 115 *e* N.
5 . . . . 117 *x*
6 . . . . . 111 *t*
10 . . . 68 *g*, 102 *l*
43 1 . . . . . 72 *s*
2 . . . . . 102 *l*
3 . . . . 124 *b*
44 3 . . . . 144 *m*
6 . . . . 119 *o*
18 . . . . . 156 *f*
20 . . . . 119 *q*
23 . . . . 128 *q*
26 . . . . . 67 *k*
27 . . . . . 72 *s*
45 1 . . . . . 124 *e*
3 . . . . . 55 *e*
5 . 131 *c*, 154 *a* N.
6 . . 150, 290 N.
7 . . . . 128 *d*
8 . . . . 117 *ee*
9 . . . 87 *f*, 141 *d*
10 . . . . 20 *h* N²

Psalms
45 12 75 *bb*, 109 *h*, 124 *i*
16 . . . . . 76 *g*
18 . . . 53 *q*, 123 *c*
46 3 . . . . 115 *g*
4 . . . 132 *h* N.
5 . . 124 *b*, 132 *c*
7 . . . . 119 *q*
48 6 . . . 164 *b* N.
11 . . . 93 *g*, 93 *x*
15 . . . . 126 *aa*
49 6 . . . . 102 *l*
7 . . . . . 126 *b*
8 . . . . 113 *v*
14 . . . . . 155 *e*
15 10 *g*, 67 *ee*, 114 *k* N.
50 3 . . 109 *e*, 144 *c*
4 . . . . 115 *b*
10 . . . . . 90 *n*
12 . . 159 *m*, 159 *r*
17 . . . . 142 *d*
21 112 *cc*, 113 *x*, 157 *a*
22 . . . . 116 *b*
23 . . . . . 58 *i*
51 4 . . 75 *gg*, 120 *g*
5 . . . . . 142 *f*
7 . . . . . 64 *h*
9 . . . . 165 *a*
10 . . . . 155 *h*
14 . . . . 117 *ff*
18 . . . . . 108 *f*
19 . . . . 128 *h*
52 5 . . . . 119 *w*
15 . . . . . 58 *i*
53 6 . . . 91 *e*, 116 *i*
54 6 . . . . . 119 *i*
55 3 . . . . 108 *g*
10 . . . . . 52 *n*
16 . . . . . 74 *k*
18 . . . . 108 *g*
19 . . . . 119 *gg*
22 . . . . . 10 *g*
23 . . . . 117 *x*
56 4 . . . . . 155 *l*
57 2 . . . . . 75 *u*
5 . . 117 *bb*, 144 *m*
58 2 . . . . . 52 *n*
5 . . . . . 63 *n*
9 . 69 *x*, 96, 118 *r*
59 6 125 *h*, 128 *x*, 131 *s*
8 . . . . 151 *a*
16 . . . . . 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* N³, 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* N³
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* N³
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 *q*, 128 *v*
10 . . . . . 76 *b*
40 . . . . . 64 *e*
48 . . . . 135 *f*
51 . . . . 132 *b*
52 . . . . . 20 *h*
90 2 . . 107 *c*, 152 *r*
3 . . 109 *k*, 111 *t*
4 . . . . 118 *r*
5 . . . . 155 *g*
6 . . . . 112 *m*
8 . . . . . 73 *d*
10 . . . . . 49 *e*
13 . . . . . 147 *c*
15 . . . 87 *n*, 130 *d*
91 4 . . . 67 *p*, 109 *k*
6 . . . 67 *q*, 118 *i*
9 . . . . 117 *ii*
11 . . . . . 20 *c*
12 . . . . . 60 *e*
92 12 . . . . . 132 *b*
93 5 . . . . . 75 *x*
94 1 . . . 53 *m*, 69 *v*
9 . . . . 93 *qq*
12 . . . . . 20 *g*
20 . . . 60 *b*, 63 *m*
99 6 . 74 *i*, 75 *oo*, 119 *i*
100 3 . . . . 103 *g*
101 5 . 55 *b*, 64 *i*, 90 *m*
102 4 . . . . . 67 *u*
9 . . . . 116 *i*
14 . . . . 67 *cc*
19 . . . . 106 *e*
28 . 67 *g*, 135 *a* 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* N², 35 *b*, 126 *b*
8 . . . . 138 *g*
11 . . . . 90 *n*
12 . . . . 93 *z*
18 . . 20 *m*, 126 *x*
20 . . 109 *h*, 159 *d*
21 . . . . 114 *p*
25 . . . . 136 *d*
26 . . . . 138 *g*
28 . . 47 *m*, 159 *c*
105 12 . . . . 118 *x*
28 . . . . 53 *n*
43 . . . . 78 *l*
107 23 . . . 5 *n*, 17 *e*
43 . . . . 93 *m*
108 7 . . . . 144 *m*
109 2 . . . . 117 *t*
3 . . . . 57 N²
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* N²
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 *gg*
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* N³
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* N²
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*

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Job
5 10 . . . . 126 *b*
12 . . . . 166 *a*
13 . . . . . 91 *e*
14 . . . . 118 *u*
16 . . . . . 90 *g*
18 . . . . 75 *qq*
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*, 137 *c*
15 153
16 . . . . 152 *e*
17 . . . . . 113 *r*
21 . 29 *q*, 60 *d*, 64 *h*
25 . . . . 117 *c*
26 . . . . 124 *e*
27 . . . 54 *f*, 93 *r*
28 . . 144 *p*, 155 *h*
14 1 . . . . . 116 *l*
2 . . . . 111 *s*
3 . . . 150 *b*, 153
4 . . . . 151 *b*
6 . . 109 *f*, 156 *g*
9 . . 65 *e*, 112 *m*
10 . . . . . 111 *t*
11 . . . . 161 *a*
19 . . . . 145 *k*
22 153
15 3 . . 113 *h*, 119 *hh*

Job
15 6 . . . . 145 *u*
7 . . . . 121 *d*
10 . . . . 131 *q*
11 . . . . 133 *c*
13 . . . . 125 *c*
15 . . . . . 67 *ee*
16 . . . . 116 *e*
17 75 *bb*, 138 *h*, 143 *d*
20 . . . . 146 *d*
21 . . . . 118 *f*
22 . . . . . 75 *v*
23 . . . . 147 *c*
26 . . . . 128 *r*
16 3 . . . . 150 *g*
4 103 *l*, 108 *f*, 119 *q*
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* N³
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* N³
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*
1 . 68 *h*, 120 *d* N.
2 9 . . . 103 *f* N.
28 3 . . . . 155 *h*
2 . . 121 *d*, 127 *ii*
. . . . 126 *b*
4 . . . . 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 *e*, 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 *s*
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 *a*, 75 *x*
7 . . . . 36, 75 *v*
8 . . . . . 20 *h*
10 . . . 75 *x*, 141 *c*
15 . . . . 141 *d*
2 7 . . . . 144 *a*
12 . . . . 85 *u* N.
13 . . . . 141 *d*
14 . . . 69 *v*, 93 *ss*
17 . . . . . 119 *s*
3 7 . . . . 131 *n*
8 . . . . . 50 *f*
11 . . . . . 75 *n*
5 5 . . . . 135 *b*
8 . . . 137 *b* N.
9 . . . . . 59 *h*
16 . . 85 *g* N., 141 *c*
6 8 . . . . . 32 *n*
11 . . . . 67 *dd*
7 1 . . . 137 *b* N.
2 . . . . . 93 *x*

Canticle

7 10 . . 126 *x*, 133 *h*
8 2 . . 87 *f*, 131 *c* N.
4 . . . 137 *b* N.
5 . . . . 59 *g* N.
6 . . . . . 93 *m*
10 . . . . . 74 *i*
14 . . . . 119 *s*

Ruth

1 1 . . . . 49 *b* N.
8 . . 135 *o*, 144 *a*
9 46 *f*, 74 *h*, 74 *k*, 110 *i*
12 . . 106 *p*, 107 *x*
13 51 *m*, 103 *f* N., 152 *g*
14 . . . . . 76 *b*
16 . . . . . 138 *e*
19 . . . . . 91 *f*
20 . . . 46 *f*, 80 *h*
21 . . . . 118 *n*
22 . . 32 *n*, 138 *k*
2 2 . . . 10 *h*, 64 *i*
3 . . . . 129 *d*
6 . . . . 138 *k*
8 . . . 47 *g*, 47 *o*
9 . . 75 *qq*, 112 *kk*
14 53 *n*, 66 *c*, 69 *v*, 103 *g*
15 . . . . . 35 *k*
16 . . . . . 67 *o*
20 . . . . 121 *f*
21 . . . 47 *o*, 122 *g*
3 2 . . . 91 *f*, 141 *c*
3 . . 44 *h*, 104 *g*
4 47 *o*, 109 *k*, 112 *z*
6 . . . . . 59 *g*
12 . . . . 163 *d*
14 . . . . 107 *c*
15 64 *c*, 69 *o*, 134 *n*
18 . . 163 *c* and N.
4 1 . . . 69 *p*, 72 *t*
3 . . 129 *h*, 138 *k*
4 . . 29 *i* N., 152 *o*
7 . . . . 112 *h*
15 . . . . . 59 *g*

Lamentations

1 1 . . . 5 *h*, 90 *l*
4 . . . 69 *t*, 87 *e*
8 67 *y*, 72 *ee*, 117 *p*
9 . . . . . 124 *f*
10 . . 120 *c*, 155 *f*
14 . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*
16 . . . 75 *v*, 117 *z*
19 . . 107 *q*, 165 *a*
2 7 . . . . . 64 *e*
11 . . . . . 51 *l*
16 . . . . . 15 *c*

Lamentations

2 18 . . . . . 80 *f*
3 1 . . . . . 144 *p*
5 . . . . . 53 *n*
12 . . . . . 80 *h*
14 . . . . . 87 *f*
22 . . . . . 20 *o*
26 . 100 *g* N., 107 *q*
33 . . . . . 69 *u*
48 . 29 *q*, 69 *p*, 117 *z*
50 . . . . 109 *k*
53 . . . . . 69 *u*
4 1 . . . 54 *k*, 75 *rr*
2 . . . . 75 *rr*
5 . . . . 117 *n*
14 . . 51 *h*, 120 *g*
17 . . . . 100 *o*
21 . . . . . 90 *n*
5 5 . 72 *ee* N., 121 *a*
10 . . . . 145 *u*

Ecclesiastes

1 1 . . . . . 122 *r*
2 . . . . . 133 *i*
4 . . . . . 116 *l*
6 . . . . . 113 *u*
9 . . . . . 137 *c*
13 . . . 112 *pp* N.
16 . . . . . 135 *b*
17 . . . . . 86 *l*
2 1 . . . . . 135 *b*
5 . . . 112 *pp* N.
7 . . . . . 145 *u*
8 . . . . . 122 *v*
13 . . . 24 *e*, 133 *b*
15 . . 93 *rr*, 135 *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*

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1 Chronicles

15 12 . . . . 155 *n*
19 . . . . 131 *d*
24 . . . 53 *o*, 55 *e*
26 . . . . . 63 *i*
27 . . . 56, 127 *g*
16 8 . . . . . 2 *s*
19 8 . . . . 131 *b*
20 8 . . . . . 69 *t*
21 1 . . . . 125 *f*
17 . . . 141 *h* N.
22 7 . . . 143 *a* N.
23 6 . . . . . 63 *n*
26 . . . . 114 *k*
24 3 . . . . . 63 *n*
26 28 . . . . 138 *i*
27 12 . . . . 127 *d*
28 2 . . . 143 *a* N.
11 96
15, 18 . . . 131 *d*
29 1 . . . . 155 *d*
3 . . . . 155 *n*
8 . . . . 138 *i*
33 . . . . . 65 *f*

2 Chronicles

1 4 . . 138 *i*, 155 *n*
2 12 . . . . 117 *n*
3 17 . . . . 126 *k*
4 3 . . . 123 *a* N.
13 . . . . 131 *d*
5 11 . . . . 114 *k*
8 18 . . . . . 93 *r*
11 22 . . 114 *k*, 147 *a*
15 3 . . . . 147 *a*
8 . . . . 127 *f*
16 4 . . . . 125 *h*
9 . . . . 155 *n*
10 . . . . 147 *a*
12 . . 75 *rr*, 147 *a*
14 . . . . 124 *c*
17 11 . . . . . 93 *x*
18 3 . . . . 147 *a*
23 . . . . 155 *d*
26 . . . . 131 *c*
19 2 . . . . 114 *k*
6 . . . . 147 *a*
20 1 . . . . 102 *b*
19 . . . . 128 *v*
22 . . . . . 155 *l*
34 . . . . . 63 *p*
35 . . . . 54 *a* N.
21 4 . . . 119 *w* N.
17 . . . . 133 *g*
22 5 . . . . . 35 *d*
23 1 . . . . 117 *n*
25 17 . . . 156 *c* N.

2 Chronicles

26 5 . . . . 114 *c*
10 . . . . . 22 *s*
15 75 *rr*, 114 *n*, 126 *z*
18 . . . . . 114 *l*
28 10 . . . 142 *f* N.
21 . . . . 147 *a*
23 . . . . . 53 *o*
29 6 . . . . . 67 *y*
10 . . . . 165 *a*
17 . . . . 134 *p*
18 . . . . 117 *n*
27 . . . . . 155 *l*
30 9 . . 114 *p*, 147 *a*
17 . . . . 155 *d*
18 . . . 130 *d* N²
19 . . . . 155 *n*
31 7 69 *n*, 71, 142 *f* N²
10 . . . 121 *d* N¹
17 . . . . 117 *m*
32 9 . . . . 101 *a*
13 . . . . . 8 *k*
30 . . . . . 69 *u*
34 10 . . . . . 45 *g*
11 . . . . . 16 *f*
12 . . . . . 10 *h*
35 4 . . . . 93 *ww*
21 109 *g*, 135 *g*, 147 *a*
23 . . . . . 69 *r*
36 23 . . . . 137 *c*