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## Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew

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Preface.—The construction without a connective.—The construction with ו.—The construction with וְאֵל. —The construction with וְיָרַךְ יְיָ. —The construction with וְשָׁרָא (-ש). —The construction with לְ. —The construction with לְבָרְכֵי. —The construction with לְפָה. —The construction with לְךָ. —The construction with לְעָן. —The construction with לְעָנִי.

**T**HE subject of this study was suggested by the distinguished scholar, Professor Franz Delitzsch. The result was a dissertation presented to the Philosophical Faculty at Leipzig, a part of which was printed privately under the title "Some Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew" in 1879. This brochure has been cited now and then, but no one, with the exception of Professor Eduard König<sup>1</sup>, seems to have given it serious consideration.

It was due to König, in part, that a complete edition was undertaken; for it was he who, by calling attention to the incompleteness of the first, made the author feel that he owed it to himself to produce the chapters on constructions which he was apparently supposed to have overlooked or ignored. The impulse thus given, however, was strengthened by the advice of American friends who, after examining the original manuscript, advised the publication of it in its entirety.

The whole has been carefully rewritten, every statement tested, and all the notes verified. In some places the outline

<sup>1</sup> *Syntax*, § 396a, and elsewhere.

has been more fully developed, and new notes have been added to, or substituted for, the old ones.

The aim has always been, more clearly to define and more fully to illustrate the constructions discussed, and thus to prepare the way for a more satisfactory interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

### The construction without a connective

The simplest and easiest way to indicate a dependence of a word or clause on another is that in which the two are placed in immediate juxtaposition without a connective. It is therefore probably the most primitive, and it must have been a very frequent arrangement in the early history of the Hebrew language.<sup>2</sup> There are many instances of it in the Old Testament, especially in poetry. In such cases it would be too much to say that anything definite is *expressed*. At most there is suggested a relation the nature of which the reader is expected to be intelligent enough to be able to understand; but this challenge to the imagination is so effective that the very incompleteness of the expression sometimes produces greater vividness than would result from the use of the proper connective.

When two clauses are thus associated the verb of the second is oftenest in the imperfect, but the imperative also occurs. In both cases there is sometimes difficulty in determining just what is the relation that the writer intended to suggest, the imperfect as well as the imperative being capable of more than one interpretation. Thus, for example, there is room for doubt whether the imperfect in Isa. 41 7, or the imperative in Prov. 20 13, denotes purpose or result. Ordinarily, however, the context more or less clearly indicates which is intended. The following examples of the final construction without a connective are arranged with reference not only to the form of the verb in the clause denoting a purpose itself, but also to the character of the clause or sentence on which it depends. The succession may be:

<sup>2</sup> König, *Syn.*, § 59b.

## 1. Perfect . . . . . Imperfect.

In Isa. 41 2 one may translate, *that he may deliver nations, &c.* In Job 30 28 the imperfect takes the place of an infinitive after  $\text{וְיָבֵן}$ . See below. In Neh. 13 19 the purpose is negative, *that there might not enter, &c.*<sup>3</sup>; also in Exod. 39 23, where the verb  $\text{וְיָבֵן}$  is to be supplied. See 28 32.

## 2. Imperfect consecutive . . . . . Imperfect.

On Job 16 8 see 30 28. In 2 Chr. 4 8 the imperfect is in a parenthetical clause explanatory of one in which the purpose is denoted by an infinitive with  $\text{לְ}$ . Add Isa. 41 7, rendered, *that it may not be moved.*

## 3. Imperfect . . . . . Imperfect.

Lev. 16 30, another explanatory clause after an infinitive with  $\text{לְ}$ ; Ps. 55 7 (6), where the second imperfect is a cohortative; 65 5 (4) 88 11 (10) 102 14. On the last two see above, Job 30 28. In Exod. 28 32 the purpose is negative. Comp. 39 23 above.

## 4. Imperfect . . . . . Imperative.

Ps. 110 2, rendered, *that thou mayst rule, &c.*<sup>4</sup>

## 5. Perfect consecutive . . . . . Imperfect.

Num. 35 11. See Eng. Vers., *to be cities of refuge.*

## 6. Imperative . . . . . Imperfect.

Exod. 18 19, rendered, *that I may advise thee*; Ps. 9 21 (20) 34 12 (11) 51 16 (14) 61 8 (7) 86 11, the parallel clause having the infinitive with  $\text{לְ}$ <sup>5</sup>, 118 19 (his) 119 17, with which comp. v. 144; Lam. 3 30. In Exod. 7 9 the dependent verb has the jussive form,<sup>6</sup> in Ps. 39 5 (4)<sup>7</sup> and 119 145 the cohortative. In the following the purpose is negative, with  $\text{לְ}$  instead of the more usual  $\text{וְ}$ : Exod. 10 28 (juss.); Judg. 13 4a, in many MSS. and  $\text{וְ}$ ; Ps. 19 14 (13); Job 36 21 (juss.).

## 7. Imperative . . . . . Imperative.

Deut. 1 21, where *go up, occupy* clearly means *go up to*

<sup>3</sup> For  $\text{וְ}$  5 Heb. MSS. have  $\text{וְ}$ , and a few, both Heb. and Gr., have  $\text{וְ}$  or the equivalent.

<sup>4</sup>  $\text{וְ}$  have the connective.

<sup>5</sup> On the main verb see  $\text{וְ}$ .

<sup>6</sup> Sam. has the connective.

<sup>7</sup> Some MSS. have the connective.

occupy; 1 Sam. 20 36; Jer. 48 6; Hosea 10 12; Prov. 20 13.<sup>9</sup> Here, perhaps, belong also certain idiomatic expressions in which the leading verb is הָלַךְ, קָם, or a similar one. See Gen. 37 14 44 4 &c.

#### 8. Participle . . . . Imperfect.

Isa. 5 11 (bis). Comp. 1 Sam. 29 11, where the infinitive with לְ is used of a single act.

In the passages cited, when there is a second purpose, it is regularly connected with the first by וְ conjunctive, but in Ps. 118 19 the connective is omitted. In Num. 35 11 the second final clause has a perfect consecutive, in Exod. 18 19 a jussive, in Ps. 55 7 (e) and 119 17 a cohortative, and in Isa. 41 2 and Jer. 48 6 a simple imperfect.

A simple imperfect is sometimes used in the second of two final clauses, the first of which has an infinitive with לְ. In such cases the second may be:

1. Substantially a repetition of the first, as in Lev. 16 30 and 2 Chr. 4 6; or
2. Simply coördinate with it, as in Jer. 4 17.

Note. In Syriac the omission of the connective before a final clause is comparatively frequent, and the perfect as well as the imperfect and the imperative is used in this construction. See Uhlemann, §§ 60, 5, b; 62, 2; 85, 4, d, β.

#### The construction with וְ

The conjunction וְ is not a mere copulative. It was originally a demonstrative, and always retained more or less distinct traces of this signification.<sup>9</sup> There is a construction implying purpose in which it is employed. Ewald is disposed to allow a very frequent occurrence in this sense. He makes the assertion that, "since the particle retains its successive force, וְ before the imperfect may mean *daß nicht* = *damit nicht*, whether reference be had to the present or the future", and that

<sup>9</sup> The verss. have a connective.

<sup>9</sup> Driver, § 122; *BDB.*, p. 251.

" $\aleph$  alone may mean *daß* — *damit* with the perfect consecutive".<sup>10</sup> These assertions are expressly denied by Böttcher, who insists that  $\aleph$  can properly be said to become equal to *damit* "only before a jussive or an intentional (cohortative) the very nature of which it is to denote volition or purpose".<sup>11</sup> Driver's statement is, "that the weak  $\aleph$  is used with the imperfect—as a jussive or cohortative, if these exist in distinct forms, though not exclusively even then—in order to express the design or purpose of a preceding act".<sup>12</sup>

The truth seems to be that  $\aleph$ , by virtue of its demonstrative force, calls attention to an intimate relation between the clauses connected, but that the nature of the relation must be determined by a consideration of the clauses themselves, and especially of the modes by which the states or acts involved are presented. When the verb of the dependent clause is a voluntative, that is, either a jussive, or a cohortative, or an imperative, the form, in itself, suggests purpose, especially if the verb of the main clause, also, is a voluntative. When the dependent verb has the form of a simple imperfect, as in the case of the construction without the connective, there is sometimes difficulty in deciding on the precise relation of the clauses. If the leading verb is a voluntative, this other is usually influenced by it, so that it denotes, if not a pure purpose, an intentional result. In the Pentateuch the simple imperfect, in form, is often employed in a virtual command and followed by another imperfect, or its equivalent, denoting the end that the act or attitude commanded will serve. This is the construction to which Ewald refers in the passage quoted, and he seems to be perfectly correct in his interpretation of it. Indeed, the imperfect, in and of itself, without the influence of a preceding voluntative, may, as has been shown, denote a purpose. It is required only that the verb be essentially subordinate to that of the main clause, and that the agent presumably perceive this relation.

The final constructions in Hebrew differ in the degree of

<sup>10</sup> § 345 a.

<sup>11</sup> § 979, 3. See also König, *Syn.*, § 364 o, p.

<sup>12</sup> § 60; comp. § 111.

confidence they permit concerning the fulfilment of a given purpose. The one with ׀, as has been suggested, strictly speaking, denotes an intended result; that is, it presents the end of the act or attitude described or recommended as something whose attainment is not merely desired but more or less confidently expected.

In translating this construction it is usually best to use the English conjunction *that* between the clauses. In so doing, however, one must remember that the Hebrew did not so clearly define the thought to be conveyed, but said, and intended to say, for example, in Gen. 24 56, *Dismiss me, and I will go to my master*. See König, *Syn.*, § 364 p.

The construction with ׀ is frequent in the Old Testament. The examples that have been noted follow, arranged, like those without a connective, according to the forms of the verbs in the connected clauses:

1. Perfect . . . . Imperfect.

The number of examples under this and the next two heads is naturally small, but there are enough to illustrate some of the possibilities in these combinations.

In Dan. 8 12, rendered, *that it may cast truth to the earth*, the dependent verb is a jussive.<sup>13</sup> In Is. 41 26, where there are two final clauses, the first has a cohortative, in form, but the second omits the ending. In Jer. 5 23, where the verb, omitted in the Greek, is perhaps a gloss, and Lam. 1 19, the form does not admit of modification.

2. Perfect . . . . Perfect consecutive.

In Exod. 31 6 the perfect of the main clause, since it conveys a promise or assurance, is followed by the same construction as an imperfect. See GK, § 106, 3 (a).

3. Imperfect consecutive . . . . Imperfect.

Isa. 41 7; 2 Chr. 23 19; in both of which the purpose is negative.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> By a slight change in the text, following ׃, one might read *that truth might be cast to the earth, but (finally), &c.* Comp. Kittel.

<sup>14</sup> There are cases in which an imperfect seems to have the same force with ׀ consecutive as with ׀ conjunctive. Thus, 2 Sam. 11 1 is best

## 4. Imperfect . . . . Imperfect.

The use of the imperfect in final clauses after an imperfect is sometimes due to the operation of the law for the succession of the tenses, which requires that, when the perfect with  $\text{ל}$  consecutive would be in order, if the verb is separated from the connective by the negative or any emphatic word or words, it must become an imperfect. In such cases its final force is largely dependent on the connection. The imperfect, however, may, and often does, itself denote purpose, especially in the voluntative forms, when it usually attaches itself immediately to the connective, thus making more evident the writer's meaning. The analysis that follows will indicate how frequently the imperfect is used after the imperfect to denote purpose, and how varied is the usage with reference to the two in the Old Testament.

## a. When the purpose is affirmative;

(1) After a command or a request, the dependent verb has:

(a) The jussive form: Gen. 19 30, *that my soul may live*.

(b) The cohortative form, of which there are several examples: Gen. 50 5; Exod. 3 18 4 18 5 3; 1 Sam. 27 5; 2 Sam. 18 19; 2 Kings 7 13; Isa. 5 19, where  $\text{ל}$  is used in parallelism with  $\text{וְיָבֹרֵךְ}$ ; 41 23; Jonah 1 7; Dan. 1 12; Neh. 5 2; 1 Chr. 13 2f.

(c) A form unmodified, though capable of modification: 2 Sam. 19 38; Isa. 66 5; Ps. 51 9 (7) (bis).

(d) An ambiguous form: Gen. 1 9 26 19 32 41 34<sup>15</sup>; Exod. 5 9; Deut. 1 22 3 25; Josh. 7 3; Judg. 13 8; Isa. 2 3 55 7; Jer. 40 15; Prov. 31 7; Job 21 19; Dan. 1 12.

(2) After a question implying desire the dependent verb has:

(a) The jussive form: 1 Kings 22 20 — 2 Chr. 18 19.

(b) The cohortative form: Judg. 9 29; Amos 8 5 (bis).

translated, *to destroy the children of Ammon*, and 1 Kings 15 17, *to build Ramah*, because, if strictly rendered, the former anticipates a result the attainment of which is yet to be described and the latter one that is not to be attained. See 2 Sam. 12 31; 1 Kings 15 22. In both cases the infinitive with  $\text{ל}$  would be more correct and intelligible.

<sup>15</sup> For  $\text{וְיָבֹרֵךְ}$  r., with  $\text{ל}$ ,  $\text{וְיָבֹרֵךְ}$ .



(c) An unmodified form: Exod. 2 7, if the punctuation is correct.

(d) An ambiguous form: Deut. 30 12 13; 2 Sam. 15 4; Isa. 19 13; Jonah 1 11; Job 11 6<sup>16</sup>; Lam. 2 13.

(3) After an expression of deprecation the dependent verb has the cohortative form: Gen. 18 30 32; Judg. 6 39.

(4) After an expression of intention the dependent verb has:

(a) The jussive form: 1 Sam. 18 21.

(b) An ambiguous form: Exod. 3 8 8 4 (8); 2 Chr. 28 23.

(5) After a simple declaration the dependent verb is a jussive: Lev. 26 43<sup>17</sup>; 1 Kings 13 33<sup>18</sup>; Ezek. 14 7; Ps. 9 10 (9).

b. When the purpose is negative:

(1) After a command or a request the dependent verb is a simple imperfect with  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$ : Exod. 30 20; Lev. 19 17<sup>19</sup> 20 14; Deut. 20 8 (comp. vs. 5-7) 25 6; 2 Sam. 14 11; Jer. 11 19; Ps. 83 5 (4); Est. 1 19; Neh. 2 17.

(2) After a question implying desire the same construction is found: Judg. 21 17 (5). See Moore.

(3) After a prohibition or a refusal, with  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$  or its equivalent, the dependent verb is a simple imperfect, with the same negative particle: Gen. 14 23 (with  $\text{DN}$ ); Num. 18 3 32; Deut. 1 43 17 17 18 16 24 15; 2 Sam. 21 17; Isa. 7 12; Jer. 11 21.

(4) After a refusal or an excuse, with  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$ , also, the dependent verb is a simple imperfect and the negative  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$ : Lev. 10 9 16 3; 2 Sam. 13 25; Jer. 25 6 37 20 38 24.

(5) After a simple declaration the usage is still the same: Jer. 10 4.

5. Imperfect . . . . Perfect consecutive.

a. When the purpose is affirmative:

(1) After a command or a request: Gen. 43 14; Exod. 8 23 (27)

<sup>16</sup> For  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$  r., with the vers.,  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$ .

<sup>17</sup> Sam. has a perfect consecutive.

<sup>18</sup> The vers. have the equivalent of the plural with 1 consecutive.

<sup>19</sup> For  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$  Sam. has  $\text{N}^{\text{b}}$ .

24 (2a) (comp. v. 25 [29], with the infinitive) 10 25; Deut. 2 28 (bis) 16 18 19 4 5 24 5 13; 2 Sam. 21 6; 1 Kings 1 2; 1 Chr. 22 11.

(2) After a simple declaration: Gen. 24 7; Exod. 7 3; 1 Sam. 8 11 (bis); Isa. 60 16; 2 Chr. 12 8.

b. When the purpose is negative, after a prohibition or a deprecation, the dependent verb is a perfect consecutive, without a negative: Num. 4 15 20; Ps. 143 7.

Many other passages, especially with **וְיִי** in the final clause, might have been cited under this (fifth) head.

#### 6. Imperfect . . . . Imperative.

The voluntative, in two of its forms, in dependent clauses denoting purpose, or, more exactly, intended result, is so familiar a usage, that it ought not to surprise any one to find the imperative sometimes taking the place of the jussive in such a construction. It should, however, be noted, that, in these cases, the imperfect of the main clause is as frequently as not connected with a preceding imperative, so that the combination is virtually that of the double imperative. See below. The imperative is used in the dependent clause:

a. After an independent imperfect: Gen. 19 8; Exod. 18 22; 1 Sam. 12 17; 2 Sam. 21 3; Jer. 2 19; Ps. 110 2<sup>20</sup> 128 5; Ruth 4 11.

b. After an imperfect introduced by an imperative: Gen. 12 2 20 7 45 18; Exod. 3 10; 1 Sam. 28 22; 1 Kings 1 12.

#### 7. Perfect consecutive . . . . Perfect consecutive.

Examples of this combination occur when, in a series of perfects following an imperfect or an imperative, any two are so related in thought that the connective may be rendered in English by a final conjunction. The series is introduced:

a. By an imperfect: Gen. 41 35f.; Exod. 18 21f. 23 11 25 28 (comp. v. 27) 28 35 41 (comp. 30 30) 30 16 40 9 10 15; Lev. 16 13 25 18 27; Num. 8 14; Deut. 19 12 13 19; 1 Kings 1 2 8 50; Ezek. 24 27; Ruth 2 16.

<sup>20</sup> For **וְיִי** r., with **וְיִי**, **וְיִי**.

b. By an imperative: Gen. 6 21 45 10; Exod. 25 8; Num. 3 6.

Many other examples might have been cited, some of which have, in the dependent clause,  $\text{וְיָבִי}$  followed by the infinitive with  $\text{לְ}$ .

#### 8. Perfect consecutive . . . . Imperfect.

The examples under this head are variations from the rule illustrated in the preceding section. Those in which the series is introduced:

a. By the imperfect, so far as noted, have an imperfect in the final clause through the intervention of a negative. Thus, Exod. 30 12; Lev. 8 25 14 36 18 28 20 22; Num. 18 5 35 12; Deut. 22 8; Ezek. 34 22 44 19. Of two cases in which the series is introduced

b. By an imperative, one presents

(1) An affirmative purpose, Judg. 11 6; the other

(2) A negative purpose, namely, Exod. 28 43. In one other the series is introduced

c. By an infinitive absolute, the verb of the dependent clause being a jussive. So 2 Kings 5 10.

#### 9. Perfect consecutive . . . . Imperative.

This combination is found 2 Kings 18 32, where the perfect consecutive follows an infinitive construct.

#### 10. Imperative . . . . Perfect consecutive.

The perfect consecutive, as has been shown, may denote a purpose or an intended result after an imperfect, especially an imperfect that conveys a command or a request. There are instances, also, in which it is used after an imperative with a similar force. Among them are Gen. 8 17, *that they may be fruitful*<sup>21</sup>; Exod. 8 12 (16) 34 1 2; Num. 4 19 10 2; 2 Sam. 24 2; Jer. 48 26; Ezek. 20 20; 1 Chr. 15 12.

Other examples might have been cited, especially such as have  $\text{וְיָבִי}$  in the final clause. In Gen. 47 23 the interjection  $\text{וְיָבִי}$  takes the place of the imperative.

<sup>21</sup> 6 om. *that they may swarm in the earth.*

## 11. Imperative . . . . Imperfect.

The imperative does not often permit the use of the perfect consecutive in a final clause dependent on it. It usually requires after it a construction indicating a livelier interest on the part of the speaker in the result of the fulfilment of his command or request. A voluntative form, if available, is the natural expression for such an interest. Which of these forms shall be employed, depends, in many cases, on the person in which the verb must appear. If it is the first, and there is nothing to prevent, the verb will naturally take the cohortative ending; if the third, it will just as naturally be contracted to a jussive. When this verb is in the second person it regularly appears as an imperative, unless the purpose expressed is negative, when the imperfect is employed.

a. When the verb of the dependent clause is in the first person:

(1) The cohortative ending is added:

In the singular: Gen. 23 4 13 24 56 27 4 7 25 29 21 (after  $\aleph$ ) 30 25 26 42 34 44 21 49 1; Exod. 24 12 33 5; Num. 9 8 22 19; Deut. 31 28 32 1; Judg. 11 37 16 28; 1 Sam. 12 7 11 16 28 7; 2 Sam. 14 32 20 16; 2 Kings 4 22 6 19; Isa. 49 20; Jer. 17 14 31 18; Ps. 39 14 41 11 119 34 73 115 117 125 146; Job 10 20 ( $\aleph$ re) 13 13; Ruth 4 4; 1 Chr. 21 2 (comp. 2 Sam 24 2); 2 Chr. 1 10 (after  $\aleph$ ). Add Ps. 69 15 (14), where the purpose is negative, with  $\aleph$ .

In the plural: Gen. 19 5; Num. 11 13; Judg. 11 39 18 5; 1 Sam. 11 3 14 12 17 10; 2 Sam. 17 5; Isa. 1 18 41 22<sup>23</sup> 23 51 23; Hosea 6 1; Ps. 80 4 (3) 8 (7) 20 (19) 90 14; Lam. 5 21 ( $\aleph$ re).

(2) The cohortative ending is wanting:

(a) On a final  $\aleph$  verb:

In the singular: Jer. 17 14.

In the plural: Ps. 90 12.

<sup>23</sup> In this verse there are two examples, but the second has been transposed. Read, *or show us things to come, that we may know their issue.*

## (b) On a final ׀ verb:

In the singular: Gen. 24 14 49; 1 Kings 17 10; Hag. 1 8; 1 Chr. 21 22. Add Num. 11 15, where the purpose is negative, with ׀.

In the plural: Gen. 42 2 43 8 47 19; Exod. 17 2; Amos 4 1; Cant. 7 1.

## (c) On a verb with a suffix:

In the singular: Gen. 24 2f. 48 9; Exod. 33 13; Deut. 1 13 4 10 9 14; Judg. 7 4; 1 Sam. 9 26.

In the plural: Judg. 20 13; 1 Sam. 11 12; 2 Sam. 14 7.

## (d) For no apparent reason:

In the singular: Judg. 16 26; 1 Kings 11 21; Ruth 4 4 (Kt.).

In the plural: Lam. 5 21 (Kt.). Add 1 Sam. 12 19, with ׀.

The fact that, in three of the above examples, the verb is followed by a word beginning with a guttural does not explain the omission of the ending, there being numerous instances in which it occurs in such a situation. See Gen. 23 13 44 21, &c.

## b. When the verb of the dependent clause is in the second person:

(1) An affirmative purpose is expressed by the jussive in Num. 17 25 (10), but in 2 Chr. 20 20 such contraction is impossible.

(2) A negative purpose might have been expressed by the jussive with ׀, but in the cases noted the verb does not admit of contraction. They are Judg. 13 4 (bis)<sup>23</sup> and Jer. 17 21.

## c. When the verb of the dependent clause is in the third person:

## (1) The purpose being affirmative:

(a) It has the jussive form: Gen. 24 51; Exod. 7 9 (Sam.) 8 4 (s) 9 22 10 12 17 21 32 10; Num. 21 7 25 4; Judg. 6 30 14 15; 1 Sam. 5 11 7 3 28 22 29 4; 1 Kings 13 6 21 2 10 (bis); Isa. 30 8 55 3; Hosea 2 4; Mal. 3 10; Job 12 7<sup>b</sup>; 2 Chr. 30 6 8.

(b) It has an ambiguous form: Gen. 23 3f. 30 3 31 37 38 24 42 16 (bis); Exod. 2 20 4 23 5 1 9 1 13; Num. 18 2; Judg. 16 25;

<sup>23</sup> Many MSS. and ׀ omit ׀ in 4a.

2 Sam. 16 11; 1 Kings 18 37 21 10; Isa. 8 10 a 26 2; Jer. 38 20; Ezek. 37 9<sup>24</sup>; Ps. 24 7 9 86 17 109 26f. 144 5; Prov. 16 3; Job 12 7 a 14 e.

(2) The purpose being negative:

(a) It has an ambiguous form: 1 Kings 18 44, with  $\text{נָּל}$ ; 2 Chr. 35 21, with  $\text{לֵן}$ .

(b) It has an unmodified form: Isa. 8 10; Ezek. 18 30.

12. Imperative . . . . Imperative.

Gen. 38 8 42 18; Dent. 5 27 27 9 32 49; Judg. 16 5; 1 Sam. 20 31; 1 Kings 32 12; 2 Kings 18 31 — Isa. 36 16; Isa. 8 9 b (bis) 29 9 (bis) 45 22 55 2; Jer. 5 1 6 16 25 5 27 12 17 35 15 51 45; Amos 5 4 e (comp. v. 14); Ps. 37 27; Prov. 3 3f. 4 4 7 2 9 e 23 19 27 11; 2 Chr. 20 20.

13. Infinitive absolute . . . . Perfect consecutive.

In Isa. 5 5 the infinitive absolute is twice used as a brief and abrupt substitute for the cohortative expressing a determination.

14. Infinitive construct . . . . Imperfect.

a. A positive purpose takes the jussive form: 2 Chr. 29 10.

b. A negative purpose has an ambiguous form, with  $\text{נָּל}$ ; Lev. 18 30.

15. Verbal particle . . . . Imperfect.

The dependent imperfect has:

a. A cohortative form, after  $\text{יָּנ}$ : 1 Kings 22 7 — 2 Chr. 18 e; 2 Kings 3 11.

b. An ambiguous form: 2 Sam. 9 1 after  $\text{וְ}$ ; 2 Sam. 9 3 after  $\text{וְ}$ ; Isa. 19 12 after  $\text{וְיָּנ}$ ; Ps. 59 14 (13) after  $\text{יָּנ}$ .

16. Nominal sentence . . . . Imperfect.

The dependent imperfect has:

a. The jussive form: Jer. 9 11 a a; Hosea 14 10 a a.

<sup>24</sup> Some MSS. have the perfect consecutive.

b. An ambiguous form: Jer. 9 11 a b<sup>25</sup>; Hosea 14 10 a b; Mal. 1 10; Ps. 107 43.

Thus far the analysis has taken account of the construction only in the first or single final clause dependent on a given statement, command, &c. There are numerous cases in which there are two or three such clauses, each of them introduced by  $\text{ל}$ . The additional clause, or clauses, may be related in various ways to the first and take various forms of the verb to denote a purpose.

1. A second or third clause may be virtually a repetition of the preceding.

a. A cohortative in the one is then followed by:

(1) A cohortative in the other: Ps. 90 14.

(2) An ambiguous imperfect: Ps. 119 34.

b. An imperative in the one is followed by an ambiguous imperfect in the other: Isa. 55 2.

2. A second or third clause may be in antithesis with the preceding. In all the examples noted the second clause is negative and its verb a simple imperfect; and in all but one the negative particle is  $\text{לֹא}$ .

a. The imperfect with  $\text{לֹא}$  is found after:

(1) A perfect consecutive: Gen. 41 36; Num. 4 19.

(2) A jussive: 1 Sam. 29 4.

(3) An ambiguous imperfect: Gen. 42 2 43 8 47 19; Prov. 31 7.

(4) An imperative: 2 Kings 18 32.

b. An imperfect with  $\text{לֹא}$  is found: Exod. 5 9.

3. A second or third clause may be simply coordinate with the preceding.

a. A perfect consecutive is then followed by:

(1) An unmodified imperfect: Deut. 24 13.

(2) An ambiguous imperfect: Exod. 23 11.

<sup>25</sup>  $\text{לֹא}$  om. the connective.

b. A cohortative is followed by:

- (1) A jussive: Isa. 41 23 (Kt.).
- (2) A cohortative: 2 Kings 4 22; 2 Chr. 1 10.
- (3) An unmodified imperfect, Isa. 41 23 (Kre).

c. An ambiguous imperfect is followed by:

- (1) A cohortative: Hag. 1 8 (Kre).
- (2) An ambiguous imperfect: Judg. 13 4, with  $\text{לֵא}$  after  $\text{לֵא}$ ;  
Hag. 1 8 (Kt.).

d. An imperative is followed by an imperative: 1 Sam. 12 17;  
2 Kings 18 31; Jer. 2 19.

4. A second or third clause may be subordinate to the preceding. The examples under this head are more numerous than under either of the others. The following varieties of construction have been noted:

a. A perfect consecutive followed by:

- (1) An unmodified imperfect, with  $\text{לֵא}$ : Exod. 28 35; Lev. 16 13.
- (2) An ambiguous imperfect, with  $\text{לֵא}$ : Gen. 41 36.
- (3) A perfect consecutive: Gen. 8 17, *and multiply*, 45 11;  
Exod. 18 20; Deut. 24 13; 1 Kings 1 2b; Jer. 48 26; 1 Chr. 22 11.

b. A jussive followed by:

- (1) An unmodified imperfect, with  $\text{לֵא}$ : 1 Sam. 5 11.
- (2) An ambiguous imperfect: Exod. 10 12 32 10; Num. 17 25 (10);  
1 Kings 22 20.
- (3) A perfect consecutive: Dan. 8 12.

c. A cohortative followed by:

- (1) A cohortative: Gen. 27 7 (comp. v. 25); Deut. 31 28;  
1 Sam. 28 7; Ps. 55 7 (6).
- (2) An unmodified imperfect: 2 Kings 7 13.
- (3) An ambiguous imperfect: Exod. 4 18; Judg. 11 37<sup>26</sup>;  
Neh. 5 2.

d. An unmodified imperfect followed by the same: 2 Sam. 29 4.

e. An ambiguous imperfect followed by:

- (1) A jussive: Jer. 38 20.

<sup>26</sup> Om וירדתי.



(2) A cohortative: Judg. 20 13; 2 Sam. 14 7<sup>27</sup>; Isa. 2 3.

(3) An ambiguous imperfect: Gen. 30 8; Deut. 1 22 9 14; 1 Sam. 29 4; Isa. 19 12; Jer. 25 6, with  $\text{לֹא}$  after  $\text{לֹא}$ , perhaps for  $\text{לֹא}$ , as in the preceding parallel clause; Ps. 86 17 107 43.

(4) A perfect consecutive, after  $\text{לֹא}$ : Exod. 28 43; Deut. 24 15; after  $\text{לֹא}$ , Jer. 17 21<sup>28</sup>.

5. One of a series of two or three final clauses may be merely the complement of another. The following examples have been noted:

a. A perfect consecutive followed by a perfect consecutive: Dan. 8 12, literally, *and act and prosper that is and act prosperously*.

b. A cohortative followed by a jussive<sup>28</sup>, Isa. 41 23 (Kt.), *that we may gaze at one another and see, that is, that we be amazed at the sight*.

### The construction with $\text{לֵאמֹר}$

This construction should next receive attention, because it is similar in form to the foregoing, although in significance it presents a notable contrast to the assurance suggested by the simple connective.

The word  $\text{לֵאמֹר}$  has received various explanations. The most plausible is that it is a compound of  $\text{אִם}$ , *or*, and  $\text{לֹא}$ , *not*, another form of  $\text{לֹא}$  and the  $\text{לֵא}$  of  $\text{לֵאמֹר}$ . So BDB.; comp. König, *LG.*, p. 111. In any case, like the Ass. *ulā* it clearly has a meaning that harmonizes with such a derivation. It is sometimes employed after a voluntative. When so used it imparts to the clause to which it belongs an uncertainty that barely leaves room for hope. When the final form is given to the construction the fulfilment of the purpose expressed is represented as merely possible. In such cases the conjunction *that* may be supplied and  $\text{לֵאמֹר}$  rendered by the English adverb *perchance*.

<sup>27</sup> § has a perfect with  $\text{לֵא}$ .

<sup>28</sup> ¶ repeats the negative.

<sup>29</sup> זָרָא; Kre זָרָא.

Thus, while Gen. 16 2, the first example, literally rendered, would read, *Go in unto my handmaid; perchance I shall be built up from her*, since the act suggested has in view a desired result, the meaning is more fully and clearly expressed by the translation, *Go in unto my handmaid, that perchance I may have children from her*.

In this instance the verb of the protasis is an imperative. There are others of the same kind; also examples in which it is an imperfect, of one or another form, or even a perfect, with ׀ consecutive. The verb of the apodosis is, or should be, a simple imperfect, or its equivalent; for in Josh. 14 12 יִדְּוֶה should be supplied and in Exod. 32 30, as appears from the Samaritan reading, the cohortative ending should be omitted. In Lam. 3 29 the place of the verb is taken by the particle ׀.

The construction with ׀ is used:

1. After a command or a request, the verb conveying the will of the speaker being:

a. An imperative: Num. 22 6 11; Josh. 14 12; 1 Kings 18 5; Isa. 47 12 (bis); Jer. 21 2 51 8; Amos 5 15; Jonah 1 6; Zeph. 2 3.

b. A cohortative: 1 Sam. 9 6 14 6.

c. An ambiguous imperfect: 1 Kings 20 31; Jer. 36 6 f.; Lam. 3 29.

d. A perfect consecutive: 1 Sam. 6 5; Ezek. 12 3.

2. After a prohibition, with ׀: Jer. 26 2 f.

3. After a resolution conveyed by:

a. A cohortative: Num. 23 8; 2 Sam. 14 15.

b. An ambiguous imperfect: Gen. 32 21; Exod. 32 30; Num. 23 27.

There are several passages in which the construction with ׀ affects two or three clauses. In one of them, Isa. 47 12, the particle is repeated. In all the others the clauses are connected by ׀. The relation between these clauses is naturally varied, just as it is when the first is introduced by the simple connective.

1. The second clause is virtually a repetition of the first in Isa. 47 12, where, as above stated, **יָשַׁב** is repeated, the verb being a second imperfect.

2. The second is in antithesis with the first in Jonah 1 6, and the third with the second in 1 Kings 18 5. In both cases the verb in the latter of the antithetical pair, being preceded by **וְ**, is an imperfect.

3. A second clause is coordinate with the preceding, and has an imperfect: Jer. 36 6f.

4. A second or third clause is oftenest subordinate to the preceding. The verb is then:

a. A perfect consecutive: Num. 22 11 23 27; Josh. 14 12; Jer. 26 2f.

b. A simple imperfect: 1 Kings 18 5; Jer. 21 2 26 2f. Here belongs, also, Num. 22 6, if the text is correct; but see v. 11.

It should be noted, as a point that indicates purpose, that, among these passages, the law concerning the succession of the tenses is followed only in Num. 22 11 23 27; Josh. 14 12; 1 Kings 18 5 (2 and 3); Jonah 1 6; Jer. 26 2f. (2 and 3). In all the rest the imperfect is employed in a second or third clause, after **וְ**, without reference to the form of the preceding verb.

#### The construction with **יָדָעַתְּ**

The question **יָדָעַתְּ**, *Who knoweth, &c.*, is found in three passages that are perfectly intelligible when translated literally, but acquire a clearer meaning when thrown into the form of a final clause after the pattern of that introduced by **אֲלֵי**. The best example of this construction is found in Joel 2 13f., which reads, *Return to Yahweh, your God; . . . ; who knoweth but that, that is, that perchance, he may change, &c.* Here a series of imperatives is followed by an imperfect, and, in accordance with the law for the succession of the tenses, two perfects consecutive.

In Jonah 3 7-9 the king of Nineveh uses imperfects, with and without לָמָּ, in his proclamation, and they are followed by an imperfect, two perfects consecutive, and an imperfect with לָמָּ, making another regular series.

In 2 Sam. 12 22 the leading clause must be supplied in some such form as *I will fast (coh.) and weep*, to which *who knoweth, &c.*, followed by an imperfect and a perfect consecutive, would be a natural pendant.

It is difficult to see any difference in effect between לָמָּ and מִי יָדוּעַ. If there is any, it is, that, while the former represents the result desired as barely possible, the latter suggests that it is not absolutely impossible.

#### The construction with לָמָּ (לָמָּ)

The conjunction לָ, while it denotes a species of succession, does not deprive the clause following of a certain independence. However it may be reproduced in English, one must not lose sight of the fact that, to the Hebrew mind, it connected syntactically equal constructions, such constructions as may, and sometimes do, occur side by side without a connective. The second of these constructions may be, and, if a purpose is implied, is essentially subordinate to the first, and therefore may properly be interpreted as dependent; but there is no formal recognition of subordination. To *express* such a relation, other particles must be employed.

One of these is the relative לָמָּ. The derivation of this word is a subject on which philologists disagree. The most plausible opinion is, that it was originally a noun, the Assyrian 'ašru, "place", found in modified forms and meanings in the other Semitic languages.<sup>30</sup>

The peculiar color given to a final clause by this word has not been clearly defined.<sup>31</sup> To obtain a correct idea of its use

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of various views on this subject, see Böttcher, *LG.*, § 897, 8; König, *LG.*, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>31</sup> König, who takes pains to note that this word is not discussed in the part of this study published in 1879, says only, that it "points to the aim of an event". *Syn.*, § 396a.

and signification, one must first consider it as a proper relative, for, even as a relative, it introduces virtually intentional clauses. Compare the following passages: Exod. 21 13, *I will appoint thee a place whither (which . . . . thither) he may flee*; Num. 23 13, *Go with me to another place whence (which . . . . thence) thou mayst see them*; Deut. 1 38, *to show the way wherein (which . . . . therein) we may go*.

These passages have a common stamp. The similarity of the construction to that in Latin in which the relative takes the subjunctive after it is apparent. The first quoted is particularly interesting, as affording an opportunity for comparing the word in question with others used to denote purpose. In Num. 35 6 the construction is the usual one when the object of the appointment of the cities of refuge is stated, namely, that with  $\text{וְ$  and the infinitive, in which the attainment of the given object is implied. In v. 11 there is a perfect consecutive, in the use of which, as has been shown, the accomplishment of the end in view is taken for granted. The relative gives the common idea a third nuance. The dependent sentence which it introduces has an attributive value nearly equivalent to that of the genitive  $\text{מִלְפָּנֶיךָ}$ , *refuge*. It therefore denotes a fitness or an adaptation which, in the other constructions, is less clearly indicated; but, for example in Exod. 21 13, it presents only the possibility of the act involved.

In the passages thus far cited the verb of the given clause is followed by a demonstrative by which doubt with reference to the antecedent of  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  is prevented. There is one in which this is not the case, namely, 2 Chr. 2 11 (12), which, in the Authorized Version, reads, *Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, . . . . who hath given to David the king a wise son, . . . . that might build an house for the LORD*. For *might* the revised versions have *should*, but the revisers evidently agreed with the original translators that  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  was a relative pronoun and, from the English point of view, the subject of the verb following. This is the natural rendering, but it is not incontestable; for the fact that, in the preceding chapter, v. 11, the same author clearly uses  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  as a final particle makes it possible

to doubt whether he may not have done so in this case, and impossible to prove the contrary.

There is room for a similar difference of opinion concerning Jer. 42 14 and Ruth 2 1; the question being, whether אֲשֶׁר in these instances is a final conjunction or a relative adverb equivalent to the *wherein*, lit. *which . . . . in it*, of Jer. 42 3. That the word may be so used is clear from Gen. 35 13f.<sup>32</sup> If, however, in this passage one must render it *where* why may one not translate Naomi's question, *Shall I not seek thee a resting-place where it will*, or, in view of her evident desire to help her daughter-in-law, *where it may, be well with thee?* The English translators took this view of Jer. 42 14. Hence we read, *We will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war*; of course with that result in view. Still, in both cases, as in 2 Chr. 1 11, the author may have had the strictly final idea.

There remain to be examined the passages in which אֲשֶׁר must be treated as a final conjunction. As such it seems not to have any peculiar significance, but to have been used in place of other particles. Thus, in Josh. 3 7 ו might have been employed. In Gen. 11 7, Exod. 20 26, and Eccl. 7 21, where the purpose is negative, אֲלֵּי would have been equally correct.

The most interesting of all the examples of the construction under consideration are those in which אֲשֶׁר or ו takes the place of לְמַעַן, which, as will be shown in another connection, almost always introduces clauses denoting a constant purpose. The latter would have been in place in the expression, *that (ו) they may fear*, Eccl. 3 14, or *learn to fear*, Deut. 4 10; also in Deut. 4 40 and 6 3 and Ruth 3 1, where an appeal is made to the universal desire for well-being. Comp. Deut. 12 25. Why it was not used is uncertain. Deut. 4 40 is especially puzzling, since it has both constructions. It has been suggested that here and elsewhere אֲשֶׁר is an abbreviation for אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן<sup>33</sup>, but this explanation is unsatisfactory, since, if a writer were

<sup>32</sup> See, also, 1 Sam. 28 3 (*why*); Gen. 6 4 (*when*); Josh. 5 4 (*why*).

<sup>33</sup> Gesenius, *HW.*, art. אֲשֶׁר, B, 2.

inclined to use an abbreviation, he would naturally use it after, and not, as in this instance, before, the fuller form of expression. On the whole, it seems safest to regard the use of  $\text{וְשֵׁנִי}$  in a final sense as a trace of the influence on the Hebrew of the Aramaic language, in which the relative is regularly employed at the same time to denote a purpose.<sup>34</sup> This explanation is favored by the fact that several of the passages cited as containing evident or probable examples of such usage are from books (Jer., Ruth, Eccl., Chr.) in which an Aramaic element has long been recognized, and as many more (Deut. 4 10 40 63; Josh. 3 7) show traces of having suffered from redaction.<sup>35</sup> Thus, there remain but two passages that date from the best period of Hebrew literature.

When a clause with  $\text{וְשֵׁנִי}$  is followed by another also denoting a purpose, in one case (Deut. 6 3) this word is repeated, with  $\text{וְ}$ ; in one (Deut. 4 40)  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  takes its place; and in two (Deut. 4 10; Jer. 42 14)  $\text{וְ}$  alone suffices, the verb, which is separated from the connective, having the form of a simple imperfect.

### The construction with $\text{וְ}$

The origin of the preposition  $\text{וְ}$  is in dispute, but, whether it is a relic of a primitive noun<sup>36</sup> or "a radically independent linguistic product"<sup>37</sup>, there can be no doubt of its demonstrative character. It differs, however, as a demonstrative, from  $\text{וְ}$  in at least one particular. The conjunction always indicates a sort of succession. In using it one naturally *passes* from one to another of the connected ideas. When, therefore, a verb logically dependent on a preceding is introduced by it, the only question is that of the distinction between result and purpose, or, rather, between simple and intended result.

<sup>34</sup> On biblical Aramaic see Kautzsch, *Gram.*, § 73, 3, b; also Dan. 6 9 (9) 18 (17). On Syriac, see Uhlemann, § 85, 3; also Deut. 12 25 28, as well as 4 40.

<sup>35</sup> See *JBL.*, 1899, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> Giesebrecht, *Die hebräische Präposition Lamed*, § 1.

<sup>37</sup> König, *LG.*, i, p. 275.

The case with  $\text{ל}$  is different. Its primal meaning is *toward*, and, in this sense, it is like a weathercock, being capable, under favoring circumstances, of indicating various directions from an unchanged standpoint. Hence, if it may be used to point out that in *prospect* of which, it may also be employed to call attention to that in *retrospect* of which, a given act is performed.<sup>38</sup> Thus it has the force of *in view of* as well as of *with a view to*, in other words, it denotes cause as well as purpose, and one of these uses may be mistaken for the other.

The difficulty in distinguishing cases of purpose is increased by the fact that  $\text{ל}$ , as a demonstrative, may point, not only forward and backward, but sideward, that is, introduce a concomitant of the main thought. This usage, in some books, is common, much more common than most students of the Old Testament seem to have discovered, although Ewald long ago called attention to its frequency.<sup>39</sup>

The three functions of  $\text{ל}$  thus far described grow naturally from its original meaning. There is another. The transition from *toward* to *to* or *unto* is easy, and the preposition made it early in the history of the language, thereby producing a class of cases in which it is used to denote the result of a given act or state. Giesebrecht (§ 22) asserts that the  $\text{ל}$  of result is as frequent as that of aim or object; but this statement only shows how easy it is to mistake the one for the other.

Thus it appears that the preposition  $\text{ל}$  may denote, among other things, not only purpose, but cause, concomitance, and

<sup>38</sup> According to Ewald, § 217*d* (c), " $\text{ל}$  can indicate the external cause or object with reference to which, as at the time existing or happening, something occurs." Among the passages cited in illustration of this statement are Gen. 4 23 and Exod. 12 42. Giesebrecht, § 21, a, discusses the subject more fully in its relation to the noun, giving a variety of examples. Those on which he lays most stress are Num. 16 34; Isa. 30 19; Jer. 10 13 15 16; Hab. 3 12 16; Ps. 18 45 (44); Job 36 27.

<sup>39</sup> *LG.*, § 280*d*, he says, "The infinitive with  $\text{ל}$  becomes gradually more frequent as a means of subordinating to the sentence any incomplete verb describing merely accidental conditions." For examples, see Noldius, *Concordantiae*, 414a.



result, and that care is necessary to avoid mistaking one or another of the last three from the first.

When the preposition has a final sense it directs attention to the end at which the subject aims in performing the act described. This act is supposed to be the proper means of attaining the end in view; hence there is implied a probability of its attainment. The probability implied borders so closely on assurance that the construction is often found where the historical sequence would be more exact<sup>40</sup>; but, so long as  $\text{ל}$  retains its place, the realization of the purpose may be denied. If it is denied, no further attempt in the same direction is to be expected, for  $\text{ל}$ , like  $\text{ל}$ , introduces a purpose that is exhausted by a single effort.

The preposition  $\text{ל}$  is found with several classes of Hebrew nouns. It is most frequent with the *nomen actionis*, which corresponds in many respects to the English infinitive and is usually called the infinitive construct. The noun thus introduced is regularly placed after and, naturally, quite near the verb on which it depends. It may, however, for the sake of emphasis, precede the principal verb. When it follows the same it often causes the removal of adverbial clauses which would regularly precede it toward the end of the sentence and takes them under its own government. See 2 Kings 8 29. This precaution against ambiguity is not always observed, especially by later writers. The necessity for a close connection arises from the fact that the word governed by  $\text{ל}$ , as a rule, has for its subject the subject, or the object, direct or indirect, of the principal clause. The connection is so close that a negative preceding the verb of this clause affects the whole construction, a fact that has sometimes been overlooked by interpreters of the Old Testament. Indeed, the leading verb, or a word intimately connected with it, often determines very definitely the signification of the noun that follows with  $\text{ל}$  to denote the object of the act described.

The following analysis is based on a nearly complete list of

<sup>40</sup> Comp. Deut. 17 s with 29 17 (18), Judg. 19 s with v. 2, and Hosea 2 u with 11 s.

relevant passages. It is intended to show the relation of the subject of the dependent to the main clause as well as the general character of the verbs or other constructions that are followed by ל in a final signification.<sup>41</sup>

The preposition ל is employed to denote aim or object:

### A. With an Infinitive:

I. When the subject of the dependent is at the same time the subject of the principal clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Come, go, &c.:

אָרָה: Job 34 8.

אָתָה: Isa. 56 9.

בֹּא: Gen. 23 2 (bis) 30 38 (bis) 39 11 14 42 5 7 9 10 12<sup>42</sup> 47 4; Exod. 5 23 12 28; Lev. 14 36 (bis); Num. 4 3 15 19 23 (bis) 30 7 8 24; Deut. 4 5 (and elsewhere in this book and Joshua) 19 5 24 10 31 11; Josh. 2 2; Judg. 11 12 18 9 19 15 20 4 10<sup>43</sup> 21 22; 1 Sam. 2 36 16 5 23 10; 2 Sam. 19 18 21 28 24 21 (where בֹּא is to be supplied); 1 Kings 2 19 5 14 17 18 (bis); 2 Kings 2 15 4 1; Isa. 16 12 60 13 66 15; Jer. 4 11 (bis לָ; comp. לְבַלְתִּי) 16 8 44 12 14 (bis)<sup>44</sup>; Ezek. 20 3 38 12 (ter) 13 44 25; Hag. 2 16; Zech. 2 4 (1 21) (bis); Ps. 41 7 (6) 96 13 — 98 9; Prov. 23 30; Job 2 1 (bis) 11 (bis); Est. 4 8 (bis); Dan. 10 14 11 6; Ezr. 9 11; Neh. 4 2 (bis) 9 15 25; 1 Chr. 12 23 (22) 16 33 19 2; 2 Chr. 9 1 11 16 20 4 11 26 16 29 15 30 1 5.

הֵלֵךְ: Gen. 18 16 27 5<sup>45</sup> 31 19 32 7 (6) 37 12; Exod. 4 27 13 21

<sup>41</sup> To avoid ambiguity the *nomen actionis* will hereafter be referred to as the infinitive.

<sup>42</sup> In v. 7 בֹּא (1 plu.) is to be supplied; in v. 9, for emphasis, the order is reversed. The recurrence of this arrangement will hereafter be indicated by putting the number of the verse into *Italics*.

<sup>43</sup> For לבאים לעשות r., with לָ, לבאים לעשות.

<sup>44</sup> For לָשוב וּלְשׁוּב לָ, לבאים לָ has הַבָּיִת לָנוּר שָׁם and, for וּלְשׁוּב, לָשוב.

<sup>45</sup> For לָבִיז r., with לָ, לָבִיז.

(bis); Num. 14 38 24 1; Deut. 1 33 20 4; Josh. 9 11 22 9; Judg. 26 9 9 11 13 18 9 17; 1 Sam. 29 11; 2 Sam. 6 2 19 16; 1 Kings 18 16 (bis) 22 13; 2 Kings 8 8 9 9 18 35 16 10; Isa. 30 2 29; Jer. 25 6 (bis) 31 2 41 12; Hosea 5 6; Hab. 1 6; Zech. 2 6 (2); Ruth 1 17 2 8; Neh. 8 12 (quater); 1 Chr. 18 3.

נצח: Gen. 11 31 12 5 14 17 30 16; Exod. 4 14 16 27 18 7; Num. 22 36 31 13; Josh. 9 12; Judg. 4 18 22 11 31 34 21 21; 1 Sam. 9 14 13 10 18 6<sup>46</sup> 23 15 30 21; 2 Sam. 6 20 20 7; 1 Kings 9 12; 2 Kings 4 39 7 12 9 21; Isa. 7 3 26 21; Jer. 4 7 37 12 41 6; Ezek. 30 9; Micah 5 1; Prov. 7 15 (bis) 25 8; Dan. 9 22 11 44 (bis); 1 Chr. 14 15; 2 Chr. 35 20.

ירד: Gen. 11 5 12 10 42 3; Exod. 2 5 3 8 (bis); Judg. 7 24 12 12; 1 Sam. 10 8 (bis); 2 Sam. 19 17 21 25; 1 Kings 2 8 21 18; Isa. 30 2 (bis) 52 4; Jonah 1 3; Cant. 6 2 (bis); 1 Chr. 7 21; 2 Chr. 22 6.

סבב: 1 Chr. 16 43, in the sense of שוב; Pi., Ps. 26 6f. (bis), in its proper meaning.

עבר: Exod. 12 23; Num. 13 32; Deut. 4 26 6 1 9 1 11 8 11 31 30 18 31 13; Josh. 1 11; Judg. 10 9 12 1; 2 Sam. 19 19 (18) (bis) 20 13; 1 Kings 22 24 = 2 Chr. 18 23.

עלה: Gen. 38 13 46 29 50 7; Exod. 34 24; Deut. 9 9; Josh. 22 33; Judg. 6 35 15 10; 1 Sam. 1 3 (bis) 21 2 19; 2 Sam. 5 17; 1 Kings 11 15 18 42 (bis); 2 Kings 1 3 6 7; Isa. 57 7; Obad. 21; Jonah 4 6; Zech. 14 16 (bis) 18 19; Ps. 122 4; Ezr. 1 5; 1 Chr. 13 6 21 18; 2 Chr. 35 20.

שוב: Deut. 24 19; Judg. 14 8; 1 Sam. 17 15; 2 Sam. 6 20 23 10; 2 Kings 4 31 8 29 = 2 Chr. 22 6; 2 Kings 9 15; Jer. 43 5 44 14<sup>47</sup>; Ezek. 13 22<sup>48</sup>.

Here belong, also, certain passages in which motion is only implied. This so-called pregnant construction is found: with חרד, 1 Sam. 16 4 and 21 2; with רגז, Isa. 28 21 (bis); with רוע, Hi., Judg. 15 14; with שגב, Judg. 14 5 and Ps. 104 21.

(2) Haste, flee, &c.

אוי: Josh. 10 13; Prov. 28 20; Hi., Isa. 22 4.

<sup>46</sup> Om., with ש, לשור.

<sup>47</sup> ש om. לשבת.

<sup>48</sup> For לקחתי the version seem to have read לקחתי.

**אל**: Jer. 2 36.

**ברח**: 1 Kings 11 17.

**הרים**: Exod. 19 21 24.

**חוש**: Hab. 1 8; Ps. 70 2 (1) (bis) 119 60, with an intervening antithetical clause.

**חפו**, Ni.: 1 Sam. 23 26.

**חזר**: Ezek. 12 12; Jonah 1 13.

**נוס**: Isa. 20 6.

**נוע**: Ps. 59 16 (Kt.).

**נפל**: 2 Kings 5 21.

**סער**: Hab. 3 14. Comp. Marti.

**רדה**: Ps. 109 16 (15).

**רוץ**: Gen. 18 2 24 17 20 29 13 33 4; Jer. 51 31 (bis).

**שום**, Pil.: Amos 8 12.

(3) Approach, depart, &c.

**בקש**, Pi.: Lev. 19 31; Judg. 18 1; 1 Kings 10 24 — 2 Chr. 9 23; Ps. 40 15 (14); Neh. 12 27.

**לה**, Ni.: Isa. 56 6 (bis).

**נבש**: Gen. 19 9; Exod. 28 43 30 20 (bis); Lev. 21 21 (bis); Judg. 9 52; 2 Kings 4 27; Ezek. 44 13 (bis); Ni., 2 Sam. 11 20.

**קרא**: 2 Sam. 19 16; Jer. 51 31.

**קרב**: Exod. 12 48 36 2; Lev. 18 6 19 20 16 21 17; Num. 17 5 18 22; Deut. 20 10 25 11; 1 Sam. 17 48; 2 Sam. 15 5; Isa. 34 1; Ezek. 40 46 43 9<sup>49</sup> 44 15 16 45 4; Ps. 27 2; Eccl. 4 17 (5 1).

**בול**, Ni.: Ezr. 6 21.

**נסע**: Num. 21 4; Josh. 3 14; Ezr. 8 81.

**סוד**: Exod. 34; Deut. 11 28 28 14; Judg. 14 8 19 15; 1 Kings 22 32; 2 Kings 4 8; Jer. 15 5.

**עזב**: Josh. 24 16; Jer. 2 13; Prov. 2 13; Ruth 1 16; 2 Chr. 32 31.

**אסף**, Ni.; Judg. 16 23 20 14; 1 Sam. 13 5; Neh. 8 13<sup>50</sup>; 2 Chr. 30 13.

**זעק**, Ni.: Josh. 8 16.

**יעד**, Ni.: Exod. 29 42. In Josh. 11 5 this word is separated from the infinitive by two imperfects consecutive.

**עמד**: 1 Sam. 23 26.

<sup>49</sup> Read **הקריבים**, as in 40 46.

<sup>50</sup> For **להשכיל** has **להשכיל**. Comp. GK, § 114 p.

**קבץ**: 1 Sam. 28 1; Ni.: Ps. 102 28; 2 Chr. 20 4; Hith.: Josh. 9 2.

**קהל**, Ni.: Josh. 22 12; Est. 9 2 (comp. v. 16).

**סוף**, Hi.: Exod. 5 12.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

**אתה**, Hi.: Isa. 21 14.

**בוא**, Hi.; Gen. 2 19; Lev. 17 4 9; Deut. 6 28 (with **למען**); Neh. 8 15 10 32; Ho.: Lev. 6 28 16 27; Ezek. 30 11.

**רא**, Hi.: Gen. 15 7; Exod. 16 3 32 12 (bis); Lev. 22 33 25 38 (bis) 26 45; Num. 15 41; Deut. 1 27 9 28; 2 Kings 15 20; Ezek. 46 20.

**נהג**: Gen. 31 18; Isa. 63 14.

**נחה**, Hi.: Neh. 9 12.

**ידד**, Hi.: Gen. 43 22.

**סבב**, Hi.: 1 Sam. 5 10.

**עבר**, Hi.: Josh. 7 7.

**עלה**, Hi.: Exod. 17 3; Lev. 11 45; Num. 16 13 20 5; 1 Kings 9 15.

**צוה**, Pi.: Est. 4 5, in the sense of **שלה**.

**קרא**: 2 Kings 3 10.

**שב**, Hi.: Job 33 30<sup>51</sup>; Ezr. 10 10.

**שלה**: 1 Sam. 22 17 25 40; 2 Sam. 1 14 10 2 — 1 Chr. 19 2; 2 Sam. 24 16; 1 Chr. 13 9; Pi.: Gen. 8 8; 2 Chr. 32 31.

**שמך**: Ezek. 14 19.

(2) Snatch, drive, &c.:

**טל**, Hi.: 1 Sam. 20 33<sup>52</sup>.

**נודח**, Ni.: Deut. 19 5.

**נצל**, Hi.: Gen. 37 22.

**נתץ**: Isa. 22 10.

(3) Cause to approach, depart, &c.:

**נבש**, Hi.: Mal. 1 8.

**קרב**, Hi.: Lev. 22 21; Num. 28 22 (see v. 19) 31 50.

<sup>51</sup> For **לָאֵרִי בֵּן לְאִמִּי ב**.

<sup>52</sup> Kittel **ט**, **טל**, as in 18 11.

בּוֹל, Hi.: Num. 16 9.

גּוֹלָה, Hi.: Amos 1 6.

סוֹר, Hi.: 2 Chr. 35 12.

קָדַשׁ, Hith.: 1 Chr. 15 14.

אָסַף: Zeph. 3 8 (with קָבַץ); Eccl. 2 26 (with כּוֹס).

כּוֹס: Eccl. 2 26 (with אָסַף).

קָבַץ: 1 Sam. 28 1; Zeph. 3 8 (with אָסַף).

קָהַל, Hi.: 1 Kings 12 21; Ezek. 38 13, where it is followed by three additional infinitives.

(4) Give, take, &c.:

נָגַב: Prov. 6 30.

לָקַח: Gen. 7 3 22 10; Exod. 10 26; Lev. 9 4 14 49; 1 Sam. 8 12, where the infinitive with ל is coördinated with the perfect consecutive, 15 21; 2 Sam. 12 4; Jer. 25 28; Ezek. 15 3 (bis)<sup>53</sup> 27 5; Eccl. 7 27, where Delitzsch would supply this verb<sup>54</sup>.

כָּטַר, Hith.: 1 Kings 21 20; 2 Kings 17 17.

נָתַן: Lev. 18 20; Deut. 28 12<sup>55</sup>; Isa. 43 20; Ezek. 44 30; Lam. 1 11 5 6; Ezr. 9 8 (bis); Neh. 9 20.

קָבַל, Pi.: Ezr. 8 30.

קָבַהּ: 2 Sam. 24 21; 2 Kings 12 13; Ruth 4 10.

שָׁקַל: Est. 4 7.

Add the related word,

בָּוֶרַח: Deut. 12 5 11 (here, only, with בּ) 21 14 23 24 16 6 11 26 2; 1 Kings 11 36 14 21; Neh. 1 9; 2 Chr. 12 13.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Stand, sit, &c.:

נִשָּׂא, Hith.: Dan. 11 14.

נָצַב, Ni.: Exod. 5 20 7 15; Num. 22 34; Deut. 29 9-11; 1 Sam. 1 26; Isa. 3 13.

<sup>53</sup> For תִּיקַח r., with אָסַף, תִּיקַחו.

<sup>54</sup> It is not impossible that קָהַל is here a mistake for לָקַח and אָמַר, an interpolation. See 12 a.

<sup>55</sup> For לוֹבֵד r., with Sam. אָ, לוֹבֵד.

**עמד**: Lev. 18 23<sup>56</sup>; Num. 16 9; Deut. 5 5 10 8 18 5; 1 Kings 8 11 13 1; Isa. 3 13; Jer. 18 20; Ezek. 21 26 44 15; Obad. 14; Ps. 106 23 109 31; Ezr. 3 10<sup>57</sup>; 2 Chr. 20 23 (bis).

**קום**: Gen. 19 1 37 35; Exod. 32 6; Num. 32 14; Deut. 19 16; Josh. 8 3; Judg. 10 1 19 5 7 9; 1 Sam. 25 29 (bis); 2 Sam. 12 17; 1 Kings 2 19; 2 Kings 7 5; Isa. 2 19 21; Jonah 1 3; Ps. 76 10 (9) 119 62; Cant. 5 5; 2 Chr. 20 19.

**שכם**, Hi.: Judg. 19 8; 1 Sam. 15 12 29 11.

**ישב**: Gen. 37 25; Exod. 18 13 32 6; Judg. 5 16; 1 Sam. 20 5 24; Jer. 16 8 (bis) 40 10; Ezek. 44 3; Joel 4 (3) 12; Ps. 27 4 (bis); Prov. 9 14 23 1; Est. 3 15.

Add the related verbs:

**עוד**: Ps. 59 5 (4); Hithpol.: Isa. 64 6.

**קיץ**, Hi.: Ps. 59 6 (5).

(2) Turn, bend, &c.:

**הפך**: 2 Kings 5 26.

**סבב**: 1 Sam. 15 27; 2 Chr. 18 31 (comp. 1 Kings 18 32).

**פנה**: Lev. 20 6; 1 Kings 8 28; Eccl. 2 12; Hi.: Jer. 49 24.

**כרע**: Judg. 7 5 6.

**נמה**: Exod. 23 2; 2 Sam. 2 19; Jer. 14 8.

**שקף**, Hi.: Ps. 14 2 53 3 (2); Prov. 4 1.

(3) Seize, smite, &c.:

**נכה**, Hi.: Num. 22 23.

**נקש**, Hith.: 1 Sam. 28 9.

**תמך**: Gen. 48 17.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Raise, set, &c.:

**נשא**: Lev. 10 17; Num. 18 22; Ezek. 10 16; Amos 6 10; Zech. 2 4 (1 21); Pi.: Jer. 22 27 44 14.

**רום**, Hi.: 1 Sam. 2 8, where this verb is in parallelism with **קום**; Ezek. 45 15.

**יסד**: Ps. 8 3.

<sup>56</sup> For **לרבעק** r. **לרבעק**.

<sup>57</sup> For Hi. r., with some MSS. and the verss. **קאל**.

כִּן, Hi.: Ezr. 7 10 (ter); 1 Chr. 28 2 29 16; 2 Chr. 12 14 19 30 19; Po.: Isa. 51 13.

נִחַ, Hi.: Judg. 3 1.

נָתַן: Lev. 14 29 18 23 26 1; Ezek. 24 8 (bis); Eccl. 1 12 (bis) 17, where the second נָתַן should probably be treated as a noun (Kittel), 8 16 (bis) 9 1, corrected by 1 13; Dan. 9 3, where this verb has the sense of שָׁלַח (see 11 17); Ezr. 9 8, where the subject is expressed with the first of two infinitives; Neh. 9 17.

שָׁחַ: 2 Kings 12 18; Jer. 7 30 11 13 44 12; Hab. 2 9; 2 Chr. 11 16.

שָׁחַ: Ps. 17 11.

שָׁחַ: Ezek. 17 8 (ter).

Under this head may also be placed:

פָּקַד, Ni.: Neh. 12 44; Ho.: 2 Chr. 34 12.

(2) Turn, bend, &c.

פָּתַח: Isa. 40 23.

נָסַח: Ps. 119 112; Hi.: Gen. 49 15; 2 Sam. 3 27; Jer. 25 4; Prov. 5 2.

פָּנָה, Hi.: 1 Sam. 10 9.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

בָּנָה: Josh. 22 23 (ter); Jer. 7 31 19 5 32 35; Ezek. 17 17; Ezr. 3 2; 2 Chr. 2 2.

יָצַר: Isa. 49 5; Jer. 33 2.

עָשָׂה: Gen. 50 20 (with לַמַּעַן); Exod. 8 14 29 1; Lev. 8 34; Num. 8 7 12 15 8 (bis) 8 29 5; 2 Sam. 7 21 — 1 Chr. 17 19; 1 Kings 14 9 16 7; 2 Kings 6 2 17 11 17; Isa. 2 20; Jer. 11 17 32 22 44 19; Ezek. 13 18 22 3 45 17; Eccl. 2 6; 2 Chr. 20 36.

פָּעַל: Job 33 30 (bis)<sup>58</sup>.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation.

The verbs thus far classified have been of so general a character that, unless they were in some way limited, one

<sup>58</sup> For לָאֵיר בִּי, Kittel r. לָאֵיר בִּי.



could not predict what was the object to be expressed. The verb **נָסַף**, for instance, is capable of introducing any number of final infinitives. A characteristic of the construction under discussion, therefore, has seemed to be, that the main clause had a greater extension than the one dependent on it. The leading verb has, however, in many cases, been outwardly so modified that its extension was more or less reduced, if not contracted to that of the dependent infinitive. A verb may be inwardly so limited, that is, be so narrow in its signification, as to permit the use of one of a very brief list of infinitives, or even of but a single verb in this construction, after it. In the passages next to be cited the verbs found in the main clause will naturally be largely of this class.

Sometimes the infinitive is almost a synonym of the verb preceding. This is the case in the following passages: Lev. 16 30; Num. 8 21 (atone, to cleanse); 1 Kings 3 9 (judge, to discern); Isa. 56 6 (serve and love, to be a servant); Ps. 101 8 (exterminate, to cut off); Neh. 12 24 (laud, to praise); 2 Chr. 29 24 (make a sin-offering, to atone).

In the following passages, also, the leading verb is narrowly limited by its signification: Exod. 29 36; Lev. 8 11 (anoint, to sanctify); Deut. 4 35 (be shown, to know) 36 (cause to hear, to instruct) 8 2 (after **לְמַעַן**) 13 4; Judg. 3 4; 2 Chr. 32 31 (test, to know); Deut. 20 19 (make war, to capture); Isa. 28 24 (plow, to sow) 42 18 (look, to see); Jer. 32 33 (listen, to receive instruction); Ezek. 21 33 (28) (be polished, to shine)<sup>59</sup>; Hab. 2 1 (watch, to see); Zech. 2 6 (2) (measure, to see); Ps. 10 9 (lie in wait, to catch); 1 Chr. 10 13 (ask, to learn).

In the following passages the leading verb is restricted by outward modification: Gen. 4 11 (open the mouth, to receive) 42 27 (open a sack, to give fodder); Exod. 2 16 (fill a trough, to water); Deut. 13 6 (5) (speak apostasy, to thrust from the way) 20 4 (make war for, to save) 28 12 (open heaven, to give rain); 1 Kings 3 11 (ask discernment, to hear); Jer. 7 18 (knead dough, to make cakes) 18 32 (dig a pit, to catch); Ezek. 22 20

<sup>59</sup> For **לְהוֹלִי** r. **לְהוֹלִי**.

(blow fire upon, to smelt); Ps. 11 2 (fix an arrow, to shoot) 37 14 (bend a bow, to bring down, to slay) 64 4 (3) f. (bend an arrow, to shoot).

In the remaining passages the main clause does not suggest what is to follow, but the infinitive actually used is recognizable, as pointing to a probable outcome of the act described. Here belong Exod. 39 3 (cut into threads, to work); Lev. 22 8 (eat, to defile); Num. 15 3 (offer a special offering, to make); Deut. 8 2 (afflict, to test; after  $\text{לַעֲשׂוֹת}$ ) 16 (test, to do good; after  $\text{לַעֲשׂוֹת}$ ) 24 8 (take heed, to observe, do); Judg. 15 10 (bind, to do) 12 (bind, to give) 16 5 (bind, to torment); 2 Sam. 8 2 (measure, to kill, save alive); 1 Kings 8 43 (know, to fear, know; after  $\text{לַעֲשׂוֹת}$ ) 12 21 (make war, to restore) 18 6 (apportion, to pass over); 2 Kings 23 35 (tax, to give; bis); Isa. 10 2 (scribble, to turn, rob) 58 4 (fast, to smite, make heard) 63 12 (cleave water, to make); Jer. 1 12 (watch, to perform) 16 7 (break bread<sup>60</sup>, to comfort) 18 20 (speak, to turn back) 31 28 (watch, to pluck up<sup>61</sup>, pull down<sup>61</sup>, break down, destroy<sup>61</sup>, injure, build, plant); Ezek. 3 18 (speak, to warn, save alive) 13 5 (build, to make a stand) 16 26 (repeat harlotry, to provoke) 17 14 (keep a covenant, to stand) 30 21 (be strong, to grasp) 33 8 (speak, to warn) 39 14 (bury, to cleanse); Hab. 2 9 (get gain, to set); Zech. 11 10 14 (cut, to break); Ps. 59 1(0) (watch, to kill) 102 20 f. (look, to hear, release) 106 8 (save, to make known)<sup>62</sup> 119 95 (wait, to destroy) 145 11 f. (speak, to make known); Prov. 22 20 f. (write, to make known) 23 4 (toil, to become rich); Job 33 16 f. (terrify<sup>63</sup>, to remove) 38 25-27 (cleave, to cause rain, to satisfy, make grow); Lam. 2 14 (uncover, to bring); Neh. 4 2 (conspire, to come, to make war, injure); 1 Chr. 11 10 (exert one's self, to make king); 2 Chr. 20 36 (unite, to make) 32 18 (call, to frighten, disturb) 36 6 (bind, to bring).

<sup>60</sup> For  $\text{לֶחֶם}$ , with  $\text{ס}$ , r.  $\text{לֶחֶם}$ .

<sup>61</sup> Wanting in  $\text{ס}$ .

<sup>62</sup> In this case  $\text{ל}$  with the infinitive is coordinated with, and explicative of,  $\text{לַעֲשׂוֹת}$  with a noun.

<sup>63</sup> For  $\text{לִירְאוֹת}$  r., with  $\text{ס}$ ,  $\text{לִירְאוֹת}$ .

5. After **היה**, expressed or understood:a. In the sense of *become*: Gen. 1 14 9 11; Exod. 40 15.b. In the sense of *be*:

(1) When it connects the infinitive with a verb to which the same might have been directly attached; Num. 7 5 8 11; Jonah 4 6.

(2) When it connects the infinitive directly with its own subject: Jer. 44 14 (6). In 1 Chr. 23 4 and 28 21 the copula is to be supplied.

(3) When the copula is supplemented by a prepositional phrase: Exod. 23 2; Num. 31 3; Dent. 13 10 (9) 17 7; 1 Kings 16 21, Ezek. 27 9 44 7. In 1 Sam. 25 41 (הנה), Isa. 60 9; Micah 7 3; Neh. 12 24 (bis) the copula is to be supplied. In Neh. 9 19 (bis) **מעליהם** is equivalent to **מהיות עליהם**.6. After nouns, where the insertion of **אשר היה** is required to complete the meaning: Gen. 1 15; Exod. 30 16<sup>64</sup>; Num. 29 5<sup>64</sup>; Ps. 31 3 (2); Prov. 1 4 6 24; Neh. 10 34 (33)<sup>64</sup>. In 2 Chr. 24 4 the noun is a construct followed by two infinitives without the preposition.

## II. When the subject of the dependent is the same as the object of the principal clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. Bring, send, &amp;c.:

**אתה**, Hi.; Jer. 12 9.**בוא**, Hi.: Gen. 39 14 17; Lev. 20 22; Num. 14 3 20 4; Deut. 9 4; 1 Sam. 21 16; Jer. 2 7; Ezek. 44 7; Ps. 78 71; Eccl. 3 22; Dan. 1 3f. (bis); Neh. 12 27.**בקש**: Isa. 40 20.**הלך**, Hi.: Amos 2 10.**יבל**, Hi.: Isa. 23 7.**יצא**, Hi.: Exod. 19 17; Deut. 4 20; Ps. 142 8 (7).<sup>64</sup> These passages are cited here because from Lev. 17 11, it is clear that the subject of **בשר**, Pi., may be either the offerer or his offering.

סבב, Hi.: 2 Chr. 13 13.

עלה, Hi.: Num. 21 5.

שוב, Hi.: Jer. 38 26.

שלח: Gen. 45 7 (bis) 46 28; Exod. 23 20 (bis); Num. 13 17 16 28; Deut. 34 11; Josh. 6 25; Judg. 18 2 (bis); 1 Sam. 19 11 (bis) 15; 2 Sam. 10 8 (bis; after בעבור) 5 — 1 Chr. 19 5; 2 Kings 9 17, where the object of the principal verb is indefinite, 18 27 = Isa. 36 12; Isa. 61 1-3 (sexiens, once before שלח)<sup>65</sup>; Jer. 19 14 36 21 37 7; Zech. 1 10 7 2; 1 Chr. 18 10 (bis); 2 Chr. 24 19 34 8; Pi.: Gen. 3 23 19 13; Exod. 8 25; 2 Kings 24 2; Ezek. 5 16.

שמע, Pi.: 1 Sam. 23 8.

b. Cause to approach, depart, &c.:

קרב, Hi.: Exod. 28 1; Lev. 7 35; Num. 16 9 (bis).

ברל, Hi.: Lev. 20 26; Deut. 10 8 (ter).

עזב: 2 Sam. 15 16; 1 Chr. 16 37.

קדש, Pi.: Exod. 28 3 29 1 44 30 30; 1 Sam. 7 1; Hi.: 1 Chr. 23 13 (ter).

ספח: 1 Sam. 2 36.

בקץ: Ezr. 7 28; Pi.: Ps. 106 47 (bis) — 1 Chr. 16 35.

c. Give, take, &c.:

נתן: Exod. 30 15; Lev. 10 17 17 11; Num. 8 19 (bis); 1 Sam. 8 6; Ezek. 20 12.

לקח: Exod. 14 11 21 14; Num. 23 11; Deut. 24 4; Judg. 20 10; 1 Sam. 8 12 (ter); 2 Sam. 7 8 — 1 Chr. 17 7; 2 Sam. 12 10.

Add the related words:

בתר: 1 Sam. 2 28 (ter).

בקש, Pi.: Isa. 40 20.

שכר: Deut. 23 5; 2 Kings 7 6; Ezr. 4 5 (סכר); Neh. 13 2.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

a. cause to cling:

דבק, Hi.: Jer. 13 11.

<sup>65</sup> לשון or לרע (s) with the intervening words is probably an interpolation.

b. Raise, set, &c.:

יָסַד, Hi.: Hab. 1 12.

בָּנָה: Jonah 2 1.

נָחַ, Hi.: Gen. 2 15 (bis).

נָשָׂא: Exod. 36 2.

נָתַן: Gen. 1 17f. (bis); 1 Sam. 8 6 (comp. v. 5); 1 Chr. 16 4 (ter); 2 Chr. 9 8 (comp. 1 Kings 10 9).

עָמַד, Hi.: Ezr. 3 8; Neh. 6 7; 1 Chr. 15 16 19 21 22 2; 2 Chr. 8 14 (bis) 31 2 (ter).

עָמַד: Jer. 15 3 (quater); Hi.: Josh. 10 18; Jer. 1 10 (sexiens).

עָשָׂה: 1 Sam. 8 5 (comp. v. 6); 1 Kings 10 9 (comp. 2 Chr. 9 9); 2 Chr. 23 18.

Similarly

עָשָׂה: 2 Chr. 22 7.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

עָרַךְ: Ps. 104 26.

עָשָׂה: Exod. 28 42 36 18; 1 Kings 7 18 22 49 (48)<sup>66</sup>; 2 Chr. 2 17 4 12 13 26 15.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 28 28 (bind, to be) 31 3-5 (fill, to devise, work) 36 18 (fasten, to be); Deut. 6 24 (fear, to keep alive)<sup>67</sup>; Judg. 1 14 (incite, to ask); 2 Sam. 7 29 — 1 Chr. 17 27 (bless, to be); Ezek. 16 33 (bribe, to come) 30 21 (bind, to be strong); Ps. 105 39 (spread, to give light) 106 4f. (remember, to see, to rejoice, boast); Prov. 22 21 (cause to know, to return); Job 2 3 (incite, to destroy) 36 20 (desire, to remove?); Eccl. 3 18 (test, to see).

III. When the subject of the dependent is at the same time, in an oblique case, loosely connected with the main clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

<sup>66</sup> For עָשָׂה אֵינָהּ א. עָשָׂה אֵינָהּ.

<sup>67</sup> The infinitive is here coördinated with a noun.

a. When the change is voluntary, after:

**בוא**: Gen. 6 20 (comp. v. 19).

**שומ**, Hithpol.: 2 Chr. 16 9.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

**גנש**, Hi.: 2 Sam. 13 11 17 29.

**עלה**, Hi.: 1 Sam. 19 15.

**קרא**: 1 Sam. 28 15; Ps. 50 4; Dan. 2 2.

**שלח**: Gen. 38 20; Ezek. 17 7; 2 Chr. 2 2 28 16. In Ezek. 17 15 the main clause has the accusative (limit of motion) of the country for the dative of the people.

Add the related word,

**משך**, Hi.; Ps. 78 24.

(2) Give, take, &c.:

**בחר**: Deut. 7 6 14 2 18 5 21 5 (bis); 1 Chr. 15 2 (bis) 28 4; 2 Chr. 6 5 6 29 11 (ter).

**נתן**: Gen. 15 7 28 4 20 (bis); Exod. 5 21 22 6 9 24 12; Lev. 20 24; Num. 33 53 35 2; Deut. 1 27; Josh. 1 11 7 7 24 4; 1 Kings 3 9 18 9; 2 Kings 12 16; Isa. 50 4; Jer. 32 39 43 8 (bis; after **למען**); Eccl. 3 10; Est. 4 8 (ter); Dan. 11 17; Ezr. 9 9 (bis); Neh. 9 24 36; 2 Chr. 34 10 (bis) 11 (bis) 35 12.

Add the word

**מלא**, Pi., with **ל**, in the sense of *confer*: Exod. 32 29<sup>68</sup>; Lev. 16 32 21 10; Num. 3 3.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

**שום**: Gen. 30 41; Ho.: Gen. 24 33.

**נטה**, Hi.: 1 Kings 8 58 (bis).

Also

**עזר**, Hi.: Isa. 50 4; Ezr. 1 5.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

<sup>68</sup> For **למה** **למה** have **למה**. Comp. GK, § 114 p.

בנה: 1 Chr. 17 4.

עשה: Exod. 28 4 31 10 35 19.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 13 21 (lead, give light, to go); Josh. 11 20 (strengthen, to meet); Judg. 9 24 (strengthen, to slay); 2 Sam. 20 9 (seize, to kiss); Prov. 7 4f. (call, to keep); Job 37 7 (seal, to know).

5. After היה, expressed or understood:

a. When the subject of the infinitive is represented by a noun belonging with the copula: Gen. 47 24<sup>66</sup>; Josh. 11 20; Isa. 23 18. In Lev. 10 9-11 (bis)<sup>70</sup> 25 17; 2 Sam. 16 2; Ps. 33 18f. (bis) 101 6; 1 Chr. 9 32; 2 Chr. 4 6 the copula is to be supplied.

b. When the subject of the infinitive is represented by a suffix belonging with the copula: Gen. 47 2 4; 1 Kings 8 29; 2 Kings 15 19; Isa. 49 6; Ezek. 20 12; Hosea 8 11; Hab. 3 14 (comp. Kittel); Neh. 1 6. In Gen. 33 8; Exod. 31 13; Jer. 22 17; Ezek. 12 2 (bis); 2 Chr. 26 19 the copula is to be supplied.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of אֵשׁר הִיהָ is required to complete the meaning: Exod. 39 41; Deut. 1 33; Isa. 49 5; Ezek. 20 20.

IV. When the subject of the infinitive is a word not found in the principal clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

שָׁלַח, Pi.: Mal. 2 4 (comp. Bewer).

בָּרַל, Hi.: Deut. 4 42, in the sense of *set apart*.

קָדַשׁ, Hi.: 2 Chr. 7 16.

לָקַח: Ezek. 17 14 (bis).

<sup>66</sup> Here, and in 2 Chr. 4 6, the phrase containing the subject follows, instead of preceding, the infinitive. In the Greek of Gen. 47 24 both are wanting.

<sup>70</sup> For לְמַבְרִיל Sam. 63 have the equivalent of לְמַבְרִיל. Comp. GK, § 114p.

נָתַן: Num. 35 6; Josh. 20 3; 2 Kings 15 19; Isa. 49 6;  
Jer. 29 26.

בָּרַח: 2 Chr. 6 5 6.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

עָלָה, Hi.: Ezr. 1 1 — 2 Chr. 36 22 (comp. 1 Kings 2 27).

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

בָּנָה: 1 Kings 8 13 16; 2 Chr. 6 2 5.

4. After any verb describing an operation to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Judg. 9 23f. (deal treacherously, to come, return)<sup>71</sup>; Isa. 10 2 (rob, to be); Ezek. 21 28 (28) (recall, to be taken) 22 3 (outpour, to come).

5. After הָיָה, expressed or understood:

a. When it means *become*: Exod. 40 15, where it is followed by its own infinitive in the sense of *be*.<sup>72</sup>

b. When it means *be*: Josh. 20 9. In 2 Sam. 16 2 (bis); Eccl. 3 18 the copula is to be supplied.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of אִשְׁרֵי הָיָה is required to complete the meaning:

Num. 35 15; Isa. 49 6.

V. When the subject of the dependent clause is indefinite and the verb may often be rendered by the English passive:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, with:

לָקַח: 2 Kings 12 13<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> For רָמַס וּלְשׁוֹם r. רָמַס דָּמַס.

<sup>72</sup> On הָיָה, see KG, § 144b.

<sup>73</sup> For לָקַח r., with לָקַח, לָקַח.



## b. When the change is involuntary, with verbs signifying:

## (1) Bring, send, &amp;c.:

**בוא**, Hi.: Exod. 25 14 36 3; Lev. 7 30 10 15; Ho.: Gen. 43 18 (ter).

**יצא**, Hi.: 2 Kings 12 12f.

**סור**, Ho.: 1 Sam. 21 7; Dan. 12 11.

**שלח**: Num. 16 12 21 32 22 37; 2 Sam. 10 2; 1 Kings 18 10; 2 Kings 1 6; Pi.: 1 Sam. 31 9 = 1 Chr. 10 9; 2 Chr. 32 31.

## (2) Gather, separate, &amp;c.:

**ברל**, Ni.: 1 Chr. 23 13.

**קבץ**: 2 Chr. 24 5.

**קדש**, Hi.: Judg. 17 3; 1 Chr. 26 27.

## (3) Give, take, &amp;c.:

**לקח**: Exod. 27 20.

**נרב**, Hith.: Ezr. 2 68.

**נתן**: Gen. 24 32; Exod. 30 15; Lev. 18 21; 1 Sam. 2 15; 2 Kings 22 6; Ezek. 21 16 (11)<sup>74</sup>; 2 Chr. 35 12.

**בחר**: 1 Kings 8 16; 2 Chr. 6 5.

**מכר**, Ni.: Est. 7 4 (ter).

**קנה**: 2 Kings 12 13 22 6.

## 2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

**בין**, Hi.: 1 Kings 5 32 6 19<sup>75</sup>.

**נתן**: Exod. 40 30; 2 Chr. 4 6.

**עמד**, Ho.: Lev. 16 10 (bis).

**שם**: Ezek. 30 21.

## 3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

**בנה**: 1 Chr. 22 19; 2 Chr. 2 5 (6).

**עשה**: Exod. 27 3 28 3 30 18 35 19 36 18; 1 Kings 7 16; 1 Chr. 23 5; 2 Chr. 4 20 7 6.

<sup>74</sup> For **למטה** Kittel suggests **למרחק** or **למרחב**.

<sup>75</sup> For **לרען** r. **לרענ**. See GK, § 66 f.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 29 33 (make atonement, to install, consecrate); Judg. 16 6 (be bound, to torment); Isa. 60 11 (be open, to bring); Jer. 32 39 (fear, to be well); Ezek. 21 16 (11) (be polished, to give) 28 (recall, to be caught) 30 21 (be bound, to give); Ps. 67 3 (2) (cause to shine, to know) 102 21f. (release, to tell); Dan. 9 24 (be determined, to finish, complete, atone for, bring, seal, anoint) 11 35 (stumble, to refine, purify, whiten); 1 Chr. 22 2 (hew, to build)<sup>76</sup>.

5. After **וְהָיָה**, expressed or understood:

a. When the copula stands alone: Judg. 3 4.

b. When the verb is supplemented by a prepositional phrase: Exod. 25 27 29 29 (bis); 2 Chr. 26 15 36 20 f. In Ruth 4 7 the copula is to be supplied.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of **אֲשֶׁר הָיָה** is required to complete the meaning: Exod. 25 27; Num. 29 5; Isa. 49 6; Ezek. 22 20<sup>77</sup>; Prov. 1 1-3 (ter).

There are a few instances in which an indefinite participle takes the place of an infinitive. A good illustration of this usage is found in 2 Sam. 10 3, with the participle, properly rendered, *those who should comfort*, compared with v. 2, where the same verb, *send*, is followed by the infinitive, *to comfort*. Other clear cases are 1 Chr. 16 4, where the participial expression, *those who should serve*, is followed by three infinitives coördinate, with it and with one another, as they are rendered in the English Version. See, also, 2 Chr. 20 29 (bis) and, finally, Ezek. 39 14, where, because the Greek Version has an infinitive for the second of the two participles (**מִקְבְּרִים**), some would make the Hebrew text conform to that reading. Such a change, however, is forbidden by the evident fact that *those who shall pass through* and *those who shall bury* are different parties. This should have been made clearer, as perhaps it was

<sup>76</sup> Note that, in several of these passages, the verb of the principal clause is passive.

<sup>77</sup> For **מִקְבְּרִים** r., with **מִקְבְּרֵי**.

originally, by inserting a connective between the two participles. See Toy, *SBOT*.

In the foregoing pages care has been taken to note numerous instances in which a verb was followed by two or more infinitives with  $\text{ב}$ ; but this has been done only when the infinitives were coördinates, that is, when they were all immediately subordinate to the leading verb, and denoted as many more or less distinct objects of the act or state thereby described. The number of such infinitives after a given verb is generally not more than two, as in Gen. 23 2, the same being connected by  $\text{ו}$ ; but sometimes, as in Isa. 61 1-3, there are as many as six, and the connective is entirely omitted. In Exod. 32 6 and Jer. 7 18 an infinitive absolute takes the place of the second infinitive construct with  $\text{ב}$ . In 1 Sam. 8 11f. the infinitive with  $\text{ב}$  is coördinated with a preceding perfect consecutive.

There is a class of examples of the plural use of  $\text{ב}$  as a final particle in which a first infinitive denoting purpose is followed by one or more others subordinate to it or in more or less regular subordination one to another. In such a series an infinitive with  $\text{ב}$  may serve, not only to denote a purpose, but to introduce the aim or object of the act or state which it at the same time describes. When so used it requires a plural classification. Thus it happens that Deut. 9 1, for example, is cited twice under I. 1, a (1), while Num. 16 9 appears under I. 1, b (3) and 2, a (1) and also under II. 1, b.

There are not many examples of this class, but the combinations they represent are comparatively numerous. The following have been noted:

1. When the first infinitive has for its subject the subject of the main clause:

a. A second, subordinate to it, having the same subject, follows: Gen. 1 7; Num. 18 22, where the purpose is negative; Deut. 9 1 11 31 20 4 18 19 28 12 30 18; Josh. 1 11; Judg. 15 10 12 18 9 19 15; 1 Sam. 13 10 29 11; 2 Sam. 19 21 26; 1 Kings 8 11 12 21; 2 Kings 17 17; Jer. 18 20 37 12 44 12 14b; Ezek. 3 18 22 20; Jonah 4 6; Hab. 2 9; Zech. 2 6 (2); 2 Chr. 20 36 32 31.

b. It has two others in successive subordination: 2 Sam. 19 16; Job 38 25-27; Neh. 4 2.

c. It has two others, subordinate to it, but coördinate with each other: Isa. 30 2; Jer. 16 8.

d. It has a coördinate, and the two together have a subordinate, with the same subject: Isa. 56 8; Jer. 51 31.

e. It is followed by a subordinate having for its subject the object of the first: Exod. 29 1; Prov. 22 20f.; Neh. 12 27.

f. It is followed by three others, subordinate to it, but coördinate with one another, having for their common subject the object of the first: 1 Sam. 8 12.

g. It has two subordinates, both of which have its object for their common subject, while the second has a subordinate with the same subject: Num. 16 9.

h. It has a coördinate, with the same subject, and the two have a subordinate whose subject is the direct object of the first and the indirect object of the second: Exod. 13 21.

i. It has a subordinate whose subject appears in an oblique case in connection with the second: Gen. 15 7; Deut. 1 27 33; Josh. 7 7; 2 Chr. 35 12.

j. It has a coördinate, and the two have a subordinate with an indefinite subject: Ps. 102 20-22.

2. When the first infinitive has for its subject the object of the main clause:

a. A subordinate with the same subject follows: Exod. 36 2; Lev. 10 17; Ezek. 44 7.

b. It has two coördinates, with the same subject the second of which has subordinate with the same subject: Deut. 10 8.

c. It has a subordinate whose subject is the object of the first: Exod. 36 18.

d. It has a subordinate whose subject appears in an oblique case in connection with the first: Ezek. 20 12.

e. It has a subordinate with an indefinite subject: 1 Chr. 22 2; 2 Chr. 26 15.

3. When the first infinitive has a subject which appears in an oblique case in the main clause:

a. It has a subordinate with the same subject: Deut. 18 5; 1 Kings 3 9; Ezr. 1 5; 2 Ch. 2 2.

b. It has a subordinate whose subject appears in an oblique case in connection with the first: Josh. 11 20.

c. It has a subordinate with an indefinite subject: Jer. 32 39.

4. When the first infinitive has a subject not represented in the main clause:

a. It has an antithetical coördinate, with לבלתי and the same subject, and the two are followed by two others in successive subordination, with the same subject: Ezek. 17 13f.

b. It has a subordinate whose subject is the object of the first: Eccl. 3 18.

5. When the first infinitive has an indefinite subject:

a. It has a subordinate with the same subject: Judg. 3 4; 2 Kings 12 12f. 22 6; Ezek. 21 16 (11).

b. It has a subordinate whose subject is the object of the first: Exod. 28 3.

c. It is followed by three others, subordinate to it, but coördinate with one another, whose common subject is the object of the first: 1 Chr. 23 13.

d. It is followed by two others in successive subordination, each of which has for its subject the object of the first: Ezek 30 21.

e. It has a subordinate with a subject not previously introduced: 1 Kings 8 16 — 2 Chr. 6 25.

The infinitive with ל is sometimes followed by a simple imperfect denoting a purpose. In such cases the two clauses may or may not be connected by ו.

1. When the connective is omitted, the second clause may be:

a. A substantial repetition of the first: Lev. 16 30; 2 Chr. 4 6.

b. Simply coördinate with the first: Jer. 4 17.

2. When the connective is employed, the second clause may be:

a. A substantial repetition of the first: 1 Sam. 2 6; Isa. 13 9 45 1a 60 13; Prov. 5 2; Job 34 28.

b. In antithesis with the first: Josh. 20 9 22 27; Isa. 45 1 b 49 5; Ruth 4 10; all with  $\text{ל}$ .

c. Simply coördinate with the first: Num. 14 3; Isa. 10 2; Job 33 17.

d. Subordinate to the first: Num. 8 19 (with  $\text{ל}$ ); 2 Sam. 24 21.

The preposition  $\text{ל}$  is employed to denote aim or object:

### B. With a noun.

The abstract noun, in Hebrew, as in other languages, is nearly related to the infinitive. Many abstract nouns are, in fact, merely infinitives with a feminine ending. It is therefore not strange that, even in this form, they should, like infinitives, be found in final constructions. A concrete term may be used in the same manner. In the latter case the given expression may often be interpreted, as the equivalent of  $\text{לְעוֹלָם}$  with the noun as its predicate. See Deut. 4 20; 2 Sam. 7 8; etc. The relative frequency of the two classes of nouns in expressions denoting purpose will appear in the following classification, which, except for this addition and the distinction based on the nature of the final clause, will follow the same lines as that under A.

A noun denoting purpose is employed:

#### I. After verbs:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Come, go &c.:

$\text{בוא}$ ; Abs.: Num. 4 3 (*for service*; comp. v. 23 where the cognate infinitive is used with the noun), 30, 35 (bis), 39 (bis), 43 (bis); Jud. 5 23 (bis), 2 Sam. 15 2; 1 Chr. 19 7; 2 Chr. 20 1.

$\text{הלך}$ ; Abs.: Deut. 10 11; 1 Sam. 17 13; Jer. 7 6; Ps. 80 3 (2); Con.: 1 Kings 22 49.

$\text{עָשׂה}$ ; Abs.: Num. 31 27 (comp. v. 3, where the verb takes the participial form and is followed by the noun in the genitive); Deut. 20 1; Judg. 20 14; 1 Kings 20 18 (bis); Isa. 51 4 (see Kittel); Jer. 37 7; Hab. 3 13 (bis); Ps. 104 23 (bis); Con.: Num. 22 32.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Sam has  $\text{לְעוֹלָם}$ .

יָדָד; Abs.: 2 Kings 10 13; Isa. 31 1.

עָבַר; Abs.: Gen. 31 52; Num. 32 27; Josh. 4 13.

עָלָה; Abs.: Josh. 22 12; Judg. 4 5; 1 Kings 20 26; Isa. 7 1 15 2;  
Con.: Lev. 2 12.

רָאָה, Ni.; Abs.: Lev. 13 7, in the sense of *come*.

Add, also,

שָׁאָה: Ps. 104 21.

(2) Haste, flee, &c.;

בָּהַל, Ni.; Con.: Prov. 28 22.

חָזַח; Abs.: Ps. 22 20 (19) 38 23 (22) 40 14 (13) 70 2 (1).

נָוֹס; Abs.: Isa. 10 3 20 6.

(3) Approach, depart, &c.:

בָּקַשׁ, Pi.; Abs.: Ps. 63 10 (9), where the noun is of doubtful genuineness; Con.: 2 Sam. 3 17.

נָגַשׁ; Abs.: Judg. 20 28; 2 Sam. 10 13.

קָרַב; Abs.: Deut. 20 3; Isa. 41 1; Mal. 3 5.

אָסַף, Ni.; Abs.: Judg. 16 23; 2 Sam. 23 9.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

בָּוֹא, Hi.; Abs.: Exod. 35 21 (bis); Jer. 39 16 (bis); Con.: Exod. 35 21; Lev. 4 32; 2 Chr. 29 32; K̄al, with בּ: Lev. 16 3 (bis).

נָרַשׁ; Con.: Ezek. 36 5.<sup>79</sup>

יָצָא, Hi.; Abs.: Neh. 9 15.

עָבַר, Hi.; Abs.: Ezek. 23 37.

עָלָה, Hi.; Con.: Gen. 22 2, 13.

קָרָא; Abs.: Isa. 13 3.

שׁוּב, Hi.; Abs.: Num. 17 25 (10).

שָׁמַע, Pi.; Abs.: 1 Sam. 23 8.

(2) Cause to approach, depart, &c.:

קָרַב, Hi.; Con.: Lev. 1 3 4 3 22 21; Num. 6 14 (ter) 15 7 28 27; Ezek. 43 22.

בָּרַל, Hi.; Abs.: Deut. 29 20; 1 Chr. 25 1; Con.: 1 Kings 8 53.

<sup>79</sup> For לָבוֹא Toy r., וּבֹא, a second infinitive after לָמַעַן.

נהק, Hi.; Abs.: Jer. 12 3.

עזב; Con.: 1 Chr. 16 38.

קדש, Hi.; Abs.: Jer. 12 3.

שאר, Hi.; Con.: Jer. 52 16 (bis).

אסף; Abs.: 1 Sam. 17 1; Zech. 14 2.

קבץ; Abs.: 1 Sam. 28 1.

(3) Give take, &c.

לה; Con.: Neh. 5 4.

לקח; Con.: Gen. 25 20; Lev. 9 3 (ter); 1 Sam. 8 13 (ter); Job 40 28.

מכר; Con.: Exod. 21 7; Ni.: Ps. 105 17.

נתן; Abs.: Gen. 1 30; Exod. 16 15; Isa. 34 2; Jer. 24 9;<sup>80</sup> Ezek. 15 4, 6 29 5 39 4; Ezr. 8 20; Neh. 9 15 20 10 33 (32); Con.: Gen. 16 3 17 8 23 9; Isa. 8 18 (bis) 49 6; Jer. 17 3 31 35 (bis); Ezek. 16 19 43 19; Ps. 136 21; Neh. 10 34 (33) (5t. with ל; 3t. it is to be supplied)<sup>81</sup>; 2 Chr. 6 27 9 8.

קנה; Con.: Gen. 49 30 50 13.

שלח; Abs.: Gen. 45 5 (comp. v. 7); Num. 31 4 8.<sup>82</sup>

בחר; Con.: Ps. 33 12 135 4; 1 Chr. 28 4, where the construction with להיות also occurs.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, especially after verbs signifying *stand, sit*:

יצב, Hith.; Con.: Num. 22 22.

כון, Ni.; Abs.: Amos 4 12.

עמד; Abs.: Num. 35 12; Josh. 20 6; Ezek. 44 24 (Kre).

קום; Abs.: 2 Sam. 18 32; Jer. 49 14; Zeph. 3 8;<sup>83</sup> Ps. 76 10 (9).

ישב; Abs.: Ps. 122 5; Job 38 40.

נרה, Hith.; Abs.: Dan. 11 25.

<sup>80</sup> לרעה; which, however, 6 probably rightly omits.

<sup>81</sup> In three cases, also, the connective is omitted.

<sup>82</sup> 6 om. לעבא.

<sup>83</sup> For לער r. with 63, לער.



b. When the change is involuntary, especially after verbs signifying *raise, set*:

בָּן, Pi.; Abs.: Ps. 9 8; Hi.: Con.: 1 Chr. 22 8 (ter), 29 2 (quinquiens).

נָח, Hi.; Abs.: Exod. 16 28, 33, 34.

עָמַד, Hi.; Abs.: 2 Chr. 19 8 (bis).

פָּקַד, Hi.; Con.: 1 Chr. 26 32 (bis).<sup>84</sup>

שָׂם; Abs.: Jer. 21 10 (bis) 24 6 44 11; Amos 9 4 (bis); Hab. 1 12.

מָשַׁח; Con.: 1 Sam. 15 17; 2 Sam. 24.

רָאָה, Hi.; Con.: Gen. 22 8.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making, to indicate the object of such activity:

בָּנָה; Con.: Josh. 22 28 (bis), 29 (ter).

בָּרָא; Abs.: Isa. 43 7.

יָצַר; Con.: Isa. 49 5.

עָשָׂה; Abs.: Gen. 1 16 (bis); Exod. 28 2 (bis), 40 (bis); 1 Sam. 8 16; Ezek. 21 20 36 22 (after לַמַּעַן); Ps. 136 st. (bis); 1 Chr. 27 26; Con.: Exod. 29 41, where a noun with ל is followed by an appositive without it; Num. 15 24 (bis) 28 6 29 2, 5<sup>ss</sup>, 6 39 (quater); Josh. 22 28 (bis); Ps. 104 19.

פָּעַל; Abs.: Prov. 16 4; Con.: Prov. 16 4.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 16 32 (fill, for preservation); Num. 31 3 (equip, for service), 32 20 (equip, for war); Deut. 6 24; Jer. 32 39 (fear, for good); Deut. 10 13 (observe, for good); 2 Sam. 22 40 — Ps. 18 40 (39) (gird, for war); Jer. 25 7 (provoke, for evil), 44 27 (watch, for evil, good); Ezek. 21 20<sup>ss</sup>, 33 (polish, for slaughter); Ps. 69 22 (21) (give drink, for thirst), 104 14 (make spring, for use); 2 Chr. 3 6 (overlay, for beauty).

Con.: Exod. 29 25; Lev. 3 16 4 31 17 6; Num. 18 17 (burn,

<sup>84</sup> The second ל is to be supplied.

<sup>85</sup> For חָמַטָּה r., with Sam. 63 לחַמַּטָּה; also vs. 11, 13, 19, 21, 25, 28, 31, 35, 38.

<sup>86</sup> For מַעֲטָה r. מַרְטָה, as in v. 38.

for a sweet savor); Mic. 7 12 (lie in wait, for blood); Ps. 59 4 (3) (lie in wait, for soul), 104 14 (make spring, for castle), 21 (go roaring, for prey), 105 39 (spread, for covering).

5. After **וְ**, expressed or understood:

a. When it connects the noun with a verb to which the same might have been more directly attached:

Abs.: Gen. 1 29 6 21; Num. 10 2 (bis) 19 9; Con.: Gen. 1 14 (ter), 15 9 13 17 11 31 44; Exod. 30 16; Lev. 24 7; Num. 17 3 (16 38); Ezek. 20 20.

b. When it connects the noun directly with a subject:

Abs.: Exod. 40 15; Lev. 25 6; Num. 14 3; Ezek. 21 37 34 5, 8 (bis), 10, 22. In Lev. 11 39; Jer. 43 11 (ter); 1 Chr. 26 29 the copula is to be supplied.

Con.: Gen. 1 15 47 24 (bis); Num. 35 12, 15; Isa. 23 18; Ezek. 45 5; Ps. 31 3 (2) (bis). In Lev. 5 8; Prov. 17 3 (bis); Eccl. 6 7; 1 Chr. 22 1 26 29 (bis) 28 21 the copula is to be supplied.

c. When the copula (understood) is supplemented by a prepositional phrase:

Abs.: 1 Chr. 25 6 28 21.

II. After nouns:

Abs.: Jer. 18 23; 1 Chr. 23 26, 28 24 19.

Con.: Gen. 22 7; Exod. 25 6f. (quinquies), 27; Lev. 3 8 8 21, 28; Num. 7 13, 15, 87 15 24 17 25 (10).

The cases in which a first noun, with **לְ**, denoting purpose is followed by one or more others in the same construction have been noted, with the number in each passage. It remains to show that, although the final clauses are thus coördinated, their relation to one another is not always the same, and to classify them according to these various relations.

1. The additional clause or clauses may simply increase the number of items in an enumeration; in which case:

a. They are usually connected by **וְ**:

(1) There are two nouns thus connected: Exod. 28 2; Num. 10 2; Isa. 8 18; Jer. 52 16; 2 Chr. 19 8. In 1 Chr. 26 32 the preposition is wanting with the second noun, and in Josh. 22 26,

28 both items are negative. In Judg. 16 23 and Isa. 23 18 a noun is thus coördinated with an infinitive.

(2) There are three nouns in the series: Gen. 1 14; Exod. 35 21; 1 Sam. 8 13.

(3) There are four items: Num. 29 39.

b. The connective is omitted between the last two of three items: Josh. 22 29; 1 Chr. 22 3.

2. The additional clause is a mere repetition, without the connective: Judg. 5 23; Hab. 3 13 (comp. Kittel).

3. The additional clause is in parallelism to the first, without the connective: Ps. 31 3 (2), with ו, in the sense of *even*; Ps. 104 23.

4. The additional noun is an appositive, without ו or the connective: Exod. 29 41; Lev. 24 7; Num. 28 6<sup>87</sup>; 29 6.<sup>87</sup>

5. The additional clause or clauses explain the first:

a. There is one such explanatory clause, without the connective: Num. 4 35, 39. There is an infinitive in the place of the second noun: Num. 4 3, 30, 43 35 15; 1 Sam. 28 1; Isa. 20 6 49 6. In Jer. 44 11 the infinitive is preceded by ו in the sense of *even*.

b. There are two explanatory clauses, connected by ו: 1 Chr. 26 29.

c. There are eight nouns in the series, three of which want ו, four ו, and two both the preposition and the connective: Neh. 10 38 (32) f.

6. The additional clause is in antithesis with the first: Jer. 21 10 39 18 44 27. In Lev. 22 21 an infinitive and a noun are in an alternative relation, with ו.

### The construction with וְלֹא

In the course of the discussion of the preposition ו as a final particle there has been occasion to call attention to the use of the negative in the same connection. Two distinct cases have occurred. One of them is that of such passages as Lev. 17 4,

<sup>87</sup> ו om. the second noun.

*Bring it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation to offer it to Yahweh.* The negative (ל) in this sentence precedes the leading verb, and, in accordance with a principle already stated, denies not only a given purpose, but the act that might have been done with such an end in view, — the whole construction. The other case is that of such passages as Jer. 4 11, *A dry wind from the hills of the desert (cometh), not to fan, and not to cleanse.* Here the coming of the wind is asserted; the negative, placed immediately before the infinitive, denies that it comes for a familiar purpose. The actual mission of the wind would naturally be stated in a corresponding positive construction. The prophet, however, chooses a more emphatic form of expression, saying, not *but to scatter*, but, v. 13, abandoning his figure, *Woe unto us, for we are spoiled.* The negative, then, when it immediately precedes the infinitive, denies only the dependent clause. There is, moreover, an antithesis, expressed or implied, between two objects for either of which the given act might have been performed.

There remains to be noticed a third case, that in which a virtual negative is employed with ל to denote purpose: for לבלתי is a compound of the preposition with בלתי, the construct of בלת, from בלה, *wear out*, the noun having, with the lapse of time, become a mere particle, meaning *not* or *except*. The compound is almost as variously used as the simple preposition. It is especially frequent in the expression of the relations of result and concomitance, when these require a negative; so that one must always be on one's guard against mistaking its real meaning.

When לבלתי is employed in a sentence involving purpose it introduces a dependent clause whose verb may be either an infinitive or an imperfect. The preceding clause is always affirmative. The arrangement is thus the same as that in the second case above described, with the exception that the preposition and the negative change places. This fact explains the distinction that exists between them, the distinction between *not to* and *to not*. The compound particle indicates that the act performed, as described in the main clause, is performed with a view to the avoidance or the prevention of the event of

the dependent clause. The antithesis implied is not between two possible results, but between different attitudes toward the same outcome. The force of the particle, therefore, is much the same as that of an emphatic *not* before the preposition *to*; but it can best be brought out in English by rendering it with an emphatic *prevent* or *avoid*, as will appear from the following list of passages, including all in the Old Testament in which it can with confidence be claimed that לבלתי denotes purpose.

The compound לבלתי, as would naturally be expected, is used:

1. With the Infinitive, both when the subject remains the same and when it is changed.

The following examples have been noted; Gen. 4 15, which may be rendered, either, *that anyone who met him might not slay him*, or, *to prevent anyone who met him from slaying him*, as he feared; 38 9 *to avoid giving seed to his brother*, as he should; Num. 32 9 (comp. v. 7, with ל); 1 Kings 15 17 — 2 Chr. 16 1; 2 Kings 23 10<sup>88</sup>; Jer. 17 23 (bis)<sup>89</sup>: 19 15 32 40; Ezek. 13 22 17 14 20 9, 14, 22 (comp. Isa. 48 11) 24 8<sup>90</sup> 29 15 46 20.

It is noticeable that this construction is most frequent in the book of Ezekiel, where, also, the looseness of the connection between the dependent and the principal clause is most apparent. In Ezek. 17 14 it is coördinated with one having a simple ל, and in 20 9 with למען and a noun. In the same book there are two instances, 13 22 and 46 20, in which it is followed by a dependent infinitive with the simple preposition.

2. With the Imperfect.

In this usage the particle always has a final signification. The examples that occur are: Exod. 20 20; 2 Sam. 14 14; also Jer. 23 14 and 27 18, where the text needs correction.<sup>91</sup>

Note. In modern Hebrew the compound לבלתי is quite common as a final conjunction, with the force of *that not*; but it is not found in the Old Testament, or even in the Mishnah.

<sup>88</sup> Here, for once, the Massoretic text repeats ל, but 4 MSS. omit it.

<sup>89</sup> For ופפ r., with עפפ, ופפ.

<sup>90</sup> According to Kittel an interpolation.

<sup>91</sup> In both cases, through the carelessness of a scribe, the preformative, being the same as the final letter of the particle, was overlooked. See *BDB*, art. תלתי.

## The construction with למה

A further extension of the idea of purpose, when the construction should contain a negative, is furnished by the use of the compound, למה, for *what*, that is, *why*. One can hardly say that this word introduces the apodosis of an intentional sentence. It is employed, oftenest after a voluntative, in a rhetorical question implying negation which may, without changing the quality of the construction, be made the apodosis of such a sentence. The Greek Version, in a majority of cases, renders it by μή, or ἢα μή, or ἠπορευε. The English expressions *lest* and *that not* are hardly strong enough to reproduce its meaning. The English Version preserves the Hebrew idiom by using *why* or *wherefore* wherever the combination in question occurs. The interrogative form is a kind of protest against a result regarded as certain if a given action is not taken, a result which the person addressed cannot be supposed to intend.

The construction with למה is found after:

## 1. An Imperative:

Gen. 27 45, *Why should (lest) I be bereft of you both in one day?* 47 15, where the adverb is preceded by ל, to indicate the close relation between the question and the just made demand; 1 Sam. 17 19; 2 Sam. 2 22; 2 Kings 14 10, also with ל; Jer. 27 13, 17; Ezek. 18 31, with ל, 33 11, with ל; Joel 2 17; Cant. 1 7, where ו takes the place of the connective; 2 Chr. 25 16, 19. In 2 Sam. 2 22 the clause with למה is followed by one with תמו (then how), which might be rendered, *and I be unable*, &c.

## 2. A jussive or a cohortative:

Jer. 40 15; Eccl. 5 5 (6); 7 16, 17.

## 3. A question implying a negative:

There thus results a pair of questions each of which has למה, as in Exod. 32 12; *Wherefore burneth thy wrath against thy people? Why should the Egyptians say, &c.*; which is clearly equivalent to: *Let not . . . ., lest, &c.* See, also, 1 Chr. 21 3.

4. The verb שׁוּ, like יָד: Dan. 1 10, where שׁוּ takes the place of ל, as does ו in Cant. 1 7.

5. The verb **נָסַח**, like **נָסַח**: 2 Chr. 32 4, where, as in Gen. 26 9, a protasis is to be supplied.

Note. The use of **נָסַח** in a sense similar to that of **לְמַה** in protests has been noted above. A clearer case is Isa. 48 11, where it is found coördinated with **לְמַה** and in an explanatory relation to **לְמַעַן**.

### The construction with **נָסַח**

The preposition **נָסַח** is often, and properly, contrasted with **לְ**, since these particles are in some respects almost diametrically distinct the one from the other. The contrast, however, is not always perfect; nor is it in all cases of the same character. The latter originally meant *toward*. Out of this signification arose its use to denote purpose. The former has no shade of meaning that exactly corresponds to this; hence it cannot be employed as a strict negative, when **לְ** indicates the immediate object of a given act. It is, by reason of its derivation, precisely adapted to denote the cause, the source, in distinction from the aim, of activity. It is so used in Deut. 7 8. Where **לְ** would denote mere concomitance, **נָסַח** may be employed to express the reverse of an idea, as it is in Isa. 58 13.<sup>92</sup> It is oftenest, as opposed to **לְ** meaning *to*, used to denote a negative result of a peculiar kind, an excluded result, after verbs of hindering and separating. Thus, Exod. 14 5; Lev. 26 13. These and similar passages are sometimes best translated into English by *from* and the proper verbal noun in *inf*. Closely related to this construction is the intentional. In fact, the intentional construction is the one just described, dependent on a more or less evident expression of the will; one, therefore, denoting that the given result is intentionally excluded. The relation between the two is so close that it is not always easy to decide which idea was in the writer's mind. In such cases one must adopt the interpretation that is most in harmony with the context.

The distinction between the construction with **נָסַח** and those related to it that have already been discussed is quite apparent. That with **נָסַח** is the only one with which it is likely to be con-

<sup>92</sup> With **לְ**, r. **נָסַח** twice.

fused. There is, however, between them the difference between a result that will not, and one that can not, issue, if the intention of the agent is fulfilled. Where **מ** seems to supply the place of **ל**, the note of anxiety which is heard in the latter is wanting. It is further distinguished from other words used in similar constructions by the fact that, as one would expect, it occurs almost exclusively after verbs of hindering and separating. The following are the most important examples that occur in the Old Testament:

The preposition **מ**, introducing a result purposely excluded, is used:

I. With the infinitive, both when the subject remains the same and when it is changed:

1. After verbs denoting precaution:

**שמר**: Ps. 39 2 (1), *I will keep my way, that I sin not*; Ni., with **ל**: Gen. 31 29 (comp. v. 24, with **ל**); Exod. 19 12<sup>93</sup>; without **ל**: 2 Kings 6 9.

**נצר**: Ps. 34 14.

Here belongs, also, Job 34 30, if in v. 29, for **יחד**, one should, with Duhm, read **יער** or **יעיר**.

2. After verbs denoting hindrance, separation, &c.:

**נוא**, Hi.: Num. 32 7 (comp. v. 9, with **לבלתי**).

**סור**, Hi.: Prov. 28 9.<sup>94</sup>

**פרע**: Job 33 24 (comp. v. 28).

**שוב**, Hi.: Ps. 106 23.

3. After expressions describing the reverse of natural operations:

**אמם (און)**: Isa. 33 15.

**אמץ**, Pi. (**לב**): 2 Chr. 36 13.

**חשך (עין)**: Ps. 69 24 (23).

**כבד**, Hi. (**און**): Zech. 7 11.

**נער (יד)**: Isa. 33 15.

**עבר**, Hi. (**עין**): Ps. 119 37.

<sup>93</sup> For עלות r. עלות.

<sup>94</sup> 36 = סקניר.



עצם (ע״): Isa. 33 15.

קשה, Hi. (ק״): 2 Chr. 36 17.

## II. With the Imperfect.

There is only one example Deut. 33 11, *that they rise not*, where ׀ is inadmissible, since the act described is not merely imminent, but in process of accomplishment.

## III. With a noun or an adjective.

The examples that occur are similar to those under I. In fact, they may be regarded as elliptical expressions of the same class, since they can hardly be rendered into English without supplying a verb. Thus, in Jer. 2 25 (bis) the clause, rendered literally, *Withhold thy foot from barefoot* must be recast into something like, *Withhold thy foot, that it go not (בלכת) barefoot*. See, also, Jer. 48 2 (comp. v. 42); Ps. 83 5 (4). In the last passage the intentional value of ׀ is attested by the fact that it is coördinated with ׀.

### The construction with —׀

The particle that most nearly corresponds to the English *lest* is ׀. Fürst, Ewald, and Gesenius agree in deriving the noun of which this word is a remnant from ׀ and assigning to it the original signification *Anwendung*. So, also, *BDB.* and König.<sup>95</sup> The derivation is doubtless correct, but there is room for doubt whether the interpretation of the derivative is defensible. The root ׀ is intransitive. It means *turn one's self*, then *turn one's self toward* a person or object. It sometimes has the sense of *turn one's self from*, but not as often as has been supposed. The noun ׀, meaning *face*, the side turned toward one (*BDB.*), probably contains a hint of the dominant idea of the root from which it came. The particle must be closely related to this noun. Its signification, therefore, in its original office, must have been *Zuwendung* rather than *Abwendung*. But *Zuwendung*, especially when expressed by ׀, is often equivalent to preparation and, finally, readiness to

<sup>95</sup> *LG.*, ii. 384. Comp. Nöldeke, who cites Aram. ׀, *etwa*.

approach this or that person or object. This is the attitude in which an undesirable future event would naturally be presented; but its readiness would become *imminence*, and this is the term that best relates the various shades of meaning with which ׀ appears in the Old Testament. See especially its use with verbs of fearing. The current interpretation of the particle, if, as in Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch, zur Abwendung* is treated as the equivalent of *zur Abschaffung*, ignores the fact that the verb ׀, except in a single phrase, *turn the back*,<sup>86</sup> is intransitive.

The difference between ׀ and ׀לתי is evident. The latter is used when there is a positive effort to prevent or avoid a single definite event, the former when the subject acts, or refrains from acting, to prevent or avoid one of an indefinite number of possible occurrences.

For the sake of completeness the passages containing verbs of fearing, which in Hebrew, as in other languages, take the particle denoting negative purpose, will be included in the following analysis.

The conjunction ׀ is employed:

I. With the Imperfect, as the proper form of expression for that which is possible:

1. After verbs of fearing:

׀: Deut. 32 27 (bis, without ׀).

׀: Jer. 38 19.

׀: Gen. 26 7 32 12.

2. After a simple command to exercise precaution:

׀: 2 Kings 10 23.<sup>87</sup>

׀: Josh. 6 18; Ni., with ׀: Gen. 24 6 31 24 (comp. v. 29, with ׀); Exod. 34 12; Deut. 4 33 6 12f. 8 11f. (bis, without ׀) 11 16f. 12 18, 19, 30 (bis) 15 9; with ׀לנפש: Deut. 4 15—19 (bis); with ׀ל ושמר נפש: Deut. 4 9.<sup>88</sup>

Here, perhaps, belongs Job 36 18, where, for ׀ל חסה, Kittel would r. חסה.

<sup>86</sup> Josh. 7 13; Jer. 2 27 82 23.

<sup>87</sup> Kittel r. Ni.

<sup>88</sup> On ׀ל ושמר נפש, with ׀ל or ׀ל. See pp. 85, 98.

2 After any verb, declarative or voluntative, that embodies a precautionary measure:

a. When the main clause is declarative it may be either affirmative or negative:

(1) It is affirmative: Deut. 29 12 (13), 17 (18) (bis, without ו), where it is separated from the final clause by a double parenthesis (comp. Driver, *i. l.*); Josh. 24 27; Isa. 27 3 48 5, 7; Mal. 3 24; Ps. 91 12.<sup>99</sup>

In Job 32 13 the final clause itself is parenthetical, the main clause being some such statement as *I make mention of this*, referring to v. 12. Other cases of defective construction are: Gen. 3 22 26 9 31 31 38 11; Num. 16 34; 1 Sam. 13 19; Ps. 38 17 (16). In the first of these examples the main clause, which was doubtless omitted in compilation, may be supplied from v. 24. In all the rest the nature of these clauses is suggested by the preceding context, its form by the expression, *I said*, after which it would be inserted.

(2) It is negative: Gen. 19 19; Exod. 23 29 33 3; Deut. 7 22; Ruth 4 6. Add Gen. 44 34, with a question implying a negative answer, and Judg. 7 2, where *too many for me to give* is equivalent to *so many that I am not able to give*.

In the following examples the main clause is to be supplied after וְכִן: Gen. 42 2 (comp. 21 16, with לֵאלֹהִים); Exod. 13 17; 1 Sam. 27 11.

b. When the main clause is voluntative:

(1) The verb is in the first person: Gen. 11 4, where *and a tower . . . . name* is parenthetical; Exod. 1 10 5 3; 1 Sam. 9 5; all affirmative.

(2) The verb is in the second person, and:

(a) Affirmative: Gen. 19 15, 17 45 9—11, a case similar to 11 4; Exod. 19 21; Josh. 2 16; Judg. 9 54 14 15 15 12, where the English Version has, *that ye will not* (לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ); 1 Sam. 4 9 15 6 31 4 (comp. 1 Chr. 10 4); 2 Sam. 12 28 15 14 20 6<sup>100</sup>; Isa. 6 19; Jer. 4 4 6 8 (bis) 21 12 51 45 f.<sup>101</sup>; Amos 5 6; Ps. 2 12 7 3 (2) 13 4

<sup>99</sup> In Prov. 5 6 וְכִן is a mistake for a negative.

<sup>100</sup> For וְכִן r. וְכִן.

<sup>101</sup> For וְכִן r., with 3. וְכִן.

(3) (bis, the second without  $\text{ל}$ ) 50 22; Prov. 25 16, 17 26 5 30 8f. (bis); 1 Chr. 10 4 (comp. 1 Sam. 31 4).

(b) Negative, with  $\text{לֹא}$ : Num. 16 26; Deut. 9 27f.; Judg. 18 25; 2 Sam. 1 20 (bis, without  $\text{ל}$ ) 17 16; Isa. 28 22 36 16—18, where the subject, Hezekiah, is named in the final clause on account of the distance from v. 16a; Jer. 1 17 10 24; Ps. 28 1 59 12 (11); Prov. 5 8—10 (bis, without  $\text{ל}$ ) 9 8 20 13 22 24f. 24 17 25 9f. 26 4 30 6, 10.<sup>102</sup>

With  $\text{לֹא}$ : Gen. 3 3; Lev. 10 7; Num. 20 18; Deut. 7 25 22 9 25 8. In Exod. 34 12—15 the second and third clauses with  $\text{לֹא}$  are subordinate to the first, which has the force of a prohibition. The third, without  $\text{ל}$ , is explanatory of the second resuming the thought interrupted by vs. 13f. It would, therefore be best to render v. 15, *lest if thou shouldst make a covenant with the inhabitant of the land, &c.*

(3) The verb is in the third person, and:

(a) Affirmative: Exod. 19 22; Deut. 19 5f. 20 5, 6, 7 (comp. v. 8); Hosea 2 5. The last four are jussive in form as well as in meaning.

(b) Negative, with  $\text{לֹא}$ : Exod. 19 24 20 19; 1 Sam. 20 3; Prov. 31 4f. where the copula is to be supplied.

With  $\text{לֹא}$ : Exod. 23 38; 1 Kings 11 2.<sup>103</sup>

II. With the perfect, as the natural form of expression for that which may have happened.

There is but one genuine example, 2 Kings 2 16, *lest a strong wind have borne him away*, and the precautions taken in this case are rather against the consequences than against the occurrence of the accident described. On 2 Sam. 20 6, see p. 140.

The particle  $\text{לֹא}$  is sometimes repeated, with or without  $\text{ל}$ , in the same construction. The instances in which the clauses so introduced are coördinate have already been noted. There are not many of them, because, unless there was a reason for the repetition, for example, the preservation of rhythmical balance in poetry, the Hebrew writers preferred a less precise form of expression. This they produced by simply attaching the various

<sup>102</sup> In Prov. 25 8  $\text{לֹא}$  is a mistake for  $\text{ו}$ .

<sup>103</sup> For  $\text{לֹא}$  r., with  $\text{ל}$ ,  $\text{לֹא}$ .

other members of a compound final sentence more or less closely to the first clause. In Ps. 13 5 (4) a second clause follows the first without a connective. In this instance, therefore, the second verb is an imperfect; but the rule is that the connective be employed, and that the verb following conform to the law for the succession of the tenses. The result is that the imperfect of the initial final clause is followed by from one to seven perfects consecutive, or, if negatives or emphatic words intervene, by imperfects or a mixed succession of perfects consecutive and simple imperfects. Examples of the briefer kind are found in Gen. 19 19 and Deut. 20 5. The length of some of these sentences is explained by the looseness of construction which enabled the Hebrews to use their ׀ with clauses whose relations are indicated in English by adverbs or other conjunctions. Thus, a literal translation of Deut. 8 12—14 would be: *lest thou eat (impf.), and be satisfied (pf. cons.), and goodly houses build (impf.), and dwell (pf. cons.) therein, and thy herd and thy flock multiply (impf.), and silver and gold multiply (impf.) to thee and all that thou hast multiply (impf.), and be uplifted (pf. cons.) thy heart, and thou forget (pf. cons.) Yahweh thy God*; but the English Version has: *lest, when thou hast eaten . . . . then thine heart be lifted up and thou forget the LORD thy God*: in other words, this rendering puts seven of the (in Hebrew) nine coordinate clauses into a distinctly circumstantial relation. See, also, Deut. 11 16f., where two of the eight clauses have the imperfect after a negative. In the single passage in which ׀ takes the perfect the second verb is naturally an imperfect consecutive.

The law for the succession of the tenses is almost always observed, but there are a few exceptions. The three following have been noted: Jer. 51 46 and Ps. 2 12, where the second verb is an imperfect with ׀ conjunctive, and Prov. 31 5, where a third verb, as well as the second, is in this construction. See Driver, *Tenses*, § 116.

#### The construction with לָמַעַן

The most complete development of the idea of purpose in the Hebrew language is denoted by the particle לָמַעַן. The word is compounded of the preposition לָ and the noun לָמַעַן.

which, like **תַּעֲנֶה**, is a derivative of **עָנָה**, *answer, respond*. Its original meaning, therefore, must have been *response*; from which the transition to *purpose* is simple and easy, as appears from Prov. 16 4, where **תַּעֲנֶה**, which elsewhere has the sense of *response*, may be rendered *end* or *purpose*. The compound **עָנָה לְ** indicates a bearing. The difference between it and the simple preposition, when used in its intentional sense, is just that which corresponds to the distinction between bearing and direction. The former denotes a constant, the latter a transient purpose. Hence, while, as has been shown, the purpose denoted by **לְ** exhausts itself in a single act, that denoted by **עָנָה לְ** may give rise to an unlimited number of efforts. It is evidently impossible to classify the examples of the use of the latter under divisions with reference to the signification of the verb of the main clause, and equally so to find in the construction as a whole any intimation concerning the prospect of the fulfilment of the purpose set forth.

An example of the use of each of these constructions will best illustrate their respective peculiarities. The brothers of Joseph, in reply to the question, *Whence come ye?* said, Gen. 42 7, *From the land of Canaan, to buy food*. This is a good instance of the use of **לְ** with the infinitive to denote the immediate object, without emphasis, of a given act. An emphatic form of the same construction is found in v. 9 of the same chapter, where Joseph, inverting the order of the clauses, says, *To see the nakedness of the land are ye come*. The idea in each case is that a single act is performed from a single impulse in a given direction. Compare with these passages 1 Sam. 17 28. Jesse had sent David to the camp to carry provisions to his brothers and inquire after their health. The young shepherd, on his arrival, fell into conversation with the soldiers concerning Goliath. Eliab, overhearing his outburst of indignation, that a heathen should defy the armies of the living God, angrily replied, *I know thy pride and the naughtiness of thy heart. For the sake of seeing the battle hast thou come down*. Had the speaker wished only to deny the ostensible object of David's visit by substituting another, he would have employed, as Joseph did, **לְ** with the infinitive. He chose rather to

represent his brother's purpose as a characteristic one, grounded in certain traits which he did not scruple to call by most offensive names, a purpose that might operate at any time and as often as an opportunity offered; and, to do this, he used לַמַּעַן.

The familiar passage, Gen. 12 13, is a second illustration of the force of this interesting particle. Abram, in urging Sarai to say that she is his sister, uses the argument, *that it may be well with me*, thus appealing to her affection for him, which may well be regarded as a constant motive. In like manner, the fifth commandment of the Decalogue, Exod. 20 12, is based on an appeal to the universal love of life. Finally, Deut. 8 14-16 reads, *Yahweh, thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, . . . who led thee through that great and terrible desert, . . . who brought thee water out of the flinty rock, who fed thee in the desert with manna, for the sake of humbling thee*, where no fewer than four coördinate protases, representing as many distinct divine acts, are connected by לַמַּעַן with a single apodosis denoting the purpose of each and all of them.

These examples will suffice to confirm the statement that לַמַּעַן denotes a constant purpose, corresponding very nearly to the German *auf das*<sup>104</sup> and the English *for the sake of* in its strict sense. They indicate also that the element of constancy common to them may take a variety of forms. The following analysis will show whether these are really representative passages, and how extensive is the variety in their unity.

The particle לַמַּעַן is employed with both the infinitive and the finite verb. The rule is that the perfect, or its equivalent, the imperfect consecutive, in the protasis is followed by the infinitive in the apodosis, while the imperfect, or its equivalent, the perfect consecutive, and the imperative require the imperfect in the dependent clause. There are, to be sure, exceptions to both of these statements, but not enough to invalidate either

<sup>104</sup> This combination is found 159 times in the German Old Testament, 92 times for לַמַּעַן, 35 for ל, 20 for ו, 4 for בְּעִבּוֹר, twice for עַל, and once for עַל-יְדֵיבַרְתָּ אִוִּיל, and מִן, while in 3 cases it has no Hebrew equivalent.

of them.<sup>105</sup> There is greater freedom, it will be found, with reference to the subject of the infinitive after לַמַּעַן than after the simple preposition. The relative וְאֵשׁ occurs twelve times after לַמַּעַן with the imperfect, once in each of the books, Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Samuel, and Jeremiah, twice in Deuteronomy, and four times in Ezekiel; in five of these occurrences, once in each of the books, Numbers and Deuteronomy, and three times in Ezekiel, with a negative. The negative occurs seven times without the relative.

The particle לַמַּעַן is used to denote a constant purpose:

#### I. With the Infinitive:

1. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a universal purpose.

There are no examples to cite under this head. The absence of them, however, seems to be accidental, since, with the finite verb, they are very numerous.

2. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a characteristic purpose.

A good example of this kind 1 Sam. 17 28, has already been quoted. No other, with the infinitive, happens to occur.

3. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a deliberate purpose.

There is a large number of passages illustrative of this variety. They may be divided into two classes, according as the purpose is manifested by a single act or a course of action. In some of these examples, at first sight, it seems as if ל might have been used instead of לַמַּעַן; but there are

<sup>105</sup> The infinitive occurs with לַמַּעַן: after an imperfect: Exod. 11 9 (with אֵל); Deut. 17 18; 1 Kings 8 59 f.; Jer. 11 4 f.; Zech. 13 4 (with אֵל); after a perfect consecutive: Gen. 18 19 b; Deut. 29 18 (19); Jer. 7 10; Ezek. 38 18 39 12; after an infinitive: Isa. 30 1; Jer. 7 18, 44; Ezek. 22 27; after a participle: Deut. 8 18; Jer. 27 10; Hab. 2 15; after a nominal clause: Prov. 15 24. The imperfect occurs with this particle: after a perfect: Gen. 18 19 a; Exod. 10 2; Deut. 29 5 (6); Hosea 8 4; Ps. 30 12 (11) 51 6 (4) 119 11; Neh. 6 13 f.; after an imperfect consecutive: Num. 17 4 f. (16 39 f.); Ezek. 19 9 (b a being an interpolation; Toy) 20 26 b a; after an infinitive: Deut. 6 21 17 20 (with לְבַלֵּי); Ps. 78 6; 2 Chr. 31 4 32 18; after a participle: Jer. 44 29; after a nominal clause: Isa. 48 10; Ps. 130 4.



reasons for maintaining the contrary. In the first place, a writer does not naturally use a longer for a shorter form of expression; and, secondly, on closer examination it is possible to find an appropriateness in the employment of **למען** in a given connection.

a. When the purpose is manifested by a single act. This act may be done:

(1) In furtherance of an avowed plan; in which case one may further distinguish between the human and the divine.

(a) A human policy is illustrated by Exod. 1 11, where the English Version reads, *They did set over them taskmasters to afflict them*, as if the final particle were **ל**. It actually is **למען**, because, according to v. 10, the appointment of these overseers was part of a plan to check the increase of the Hebrews; and this nuance should be brought out in the translation. In Deut. 17 16 a policy is forbidden, and then an act in pursuance of that policy. For other examples, see 1 Sam. 15 15; Ezek. 36 5<sup>106</sup>; Joel 4 6; Amos 1 13.

b. A divine plan is given as the explanation of an act of God in Gen. 50 20, where **ל** introduces the immediate object of a long premeditated act; Exod. 9 16, where a steadfast purpose of Yahweh is contrasted with a subsidiary and temporary design introduced by **בעבור**; 10 1f., where a second **למען** takes the imperfect; Josh. 4 24, where a second (subordinate) clause with **למען** reveals a plan<sup>107</sup> behind the one disclosed in the first; Jer. 50 34; Ezek. 21 15 (10) (bis)<sup>108</sup>, 19 (14) f. with two coördinate infinitives; 40 4, where the apodosis precedes. In the last three the verb of the main clause is passive, but there can be no doubt that the agent is Yahweh. In Deut. 8 18 the motive for the divine action is the establishment or fulfillment of a covenant, and the same is true of 9 5 29 12 (13); 1 Kings 11 36.

In all the passages cited under the last two heads the given purpose is openly pursued. The same construction is employed when an act is done.

<sup>106</sup> For **מגרישה**, an Aram. Inf. (*BDB.*), Toy r. **רשמה**, and for **לבו**—**לבוה**—Kittel, for the whole final clause, substitutes **ללענ ולבו**.

<sup>107</sup> For **רשמה** r. **רשמה**.

<sup>108</sup> For **היה** r., with **ל**, **היה**.

(2) In furtherance of a secret plan. It may be:

(a) A human scheme: Gen. 37 22, where the force of **למען** may be compared with that of **ל**, which follows; Deut. 29 18 (19), where the fatal result of a secret resolution is represented as deliberately produced: 2 Kings 10 19; Jer. 27 10, 15 43 3; Hab. 2 15; Zech. 13 4.

(b) A divine counsel: Josh. 11 20 (bis); 1 Kings 12 15 — 2 Chr. 10 15; Ezek. 14 4 f. 2 Chr. 25 20.

b. When the purpose is manifested by a course of action.

The only difference between the passages that come under this head and those that belong under a is found in the fact that, when **למען** introduces a purpose after a course of action, the constancy of that purpose is more manifest than when it has to be inferred from a single act. It should be noted that the same apodosis may occur, that is, the same purpose be predicated, in both cases; also, that the activity described in the protasis may be continuous or consist of a series of acts of the same, or different kinds.

(1) The action is continuous: Ezek. 39 12; Prov. 15 24. A divine plan prompts to such action in Deut. 8 2.

(2) The action is customary or habitual: Lev. 20 3; Jer. 32 35; Ezek. 22 6, 9, 12; Amos 2 7. In 1 Kings 8 59 f. the actor is Yahweh. The likeness of these examples to those cited under the head of characteristic purpose is easily discernible. In most of the passages to be cited

(3) The action is various, It springs from a human purpose: Gen. 18 19 b; 2 Kings 22 17 23 24; Isa. 30 1; Jer. 7 18, where **למען** follows two infinitives, one construct, the other absolute, denoting immediate objects; 32 29 44 8<sup>109</sup>; Ezek. 22 27; Mic. 6 16; 2 Chr. 34 25. In Jer. 7 10 the purpose seems to be a secret one. It is Yahweh whose acts are described in Deut. 2 30 6 23 8 3, 16 (bis); Jer. 11 4 f.; Ezek. 38 16; Mic. 6 4 f.

4. When acts are represented as omitted in accordance with a constant purpose.

There is none of the particles heretofore discussed that can be employed to denote a positive purpose for the omission of a

<sup>109</sup> Omit, with Kittel, **למען הכרית לכם ו**.

given act. The use of **למען** in such constructions is not an anomaly. The potential agent refrains from an act that he might perform because it is not in harmony with a fixed principle or resolution existing in his mind before the act was suggested. In Jer. 25 7 the purpose is one entertained by (potential) human agents. In Judg. 2 21 f. Yahweh is the subject in both clauses, but in Exod. 11 9 a man (Pharaoh), by refusing to act, unintentionally prepares the way for the accomplishment of a divine purpose.

## II. With the Imperfect:

1. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a universal purpose.

By a universal purpose is meant a purpose that is grounded in human nature, one that appeals to any normal person. It is to such a purpose that an appeal is oftenest made when a person urges another to any course of action. It has the force of a sanction of the given command or request. Here belong final clauses in which an appeal is made to:

a. The love of life. The verbs used in the final clause are:

**אָרַךְ**, Hi., with **יָוִם**; trans.: Deut. 4 40 11 9; intrans.: Exod. 20 12; Deut. 5 16 6 2b 25 15.

**חָיָה**: Deut. 4 1 5 30 8 1 16 20 30 19; Jer. 35 7 (plus *many days*); Amos 5 14.

**רָבָה**, with **יָוִם**: Deut. 11 21.

**יָשַׁע**; Ni.: Jer. 4 14.

b. The desire of well-being. The verbs employed are:

**יָטַב**: Deut. 5 16, 26 (comp. v. 30) 6 18 12 28 22 7; Jer. 7 23 42 6.

**שָׂכַל**, Hi.: Deut. 29 8 (9); 1 Kings 2 3 f. (bis).

**בָּרַךְ**, Pi.: Gen. 27 25, where the blessing is represented as something universally desired with a view to which an act is to be performed, and not as a consequence of that act (comp. vs. 5 8). For other examples, see Deut. 14 29 24 19.

Add, also:

**בָּוֵא**, of entrance into Canaan: Deut. 27 3.

וְדָר: 1 Chr. 28 8.

וְהָיָה: Deut. 11 8, followed by the two preceding.

It should be noted that, in almost all the passages here cited, a course of action is recommended, especially the observance of the commands of God, for the sake of a universally recognized good.

2. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a characteristic purpose:

Gen. 12 13 has already been quoted in the introduction to this chapter. In Job 40 8 the purpose is an unworthy one. Add Ps. 60 7 (5) — 108 7 (6), where the natural order is reversed.

3. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a deliberate purpose:

a. When the purpose is manifested by a single act:

(1) In furtherance of an avowed plan:

(a) A human policy: Num. 27 20; Deut. 6 2 a; Isa. 43 26; Jer. 36 3, where לְמַלְאָךְ takes the places of וְ after a clause with אֲנִי; Ezek. 12 12<sup>110</sup>, where, as well as in Ps. 119 11, the purpose is a negative one; 2 Chr. 31 4. In Exod. 4 5 and 8 6 the protasis is wholly or partly to be supplied.

(b) A divine plan: Gen. 18 19 a; Exod. 10 2 16 32; Isa. 5 19 43 10 45 6; Jer. 44 29; Ezek. 12 16 20 26<sup>111</sup> 25 10; Ps. 78 6. In Ezek. 36 30 and Zech. 12 7 the purpose is negative.

(2) In furtherance of a secret plan. The single example noted, Neh. 6 12 f., has two final clauses, the second being subordinate to the first.<sup>112</sup>

b. When the purpose is manifested by a course of action:

(1) The action is continuous: Exod. 33 23; Ps. 119 80.

(2) The action is customary or habitual: in a series of passages concerning required observances: Exod. 13 9 23 12; Lev. 17 4 f. 23 42 f.; Num. 15 40 36 8; Deut. 14 23 16 3 20 18, where

<sup>110</sup> For וְ יָרָא, with לְמַעַן, om.

<sup>111</sup> Kittel, with לְמַעַן, om.

<sup>112</sup> Om. שְׂכָרוֹהֶוּ, r. שְׂכָרוֹהֶוּ; or, for שְׂכָרוֹהֶוּ, r. שְׂכָרוֹהֶוּ and om. שְׂכָרוֹהֶוּ.

the purpose is negative, 31 12 (bis). Add, also, Deut. 17 19; Josh. 1 8; Isa. 28 13<sup>113</sup>; Amos 2 7; and the less evident examples in Ps. 130 4 and Job 19 29.

(3) The action is various: Exod. 9 29, where Moses says, *I will spread my hands to Yahweh, the thunder shall cease, and the lightning shall no longer be, in order that thou mayst know that the earth is Yahweh's*. Other similar passages are: Deut. 31 19; Josh. 3 3 f., where the protasis is to be sought in v. 3 b; 2 Sam. 13 5 (comp. v. 6); Isa. 23 18 66 10 f. (bis); Jer. 32 14; Ezek. 12 19 f. The last, like Ezek. 4 16 f., cited below, is a case in which the real apodosis is so short that a part of the protasis is attached to it and the sentence thus given the desired equilibrium. The whole may be rendered into English. *They shall eat their bread in affliction and drink their water in astonishment, in order that, when their land is emptied of everything in it, on account of the violence of all that dwell therein, when the peopled cities are destroyed and the country desolated, ye may know that I am Yahweh*. Add, Hosea 9 4, with its description of persistent godlessness; Hab. 2 2; Ps. 48 14 (13) 51 6 (4); Prov. 2 20, whose protasis is the gist of the preceding verses, especially 12 and 16, 19 20; Neh. 6 13 b; 2 Chr. 32 18, where למען follows two infinitives with ל. In Num. 17 4 f. (16 39 f.), and Ezek. 19 9 the purpose is negative.

In the foregoing examples the agent is human, but he sometimes acts under divine instruction; the following are expressions of God's purpose in acting or appeals to motives by which he is supposed to be governed. The familiar apodosis with למען occurs: Exod. 8 17 f.; 1 Kings 8 43; Isa. 41 19 f. 45 2 f. Other examples of the same class are: Exod. 16 4; 1 Kings 8 40; Jer. 10 18 51 39; Ezek. 4 16 f. 6 f., another example of the introduction of the final particle into the midst of the proper protasis;<sup>114</sup> 11 19 f. 16 53<sup>115</sup> 62 f. 20 26 b a 24 10 f.; Amos 9 11 f.; Obad. 9; Ps. 9 14 (13) f., the only instance of a voluntative immediately after למען, 30 12 (11) f. 68 23 (22) f.; 2 Chr. 6 30 f., 33. In the

<sup>113</sup> For אחר וכלו r. וכלו אחר.

<sup>114</sup> Three of the six verbs in the Massoretic text are wanting in the Greek Version.

<sup>115</sup> For ושבתי שביתך r. ושבתי שבתי, and, with some MSS שביתך.

following passages the purpose is negative: Ezek. 14 10f. 26 20 31 13f.

4. When acts are represented as omitted in accordance with a constant purpose:

a. The purpose is positive: Exod. 11 7<sup>116</sup>; Deut. 5 14 12 25 13 18 (17) 17 20 23 21 (20) 29 5 (6); Isa. 44 9; Ezr. 9 12.

b. The purpose is negative: Ps. 125 3. In Josh. 1 7 3 4; Amos 5 14 the particle immediately follows a negative clause; but in these cases the negative clause is parenthetical and negligible.

Thus far in the study of לִמְעַן account has been taken only of the form of construction in the immediate connection. In many cases this is sufficient, since the apodosis contains but a single verb or only one that denotes purpose. There are, however, some in which other verbs are added to the first, generally in coordination with it, but sometimes in a subordinate final relation. These will repay examination.

1. When לִמְעַן takes the infinitive:

a. A coördinate clause has:

(1) An infinitive:

(a) With לִמְעַן: Deut. 8 16, after וְ; Josh. 11 20.

(b) With וְ: Lev. 20 3.

(2) A perfect consecutive: Jer. 27 10 (bis)<sup>117</sup> 15.

(3) An imperfect separated from the connective: Num. 6 16, a doubtful passage.

b. A subordinate clause has:

(1) An infinitive:

(a) With לִמְעַן: Josh. 4 24.

(b) With וְ: Gen. 37 22 50 20; Deut. 6 23 8 16. In Jer. 43 3 there are two additional clauses subordinate to the first, in Deut. 8 2 a third dependent on the second.

2. When לִמְעַן takes the imperfect:

a. A coördinate clause has:

<sup>116</sup> For וְתִרְעַן r., with Sam. 6, תִּרְעַן.

<sup>117</sup> Omitted by 6.

(1) An imperfect with **למען**: Deut. 4 40 5 16 6 2 8 11 31 12; 1 Kings 2 3 f.

(2) An imperfect with which **למען** is understood: Ps. 9 14 (13) f. 51 6 (4) 68 23 (22), where the copula, also, is to be supplied.

(3) A verb that conforms to the law for the succession of the tenses:

(a) One or more perfects consecutive: Gen. 12 13 18 19 a; Exod. 10 2; Lev. 17 5 (bis); Num. 15 40 (bis); Deut. 4 1 (bis) 5 30 (bis) 6 18 (bis) 8 1 (bis) 11 8 (bis) 13 18 (17) (bis) 16 20 22 7 31 12 (bis); 2 Sam. 13 5; Isa. 28 13 (quater) 66 11 a, b; Jer. 36 3 51 39 (bis); Ezek. 4 16 f. (bis) 12 16 16 53 f.; Ezr. 9 2 (bis). Here belongs, also, Ezek. 6 6 f., where an imperfect seems to have been interpolated. Comp. the Greek Version.

(b) One or more imperfects separated from their connectives: Num. 17 4 f. 36 8; Ezek. 14 10 f. 26 20 31 13 f. (bis); Ps. 30 12 (11) f.; Prov. 2 20, in all of which, except the last, the disturbing word is the negative **ל**.

(c) A mixed construction of perfects consecutive and imperfects separated from their connectives: Ezek. 11 19 f. (impf., 2 pfs., impf.) 12 19 f. (2 impfs., pf.), 16 62 f. (pf., impf.).

The examples thus far cited may be called regular. There are a few cases of irregularity, due to the neglect of the law for the succession of the tenses.

(4) An imperfect, with or without **ו** conjunctive in a series of perfects consecutive: Ezek. 6 6 f.<sup>118</sup> 24 10 f. (without **ו**)<sup>119</sup>; Neh. 6 12 f. (see p. 149).

(5) The imperfect, with or without **ו** conjunctive, for the perfect consecutive throughout a series: Exod. 23 12<sup>120</sup>; Isa. 41 20 (ter) 43 10 (bis); Amos 5 14, with a jussive. In Ps. 78 6—8 (sexiens) the connective is wanting with the first additional imperfect. Comp. the Greek Version.

b. A subordinate clause has **למען**: Ezek. 20 26, where, however, the whole is probably an interpolation.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Kittel, with **ו**, om. the second verb.

<sup>119</sup> **ו** has a connective.

<sup>120</sup> Sam. has a reading without the second verb.

<sup>121</sup> It is found in **ו**<sup>a</sup>, but not in **ו**<sup>b</sup>.

## III. With a Noun or a Pronoun.

The explanation of the particle **למען** given at the beginning of the chapter applies as well to its use with nouns and suffixes as with verbs, whether imperfects or infinitives. There are, in fact, many instances in which the former construction is evidently an abbreviation of the latter. The rendering *for the sake of* may, therefore, be retained, especially with the names of persons and attributes. The same divisions may also be made as have twice already served in this analysis.

1. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a universal purpose.

A perfect example of this usage is found in Deut. 30 6 in the expression, *for the sake of thy life*. For the corresponding verbal form, see Deut. 4 1.

2. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a characteristic purpose.

A good example is Gen. 18 24, where Abraham, interceding for Sodom, says *Wilt thou not . . . spare the place for the sake of the fifty righteous that are in it?* adding, *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* Comp. v. 26, where the particle is **בעבור**. In this passage the appeal is made to God's righteousness. So, also, in Isa. 42 21; but in Ps. 6 5 (4) 44 27 (26) it is made to his grace.

3. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a deliberate purpose.

The distinction between the simple and the complex protasis, which was emphasized under II. and III., will here be neglected, for the sake of bringing into prominence the use of **למען** with certain nouns and suffixes; but that between human and divine agency will be observed.

a. The agent is human: Jer. 7 19 (comp. Isa. 44 9); Ezek. 21 33 (28), where the text is doubtful.<sup>122</sup> Further: 1 Kings 8 41 — 2 Chr. 6 32; Isa. 49 7 55 5; Ps. 122 8, 9, in both of which the final phrase precedes. Finally, see Isa. 66 5, where *for my name's sake* is equivalent to *for the sake of dishonoring my name*.

<sup>122</sup> For **למען** **קָרָק** להחיל Toy suggests **קָרָק** **הָהָל** **למען**, Kittel **קָרָק** **למען**.



b. The agent is divine in a much larger number and variety of examples. See, first, Judg. 3 2, where the final sense of **למען** is evidenced by the infinitive with **ל** that follows.<sup>123</sup>

The most common expression of this kind, giving the purpose of a divine act, is *for my own sake*, which occurs for the first time 2 Kings 19 34 and which is equivalent to the equally frequent verbal apodosis, *that . . . . may know, &c.*, Exod. 8 18, and similar expressions. See, further, 2 Kings 20 6 — Isa. 37 35; Isa. 43 25 48 11 (bis), where the final phrase precedes; Dan. 9 19, is an appeal to God.

The sense is the same when the form of expression is *for my name's sake*: Isa. 48 9; Ezek. 20 9, 14, 22, 44; Ps. 23 3 106 8; or, in petitions, *for thy name's sake*: Jer. 14 7; Ps. 25 11 31 4 (3), where the final phrase precedes; 79 9 109 21 143 11, also with the reverse arrangement. In Dan. 9 17 **Θ'** has this reading, but the Massoretic text has *for the Lord's sake*. In Ezek. 36 22, where this positive purpose has **ל**, the negative with which it is contrasted has **למען**. See, also, v. 32.

Among the verbal expressions cited in the proper connection were, *that he may establish his covenant*, and the like, especially frequent in Deuteronomy and the succeeding historical books. There are corresponding nominal expressions. Thus, 2 Kings 13 23 has *for the sake of his covenant with Abraham, &c.*, and 2 Chr. 21 7 *for the sake of the covenant which he made with David*. The first of these covenants is more briefly indicated: Isa. 43 14 45 4 63 17 65 8. The second is referred to in the same way: 1 Kings 11 32, 34 15 4 (comp. 11 36) 19 34 20 6 — Isa. 37 35. Twice, 1 Kings 11 13, 32, the city chosen by Yahweh for his abode is coupled with David as a beneficiary under the same covenant.

The Hebrews thought of Yahweh as pledged, not only to help them, but to defeat and punish their enemies. It is this hostile intention with reference to the gentiles to which appeal is made: Ps. 5 9 (8) 27 11 69 19 (18). In Ps. 8 3 (2) they are his enemies.

<sup>123</sup> Om., with **ל**, **ענת** after **למען**.

Here belongs, also, Job 18 4, where, although no agent is named, Yahweh, without doubt, is intended.

4. When acts are represented as omitted in accordance with a constant purpose:

1 Kings 11 12, 13; 2 Kings 8 19; Isa. 62 1 (bis, with the reverse order); Jer. 14 21; Ps. 25 7<sup>124</sup>; 2 Chr. 21 7.

The passages in which **למען** is used with nouns or suffixes have now almost all been passed in review and found to agree in supporting the interpretation given to it in verbal clauses. There remain to be examined four—really but three—in which the particle seems to have a different meaning. The first in order is Deut. 3 26, for which, when compared with Deut. 1 37 (with **בגללכם**), 4 21 (with **על דבריכם**), and Ps. 106 32 (with **בעבורכם**), on *account of* seems to be the required rendering. The question arises, whether **למען** properly has this value, or, in this instance, is incorrectly so employed. The former supposition would imply that the Hebrews did not always clearly distinguish between cause and purpose, the latter that they did not always correctly express themselves in their own language. The foregoing discussion must have shown that they did make this distinction, and that they consistently used a particle to denote the latter of the two relations. The safest explanation of the passage cited, therefore, is that it is incorrect, that, instead of **למען**, one of the words found in the other references to the same incident should have been chosen: an explanation that is favored by Bertholet's suggestion that **למענכם** is an interpolation.

The case of 1 Kings 11 39, where **למען** takes the place of the **אשר יען אשר** of v. 33, is still clearer; for this whole verse, with the last clause of the one preceding, is wanting in the Greek Version.

It is not impossible that the phrase, *on account of thy judgments*, also, in Ps. 48 12 (11), is a gloss, as it is in 97 8. In any case, it is of late origin, and, therefore, like the other two examples of the use of **למען** in a causal sense, may be treated as a mark of linguistic deterioration.

<sup>124</sup> Om., with Duhm, line 2.

### The construction with **בְּעֵבֹר**

The particle **בְּעֵבֹר** is a compound of the preposition **ב** and the noun **עֵבֹר**, from the root **עבר**. The meaning of the verb is undisputed, but that of the noun is a matter on which authorities disagree. In Josh. 5 11 it evidently has the force of *fruit, produce*; and there are those who insist that, therefore, the compound with **ב** should be rendered, literally, *as fruit, in consequence*. So Fürst. Gesenius, in the *Thesaurus*, renders the particle *in transitu*, for which the *Handwörterbuch* has *in Veranlassung*. Ewald<sup>125</sup>, who claims that the verb means "übergehen, sowohl in die Höhe als in die Länge", makes the noun equivalent to *vorüber* and the particle to *in wegen*, that is, *wegen*.

The key to the proper understanding of **בְּעֵבֹר** as a final particle seems to be found in 2 Sam. 12 21, where there is not the slightest trace of purpose. This passage can only be rendered, *While the child lived thou didst fast and weep*. The idea here expressed is that of concomitance, the acts described being represented as performed during the existence of a certain condition of things. In this case the concomitance is unnatural. Hence the protest of David's servants, which, of course, implies that there are acts and states naturally, or at least properly, associated. There is no reason why a purpose may not have a concomitant as well as any other form of thought or expression; and there is nothing in **בְּעֵבֹר** to prevent it from introducing this by-purpose. In fact it is, by its derivation, fitted for precisely that office, and it cannot properly be employed to denote the sole or prime purpose of a given act. The main purpose is sometimes expressed and sometimes implied in the context. The idiom by which the particle should be rendered depends on the presence of the main purpose.

In Gen. 27 10 **בְּעֵבֹר** is supplemented by **אשר**, and in 2 Chr. 19 3 by **ל**. In Exod. 20 20; 2 Sam. 14 20 17 14 the preposition is prefixed to it.

The passages in which **בְּעֵבֹר** has final force are here given

<sup>125</sup> *Lehrb.*, 789.

in three groups, according to the form of expression by which it is followed. It is employed to denote a by-purpose:

I. With the Infinitive.

The first example of this construction excellently illustrates, not only the peculiar force of **בַּעֲבוּר**, but the distinction between it and **לְמַעַן**, which occurs in the same connection. The passage is Exod. 9 16, which, literally translated, would read, *In passage of this have I maintained thee, in passage of showing thee my might, and for response to publishing my name in the whole earth*; which, being interpreted, means, *By way of this have I maintained thee, that I show thee my power, while publishing my name in the whole earth*. Thus it appears that God's dealings with the king were only incidental to the pursuit of his eternal purpose to reveal himself in his glory to the world. In 2 Sam. 10 3 **בַּעֲבוּר** is similarly associated with **לְ**. David had sent certain envoys to condole with Hanun, king of the Ammonites, on the occasion of the death of his father. The Ammonite princes, suspecting mischief, said to their royal master literally: *Doth David honor thy father in thy eyes in that he hath sent to thee condolers?*<sup>126</sup> *Is it not by way of exploring the city, and to spy it out and to overthrow it that David hath sent his servants to thee?* These courtiers, be it observed, do not, like Joseph in Gen. 42 9, deny the ostensible object of the embassy; they simply suggest that condolence was not its only object. Their meaning would be more evident if the latter part of the verse were rendered, *Is it not meanwhile to explore the city . . . . that he hath sent, &c.* Thus rendered **בַּעֲבוּר** becomes virtually an adverbial modifier of the final clause to which it belongs, as if the first verb of that clause, as well as the second and third, had **לְ** prefixed to it. It is not strange, therefore, to find that, in 1 Chr. 19 3, all three actually have this preposition.

In the three instances in which **לְ** is prefixed to the particle the verb following is naturally in the infinitive. In neither of them is the main object clearly presented, but it can be supplied from the context. Thus, in Exod. 20 20, where Moses says, *Fear not, for to in passage test you, is God come*, he means

<sup>126</sup> The participle for the infinitive. See v. 2; also p. 123.

that God came incidentally, and in the manner described, to test and awe his people, the prime object of the theophany being, of course, the publication of the Decalogue. In 2 Sam. 14 20 the prime object is the ostensible one, but Joab secretly sought to *in passage change the aspect of the matter*, that is, incidentally the woman, while telling her story, or during the discussion that would doubtless follow, was to introduce the case of Absalom. In 2 Sam. 17 14 there are really two objects, for, although Hushai seemed to oppose Ahithophel in the interest of Absalom, the real aim, meanwhile, of Yahweh, under whose instructions he was acting, was to *bring evil* upon the reckless prince.

There remain two more passages in which **בַּעֲבוֹר** is followed by the infinitive. The first, 2 Sam. 18 18, is puzzling, but not inexplicable. One has only to remember that Absalom died young to perceive why he used this form of expression. He could not, at his time of life and in his circumstances, have despaired of ever having a male child, if he lived. There was always, however, the possibility that his life might be cut short, as indeed it was. It was therefore probably this contingency for which he wished to provide when he reared his pillar "*in the king's dale*", and his remark with reference to it should be translated, *I have as yet (בַּעֲבוֹר) no son to recall my name*. It is not so easy to dispose of 1 Sam. 1 6. In fact, it seems to defy explanation. The English rendering, *for to make her fret*, is questionable, the verb **רָעַם** not having the meaning thus given to it in Hebrew. If it is here used in its Aramaic signification, Budde is doubtless justified in treating the whole verse as an interpolation, and it may well be that the author of it used **בַּעֲבוֹר** without regard to its peculiar force.<sup>127</sup>

## II. With the Imperfect.

The fact, just established, that **בַּעֲבוֹר** with the infinitive denotes a by-purpose, gives ground for expecting that, when

<sup>127</sup> Klostermann sees in **הִרְעָמָה** a corruption of **הָרַחֵמָה**, and in the latter of these two words a gloss to explain the former. But **ע**, on which this conjecture is based, is so free and careless at this point that one cannot safely follow it.

used with the imperfect, it sometimes, at least, has the same meaning. There are several passages in which this expectation is realized. The first is Gen. 21 30, where Abraham's reply to a question concerning some lambs that he had put aside as a second present for Abimelech may be rendered, *These seven ewe-lambs thou shalt take from me, that, at the same time, it<sup>128</sup> may be a witness for me, that I have digged this (a new) well.* In 27 4 this particle is used in conjunction with the ׀ of intended result, where Isaac says, *Bring it to me, that, while I eat, my soul may bless thee.* A similar expression is found in vs. 10, 19, and 31. Compare v. 25, with לַמַּעַן, which, if, as seems to be the case, it is an intentional variation, presents the blessing, not as an incidental expression of sensual gratification, but as an inheritance that any worthy son might covet. The meaning of 46 34 cannot be fully brought out by translating the final clause, *that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen.* Joseph intended that his brothers, while answering the king with seeming simplicity, should play on the Egyptian repugnance for shepherds and herdsmen, and thus get the best pasturage in the country without directly asking for it. For the sequel, see 47 4. If Exod. 9 14 stood by itself, it would require לַמַּעַן, like 8 6 (10), which it closely resembles; but, anticipating, as it does, v. 18 a, it takes the same construction. On 19 9, see 20 20. It is doubtful whether, in Ps. 105 45, בַּעֲבוּר has a final force. In the first place, the idea that God's people obtained possession<sup>129</sup> of (the fruit of) the toil of the gentiles, that they might keep his statutes, is a reversal of the common Hebrew conception; and, secondly, the verse is wanting in both the Greek and the Syriac Version. When these facts are considered it becomes more than probable that the case is one in which a punctilious scribe, remembering that his people had lost their inheritance, reminded himself and his readers why they had thus suffered by adding, *while they kept his statutes and observed his laws.*

### III. With a Noun or a Pronoun.

The analogy of לַמַּעַן suggests that בַּעֲבוּר, also, may be used with nouns or pronouns to denote purpose. There are, in fact,

<sup>128</sup> עַל, they.

<sup>129</sup> For יִירֶשׁ r., with 13 MSS., יָרַשׁ.

a number of cases of this kind. The most convincing is that of Exod. 9 16, where the phrase **בַּעֲבוֹר זֹאת**, being immediately followed by the explanatory clause, *that I might shew thee my power*, must, of course, be given final significance. Another good example is found in 2 Sam. 7 21, which, according to Budde, should read, *For the sake of thy servant hast thou wrought, to make known to thy servant all this greatness*. In both of these passages the fundamental idea of the particle, used as a preposition, is that of concomitance or association. It is more apparent in Gen. 3 17, where *along with* fits the connection almost as well as *for the sake of*; but, since the cursing of the ground must be regarded as a means to an end, the latter is a justifiable rendering. See, also, Gen. 8 21 12 13, 16 18 26; 1. Sam. 23 10. In Gen. 18 26 **בַּעֲבוֹר** takes the place of the **לְמַעַן** of v. 24, because the emphasis is shifted from *the righteous* in Sodom to *the whole place*. In vs. 29, 31, and 32 it takes the place of *if I find* in vs. 28 and 30 after a negative statement. In these passages it might be rendered *while there are*, or, in v. 29, for example, the construction might be treated as an elliptical one for *I will not destroy it, if I find there forty and five, but spare it for their sakes*. Here, again, it is the incidental deliverance that is prominent; hence the choice of **בַּעֲבוֹר**. Comp. v. 24. The use of the same particle in 1 Sam. 12 22 is perhaps to be explained in the same way, but it is more probable that, in this instance, it has usurped the place of **לְמַעַן**.

There are a few other passages in which **בַּעֲבוֹר** is employed, although in similar connections **לְמַעַן** is the more common construction. See Gen. 26 24; 2 Sam. 5 12 — 1 Chr. 14 2; 2 Sam. 9 1, 7; Ps. 132 10. Comp. 1 Kings 11 32.

The force of **בַּעֲבוֹר** in Am. 2 6 and 8 6 is a matter on which expositors differ. Thus, Harper, although he translates it, as he does the **ב** in the parallel clause, by *for*, makes it the equivalent of *on account of*. Marti, on the other hand, regards the *pair of shoes*, or their value, not as a cause of litigation, but, like the *silver* just mentioned, as an object of judicial cupidity; and this interpretation, being the simpler and more natural, is to be preferred.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>130</sup> On 2 Sam. 12 25, see Kittel.

The passages thus far cited have shown that **בעבור**, with nouns and pronouns as well as verbs, may, and often does, have a final significance. But there is no reason why concomitance may not imply cause as well as purpose. Hence it is not strange that there should be some examples in which **בעבור** not only may, but must, be rendered in this way. There is an excellent example in 2 Chr. 28 19, where the narrator says that Yahweh *brought Judah low on account of Ahaz*. For others, the 2 Sam. 6 12 13 2; Mic. 2 10; Ps. 106 32; Job 20 2.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Read, with Bickell, **בעבור זאת**. On Exod. 13 8 and Jer. 14 4, see Kittel *i. l.*