

CAUSATIVE *HIP'ÎL* VERBS WITH DOUBLE OBJECTS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

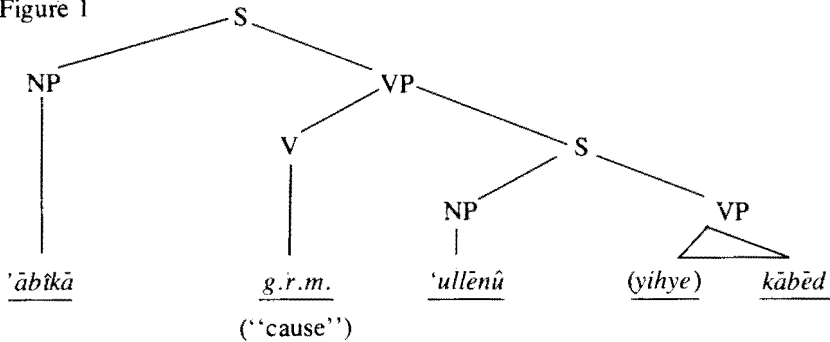
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THE PRIMARY MEANING of the *hip'îl* in the Hebrew Bible is causative, both for verbs whose *qal* has an intransitive meaning and for those whose *qal* is transitive.¹ The syntactic function of *hip'îl* forms whose *qal* is intransitive is quite clear, e.g., *hikbîd*, *higdîl*, *hiqtîm*; their meaning is "cause to be heavy" (*kābēd*), "cause to be big" (*gādōl*), "cause to be small" (*qātān*). This can be lucidly represented by means of transformational syntax. The sentence *'abîkā hikbîd 'et-'ullēnū* ("thy father made our yoke heavy," 1 Kgs 12:10) has the form:

Figure 1



This is also the deep structure for verses such as *higdaltā haššimhā* ("you caused the joy to be big," Isa 9:2), *lahaqtîm 'ēfā* ("to cause the measure to be small," Amos 8:5) etc. Their passivization is simple: *'ullēnū hukbad*, *haššimhā hugdālā*, *hā'ēfā huqtānā*.

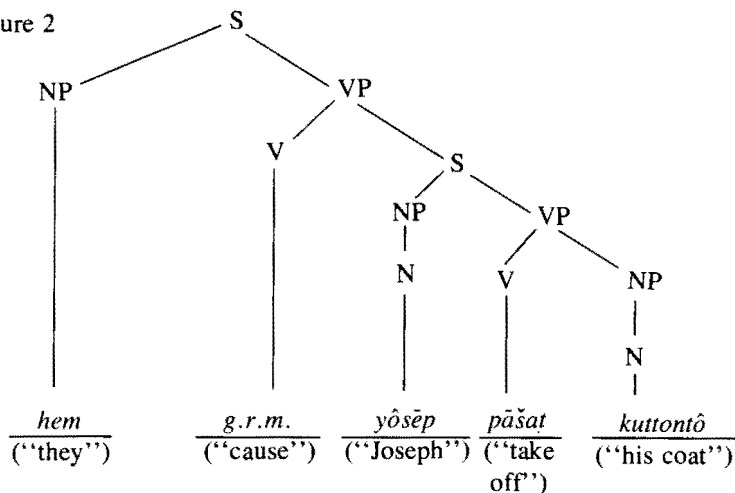
*This paper was to appear in the 1977 volume of *Hebrew Annual Review*, but, due to Dr. Ben-Asher's untimely death in December, 1976, publication was delayed until now. The article is presented posthumously as it was found in Dr. Ben-Asher's effects, and is offered by the Editorial Board in his memory.

1. Cf. Gesenius (1903, pp. 144ff) and Jöüon (1923, pp. 374ff). Brockelmann (1908-13, II, pp. 308ff) discusses the double object in the Semitic languages and in Hebrew. But his examples are only in the *qal* and *pi'el*: *mallē 'et-'amtāhōt hū' anāšîm 'ōkel* (Gen 44:1); *wayyittā'ehū šōrēq* (Isa 5:2). He does not so much as mention causative verbs in the *hip'îl*. Cf. also Rabin (1974, pp. 57ff) and Kaddari (1970).

However, the Hebrew Bible also possesses *hip'ıl* forms whose *qal* is transitive, and the *hip'ıl* is therefore "doubly transitive," i.e., it may govern two objects. A small number of *pi'el* forms also govern two direct objects, but we shall first deal with the *hip'ıl* forms. We have found seventeen such forms in the Hebrew Bible:² *he'ekıl* ("cause to eat, feed"), *hēbın* ("cause to understand, explain"),³ *hizkır* ("cause to remember, remind"), *hōdılā* ("let know"), *hōrā* ("direct, teach"), *hōrıs* ("cause to inherit"), *hēnıq* ("cause to suck, nurse"), *hılbıs* ("clothe"), *hınhıl* ("cause to inherit"), *hıpsıt* ("strip off, cause to undress"), *hıqnā* ("cause to buy"), *her'ā* ("cause to see, show"), *hırwā* ("cause to drink, saturate"), *hısbıā* ("satisfy"), *hıskıāh* ("make forget"), *hısmıā* ("cause to hear"), *hısqā* ("cause to drink").

All these forms govern two objects on occasion. There is a certain relation between these two objects, namely, that which exists between a subject and its object. So if we replace the verb in the *hip'ıl* by cause + the verb in the *qal* (e.g., *hısmıā* = caused to hear), we find that in their deep structure these sentences contain an embedded clause; and we may regard the one object as the subject of this embedded clause (SEC) and the other object as the object thereof (OEC). The verse *wıyapšıtū 'et-yōsēp 'et-kuttontō* ("they stripped Joseph of his coat," Gen 37:23) will therefore be represented as follows:

Figure 2



This means that the noun "Joseph," which is an object in the surface structure, is the subject of the embedded clause in the deep structure (SEC),

2. In Gesenius (1903, p. 370) such *hip'ıl* forms are recorded, but there is no list of all the forms. There are also *pi'el* forms, which we will later discuss briefly, and verbs in the *qal*, which go beyond the scope of this study.

3. *hēbın* has two meanings: "understand" and "cause to understand, explain."

while *kuttonô* ('his coat'), which is also an object (in both surface and deep structure), is OEC.⁴ This is also true for other verses which have verbs with a double object, e.g., *hašmî'inî 'et-qôlêk* ('let me hear thy voice,' Cant 2:14), where "me" is the SEC and "your voice" the OEC; or *wənôdî'ā 'etkem dābār* ('we will let you know a thing,' 1 Sam 14:12).

There are further examples in the Hebrew Bible of two objects in the accusative: *'attā tanhîl 'et-hā'ām hazze 'et-hā'āreš* ('thou shalt cause this people to inherit the land,' Josh 1:6); *kî tôrēm 'et-hadderek haṭṭôbā* ('that thou teach them the good way,' 1 Kgs 8:36); *wəhilbaštā 'et-'ahārôn 'et-hakkuttōnet* ('and thou shalt put upon Aaron the coat,' Exod 29:5); *har'ēnî nā 'et kəbōdekā* ('show me thy glory,' Exod 33:18).

Note that in one instance the verb *hižkîr* governs two objects and the SEC is governed by the preposition 'el ('to'), and not with the object marker 'et: *wəhižkartanî 'el-par'ō* ('make mention of me to Pharaoh,' Gen 40:14). This use is not uncommon. The verb *hōdî'ā* ('let know') is found time and again in the construction: *wəhōda'tā lāhem 'et-hadderek* ('thou shalt show them the way,' Exod 18:20)—altogether ten times as against forty times when the SEC is governed by 'et or is in the accusative without 'et. These ten verses are to be found in all strata of the Hebrew Bible, from the Pentateuch to Psalms and Nehemiah. *lə-* ('to') as the governing preposition is also in evidence when the verb governs only one object, i.e., SEC: *hazkîrū laggôyim* ('make ye mention to the nations,' Jer 4:16); *hōda' laššaddîq wəyôsep leqah* ('give instruction to a wise man, and he will be yet wise,' Prov 9:9). This use of *lə-* is to be found with the following verbs also: *hōrā—yôrū mišpātekā ləya'āqōb* ('they shall teach Jacob thy judgments,' Deut 33:10); *hinhîl—wəhinhaltem libnêkem 'ahārêkem* ('you may leave it for an inheritance for your children after you,' 1 Chr 28:8); *hōrîš—wəhōraštem libnêkem 'ad-'ôlām* ('leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever,' Ezra 9:12). Once we have *hišmî'ā* governing the SEC with 'el: *wəlō' 'ašmî'ā 'ēlayik 'ôd kəlîmmat haggôyim*⁵ ('neither will I cause men to hear in you the shame of the heathen,' Ezek 36:15).

It should be noted that one verb governs in some cases the SEC with *bə-*, viz. *hōdî'ā*. We can take these Noun Phrases as adverbial extensions, i.e., locative adverbs. Perhaps these were some sort of fixed formula, for in every instance we have *hōdî'ā bā'ammîm: hōdî'ū bā'ammîm 'āllôtāw* ('make

4. We clearly are not taking into consideration the phenomenon called *tamyiz* which is found in sentences like *lō nakkennū nāpēs* ('let us not kill him,' Gen 37:21). Here the deep structure is different; this is not a causative verb, and the second object is a kind of adverbial extension.

5. It should be kept in mind that *lə-* sometimes governs the accusative in other verbs: *wə'āhabîā lārē'ākā kāmōkā* ('thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' Lev 19:18); *le'ēwîl yahārog kā'as* ('wrath kills the foolish man,' Job 5:2).

known his deeds among the peoples," Isa 12:4, Ps 105:1, 1 Chr 16:8); *hōda'tā bā'ammîm 'uzzekā* ("you have declared your strength among the peoples," Ps 77:15). The preposition *bə-* is to be found once governing the OEC, in the verse *wattašqēmō bidmā'ōt šālš* ("you give them tears to drink in great measures," Ps 80:6), and this is remarkable in that this part of the verse parallels *he'ēkaltām lehem dim'ā* ("you feed them with the bread of tears"), where both the SEC and the OEC are direct objects.

The OEC can also be a subordinate clause after certain verbs. In these cases we have two objects, one a regular object and the other an embedded clause. Examples: *wāhōrētî 'etkem 'et 'āšer ta'āsûn* ("I will teach you what you shall do," Exod 4:15); *wāhōrētikā 'āšer tādabbēr* ("I will teach thee what thou shalt say," Exod 4:12); *wəyōda' YHWH 'et-'āšer-lō* ("the Lord will make known who are his," Num 16:5); *wəlō hōda'tā 'et-'abdekā mî yēšēb 'al kissē . . .* ("you have not shown it unto thy servant, who should sit on the throne . . .," 1 Kgs 1:27); *'āšer hā'ēlōhîm 'ōše her'ā 'et-par'ō* ("what God is about to do he shows unto Pharaoh," Gen 41:28); *bəyôm hanhîlō 'et-bānāw 'et 'āšer-yihye lō* ("when he makes his sons to inherit that which he has," Deut 21:16).

Only these four verbs may govern an OEC which is an embedded clause. Sometimes the relative particle *'āšer*, or, rather, the anaphoric pro-form (*'ōtō*, etc.) that has been omitted, can function as one of the objects, e.g. *bā'ares 'āšer YHWH 'ēlōhêkem manhîl 'etkem* ("in the land which the Lord your God gives you to inherit," Deut 12:10). Here we have two objects: *'attem* is the SEC, and *'āšer* (or *'āšer 'ōtāh*) is the OEC. Witness also: *hallehem 'āšer he'ēkaltî 'etkem bammidbār* ("the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness," Exod 16:32); *miyyərūšatākā 'āšer hōraštanû* ("of your inheritance which you have given us to inherit," 2 Chr 20:11). In cases such as these the anaphoric accusative pro-form is the OEC.

Sometimes the causative *hip'il* governs but one object, which may be the SEC or the OEC. Examples of verbs governing only the SEC: *wayyašq 'et sōn lābān* (" . . . and watered the flock of Laban," Gen 29:10); *hazkîrû laggōyim* ("make mention to the nations," Jer 4:16); *wattalbēs 'et ya'āqōb bənāh haqqātān* ("and put (them)⁶ upon Jacob her younger son," Gen 27:15); *wāhinhaltem libnêkem 'ahārêkem* ("and leave (it)⁶ for an inheritance for your children after you," 1 Chr 28:8); *wayyapšîūhû* ("and when they had stripped him," 1 Chr 10:9); *hōrûnî wa'ānt 'ahārš* ("teach me and I will hold my tongue," Job 6:24); *kō hir'ant 'ādōnāy YHWH* ("thus has the Lord God shown me," Amos 7:1); *hālō mē'āz hišma'tkā* ("have I not told thee from that time," Isa 44:8); *wayya'ākîlûm* ("the men . . . gave them to eat," 2 Chr

6. This verse is translated as if it contains an OEC, but the OEC is absent in the Hebrew original.

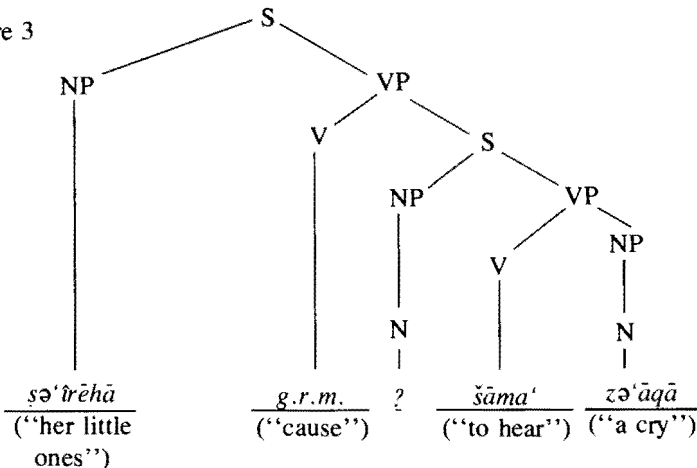
28:15); *wəhōraštem libnêkem* 'ad-'ôlām ('that you leave (it)⁶ for an inheritance to your children for ever,' Ezra 9:12); *wəhōrêit 'etkem* 'et 'ăšer ta'ăšûn ('I will teach you what you shall do,' Exod 4:15); *wəhōrêitkâ 'ăšer tādabbêr* ('I will teach you what you shall say,' Exod 4:12); *ləhōdîā' 'et-'abdekā* ('to make thy servant know (them),'⁶ 2 Sam 7:21).

This construction with just the one object, the SEC, is found with eleven out of the fourteen verbs which may govern two direct objects. Some of them occur preponderantly with the SEC only: *hōrā* 24 times in comparison with 14 times with both objects; *hēr'ā* 11 times; *hōdîā'* 12 times; *hišmā'* 6 times; *hinḥîl* 4 times; *hišqā* 33 times as against 24 times with two objects; *hizkîr* and *hipšîṭ* occur twice with the SEC only (*hizkîr* governs two objects just once, *hipšîṭ* four times); *he'ēkil* and *hōrîš* occur once with the SEC only. In all these verses, the object of the embedded clause is missing, but the sense is nevertheless always very clear.

When we find just an SEC, it is usually in the accusative (introduced by 'et when with a definite article). But sometimes it is introduced by *lə-*, e.g. *wəhinḥaltem libnêkem* 'ahārêkem ('you leave it for an inheritance for your children after you,' 1 Chr 28:8); *hazkîrû* laggôyîm ('make mention to the nations,' Jer 4:16); *wəhōraštem libnêkem* 'ad-'ôlām ('you leave it for an inheritance for your children for ever,' Ezra 9:12). The verbs *hinḥîl* and *hizkîr* also govern the SEC in several instances.

As was mentioned above, these causative *hip'îl* verbs sometimes govern an OEC only, i.e., an object of the embedded clause. These sentences bear no indication of the agent of the embedded clause, e.g., *hišmî'û zə'āqā šə'îrêhā* ('her little ones have caused a cry to be heard,' Jer 48:8). We do not know who the subject is who is supposed to hear the cry. The deep structure of this sentence is:

Figure 3



Further examples: *'azkîr šidqatekâ ləbaddekâ* ("I will make mention of your righteousness only," Ps 71:16); *uqarâ 'im talbîš nûmâ* ("and drowsiness shall clothe (a man) with rags," Prov 23:21); *wəhipšît 'et hâ'olâ* ("and he shall flay the burnt offering," Lev 1:6); *ləhanhîl nəhâlôt šömémôt* ("to cause to inherit the desolate heritages," Isa 49:8); *hōdîā' YHWH yəšū'atô* ("the Lord has made known his salvation," Ps 98:2); *wənahat zərô'ô yar'e* ("and shall show the lighting down of his arm," Isa 30:30).

This construction (OEC only) is not found with the verbs *he'ēkil*, *hišqā*, *hiškîāh*, *hiqnā*.⁷ It cannot be ruled out that in some of the foregoing cases there is no omission of one of the objects (like *hizkîr*, *hōdîā'*, *hēr'ā*) in the surface structure, but rather that their deep structure is different. Yet this does not affect the description of the grammatical relations. The verbs *hōrîš* and *hōrā* must be dealt with specially, since both have two meanings, as will be shown.

When one of the above-mentioned verbs governs only the OEC, this object may also be an embedded object clause, e.g., *wəyōda' YHWH 'āšer-lô* ("the Lord will make known who are his," Num 16:5). But this construction is found only after *hōdîā'*. Turning briefly to the verb *hipšît*, we find once in the Hebrew Bible the following construction: *pen-'apšîtennâ 'ārūmmâ* ("lest I strip her naked," Hos 2:5). Here we have an adverbial extension, a kind of a consecutive adverbial.⁸ Only with this verb is such an adverbial to be found.⁹

The verb *hišqā* is found without any object in two verses: *wəhašqôt biklē zāhāb* ("and they gave (them) drink in vessels of gold," Esth 1:7); *wayyašq kitəhōmôt rabbā* ("and gave (them) drink as out of the great depths," Ps 78:15). In these verses the SEC is self-explanatory: in Esther the verse means "the people that were present in Shushan," of verse 5; and in Psalms, the verse refers to the rocks mentioned in the first half of the same verse.

The verb *hipšît* occurs once with no object: *wəhalləwiyyim mapšîlîm* ("and the Levites flayed (them)," 2 Chr 35:11). Here, too, the object is clear: the *pesaḥ* mentioned in the same verse.

7. The verb *hiqnā* presents something of a problem, since it appears only twice in the Hebrew Bible, once without an object (Ezek 8:3) and once in an unclear context (Zech 13:5). In Ezek 8:3 there is a version with הִקְנָה instead of הִקְנָה .

8. In the deep structure we have a clause indicating the result of the causation: strip her, and she will be naked.

9. Some of these causative verbs occur in the Hebrew Bible with no object. We start with a problematic verb found twice, in unclear circumstances, viz. *he'ēkil*: *lehākil (ləha'ākîl?) ləma'an bārāq* ("to consume because of the glittering," Ezek 21:33); *wə'at' ēlāw 'ōkil ('a'ākîl? 'ōkēl?)* ("and I laid meat unto them," Hos 11:4). If these two verbs are derived from the root *'kl* in the *hip'îl*, we are faced with two cases of *he'ēkil* with no object. But there are many interpretations of these verbs, and it is not our intention to deal with problematic verses.

We also find the verb *hōdîā'* with no explicit object three times; *hizkîr* and *hišmā'* seven times each; and *hōrā* five times. The content is always understood from the context, sometimes by virtue of an adverbial extension. None of the other causative *hip'il* forms occur without an object.

Some comments are in order concerning the verbs *hōrîš* and *hōrā*. *hōrîš* has these meanings: (1) "drive away," and (2) "cause somebody to inherit." In our study we refer to the verb in the second sense, for only this is a causative verb with two objects. The verb *hōrā* also has at least two meanings: (1) "shoot," (2) "teach, direct." Only the second of these was considered, for the stated reason. The verb *hiqnā* has been referred to, and the existence of this root in the *hip'il* is not too certain. The verb *hiškiāh* occurs but once in the Hebrew Bible with two objects: *hahōš'abîm laḥaškîāh 'et-'ammî š'amî* ("which think to cause my people to forget my name," Jer 23:27).

Passivization of these causative verbs is normal, although we find clear cases of *hop'al* from two, perhaps three, roots only. The root *r'y* occurs four times in the *hop'al*: *'āšer hor'ētā bāhār* ("which was shown to you in the mount," Exod 26:30); *'āšer-'attā mor'e bāhār* ("which was shown to you in the mount," Exod 25:40); *wəhor'ā 'et-hakkōhēn* ("it shall be shown to the priest," Lev 13:49). The root *nhl* occurs in one verse: *kēn honhaltî lî yarhē šāw* ("so am I made to possess months of vanity," Job 7:3). And in one verse we find the Hebrew verb *yd'* in the *hop'al*, but with a disparity between *qāre* and *kātib*: *mūda'at (kātib: מִיִּדְעַ) zōt bəkol hā'āreš* ("this is known in all the earth," Isa 12:5).

If we do not take into consideration the verse in Isaiah (because of the difference between *qāre* and *kātib*), we find just five passive forms of the causative *hop'al* verbs. However, looking at similar forms in related Semitic languages (e.g., Arabic), we may assume that in biblical Hebrew more such forms existed, such as: **hopš'atū 'et hakkuttōnet* ("their coat was stripped off"), **wayyo'oklū ha'ānāšîm 'et hallehem* ("the people were fed with the bread"), and so on.

In the existing (and hypothetical) passive forms, the subject is generally the SEC; in one verse (Lev 13:49) the OEC becomes the subject: *wəhor'ā (hannega') 'et-hakkōhēn*. Our findings do not suffice to prove that the OEC may always become subject. But, beyond doubt, the SEC is the subject in passive sentences. So the speaker of biblical Hebrew may well have said **'attā hor'ētā 'et hannega'* ("you were shown the plague") rather than **hor'ā hannega' 'otkā*. The underlying structure is not different from that in Figure 2 above, but the agent is not indicated.

In Gesenius (1903, p. 370) we also find causative verbs in the *pi'el* that govern two objects: *'izzēr* ("gird"), *ḥissēr* ("cause to lack"), *millē* ("fill"),

limmēd ('teach'), *'ittēr* ('crown'); the same rules stated above for the *hip'ıl* forms hold here also. The following are some examples of sentences with two objects: *hammə'azzərēnı̄ ḥāyil* ('that girds me with strength,' Ps 18:33); *wayyəmallē 'et-yərūšālayim dam nāqı̄* ('he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood,' 2 Kgs 24:4); *wəlimmadtem 'ōiām 'et-bənēkem* ('and you shall teach them to your children,' Deut 11:19); *wəkābōd wəḥādār tə'aṭṭərēhū* ('you . . . have crowned him with glory and honor,' Ps 8:6).

The verb *hissēr* occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible, and it is doubtful that it belongs to the group of causative verbs with two objects. Once, the OEC is governed by the preposition *mi(n)*: *ūməhassēr 'et-napšı̄ mitṭōbā* ('and bereave my soul of good,' Eccl 4:8). In the other verse there is no OEC at all, but a sort of adverbial extension: *wattəhassərēhū mə'aṭ mə'ēlōhım* ('you have made him a little lower than the angels,' Ps 8:6). But the other aforementioned verbs have in general all these constructions: with two objects, with an OEC only, with an SEC only, and without an object.

In summary, it may be said that the causative *hip'ıl* verbs with two objects in general govern the two objects in the accusative (with or without *'et*). One of the objects may be an embedded clause or an anaphoric pronoun (which is sometimes omitted in the vicinity of *'āšer*). In some cases (and only after certain verbs), we find *lə-* as a governing preposition, and this *lə-* always introduces the SEC; sometimes there may be *bə-*. We do not always find both objects after the verbs. At times we have just the one object (be it SEC or OEC), and a straightforward context. More rarely the object is missing altogether. Passive forms of these verbs exist, and it appears that both the SEC and the OEC may be the subject of these passive clauses.

To complete our findings, these verbs were checked in the Mishna also. Only ten causative verbs exist with two objects (the biblical verbs except for *hōrış*, *hiqnā*, *hēbın*, *hēnıq*, *hirwā*, *hišbā'*, and *hiškāh*), and their distribution is substantially more restricted than in the Bible. *hizkır*, *hišmā'*, and *hišqā* never govern two objects; *he'ėkil* takes two objects a mere seven times (and once the SEC is with *lə-*); *hōrā* twice governs two objects (once the OEC is an embedded clause, and once an infinitive); *hilbış* has two objects just once; *hinḥıl* once (the SEC with *lə-*); *hēr'ā* seven times, and *hipšıt* twice. Constructions with only an OEC occur after the verbs *hōdā'*, *hōrā* (always infinitive with *lə-*), *he'ėkil*, *hišmā'* and *hizkır*. Some verbs govern only the SEC, while some lack an object altogether. The general impression is that the use of causative verbs with two direct objects has diminished considerably in the Mishna.

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