The Influence of Hebrew Pronominal Usages
on the English Bible

Isao Hashimoto

0. Pronouns in Old Testament Hebrew (hereafter, Hebrew) have usages which are absent from those in English. Some such usages have been introduced into English versions of the Bible. In addition, already existing English usages have been strengthened by similar Hebrew pronominal usages, even though they were archaic in English when a biblical translation was made. Our chief concern in this paper is to study Hebrew influence on pronominal usages in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament (hereafter, A.V.)[1]. At the same time we shall refer to the similar usages in the Old English version of the Heptateuch (hereafter, O.E.H.) and the earlier version of the Old Testament of the Wycliffite Bible (hereafter, W.B.).

0.1. Before proceeding to our subject, we shall outline the principle of the pronominal system and word order in Hebrew.

Hebrew has a two-form system of pronouns. One is a free form, that is, an independent pronoun, which is used only to express the nominative. The other is a bound form, that is, a suffixal pronoun. When it is attached to a noun, it functions as genetive[2], and when it is attached to a preposition or a verb, it functions as object.[3]

Hebrew has two types of sentence. One is a nominal sentence, which contains no overt correspondent of the English verb *be* as copula or auxiliary and gains its tense from the context in which it occurs. When such a sentence is translated into English, the appropriate form of the verb *be* must be added, such as 'David (*was*) the king', 'they (*are*) young', 'he (*is*) writing'.[4] The other is a verbal sentence, which contains a verb. In the verbal sentence, a pronoun-subject is not expressed, unless emphasis is given to it, because a verb agrees in person, number and gender, and the pronoun-subject is inherent in the verb itself. (In a literal translation (Lit.), a pronoun-subject which is indicated by the conjugation of a Hebrew verb is expressed, whether the subject is expressed or not in a Hebrew sentence.)

The normal word order of the nominal sentence is: subject–predicate. But when the subject consists of a pronoun and the predicate consists of an adjective, the predicate is often placed before the subject, without any effect of emphasis on the predicate. The normal word order of the verbal sentence is: verb-[noun–subject]-[noun–object]-[adverbial]. When the object of a verb is a pronoun, it is expressed

by a suffix which is attached to the verb, unless emphasis is given to it.

1.   Hebrew *casus pendens*

In Hebrew, a noun (phrase) or a pronoun is quite often placed at the head of a sentence and repeated by means of a pronoun, suffixal or independent. This syntactical phenomenon is known by different names, such as *casus pendens*, *nominativus pendens*. We associate these names with the so-called anacoluthic sentence, because they are borrowings from the Indo-European grammars. In Hebrew, however, sentence constructions given these names are not anacoluthic, but syntactic devices whose function is mainly to give emphasis to an extraposed part. Not infrequently these Hebrew emphatic constuctions are brought into the English versions of the Bible. In other words, this construction in the English Bible derives from the influence of Hebrew. Some grammarians maintain that they derive from the influence of French, and others cite them as examples of the English anacoluthic sentence.

We shall present groups of sentences which originate in the Hebrew *casus pendens*, differing according to the syntactic function of the pronoun resuming the extraposed part.

1.1.   A resumptive pronoun in the genetive case

In Hebrew, even though a pronoun or a noun (phrase) functions as genetive, it can be extraposed at the head of the sentence and repeated by means of a suffixal pronoun, as illustrated in (1):

   (1)   'ănî yăday nāṭû šămayim——Hebrew, *Isa.* 45–12.
         (Lit. *I* hands-of-*me* they-stretched-out heavens)

From Hebrew sentences of this type, derive the following English sentences in the A.V.:

   (1') *I*, euen *my* handes haue stretched out the heauens——A. V., *Isa.* 45–12.
         (which derives from (1).)
   (2)   *Who so sheddeth mans blood*, by man shall *his* blood be shed——A. V., *Gen.*
         9–6.
   (3)   *the leper in whom the plague is*, *his* clothes shall be rent——A. V., *Lev.*
         13–45.
   (4)   *the vncircumcised man-child*, ..., *that* soûle shall be cut off from his people
         ——A. V., *Gen.* 17–14. (where the Hebrew resumptive pronoun is replaced by
         that.)

A Hebrew extraposed part is often replaced by the *as for*-phrase in the A. V.:

   (5)   *As for mee*, is *my* complaint to man——A. V., *Job* 21–4.

(6) *as for them, their* way is not equall. ——A. V., *Ezek.* 33–17.

(7) *As for Sarai thy wife,* thou shalt not call *her* name Sarai——A. V., *Gen.* 17–15.

(8) *as for darknesse,* where is the place *thereof*——A. V., *Job* 38–19.

Sentences (5) and (8) show that in Hebrew a sentence element can be moved to the head of the sentence for emphasis, even if the sentence is introduced by an interrogative.

The Hebrew resumptive pronoun in the genetive case appears even in the O. E. H. and the W. B., because the Latin of the Vulgate, their source language, sometimes preserves it, as is illustrated in (9'), (10') and (11'):

(9) *Se werhades man* þe ne byð emsniden on þam fiæsce hys fylmenes, *hys* sawul byð adylegod of hys folce——O. E. H., *Gen.* 17–14. Cf. (4).

(9') *masculus* cuius praeputii caro circumcisa non fuerit delebitur anima *illa* de populo suo——Vulgate, *Gen.* 17–14.

(10) *Swa hwa swa* agyt ðæm mannes blod, *his* blod byð agoten——O. E. H., *Gen.* 9–6. Cf. (2).

(10') *quicumque* effuderit humanum sanguinem fundetur sanguis *illus*——Vulgate, *Gen.* 9–6.

(11) *þou* forsoþe of þe lord *þy* god operweys ert ordeyned——W. B., *Deut.* 18–14.

(11') *tu* autem a Domino Deo *tuo* aliter institutus es——Vulgate, *Deut.* 18–14.

In the W. B., the resumptive pronoun in the genetive case is often expressed by the *of*-genetive.

(12) *god* þe weie *of him* vndefoulid——W. B., *II Kings* 22–31.

    (Cf. A. V.: *As for God, his* way is perfect——*II Sam.* 22–31)

(13) *þe lord* in tempest & in whirlewind þe weies *of hym*——W. B., *Nahum* 1–3.

(14) *who so euer* schall schede mannus blode: þe blode *of him*——W. B., *Gen.* 9–6. Cf. (2) and (10).

As in (4), the resumptive pronoun is replaced by *þat* in the following example:

(15) *þe male* whos flesch of þe uttermore party of his ȝerde were not circumsidid: *þat* soule schall be done awey fro his peple——W. B., *Gen.* 17–14. Cf. (4) and (9).

In *Genesis* 17–4 of the O. E. H. and the W. B. are sentences which are introduced by *I am and* ((16a) and (16b)). They are traceable to a Latin mistranslation of a Hebrew nominal sentence with an extraposed pronoun; that is, in the Vulgate the extraposed Hebrew pronoun is translated by *ego sum et* and the nominal sentence is translated without the addition of the copulative verb, as shown in (16'b). (In the Vulgate, an extraposed pronoun is sometimes translated by *ego sum et:* see

an example cited in Notes 12.)

(16)   a) *Ic eom ⁊ min* wed mid ðe,——O. E. H., *Gen.* 17–4.

  b) *I am & I* schall sette *my* couenaunt with þe——W. B., *Gen.* 17–4.

(16′) a) 'ănî hinnēh bərîtî 'itākə——Hebrew, *Gen.* 17–4.

  (Lit. *I* behold covenant-of-*me* (is) with-you)

  (where *behold* corresponds to the Hebrew interjection *hinnēh*.)

  b) *ego sum et* pactum *meum* tecum——Vulgate, *Gen.* 17–4.

(16a) is a faithful translation of the Latin sentence (16′b), while in (16b) the subject *I* and the verb *sette* are added to make the Latin sentence (16′b) meaningful. Strangely enough, Tyndale follows the Latin version in his translation of the Hebrew extraposed pronoun in (16′a):

(16″) *I am*, behold *my* testamēt is with the——Tyndale, *Gen.* 17–4.

The following sentence in the W. B. is also related to a Hebrew sentence with an extraposed noun in the genetive-relation:

(17) *of derknessis*: what is þe place——W. B., *Job.* 38–19. Cf. (8).

In the sentence, the *of*-phrase is a modifier of the noun *þe place*, but it is moved to the head of the interrogative sentence. This occurs, because a Hebrew extraposed noun is replaced by a noun in the genetive case and a Hebrew pronoun resuming it is deleted in the Vulgate, as is shown in (17′b):

(17′) a) wəhōšekə 'ê-zeh məqōmô——Hebrew, *Job* 38–19.

  (Lit. and-*darkness* where (is) place-of-*it*)

  b) et *tenebrarum* quis locus sit——Vulgate, *Job* 38–19.

1. 2.   A resumptive pronoun in the objective case

According to Muraoka (1969: 71), when the object of a verb is extraposed in a Hebrew sentence, the extraposition is due to "stylistic consideration, chiefly parallelism" in the majority of the examples, as is illustrated in (18). Another stylistic explanation, which is offered by Driver (1892: 265) for some other examples, is that the extraposition is motivated by stylistic clarity, as is illustrated in (19). Both the Hebrew sentences (18) and (19) are translated faithfully in the A. V., as is shown in (18′) and (19′).

(18)   'arəzəkem šəmāmāh

  'ārêkem śərupōt 'ēš

  'adəmatəkem lənegədəkem zārîm 'ōkəlîm 'ōtāh——Hebrew, *Isa.* 1–7.

(Lit. country-of-you (is) (of) desolation

  cities-of-you (are) burned (with) fire

  land-of-you before-you strangers they-devour [AM-]*it*) ([AM-] stands for

the prefixal accusative marker in Hebrew. It is optional.)

(18') Your countrey is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire : *your land*, strangers deuoure *it* in your presence——A. V., *Isa.* 1–7.

(19) hā'ārez 'ăšer 'atāh šōḵēḇ 'ālệhā ləḵā 'etǝnennāh——Hebrew, *Gen.* 28–13.
(Lit. *the-land* which you (are) lying on-it to-you I-will-give-*it*)

(19') *the land* whereon thou liest, to thee I giue *it*——A. V., *Gen.* 28–13.

The following also derive from Hebrew sentences where an objective pronoun resumes an extraposed part[5]:

(20) *male and female* created hee *them*.——A. V., *Gen.* 1–27.

(21) *thou*, my lord O king, the eyes of all Israel are vpon *thee*——A. V., *I Kings* 1–20.

(22) *the caue* that is therein, I giue *it* thee——A. V., *Gen.* 23–11.

(23) *He* that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame vnto *him*.——A. V., *Prov.* 18–13.

A Hebrew extraposed part is often replaced by the *as for*-phrase in the A. V., especially when it does not have a long series of modifiers[6]:

(24) *as for me*, straightway there remained no strength in *mee*——A. V., *Daniel* 10–17.

(25) And *as for the people*, he remoued *them* to cities——A. V., *Gen.* 47–21.

(26) *as for our iniquities*, we know *them*——A. V., *Isa.* 59–12.

(27) *as for my hope*, who shall see *it*——A. V., *Job.* 17–15. Cf. (8) and (17).

The Hebrew resumptive pronoun is sometimes deleted in the A. V., so that there appears an interrogative sentence like (28), where the object of a verb is placed before an interrogative pronoun:

(28) *a wounded spirit* who can beare.——A. V., *Prov.* 18–14. Cf. (8), (17) and (27).

A Hebrew resumptive pronoun which functions as object is also brought into the O. E. H. and the W. B. via the Latin translation of the Vulgate.

(29) *Wer* ך *wif* he gesceop *hii* —— O. E. H., *Gen.* 5–2. Cf. (20).

In the Latin sentence corresponding to (29), the extraposed noun phrase takes the form of the accusative, as is shown in (29'):

(29') *masculum et feminam* creavit *eos*——Vulgate, *Gen.* 5–2 (& 1–27).

It is interesting to note that the Latin extraposed noun phrase is moved to the end of the sentence in the W. B., so that the following sentence construction appears there:

(29'') he made *hym male & female*——W. B., *Gen.* 5–2.

But the same Latin construction in *Genesis* 1-27 is translated faithfully in the W.B. :

   (29''') *male & female* he made *hem*——W.B., *Gen.* 1-27. Cf. (20).

The same phenomenon as in (29'') occurs in the O.E.H.:

   (30) a) *qui* egredietur de utero tuo *ipsum* habebis heredem——Vulgate, *Gen.*
          15-4.

       b) *pone* þu hæfst to yrfenuman, *þe* of ðe sylfum cymð.——O.E.H., *Gen.*
          15-4.

   Cf. *he* þat schall gone oute of þi wombe: *hym* þou schalt haue þin eyre
       ——W.B., *Gen.* 15-4.

In the Vulgate there sometimes occurs a translation where a Hebrew extraposed noun is replaced by a noun in the accusative case and at the same time the resumptive pronoun is deleted, as is illustrated in (31a). From a Latin sentence of this type derives a sentence like (31b) in the W.B., which has the same sentence construction as the sentence (28) of the A.V. has:

   (31) a) *patientiam meam* quis considerat——Vulgate, *Job* 17-15.
       b) *my pacience* who beholdeþ ?——W.B., *Job* 17-15. Cf. (27).

1.3.   A resumptive pronoun in the nominative case

   Muraoka (1969: 74) points out that "in most of the examples of this type the extraposition is intended as contrast, explicit or implicit." One of the examples he cites for his explanation is (32):

   (32) kî–p̄î hû' ziwwāh wərûḥô hû' qibəzān——Hebrew, *Isa.* 34-16.
        (for-mouth-of-me *it* it-has-commanded and-spirit-of-him *it* it-has-assem-
        bled-them)

From Hebrew sentences of this type derive the following English sentences in the A.V.⁷:

   (32') for *my mouth*, *it* hath commaunded, and *his spirit*, *it* hath gathered them.
        ——A.V., *Isa.* 34-16.
   (33) *the yonger*, *she* also bare a sonne——A.V., *Gen.* 19-38.
   (34) *thy rod and thy staffe*, *they* comfort me.——A.V., *Ps.* 23-4.
   (35) *the conie*, because he cheweth the cud, but diuideth not the hoofe, *he* is
        vncleane——A.V., *Lev.* 11-5.
   (36) *That* which dieth of itselfe, or is torne with beasts, *hee* shall not eate——
        A.V., *Lev.* 22-8.
   (37) *I*, euen *I* doe bring a flood——A.V., *Gen.* 6-17.

As stated somewhere above, a sentence element can be moved even before an interrogative to give emphasis to it in Hebrew. The Hebrew extraposition of this

kind is introduced into the A. V., as shown in (38b) and (39b)[8]:

(38) a) 'ēlleh 'ēp̄oh hēm——Hebrew, *Isa.* 49–21.

      (Lit. *these* where (are) *they*)

    b) *these* where had *they* beene ?——A. V., *Isa.* 49–21.

      Cf. Vulgate: *isti* ubi hic erant ——*Isa.* 49–21.

          W. B. : *pese* wher weren ?——*Isa.* 49–21.

               (The Hebrew resumptive pronoun which functions as subject is preserved in the Vulgate, especially when the extraposed noun is followed by a long series of modifiers.)

(39) a) wə'ănî 'ānāh 'ănî-b̄ō'——Hebrew, *Gen.* 37–30.

      (Lit. and-*I* where *I*-shall-I-go)

    b) *I*, whither shall *I* goe——A. V., *Gen.* 37–30.

      Cf. Vulgate: *ego* quo ibo——*Gen.* 37–30.

        O. E. H. : hwyder ga *ic* ? ——*Gen.* 37–30.

          W. B. : whyper *I* schall gone ?——*Gen.* 37–30.

               (In both the O. E. H. and the W. B., the Latin extraposed pronoun *ego* is moved into the clause in their translations.)

In the A. V., fewer Hebrew expraposed (pro)nouns in the subject-relation are replaced by the *as for*-phrase than those in the object- or the genetive-relation.

When emphasis is laid upon the subject of a Hebrew nominal sentence whose word order is: subject–predicate, the demonstrative pronoun *hû'* (masculine and singular (=*that*)), its feminine form *hî'* or either of their plural forms is inserted between the subject and the predicate, or placed after the predicate, according to Muraoka (1969: 49–56)[9]. (The Hebrew demonstrative pronoun *hû'*, *hî'* and their plural forms are identical with the personal pronouns of the third person.) This inserted Hebrew demonstrative pronoun is usually replaced by the personal pronoun *he* in the A. V., when the subject is *yəhōwāh*, which, there, is translated by *the lord*, as illustrated in (40b).

(40) a) yəhōwāh hû' ha'ĕlōhîm——Hebrew, *Deut.* 4–35.

      (Lit. Jehovah *that* (is) the-god)

    b) the LORD *hee* is God——A. V., *Deut.* 4–35.

      Cf. Vulgate: Deminus *ipse* est Deus——*Deut.* 4–35.

        O. E. H. : (lacking in the Text)

          W. B. : pe lord *he* agod——*Deut.* 4–35.

In the following examples in the A. V., the Hebrew demonstrative pronoun is preserved in the form of the English demonstrative pronoun *that*:

(41) a) 'atāh-hû' hā'ĕlōhîm——Hebrew, *II Sam.* 7–28.

      (Lit. you-*that* (is) the-god)

    b) thou art *that* God——A. V., *II Sam.* 7–28.[10]

(42) a) wəkōl 'ăšer yiqərā'-lô hā'ādām nep̄eš ḥayyāh hû' šəmô——Hebrew, *Gen.*
2-19.

(Lit. and-*all* which he-called the-man creature living *that* (was) name-
-of-it)

b) and *whatsoeuer* Adam called euery liuing creature, *that* was the name
thereof.——A. V., *Gen.* 2-19.

However, when the subject is human, the inserted Hebrew demonstrative pronoun
is generally deleted in the A. V. (Cf. exx of the A. V. in (43) & (44).)

This Hebrew demonstrative pronoun is sometimes brought into the O. E. and
the M. E. biblical translations in the following forms, via the Latin translation *ipse*:

(43) a) wəḥām hû' 'ăk̠î k̠ənā'an——Hebrew, *Gen.* 9-18.
(Lit. and-*Ham that* (is) father-of Canaan)

b) porro *Cham ipse* est pater Chanaan——Vulgate, *Gen.* 9-18.

c) *Cham* forsoþ *he is* þe fader of chanaan——W. B., *Gen.* 9-18.
Cf. O. E. H. : Cham witodlice is fæder ðære Chananeiscre ðeode.
(where the Latin pronoun *ipse* is deleted.)
A. V. : Ham is the father of Canaan.——*Gen.* 9-18.

(44) a) 'atāh-hû' maləkî——Hebrew, *Ps.* 44-5.
(Lit. *you-that* (is) king-of-me)

b) *tu* es *ipse* rex meus——Vulgate, *Ps.* 43-5.

c) *þou* art *he* my king——W. B., *Ps.* 43-5. [11]
(where the second personal pronoun *þou* is repeated in the form of the
third personal pronoun *he*.)
Cf. *The Vespasian Psalter*: ðu earð *se ilca* cyning min.——43-5.
A. V. : Thou art my King——*Ps.* 44-4.

2. A pronoun resuming the preceding (pro)noun in the oblique case

In Hebrew, a noun or a suffixal pronoun which functions as object or genetive
is not infrequently repeated by means of an independent pronoun in order "to give
strong emphasis" to the preceding noun or suffixal pronoun, according to Kautzsch
(1980: 438). The resumptive pronoun of this type is often preserved in the A. V.
in the form of (A) an objective pronoun, (B) a subjective pronoun or (C) an inde-
pendent possessive pronoun:

(A) An objective pronoun
(1) wûləšēt̠ gam-hû' yullad̠-bēn——Hebrew, *Gen.* 4-26.
(Lit. and-to-*Seth* also-*he* he-was-born-son) Cf. (1').

In this Hebrew sentence, the object of a preposition *šēt̠* (=*Seth*) is repeated by means
of the independent pronoun *hû'* (=*he*). An independent pronoun such as this is
usually replaced, in the A. V., by an objective pronoun to which is added the same

preposition that introduces the preceding (pro)noun.

(1') And *to Seth, to him* also there was borne a sonne——A. V., *Gen.* 4-26.

(2) I haue made knowen *to thee* this day, euen *to thee.*——A. V., *Prov.* 22-19.

(3) *Vpon me*, my lord, *vpon me* let this iniquitie be——*I Sam.* 25-24.

(4) *Vnto Shem* also the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Iaphet the elder, euen *to him* were children borne.——A. V., *Gen.* 10-21.

Sometimes an example occurs where the Hebrew resumptive pronoun is replaced by an objective pronoun without the addition of a preposition.

(5) The LORD made not this couenant with our fathers, but *with-vs*: euen *vs*
——A. V., *Deut.* 5-3.

In the above sentence, the emphatic adverb *euen* is added to convey the function of the Hebrew resumptive pronoun. (However, in the Hebrew sentences corresponding to (2) and (4), a Hebrew word corresponding to *euen* is expressed.)

The following sentence reveals the same construction as in (1') and (2)-(4).

(6) But *of the tree of the knowledge of good and euel*, thou shalt not eate *of it*
——A. V., *Gen.* 2-17. Cf. a similar ex. in *Gen.* 3-3.

But this sentence derives from a Hebrew sentence with a different construction, where a prepositional phrase is moved to the head of the sentence to lay emphasis on it, and is repeated at the end of the sentence, the place where it would be put in a normal word order. In the repeated prepositional phrase, a noun-object of the preposition is pronominalized, as follows:

(6') wûmē'ēz hada'at̮ t̮ôb̮ wārā' lō' t̮ō'kal mimmennû——Hebrew, *Gen.* 2-17.

(Lit. and-*of-tree-of the-knowledge good and-evil* not you-shall-eat *of-it*)

When a Hebrew independent pronoun resumes a (pro)noun-object of a verb, it is usually replaced, in the A. V., by an objective pronoun, as is illustrated in (7) and (8), where, as in (5), the emphatic adverb *euen* is added.

(7) But *me*, euen *me* thy seruant, and Zadok the Priest, and Benaiah the sonne of Iehoiada, and thy seruant Solomon hath he not called.——A. V., *I Kings* 1-26.

(8) Blesse *mee*, euen *me* also, O my father.——A. V., *Gen.* 27-34.

(B) A subjective pronoun

(9) ha'ēt̮ lāk̮em 'atem lāšeket̮ bəb̮ātêk̮em——Hebrew, *Haggai* 1-4.

(Lit. [Q-] (is it) time for-*you you* to-live in-houses-of-you)

(where [Q-] stands for the Hebrew prefixal particle *ha-*, which is attached to the first word of a sentence and marks it out as a question.)

The resumptive independent pronoun in the above sentence is translated in the A. V., as if it were a vocative.

(9') Is it time for *you*, O *yee*, to dwell in your sieled houses——A. V., *Haggai* 1–4.

(C) An independent possessive pronoun

(10) yiśəmaḥ libî g̅am-'ănî——Hebrew, *Prov.* 23–15.

(Lit. it-shall-rejoice heart-of-*me* also-*I*)

When a Hebrew independent pronoun resumes a suffixal pronoun which functions as genetive, as illustrated in (10), it is usually replaced by an independent possessive pronoun in the A. V.

(10') *my* heart shall reioyce, euen *mine*.——A. V., *Prov.* 23–15.

(11) In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogges licke *thy* blood, euen *thine*.——A. V., *I Kings* 21–19.

The resumptive pronoun dealt with in this section is generally deleted or not translated in the Vulgate, so that the influence of it is not to be found in the O. E. H. and the W. B.

3. A pronoun repeating the first subject

According to Davidson (1976: 158–9), when two or more subjects united by the prefixal conjunctive wə- (=*and*) follow a verb, the verb "perhaps oftenest" agrees in gender, number and person with the first subject, and the first subject is repeated by means of a pronoun before the second, especially when it is a noun-subject and is separated from the second by any element of the sentence.

(1) wayya'al 'aḇərām mimmizərayim hû' wə'iśətô wəḵōl-'ăšer-lô wəlôṭ—— Hebrew, *Gen.* 13–1.

(Lit. and-he-went-up *Abram* from-Egypt *he* and-wife-of-him and-all-that (is) to-him and-Lot)

A pronoun repeating the first noun-subject is usually preserved in the A. V., so that the following sentences derive from Hebrew sentences of type (1):

(1') ANd *Abram* went vp out of Egypt, *he* and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot——A. V., *Gen.* 13–1. Cf. (1).

(2) Then *the handmaidens* came neere; *they* and their children ——A. V., *Gen.* 33–6.

(3) *the men* were sent away, *they*, and their asses.——A. V., *Gen.* 44–3.

(4) And *Pharaoh* rose vp in the night, *hee* and all his seruants, and all the Egyptians——A. V., *Ex.* 12–30.

When the first subject is a pronoun, it is not repeated though a verb generally agrees with it, as is illustrated in (5):

(5) wûḇā'ṯā' 'atāh wəziqənê yiśərā'ēl——Hebrew, *Ex.* 3–18.

(Lit. and-*you-shall-go you* and-elders-of Israel)

From Hebrew sentences of this type, also, derive many sentences which have the same construction as (1') and (2)-(4) have, because it often happens in the A. V. that a verb in these Hebrew sentences is replaced by 'pronoun-subject whose gender, number and person are expressed by the Hebrew verb + verb' and at the same time each of the subjects is preserved. Compare (5') with (5).

(5') *thou* shalt come, *thou* and the Elders of Israel——A. V., *Ex.* 3–18.

(6) *I* shal be destroyed, *I* and my house. ——A. V., *Gen.* 34–30.

(7) *we* may liue, and not die, both *we*, and thou, and also our little ones. ——
A. V., *Gen.* 43–8.

(8) And *he* hath put in his heart that he may teach, both *he* and Aholiab the sonne of Ahisamach of the tribe of Dan. ——A. V., *Ex.* 35–34.

Sentences of the type like (1') and (5') are to be seen even in the O. E. H. and the W. B., because the Hebrew sentence construction and the number and person of a Hebrew verb are preserved in the Vulgate, as illustrated in (9b) and (10b):

(9) a) nāḇōl tiḇōl gam-'atāh gam-hā'ām hazeh——Hebrew, *Ex.* 18–18.
   (Lit. wearing-out *you-will-wear-out* also-*you* also-the-people this)
   (where the present participle stands for the Hebrew infinitive absolute.)

   b) stulto labore *consumeris et tu* et populus iste——Vulgate, *Ex.* 18–18.

   c) ðu eart mid dysegum geswince geswenced, ægðer ge ðu ge ðin folc——
   O. E. H., *Ex.* 18–18.

   d) þou ert consumyd with foly labore & þou & þis puple——W. B., *Ex.*
   18–18.

(10) a) wayyāḇō' ya'āqōḇ lûzāh 'ǎšer bə'erez kəna'an hiw' bêṯ-'ēl hû' wəḵōl-
   -hā'ām——Hebrew, *Gen.* 35–6.
   (Lit. and-he-came *Jacob* toward-Luz which (is) in-the-land-of Canaan that (is) Bethel *he* and-all-the-people)

   b) venit igitur *Iacob* Luzam quae est in terra Chanaan cognomento Bethel *ipse* et omnis populus——Vulgate, *Gen.* 35–6.

   c) Iacob ferde ða mid ealre hys hiwrædene——O. E. H., *Gen.* 35–6.
   (where the Latin sentence construction is modified, probably in order to avoid an unEnglish construction. Cf. §5–(4).)

   d) *Iacob* come to luzam þat is in þe lond of chanaan bethell by name *he* & all þe puple——W. B., *Gen.* 35–6.

4. A pronoun repeating the first object

A syntactic phenomenon similar to that stated in the preceding section occurs even in a cluster of objects of a verb, as is illustrated in (1). Blau (1976: 91, foot note) and Davidson (1976: 1) cite (1) without giving any explanation for the cause

of its occurrence:

(1) parə'ōh qāzap 'al-'ăḫādân wayyiten 'ōtî bəmišəmar bêt śar haṭṭabāhîm 'ōtî wə'et śar hā'ōpîm——Hebrew, *Gen.* 41–10.

(Lit. Pharaoh he-was-angry with-servants-of-him and-he-put [AM–]*me* in--custody in-the-house-of captain-of the-guard [AM–]*me* and-[AM–]chief-of the-baker)

In this Hebrew sentence, the first object of a verb *'oti* (=*me*) is separated from the second and repeated before the second. This Hebrew repeated pronoun is preserved in the A.V., as is shown in (1') and (2):

(1') Pharaoh was wroth with his seruants, and put *mee* in warde, in the cap-taine of the gaurds house, both *mee*, and the chiefe Baker.——A.V., *Gen.* 41–10. Compare with (1).

(2) And God ⋯ giue *thee* the blessing of Abraham, *to thee* and to thy seede with thee——A.V., *Gen.* 28-3-4.

5. Repetition of the same possessive pronoun

In Hebrew, when several noun phrases are coordinated and one possessive pro-noun is a determiner common to each of them, a pronominal suffix, which func-tions as genetive, must be attached to each individually, as is illustrated in (1):

(1) wayyiqqaḥ 'ēśāw 'et-nāšâw wə'et-bānâw wə'et-bənōtâw——Hebrew, *Gen.* 36–6.

(Lit. and-he-took Esau [AM–]wives-*of-him* and-[AM–]sons-*of-him* and--[AM–]daughters-*of-him*)

The repetition of a Hebrew possessive pronoun as in (1) is usually preserved in the A.V. Compare (1') with (1):

(1') And Esau tooke *his* wiues, and *his* sonnes, and *his* daughters——A.V.,*Gen.* 36–6.

In the Hebrew text, some exceptions occur where a possessive pronoun is not repe-ated, as in (3):

(3) 'azzî wəzimərāt——Hebrew, *Ex.* 15–2.

(Lit. strength-*of-me* and-song)

In such cases, the A.V. usually follows the Hebrew text.

(3') *my* strength and song——A.V., *Ex.* 15–2.

The Hebrew way of repeating the same possessive pronoun is preserved less frequently in the O.E. and M.E. biblical translations than in the A.V., because the Hebrew repeated possessive pronouns (except for the first) is often deleted in

the Vulgate, as is illustrated in (6).

(4) Hwæt ða Noe eode in to þam arce, ᛉ *his* ðry suna ᛉ *his* wif ᛉ *his* sun wif
——O.E.H., *Gen.* 7–7.

(5) wheþer I and *þi* moder & *þi* breþeren louten þe vpon erþ ? ——W.B., *Gen.*
37–10.

(6) a) 'eṯ-'åbîw wə'eṯ-immô——Hebrew, *Gen.* 2–24.
(Lit. [AM-]father-*of-him* and-[AM-]mother-*of-him*)

b) patrem *suum* et matrem——Vulgate, *Gen.* 2–24.

c) fæder ᛉ modor——O.E.H., *Gen.* 2–24.
(where even the first Latin possessive pronoun is deleted.)

d) *his* fader & moder——W.B., *Gen.* 2–24.

But the Hebraism is kept in the A.V.

e) *his* father and *his* mother——A.V., *Gen.* 2–24.

6. The emotional dative in Hebrew

In Hebrew, the dative is expressed periphrastically; that is, it is made up of the prefixal preposition *lə-* (=*to*) and a suffixal pronoun or a noun. The dative in Hebrew, as well as in English, can be used as the so-called emotional dative—— the ethical dative and the dative of interest. The emotional dative which occurs frequently in the A.V. derives from the influence of the Hebrew emotional dative.

According to Brown, Driver and Briggs (1979: 515), the ethical dative in Hebrew is used reflexively, "throwing the action back upon the subj(ect), and expressing with some pathos the interest, or satisfaction, or completeness, with which it is (or is to be) accomplished," and it occurs especially, but not exclusively, with a verb in the imperative form or an imperfect verb of the first person, as is illustrated in (1)-(3):

(1) bərah̲-ləkā 'el-'erez yəhûd̲āh——Hebrew, *Amos* 7–12.
(Lit. flee-*to-you* to-land-of Judah)

(2) 'āšûb̲āh llî——Hebrew, *Nu.* 22–34.
(Lit. I-shall-turn-back *to-me*)

(3) nəṯîb̲ôṯêhem 'iqqəšû lāhem——Hebrew, *Isa.* 59–8.
(Lit. paths-of-them they-have-twisted *to-them*)
(where the Hebrew ethical dative is replaced by the *to*-phrase.)

The ethical dative in Hebrew occurs with either an intransitive verb as in (1) and (2) or a transitive verb as in (3). It is generally replaced by an objective pronoun in the A.V. For instance, from the Hebrew ethical datives in (1)–(3), derive the English ethical datives in (1')–(3'):

(1') flee *thee* away into the land of Iudah——A.V., *Amos* 7–12.

(2') I will get *mee* backe againe——A.V., *Nu.* 22-34.

(3') they haue made *them* crooked pathes——A.V., *Isa.* 59-8.

Some other examples of the ethical dative which can trace back to Hebrew is sub-joined below. [12]

(4) Get *thee* out of thy countrey——A.V., *Gen.* 12-1.

(5) get *you* ouer the brooke Zered——A.V., *Deut.* 2-13.

(Other examples after the verb *get: I Sam.* 22-5, 26-12, *I Kings* 17-3, *Isa.* 40-9, *etc.*)

(6) And she went, and sate *her* downe ouer against him——A.V., *Gen.* 21-16.

(7) forbeare *thee* from medling with God,——A.V., *II Ch.* 35-21.

(8) Turne *thee* aside to thy right hand, or to thy left, and lay *thee* holde on one of the yong men, and take *thee* his armour. But Ashel would not turne aside from following of him. And Abner said againe to Ashel, Turne *thee* aside from following me——A.V., *II Sam.* 2-21-22.

(The second and the third *thee's* occur with a transitive verb.)

(9) Goe, borrow *thee* vessels aboard——A.V., *II Kings* 4-3.

(10) wee haue built *vs* an altar——A.V., *Josh.* 22-23.

(11) I will build *mee* a wide house ——A.V., *Jer.* 22-14.

(12) Buy *thee* my field ——A.V., *Jer.* 32-7.

(13) Lot chose *him* all the plaine of Iordane——A.V., *Gen.* 13-11.

(14) Hew *thee* two Tables of stone——A.V., *Deut.* 10-1.

(15) they haue ··· hewed *them* out cisternes——A.V., *Jer.* 2-13.

(16) Make *thee* an Arke of Gopher-wood——A.V., *Gen.* 6-14.

(Other examples after the verb *make: Ex.* 32-31, *Nu.* 21-8, *Deut.* 4-16, 23, 9-16, 10-1, 16-18, *etc.*)

(17) Thou shalt prepare *thee* a way——A.V., *Deut.* 19-3.

(18) Set *thee* vp way-markes; make *thee* high heaps——A.V., *Jer.* 31-21.

(19) Take *ye* wise men——A.V., *Deut.* 1-13. Cf. (39). (*ye*=nominative ?)

The dative in Hebrew can be used also as the dative of interest, whose function corresponds to that of the Latin *dativus commodi aut incommodi*, according to Brown, Driver and Briggs (*loc. cit.*).

(20) 'ārād̲-llî 'et̲-hā'ām hazzeh——Hebrew, *Nu.* 22-6.

(Lit. curse-*for-me* [AM-]the-people this)

(21) 'al-tib̲k̲û lāmēt̲ wə'al-tānud̲û lō——Hebrew, *Jer.* 22-10.

(Lit. not-weep *for-(the-)dead* and-not-lament *for*-him)

(where the Hebrew dative of interest is replaced by the *for*-phrase.)

These datives of interest in Hebrew, as well as the ethical datives, are commonly translated by an objective pronoun, as shown in (20') and (21': the second example) which derive from the Hebrew sentences (20) and (21)[13]. When the dative of interest

consists of a noun, it is replaced by the *for*-phrase, as shown in (21': the first example).

(20') curse *mee* this people——A. V., *Nu.* 22-6.

(21') Weepe ye not *for the dead*, neither bemoane *him*,——A. V., *Jer.* 22-10.

Subjoined examples in the A. V. are also traceable to the Hebrew datives of interest.

(22) I remember *thee*, the kindnesse of thy youth, the loue of thine espousals, ——A. V., *Jer.* 2-2.

Cf. The Revised Version: I remember *for thee* the kindness of thy youth, ···

(23) Build *me* here seuen Altars, and prepare *mee* here seuen oxen——A. V., *Nu.* 23-1.

(24) Call *me* Bathsheba.——A. V., *I Kings* 1-28.

(The sentence means 'Call Bathsheba *for me*'.)

(25) I will make *him* an helpe meet for him.——A. V., *Gen.* 2-18. Cf. (40a).

(26) I will make *thee* sweare by the LORD——A. V., *Gen.* 24-3.

(27) hee may make *vs* sport.——A. V., *Judges* 16-25.

(28) Saddle *me* the asse.——A. V., *I Kings* 13-13.

(29) Take *vs* the foxes,——A. V., *Song of Solomon* 2-15.

The Hebrew ethical dative is sometimes replaced by a prepositional phrase in the A. V., such as *for* / *(vn)to* + (reflexive) pronoun, or by a reflexive pronoun:

(30) Shew a miracle *for you*——A. V., *Ex.* 7-9.

(31) And take thou *vnto thee* of all food——A. V., *Gen.* 6-21.

(32) they ··· made *themselves* aprons.——A. V., *Gen.* 3-7. Cf. (35).

(33) Show *to your selues* in righteousnesse.——A. V., *Hosea* 10-12.

And the Hebrew dative, when it is a pronoun, is rarely replaced by the *for*-phrase.

(34) he shal fight *for you*.——A. V., *Deut.* 3-22. Cf. (41).

The ethical dative in Hebrew is brought into the O. E. H. and the W. B. in the form of a dative pronoun, via the Latin tranlation in the Vulgate, where the Hebrew dative is often replaced by the dative pronoun *mihi* / *nobis* / *tibi* / *vobis* / *sibi*, and rarely by *ei*/*eis*.

(35) a) wayya'ăśû lāhem ḥăgōrōṯ——Hebrew, *Gen.* 3-7.

(Lit. and-they-made *to-them* girdles)

b) et fecerunt *sibi* perizomata——Vulgate, *Gen.* 3-7.

c) hi ··· worhton *him* wædbrec.——O. E. H., *Gen.* 3-7.

d) pey ··· maden *hem* breches——W. B., *Gen.* 3-4.

Cf. A. V.: they ···made *themselues aprons*.

The Latin dative pronoun which derives from the Hebrew ethical dative is usually replaced by the dative pronoun in the O. E. H., while it is often replaced by the

to-phrase in the W. B. :

 (36) a) Loth ða geceas *him* þone eard wiðe Iordanen——O. E. H., *Gen.* 13–11.

    b) loth chese *to hym*: þe regyoun about Iordan. ——W. B., *Gen.* 13–11.

    Cf. A. V. : Lot chose *him* all the plaine of Iordane.

 (37) a) Wyrce ðe twa stænene tabulan——O. E. H., *Deut.* 10–1.

    b) plane *to þee* two stonyn tablys——W. B., *Deut.* 10–1. Cf. (14).

 (38) a) ge ... worhton *eow* gegoten cealf——O. E. H., *Deut.* 9–16.

    b) ʒou ... han made *to ʒou* aʒotyn calf——W. B., *Deut.* 9–16.

    Cf. A. V. : ye ... had made *you* a molten calfe.

 (39) a) Ceosað *eow* wise men——O. E. H., *Deut.* 1–13.

    b) ʒeue ʒe *of ʒou* wise men——W. B., *Deut.* 1–13. Cf. (19).

The Latin reflexive pronoun *vobis* is replaced by a prepositional phrase introduced by *of* in the example (39b).

 The Hebrew dative of interest is also introduced into the O. E. H. and the W. B. in the same way as the Hebrew ethical dative:

 (40) a) 'e'ĕśeh-llô 'ēzer kənegədô——Hebrew, *Gen.* 2–18.

    (Lit. I-will-make-*for-him* helper suited-to-him)

    b) faciamus *ei* adiutorium similem sui——Vulgate, *Gen.* 2–18.

    c) wyrcean *him* sumne fultum to his gelicnysse——O. E. H., *Gen.* 2–18.

    d) make we *to hym* helpe like hym——W. B., *Gen.* 2–18.

The following Hebrew dative of interest is brought into both the O. E. H. and the W. B. by means of the *for*-phrase, because it is translated by the *pro*-phrase in the Vulgate:

 (41) a) yəhōwāh 'ĕlōêkem hahōlēkə lipǝnêkem hû' yillāhēm lākem——Hebrew, *Deut.* 1–30.

    (Lit. Jehovah god-of-you the-one-going before-you he he-shall-fight *for-you*)

    b) Dominus Deus qui ductor est vester *pro vobis* ipse pugnabit——Vulgate, *Deut.* 1–30.

    c) Drihten eower God, ðe eower lateow is, he fyht *for eow*——O. E. H., *Deut.* 1–30.

    d) þe lord god þat is (ʒ)oure leder *for vs* he shal fiʒte——W. B., *Deut.* 1–30.

7. A redundant object anticipating the subject of an objective clause

 In Hebrew, sentences of the following type occur:

 (1) yāda'ətā 'et-'abənēr ben-nēr kî ləpatōtəkā bā'——Hebrew, *II Sam.* 3–25.

   (Lit. you-know [AM-]*Abner son-of-Ner* that to-deceive-you *he-came*)

where the verb *yāḏa'tā* (=*know*) is followed by both the redundant object *'aḇᵊnēr ben-nēr* (=*Abner son-of-Ner*) to which the accusative marker is attached, and an objective clause which is introduced by the conjunction *kî* (=*that*). In the objective clause, the subject is not expressed, but the verb *bā'* (=*he-came*) agrees in gender, number and person with the redundant object in the main clause. In Hebrew sentences of this type, a pronoun-subject of an objective clause is expressed if the objective clause is nominal, as is illustrated in (7). Williams (1974: 13) regards this redundant object as an "emphatic accusative of specification." And Joüon (1923: 480) points out that the construction occurs with "verba sentiendi", such as *rā'āh* (=*see*), *yāḏa'* (=*know*), *hikîr* (=*discern*), and rarely with other verbs, such as *higîḏ* (=*tell*). From Hebrew sentences of this type, derive English sentences of the following type:

(1') Thou knowest *Abner the sonne of Ner*, that *he* came to deceive thee——
A. V., *II Sam.* 3–25.

where the verb is followed by the redundant object, and the pronoun-subject of the objective clause resumes the redundant object.

The following sentences are also traceable to Hebrew sentences of type (1).

(2) the sonnes of God saw *the daughters of men*, that *they* were faire——A. V., *Gen.* 6–2.

(3) I know *him*, that *hee* will command his children——A. V., *Gen.* 18–19.

(4) Lot lifted vp his eyes, and beheld *all the plaine of Iordane*, that *it* was well watered——A. V., *Gen.* 13–10.

(5) behold *the height of the starres* how high *they* are.——A. V., *Job* 22–12. (where *the hieght of the starres* corresponds to *ro'š bôḵāḇîm* (lit. *head stars*), which means 'leading stars'.)

(6) the king of Israel discerned *him* that *hee* was of the Prophets.——A. V., *I Kings* 20–41.

This Hebrew sentence construction is already introduced into the O. E. and the M. E. biblical translations via the Latin translation.

(7) a) *'atāh yāḏa'ᵊtā 'eṯ-hā'ām kî ḇᵊra' hû'*——Hebrew, *Ex.* 32–22.
(Lit. you you-know [AM-] *the-people* that in-evil (is) *it*)
(where the pronoun-subject is expressed optionally in the main clause to give emphasis to it, while the occurrence of the pronoun subject in the subordinate clause is obligaotry, because the clause is nominal.)

b) tu enim nosti *populum istum* quod pronus sit ad malum——Vulgate, *Ex.* 32–22.
(where the pronoun-subject of the Hebrew objective clause is deleted, and the subject is expressed by the conjugation of the verb, just as in

the Hebrew sentence (1) above.)

c) þu canst *þis folc*, þæt *hit* aeall to yfele gewend is.——O. E. H., *Ex.* 32–22.

d) þou forsoþ knew *þis* puple þat *it* is redy to yuel——W. B., *Ex.* 32–23.

Cf. A. V.: thou knowest *the people*, that *they* are set on mischiefe.

But the Latin sentence construction is usually modified in the O. E. H., by moving the redundant object into the objective clause to substitute it for the pronoun-subject as in (8b), or by deleting it as in (9b), probably in order to avoid reproducing the Latin construction which differs from the English one. On the other hand, the Latin construction is always preserved in the W. B. [14]

(8) a) viderunt Aegyptii *mulierem* quod esset pulchra nimis——Vulgate, *Gen.* 12–14.

b) Egyptiscean gesawon ðæt *þæt wif* wæs swyðe wlitig——O. E. H., *Gen.* 12–14.

(where the Latin redundant object is moved into the objective clause.)

c) Egypcyens seȝyn *þe womman* þat *sche* was full fayre——W. B., *Gen.* 12–14.

Cf. A. V.: the Egyptians beheld *the woman*, that *shee* was faire.

(9) a) vidit Deus *lucem* quod esset bona——Vulgate, *Gen.* 1–4.

b) God geseah ða ðæt *hit* god wæs——O. E. H., *Gen.* 1–4.

(where the redundant object is deleted.)

c) god seeȝ *liȝt* þat *it* was good——W. B., *Gen.* 1–4.

Cf. A. V.: God saw *the light*, that *it* was good.

8. The Ist personal pronoun placed first

Hebrew puts the Ist personal pronoun first. This order is preserved in the A. V.

(1) betweene *mee* and you——A. V., *Gen.* 9–12.

(2) betweene *me* and *thee*——A. V., *Gen.* 17–2.

(3) let vs make a couenant, *I* and *thou*——A. V., *Gen.* 31–44.

(4) we dreamed a dreame in one night, *I* and *he*——A. V., *Gen.* 41–11.

There occur a few exceptions where the Ist personal pronoun is not placed first in the Hebrew text. In such cases, the Hebrew order is also kept in the A. V.

(5) And as touching the matter which *thou* and *I* haue spoken of, behold, the LORD be betweene *thee* and *mee* for euer.——A. V., *I Sam.* 20–23.

9. A Hebrew distributive expressed by the noun *'iš* (=*man*)

As Hebrew has no pronoun which corresponds to the English distributive *each*, the noun *'iš* (=*man*) (or *'iššāh* (=*woman*)) is often used to express the idea, as illu-

strated in (1) and (2):

(1) ki-makəru mizərayim 'iš śadēhû——Hebrew, *Gen.* 47–20.

(Lit. because-they-sold Egyptians *man* (=*each, each of them, each one*) field--*of-him*)

(2) wûqəhû 'iš mahətatô wûnətatem 'ălêhem qətōret wəhiqərabətem lip̄ənē yəhō-wāh 'iš mahətatô ḥămiššîm wûmā'tayim mahətōt wə'atāh wə'ahărōn 'iš mahətato——Hebrew, *Nu.* 16–17.

(Lit. and-you-take *man* censer-*of-him* and-you-put in-them incense and--you-offer before Jehovah *man* censer-*of-him* fifty and-two-hundred censers and-you and-Aaron *man* censer-*of-him*)

In the first Hebrew sentence, *'iš* takes the members of the group, *mizərayim* (=*Egyptians*), one by one, and a suffixal pronoum in the third person and singular which is attached to a singular noun immediately after *'iš* refers to each of the members of the group. This distributive phrasing, *i.e.*, *'iš*+singular noun with a suffixal pronoun in the third person and singular, is applied even to a group of the first or the second person, as is shown in the second sentence. The Hebrew distributive phrasing is most often preserved as '*euery man his* + singular noun' in the A.V., even if a group consists of the first or the second personal pronoun. [15)

(1') for the Egyptians sold *euery man his* field——A.V., *Gen.* 47–20.

(2') And take *euery man his* censer, and put incense in them, and bring yee before the LORD *euery man his* censer, two hundred and fiftie censers, thou also and Aaron, *each of you his* censer.——A.V., *Nu.* 16–17–18.

(The last *'iš* in (2) is replaced by *each of you*, which is a rare case of the translation in the A.V.)

The Hebrew distributive phrasing is sometimes preserved as '*eury one his* + singular noun' as in (3) and (4), '*each man his*+singular noun' as in (5), or rarely '*each of you his* + singular noun' as in (2').

(3) Take yee heede *euery one* of *his* neighbour,——A.V., *Jer.* 9–4.

(4) They speake vanitie *euery one* with *his* neighbour——A.V., *Ps.* 12–2.

(5) he interpreted to vs our dreames, to *each man* according to *his* dreame,——A.V., *Gen.* 41–12.

Notes

1) Hebrew examples cited here are transliterated on the basis of Lambdin (1980: §§ 7–8) and their literal translations are made. In literal translations, a single word in Hebrew which must take two or more words in English is shown by joining each English word by hyphens, like '*go-down*'.

2) A suffixal pronoun which functions as genetive is represented by an *of*-phrase which is joined with a noun by a hyphen, like 'house-*of-him*'.

3) A suffixal pronoun which functions as object is represented by an objective pronoun which is joined with a verb or a preposition by a hyphen, like 'love-*them*'.

4) Words required in English and not found in Hebrew are supplied in parentheses ( ), like 'she (*is*) fair'.

5) According to Visser (1970: §598), "this usage was common in Old, Middle and early Modern English," and "the object at the beginning of the sentence may be either a (pro)noun (mostly qualified by an attributive clause)." But in the English Bible —— the O.E.H. to the A.V., —— there are many examples where the extraposed object is not qualified by an attributive clause, because they derive from the Hebrew extraposition, which is motivated mainly by emphasis.

6) According to Visser (*ibid.*, §618), "in the last part of the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century sentences opening with *as for* or *as to* were often of the following pattern: 'As for my name they do not know'. In later English a referring pronoun was used after the verb." He does not refer to sentences of type (28) and (31b).

7) Visser (*ibid.*, §73) points out that "this pleonastic insertion of a pronoun after a noun in the subject-relation was originally normal idiom, especially when the noun-subject was separated from its verb by an adjunct of some length." But in the English Bible it occurs, whether it is separated or not, because in the Bible it originates in the Hebrew extraposition which is motivated by emphasis. Among his O.E. examples is (41c) in §6.

Ōtsuka (1967: 54–55) cites from the A.V. (34) and an example in *Josh.* 22–22 ("The LORD God of gods, the LORD Gods of gods, *he* knoweth," <'ēl 'ĕlōhim yəhōwāh 'ēl 'ĕlōhim yəhōwāh hû' yōdē' (lit. god-of gods Jehovah god-of gods Jehovah *he* he-knows), and says that "probably they derive from the influence of French, because they are normal expressions in French."

8) Visser (*ibid.*, §71) suggests that sentences of this type derive from the influence of French ("French influence ? Cf. Votre père est-il malade ?"). But the examples in the Bible originate in Hebrew.

9) Many Hebrew grammarians (for instance, Davidson (1976: 149–50)) maintain that any demonstrative pronoun inserted in a nominal sentence functions as copula. But Muraoka (1969: 49–57) points out that only when the demonstrative pronoun is inserted between the predicate and the subject in a nominal sentence whose word order is: predicate–subject, it functions as copula.

10) The *that* in the example might be used as adjectival. Even if it is the case, it derives from the Hebrew demonstrative pronoun. According to Visser (*ibid.*, 74), "there are in late Old English and in Middle English a few instances of close juxtaposition of the personal pronouns *he* and *she* with the demonstratives *this* and *that*, as e.g. in 'He *thys* ys wroth, he *that* ys glad'. The origin of this idiom is unknown; it is, however, strongly reminiscent of French 'celui-ci and celui-là'. Mustanoja (Middle Eng. Syntax p. 137) thinks that it is possible that the idiom arose from a desire to render into English the markedly demonstrative colouring of Latin *hic* and *iste* ... ." These examples were not to be seen in the present investigation.

11) According to Mustanoja (1960: 136), the personal pronoun of the third person "is

employed determinately as an antecedent of a relative clause, in cases where present-
-day English usually prefers antecedents like *the man, the woman, the person,* and
those," as in *"if pou be he I luve sa wele."* But he does not refer to the *he* as in
(44c). In the W. B., *he* as an antecedent of a relative clause occurs as a translation of
the Latin *ipse* in a sentence which corresponds to a Hebrew nominal sentence where
the demonstrative pronoun is inserted and the predicate is the participle which indi-
cates *'the man who ... ',* as follows:

a. 'ānōkī 'ānōkī hū' mōḥeh pəšā'ękā——Hebrew, *Isa.* 43–25.

    (Lit. I I *that* (is) (the man who) blots-out trespasses-of-you)

b. ego sum ego sum *ipse* qui deleo iniquitates tuas——Vulgate, *Isa.* 43–25, where it
    seems that *ipse* is a translation of the Hebrew demonstrative pronoun and at the
    same time it is used as an antecedent of the relative clause.

c. I am I am *he* pat do awei pi wickenesse——W. B., *Isa.* 43–25.

    Cf. A. V. : I, euen I am *hee* that blotteth out thy transgressions——*Isa.* 43–25.

    (The text shows that *euen, am* and *that* in the sentence are words which were added,
    as they lack in the Hebrew, when the translation was made; words required in
    English and not found in Hebrew are shown by the smaller letters in principle in
    the A. V. This means that *hee* is a translation of the Hebrew demonstrative
    pronoun *hū'* in (a).)

12) Visser *(ibid.,* §328) points out that the dative as in "he *him* gewat ut of halle", "he
creap *him* to wynceastre" "may be a survival (in analytic form) of the Indoeuropeanic
'middle voice', morphologically corresponding to the Greek 'medium', and is perhaps
identical with that which we meet with in such French verbs as *s'en aller, s'evanouir, se
mourir, s'édrier, se taire."* But the dative of this type in the English versions of
the Old Testament derives from the influence of Hebrew.

13) Visser *(ibid.,* §695) states that the origin of the dative of this type "is difficult to
trace back in English, ... " Examples of the dative of this type in the English ver-
sions of the Old Testament can trace back to the Hebrew datives.

14) There are several grammarians who refer to this construction. Kellner (1967: §94)
says that "expressions like "The Egyptians beheld the woman, that shee was very faire"
(Gen., xii. 14) are now restricted to the Bible; but in the early periods of English this
construction was quite common.", and Abbott (1870: §414) states that "this idiom is of
constant occurrence in Greek, but it is very natural after a verb of observation to
put, first the primary object of observation, ..." *O.E.D (s.v., see, v.* 4d) maintains
that this construction is "common in the Bible as literal rendering of a Heb. idiom,
but app. also developed independently in Eng." and cites the earliest example from
the W. B. *(Gen.* 12–14, see: (8), where a verb is *see.)* But any grammarian and *O.E.D.*
do not give examples of this construction in the O.E. period. I wonder why this con-
struction was avoided with one exception (see:7c) in the O.E.H. (see: (8b) and (9b).),
if it was "quite common" in the early periods of English and "developed independently
in Eng." as Kellner and *O.E.D.* point out.

15) Grainger (1907: 14) refers to the phrasing *euery man his* in the A. V. But his
explanation of this phrasing is not persuasive, because he does not take account of
the original expression.

Bibliography

(1) TEXTS USED

A. V.   *The Holy Bible: A facsimile in a reduced size of the Authorized Version pvblished in the year 1611 with an introduction by A. W. Pollard and illustrative document.* 1911. Oxford: O. U. P.

Hebrew (Bible) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* (eds.) R. Kittel, *et al.* 1977. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung.

O. E. H.   *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch.* (ed.) S. J. Crowford. EETS. OS. 160; (repr.) 1969.

Tyndale   *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch: Being a verbatim reprint of the edition of M. CCCCC. XXX.* Prolegomena by J. J. Mombert and newly introduced by F. F. Bruce. 1967. Sussex: Centaur.

Vulgate   *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* 2 vols. (ed.) R. Weber. 1969. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.

The Vespasian Psalter.   H. Sweet (ed.) 1885. *The Oldest English Texts.* EETS. OS. 83, pp. 188ff.

W. B.   *MS. Bodley 959: Genesis-Baruch 3.20 in the Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible,* 5 vols. (ed.) C. Lindberg. 1959-69. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, and *The Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible: Baruch 3.20-End of Ot Edited from MS. Christ Church 145.* (ed.) C. Lindberg. 1973. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

(2) WORKS CONSULTED

Abbott, E. A. 1870. *A Shakespearian Grammar.* Suffolk: Richard & Sons.

Blau, J. 1976. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Brown, F., S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs. 1979. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Davidson, A. B. 1976. *Hebrew Syntax.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Grainger, J. M. 1907. "Studies in the Syntax of the King James Version." *Studies in Philology,* II.

Joüon, P. P. 1923. *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique.* Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical.

Kautzsch, E. 1980. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* (translated into English by A. E. Cowley) Oxford: Clarendon.

Kellner, L. 1976. *Historical Outlines of English Syntax.* (noted by K. Miyabe) Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Muraoka, T. 1969. *Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew.* Jerusalem: Univ. of Jerusalem.

Mustanoja, T. F. 1960. *A Middle English Syntax,* part I. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Ōtsuka, T. 1967. *Shakespeare oyobi Seisho no Eigo (The English of Shakespeare and the Bible).* Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Terasawa, Y. 1958. "Some Aspects of Expedients to Express Intensity and Emphasis in the A. V.," *English Language and Literature,* V. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Univ.

Visser, F. T. 1970. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language,* vol. I. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Williams, R. J. 1974. *Hebrew Syntax: An outline.* Toronto: Univ. of Toronto.

O. E. D.   *The Oxford English Dictionary.* 1970. Oxford: Clarendon.