VERBS OF MOTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW: LEXICAL SHIFTS AND SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

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Verbs of movement occupy a special place in biblical Hebrew. In texts in the classical language three verbs stand out by their frequency, הלך, 'to go,' בוא, 'to come,' and לקח, 'to take.'[1] On the other hand, the narratives that by their very content are undoubtedly related to the late exilic or the post-exilic era (LBH) are characterized by a dramatic decrease in the use of two of these verbs, הלך and לקח. A shift of this kind necessarily implies significant changes in the use of other motion verbs. In particular one notes far-reaching changes in basic syntactic patterns involving verbs of motion. An in depth study of these phenomena suggests two results. From a semantic point of view, the variation between the classical and the post-exilic language involves profound differences in orientation. With regard to syntactic structure, the classical language is characterized by particular 'two-verbal' patterns that disappear in the postexilic corpus. In the view of the present author, it hardly seems possible to account for shifts of this kind by means of stylistic design or rhetorics. Something more is involved.

A study of this problem is expected to contribute to the clarification of some of the linguistic aspects of the large scale distinction between two of the main corpuses of biblical narrative. These corpuses include: corpus A—Achaemenid period, consisting of narratives that by their very content are undoubtedly related to the late Babylonian or the Persian era (or its aftermath); (2) corpus B—

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[1] In general I use the rendering of the NJPSV, unless indicated otherwise.

narratives originating, by their very content or their relation to Deuteronomy, to the late Judean monarchy, i.e., 7th to early 6th century and including the inception of the Babylonian period; the narratives include 1 Kings 3–16; 2 Kings 11–25; Jeremiah *Vita*, and most of Joshua; (3) corpus C—texts that are not explicitly related to these periods but which from a sociolinguistic and sociocultural point of view seem to originate in the period from the 10th to mid-8th century BCE, including the main stock of the patriarchal narratives (Genesis 12–50), the Samuel-Saul-David complex (1 Samuel 1:1–1 Kings 2:46), and the Elijah-Elisha cycle.[2]

The present study is mainly concerned with corpuses A and C, although I take the freedom to discuss examples which I would attribute to corpus B to illustrate some semantic features. However, all statistics relate to corpuses A and C only.

Systematic study indicates that the differences between these corpuses for the most part are not related to literary structure or stylistic design. I have analyzed a large number of narratives with different themes (meal/cultic festivity; public honour/anointing; battle) and thus with different emotional content and activity pattern in corpus C on the one hand, and on the other hand in corpuses A and B.[3] This analysis indicates a syntactic-stylistic typology of the latter two corpuses that is strikingly different from the typology of narratives with similar theme in corpus C. On the other hand, samples from different thematic groups within corpus C reveal a very similar typology, in spite of the differences in theme, expressivity, and action pattern. The stylistic typology of corpuses A and B likewise is highly homogeneous. The upshot is that these corpuses embody different syntactic-stylistic typologies, and that these large scale typological differences are not related to stylistic design and rhetorics as such. What I attempt to show in the present study is that the variation in typology involves (a) differences in the

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[2] An analysis of the relationship between corpus A and C is in my paper, F. Polak, "Sociolinguistics, a Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew," *HS* 47 (2006), 115–62.

[3] An analysis of almost 80 samples is offered in my studies, F. Polak, "Sociolinguistics, a Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew;" "The Book of Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Syntactic-Stylistic Analysis," Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger (ed.) *The Books of Samuel and the Deuteronomists* (BWANT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, forthcoming).

lexical characteristics of verbs of motion in general, and (b) in particular differences in the syntactic patterns and discourse structures in which הלך, לקח (and other verbs) are involved.

1. Some Notes on Semantics and Syntax of Motion Verbs

a. 'To Go,' 'to Come,' and Orientation

Fillmore's primary analysis of the semantics of 'to come' and 'to go' is based on the opposition of the movement away from the speaker ('to go'), and the motion toward the speaker ('to come'), or to the addressee, or to the place where the speaker is to position himself at a future point in time (the time of arrival).[4] In the field of caused motion this opposition is paralleled by the contrast between 'to take' and 'to bring.'[5] In a more generalized account, the speaker functions as *origin* (or *source*) of the movement, the way to be traversed is the *path*, and the position at the end of the path is the *goal* of the movement.[6] When origin or goal are marked by the semantic content of the verb used, this verb is *oriented*; when not, it is *neutral* with regard to orientation.[7] In classical biblical narrative (corpus C) the place at the center of stage (the deictic center) may function as origin. Thus Eli blesses Hannah, לְכִי לְשָׁלוֹם (1 Sam 1:17, "go in peace"), indicating a movement away from his place in the sanctu-

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[4] Charles J. Fillmore, "Coming and Going," *Lectures on Deixis* (Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of language and Information, 1997), 77–102; Stephen C. Levinson and David P. Wilkins, "Patterns in the data: towards a semantic typology of spatial description," S. C. Levinson and D. P. Wilkins (eds), *Grammars of Space: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2006), 512–52, esp. pp. 527–50; see also R. Botne, "Cognitive Schemas and motion verbs: Coming and Going in Chindali (Eastern Bantu)," *Cognitive Linguistics* 16 (2005), 43–80; D. P. Wilkins and D. Hill, "When "go" means "come": Questioning the basicness of basic motion verbs," *Cognitive Linguistics* 6 (1995), 209–50; C. J. Fillmore, "Deictic Categories in the Semantics of 'Come,'" *Foundations of Language* 2 (1966), 219–27.

[5] Fillmore, "Coming and Going," 89–93.

[6] In the typology constructed by Leonard Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics* (2 Vols.; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 1.217–52, 313–42.

[7] See D. P. Wilkins, "Towards an Arrernte grammar of space," S. C. Levinson and D. P. Wilkins, *Grammar of Space*, 24–62, esp., pp. 42–46.

ary (the origin). When Hannah leaves the place her departure is described as a movement toward a destination that is remote from the deictic center, וַתֵּלֶךְ הָאִשָּׁה לְדַרְכָּהּ (v 18, "So the woman went her way," ASV),[8] with indication of the path (לְדַרְכָּהּ). הלך also indicates movement in space, with no specific point of departure or destination, such as, וַיָּקָם דָּוִד וַיֵּלֶךְ הוּא וַאֲנָשָׁיו (1 Sam 18:27, "David rose up and went, he and his men," NRSV). Movement in general can also be indicated by הלך, such as עַל־גְּחֹנְךָ תֵלֵךְ (Gen 3:14, "upon your belly you shall go," NRSV). Thus, הלך indicates a movement with no special orientation, or toward a destination that is remote from the origin. In general, then, הלך is neutral in respect of orientation.[9]

By contrast, בוא indicates movement oriented 'toward' the 'origin,' such as in Joab's rebuke of David, הִנֵּה־בָא אַבְנֵר אֵלֶיךָ (2 Sam 3:24). By the same token the narrator tells us וַיָּבֹא אַבְנֵר אֶל־דָּוִד חֶבְרוֹן (v 20). בוא can also be used to indicate motion toward someone in a higher position in the hierarchy, such as וַיָּבֹאוּ אַנְשֵׁי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְשְׁחוּ־שָׁם אֶת־דָּוִד לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה (2:4, "The men of Judah came and there they anointed David king over the House of Judah"). בוא also indicates motion toward the endpoint of the path, וַיָּבֹא דָוִד בְּבַעַל פְּרָצִים (5:20, "so David came to Baal-perazim," NRSV).[10] Thus בוא is always oriented toward a goal, either the origin, or another location that takes the center of stage. By the same token, הביא, 'to bring,' is oriented toward the origin or the center of stage, whereas לקח, 'to take,' does not imply any orientation and thus remains neutral.

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[8] On the other hand, the NRSV renders this verse as "Then the woman went to her quarters," implying an endpoint, which is not given in the Hebrew. The NJPSV renders the phrase as "So the woman left," which does not reflect the path.

[9] The neutrality of הלך apparently has deep roots in language history, since Akkadian alāku changes orientation according to the ventive affix; see W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik* (3rd edn; AnOr 33; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1995), 133–34.

[10] The NJPSV rendering ("David marched") adds the manner of movement to the direction, which is the only indication in the Hebrew.

b. Trajectory and Narrative

One of the outstanding features of biblical narrative is the importance of trajectory and location, indicated by simple verbs of motion, for instance:

וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָם אֶת־שָׂרַי אִשְׁתּוֹ ... וַיֵּצְאוּ לָלֶכֶת אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ
אַרְצָה כְּנָעַן וַיַּעֲבֹר אַבְרָם בָּאָרֶץ עַד מְקוֹם שְׁכֶם

Abram *took* his wife Sarai … and *they set out for* the land of Canaan, and thus they *arrived* in the land of Canaan.[11] And Abram *passed* through the land as far as the site of Shechem… (Gen 12:5–6)

וַיָּשֻׁבוּ שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיֵּרְדוּ מֵהָהָר וַיַּעַבְרוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בִּן־נוּן
וַיְסַפְּרוּ־לוֹ אֵת כָּל־הַמֹּצְאוֹת אוֹתָם

Then the two men *came down again* from the hills and *crossed over*. They *came* to Joshua son of Nun and reported to him all that had happened to them (Josh 2:23).

Such descriptions of the path transversed may also indicate a transition in the moral sense, for instance:

וּמֹשֶׁה הָיָה רֹעֶה אֶת־צֹאן יִתְרוֹ חֹתְנוֹ כֹּהֵן מִדְיָן וַיִּנְהַג אֶת־הַצֹּאן
וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הַר הָאֱלֹהִים חֹרֵבָה אַחַר הַמִּדְבָּר

Now Moses, tending the flock of his father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian, drove the flock into the wilderness, and came to Horeb, the mountain of God (Exod 3:1).

וַתֵּצֵא מִן־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה־שָׁמָּה ... וַתֵּלַכְנָה בַדֶּרֶךְ לָשׁוּב
אֶל־אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה

She left the place where she had been living; and they set out on the road back to the land of Judah (Ruth 1:7).

The fact that transitions of this kind are indicated by motion verbs shows that this class contributes far more to biblical Hebrew discourse than just the indication of change of place.[12] Notably, in

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[11] The RSV, NJPSV, and the NRSV, follow the Vulgate (*cumque venissent in eam, pertransivit Abram terram usque ad locum Sychem*) in joining the last clause of v 5 to the opening of v 6.

[12] Analysis by the methods of cognitive linguistics highlights the key metaphor 'journey,' discussed in the biblical context by Olaf Jäkel, "How Can Mortal man Understand the Road He Travels? Prospects and Prob-

cognitive linguistics motion is a metaphor for change, and 'locality' for position or situation.[13] The metaphorical use of verbs of motion is not to be disregarded.

c. Motion Verbs 'Beyond the Clause'

An additional factor to be taken into account is the use of verbs, such as קום, 'to stand up,' together with a second verb, in a construction that has been categorized as 'pleonastic,'[14] but which I would characterize as biverbal (if the first verb appears by itself),[15] or biclausal (if the first verb is the predicate of a clause).[16] An obvious example for a construction of this type is presented in Kish's instructions to his son Saul in 1 Sam 9:3

קַח־נָא אִתְּךָ אֶת־אַחַד מֵהַנְּעָרִים וְקוּם לֵךְ בַּקֵּשׁ אֶת־הָאֲתֹנֹת

"*Take* along one of the servants and *up, go out* and look for the asses."

The first clause mentions the preparations for the quest: קַח־נָא אִתְּךָ אֶת־אַחַד מֵהַנְּעָרִים, and the second clause states the main order, by means of three verbs in sequence, וְקוּם, לֵךְ, בַּקֵּשׁ אֶת־הָאֲתֹנֹת.

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lems of Cognitive Approach to Religious Metaphor," Kurt Feyaerts (ed.), *The Bible through Metaphor and Translation. A Cognitive Semantic Perspective* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), 55–86.

[13] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors we live by* (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 56–61, 258, 263 (1st ed. 1981). Notably, much English terminology in this field derives from verbs of motion: transition<*ire* 'to go' (trans-īre); position<*ponĕre* 'to place;' situation<*situs* 'place' (from *sinĕre*, 'to leave').

[14] *See Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (17th ed.; ed. F. Buhl; repr. Berlin: Springer, 1959), 389 (s.v. לקח, 1). Buhl (op. cit., 181, s.v. הלך, 5) mentions the function of הלך as introductory element.

[15] This is the term used by M. Eskhult, "The Verb *sbb* as a Marker of Inception in Biblical Hebrew," *Orientalia Suecana* 47 (1998), 21–26, esp. pp. 21–22, 25 (also "verbal hendiadys").

[16] The term "biclausal" is a variant of "super-clausal," introduced in my paper, "Linguistic and Stylistic Aspects of Epic Formulae in Ancient Semitic Poetry and Biblical Narrative," in: *Biblical Hebrew in its Northwest Semitic Setting* (ed. S. Fassberg and, A. Hurvitz; Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Winona Lake, Ind.; Eisenbrauns), 285– 304, esp. p. 289, n. 21.

In such constructions the opening verb (or clause) serves to modify the predication of the main clause, as shown by, for example, the description of Moses' prostration before the deity at Mount Sinai in Exod 34:8

<div dir="rtl">וַיְמַהֵר מֹשֶׁה וַיִּקֹּד אַרְצָה וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ</div>

Moses hastened to bow low to the ground in homage

The verb וימהר characterizes the action of the second clause, וַיִּקֹּד אַרְצָה, a construction which the NJPSV reflects by means of the auxiliary verb '*hastened*' (to bow low).[17] By the same token, וישב describes the repeated action in the second clause, which the translation reflects by the adverb 'anew,'[18]

<div dir="rtl">וַיָּשָׁב יִצְחָק וַיַּחְפֹּר אֶת־בְּאֵרֹת הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ בִּימֵי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו</div>

Isaac dug *anew* the wells which had been dug in the days of his father Abraham (Gen 26:18)

As we will see, constructions of this type are highly frequent in narrative texts in the classical language (corpus C), but are rather rare in texts from the Persian era (corpus A). In consequence, we note a basic difference between the syntactic patterns 'beyond the clause' of LBH and the discourse structure of the classical language. The present considerations will open with a discussion of the differentiation in the lexical field; the shifts in discourse patterns will be treated in the second part.

d. The Units Analyzed in this Study

My examination will be based on the following units:

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[17] So also, e.g., Gen 24:18, 20, 46; 43:30; 44:11; 45:13; Judg 13:10; 1 Sam 4:14; 17:48. The infinitive construction is found in such passages as וַיְמַהֵר פַּרְעֹה לִקְרֹא לְמֹשֶׁה וּלְאַהֲרֹן (Exod 10:16); so also, e.g., Gen 18:7; 27:20; Exod 2:12; 2 Sam 15:14.

[18] In Josh 5:22; 1 Kgs 19:6 שוב is followed by שנית; see also, e.g., Lev 14:43; Num 11:4; 14:36; Deut 1:45; Josh 2:23; Judg 8:33; 19:7; 1 Sam 3:5,6; 2 Kgs 1:11, 13; 7:8; 13:25; 19:9; 21:3; 24:1. The infinitive pattern appears in many passages, e.g., Exod 14:27; Deut 24:19; 30:9; Judg 14:8; 2 Kgs 8:9; 9:15; Ps 104:19; Job 7:7; Qoh 1:7; 5:14; Ezra 9:4; Neh 9:28.

Corpus C:

Genesis Narrative: Gen 2:5–4:16; 12:1–16:16; 18:1–25:1; 25:19–27:46; 28:10–35:8; 35:16–22; 37:2–46:5; 46:28–49:1; 49:29–50:26;

Samuel Narrative: 1 Sam 1:1–27; 2:11–26; 3:1–18; 4:2–21; 9:1–10:16; 13:2–12; 13:14–16:13; 17:1–18:7; 18:17–30; 19:11–17; 20:1–21:10; 22:1–23:18; 25:2–28:2; 1 Sam 29:1–2 Sam 1:16; 2 Sam 2:1–3:1; 3:6–5:3; 5:17–7:29; 9:1–20:22; 21:1–22; 2 Sam 24:1–1 Kgs 1:53; 1 Kgs 2:12–46.

Corpus A:

Chronicles Non-Shared:[19] 1 Chr 2:19–24; 5:18–26; 7:21–24; 10:13–14; 11:10; 12:1–2, 16–23, 39–41; 13:1–6; 14:17–15:2; 15:11–17; 16:37–42; 21:6; 21:27–23:5, 23:24–32; 24:6; 24:31–25:1; 25:5–8; 26:1–29:26; 29:28–30; 2 Chr 1:1–6; 1:18–2:15; 2:16–3:8; 4:1, 7–10; 5:11–13; 6:41–7:3; 7:6, 13–15; 8:11–17; 11:5–12:8; 12:14; 13:3–21; 14:3–15:15; 16:7–10; 16:12–18:1 ;19:1–20:30; 20:34–21:4; 21:11–20; 22:1; 22:7–9; 23:18–19; 24:3–27 ;25:5–16; 26:5–20; 27:3–6, 8; 28:5–25; 29:1–32:31; 33:11–17, 19, 23; 34:3–8, 12–14, 33; 35:1–17, 20–27; 36:6–7, 14–21;

Ezra-Neh-Esth:

Ezra 1; 3:1–4:5; 6:19–7:10; 8–10; Neh 8–9; Neh 1:1–7:5; 12:27–13:31; Dan 1:1–2:3; Esther.

For comparison I will adduce prophetic texts from the Achaemenid period (Prophecy II) as against control texts which can be taken to reflect the Israelite/Judean monarchy, in the main paralleling corpus C:

Prophecy II (LBH): Hagg 1–Zech 8; Zech 12–Malachi 3

Prophecy I: Amos; Hosea; Isaiah 1–11; 14; 17–22; 28–32; Micah; Zephaniah; Habakkuk; Nahum.

2. LEXICAL SHIFTS

a. To Take

The verb לקח, 'to take,' is one of the most frequent verbs in the Hebrew Bible, with no less than 967 instances, of which 940 are in

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[19] The samples chosen are those that do not have textual parallels in 1–2 Samuel or 1–2 Kings, but units in which the formulation is significantly different from the text found in Samuel-Kings, have been included.

the *Qal*,[20] 15 in the passive *Qal*,[21] and 11 in the *Niphal*.[22] The most common meaning of the verb is 'to take' something (in the hand; Gen 18:4) or to move someone (or something) from one place to another (Gen 2:22, 23; 3:19, 23; 14:21; 15:9; 24:7), sometimes by force ('carrying off,' 12:15; 14:11) or illegally (1 Sam 2:16; and as a metaphor for stealing, Gen 27:35; or conquest, 1 Sam 7:14). Specialized meanings include 'taking in marriage' (e.g., Gen 4:19; 6:2; 11:29; 19:14; Exod 2:1), 'receiving' (Gen 33:11; Ps 15:2; also of instructions, Num 23:20) and 'acquiring' (Prov 31:16). In prose from the Persian era לקח almost disappears, as one may see from the following table which compares the frequency of לקח to other transitive/causative verbs of motion: נשא,[23] 'to lift,' הביא, 'to bring,' הוציא, 'to bring/lead out,' העלה, 'to bring up,' הוריד, 'to bring down.' In this table the percentages indicate the percentage of the given lexeme relative to the other transitive verbs of motion in the sample. Thus, 118 instances of לקח in the Genesis narrative form 53.39% of all transitive motion verbs in the sample from Genesis, whereas 6 instances in Chronicles form 7.32% of all occurrences of these verbs in this book.

Table I. Verbs of Motion: Transitive

Verb/Text	Gen Narr	1–2Sam	ChroNonS	EzraNehEst	IIPro	IPro	Total
לקח	118	83	6	8	5	23	243
% Mov	53.39	44.15	7.32	11.59	18.52	27.38	
נשא	28	38	13	13	10	34	136
% Mov	12.67	20.12	15.85	18.84	37.04	40.48	
הביא	42	35	35	31	9	9	161

[20] One instance (2 Sam 23:6) probably should be read as passive Qal, according to LXX λημφθήσονται, most likely reflecting יֻקָּחוּ).

[21] Passive Qal in prose: Gen 2:23; 3:19, 23; 12:15; 18:4; Judg 17:2; 2 Kgs 2:10; in poetry: Isa 49:24, 25; 52:5; 53:8; Jer 29:22; 48:46; Ezek 15:3; Job 28:2; and probably 2 Sam 23:6 (see previous note). In prose, then, the passive Qal is limited to Corpus C.

[22] The Niphal in prose only: 1 Sam 4:11, 17, 19, 21, 22; 21:7; 2 Kgs 2:9; Ezek 33:6; Esth 2:8, 16. In addition one notes מִתְלַקַּחַת (Exod 9:24; Ezek 1:4) used to describe the movement of fire.

[23] The instances adduced for נשא do not include the formulaic forms נשא עין and נשא קול, with 17 cases in the sample from Genesis, 6 in Samuel, and 6 in Zechariah 1–8. However, in most cases metaphoric usage has been included, as an extension of literal meaning.

% Mov	19.00	15.84	42.68	44.93	33.33	10.71	
הוציא	14	7	4	9	3	3	40
% Mov	6.33	3.72	4.88	13.04	11.11	3.57	
העלה	6	19	24	8	-	11	68
% Mov	2.71	10.11	29.27	11.59	-	13.10	
הוריד	13	6	-	-	-	4	23
% Mov	5.88	3.19	-	-	-	4.76	
Move Trans	221	188	82	69	27	84	671
All Verbs	4177	5273	2021	1896	992	3827	18186
Trans/Verbs	5.29	3.57	4.06	3.64	2.72	2.19	3.69

In the samples from Genesis and Samuel לקח is the main verb in the field, constituting around half of all occurrences of the six verbs mentioned. On the other hand, in prose from the Persian era, whether in Chronicles or in Ezra, Nehemiah or Esther, the leading verb is הביא (more than 40% of the field).[24] The Chronicler's preference for הביא is also indicated by its use in comparison with other verbs in parallel places. For instance, where the David narrative uses the phrase לְהַעֲלוֹת מִשָּׁם אֵת אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים (2 Sam 6:2, "*to bring up* from there the Ark of God"), the chronistic version mentions the aim לְהָבִיא אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים מִקִּרְיַת יְעָרִים (1 Chr 13:15, "in order *to bring* the Ark of God from Kiriath-jearim").[25] The Chronicler describes the deportation of the Gileadites to the region of Gozan and the Khabur river ('Habor') as וַיְבִיאֵם לַחְלַח וְחָבוֹר וְהָרָא וּנְהַר גּוֹזָן (1 Chr 5:26, "and *brought* them to Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river Gozan"). By contrast in the book of Kings the terms used are וַיֹּשֶׁב (2 Kings 17:6) and וַיַּנְחֵם (18:11). Hiram is quoted as promising to deliver trees as rafts, וּנְבִיאֵם לְךָ רַפְסֹדוֹת עַל־יָם יָפוֹ (2 Chr 2:15, "and we will deliver them to you as rafts by sea to Jaffa;" similarly Ezra 3:7), summarizing the complicated description in the book of Kings, 1 Kgs 5:23

עֲבָדַי יֹרִדוּ מִן־הַלְּבָנוֹן יָמָּה וַאֲנִי אֲשִׂימֵם דֹּבְרוֹת בַּיָּם עַד־הַמָּקוֹם
אֲשֶׁר־תִּשְׁלַח אֵלַי וְנִפַּצְתִּים שָׁם

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[24] In Chronicles one notes the frequency of העלה, often in connection with sacrifice: 1 Chr 16:40; 23:31; 29:21; 2 Chr 1:6; 8:12, 13; 23:18; 24:14; 29:7, 21, 27, 29; 35:14, 16; side by side with הביא: 2 Chr 29:21, 32; 30:15.

[25] By the same token להביא is used for the transport of the Ark to the Temple (1 Chr 22:19).

My servants shall bring it down to the sea from the Lebanon; I
will make it into rafts to go by sea to the place you indicate. I
will have them broken up there … (NRSV)

הביא is also used to indicate the upward transport of the
Judean prisoners to "the top of Sela" (2 Chr 25:12). In the Esther
novella הביא indicates, for instance, the invitation of Haman's
guests: וַיִּשְׁלַח וַיָּבֵא אֶת־אֹהֲבָיו וְאֶת־זֶרֶשׁ אִשְׁתּוֹ (Esth 5:10, "then he
sent and called for his friends and his wife Zeresh," NRSV; simi-
larly v 12).

In texts from this period לקח is far less frequent. In the sam-
ple from Chronicles this verb is used to indicate marriage (1 Chr
2:19, 21; 2 Chr 11:18, 20),[26] conquest (1 Chr 2:23) and stealing
(7:21). In other prose texts one notes marriage (Neh 6:11), adop-
tion (Esth 2:7, 15) and buying (Neh 5:2–3, 15).[27] In the prophetic
reproach our verb is used in the meaning 'to accept' sacrifice (Mal
2:13). Hence the basic meaning of לקח has not disappeared, but is
becoming extremely rare. How are we to account for this striking
decrease in the use of לקח?

One could explain this shift by the postulation of a general
shift of meaning, since in Mishnaic Hebrew לקח itself mainly
means 'to buy,' whereas the meaning 'to take' is mainly assumed by
נטל.[28] לקח is not attested in biblical Aramaic or Syriac, and in
Jewish Aramaic the normal term is נסב or נְסִיב (e.g., Gen 2:21–23,
T⁰). In some cases one notes a preference for specific terms,[29] for
example:[30]

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[26] So also in lists and other non-narrative texts: Ezra 2:61; Neh 7:63;
10:31; 1 Chr 4:18; 7:15.

[27] So also Neh 10:32. By contrast, in the negotiations between David
and Araunah 'taking' (קח) is opposed to 'buying' (לקנות; 2Sam 24:21–24; 1
Chr 21:23–24).

[28] See E. Y. Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (ed. Z. Ben-Hayyim,
A. Dotan and G. Sarfatti; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), שנא-שנג (He-
brew); Abba Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* (2 Vols.; 2nd ed.;
Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1967), 1.67, 352 (Hebrew).

[29] Indeed, נטל itself ('to lay upon,' 'to lift;' 2 Sam 24:12; Isa 40:15; 63:9;
Lam 3:28; and in Aramaic: Dan 4:31; 7:4) originally has a specialized
meaning.

[30] The phrase הסיר טבעת also appears in Gen 41:42, and thus most
probably has influenced the wording of the Esther scroll, but the use of
העביר in Esth 8:2 shows that the influence of the Joseph tale does not

וַיָּסַר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־טַבַּעְתּוֹ מֵעַל יָדוֹ וַיִּתְּנָהּ לְהָמָן בֶּן־הַמְּדָתָא

Thereupon the king *removed* his signet ring from his hand and
gave it to Haman son of Hammedatha (Esth 3:10).

וַיָּסַר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־טַבַּעְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱבִיר מֵהָמָן וַיִּתְּנָהּ לְמָרְדֳּכָי

The king *slipped off* his ring, which he had *taken* back from Ha-
man, and gave it to Mordecai (Esth 8:2).

In the description of booty, the verb used is שבה, such as, for
example:[31]

וְעוֹד אֲדוֹמִים בָּאוּ וַיַּכּוּ בִיהוּדָה וַיִּשְׁבּוּ־שֶׁבִי

Again the Edomites came and inflicted a defeat on Judah and
took captives (2 Chr 28:17).

The alternative wording, לקח שבי (Jer 48:46), is not used in
Chronicles. Receival is indicated by the verb קבל, such as, for ex-
ample,[32]

וַיִּשְׁחֲטוּ הַבָּקָר וַיְקַבְּלוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־הַדָּם

The cattle were slaughtered, and the priests *received* the blood (2
Chr 29:2).

A third aspect of the issue is the reduction of some particulari-
ties of the classical usage of לקח. The tale of the celebration of
Sukkoth includes the instruction to bring wood from the hills:

צְאוּ הָהָר וְהָבִיאוּ עֲלֵי־זַיִת וַעֲלֵי־עֵץ שֶׁמֶן וַעֲלֵי הֲדַס וַעֲלֵי תְמָרִים
וַעֲלֵי עֵץ עָבֹת

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provide a complete explanation for the use of the verbs.

[31] So also 1 Chr 5:21; 2 Chr 4:14; 21:17; 25:12; 28:5, 11; 30:9. We en-
counter the phrase שבה שבי in 2 Chr 6:38; 28:17; in Num 21:1; Deut
21:10; and in poetry: Judg 5:12; Ps 68:19.

[32] So also Ezra 8:30; 2 Chr 29:16; and in the meaning 'to accept:' Esth
4:4; 9:23, 27; 1 Chr 12:19. By contrast, לקח is used in Exod 12:7; 24:6, 8;
29:12, 16, 20, 21; Lev 4:5 and *passim*; Ezek 43:20; 45:19. The interchange
לקח/קבל has been studied by Avi Hurvitz, "The Evidence of Language in
Dating the Priestly Code," *RB* 81 (1974), 24–56, esp. pp. 43–44; "Once
Again: The Linguistic Profile of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch
and its Historical Age. A Response to J. Blenkinsopp," *ZAW* 112 (2000),
180–91, esp., pp. 181–85.

Go out to the mountains and *bring* leafy branches of olive trees, pine trees, myrtles, palms and [other] leafy trees to make booths (Neh 8:15).

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֵּצְאוּ הָעָם וַיָּבִיאוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם סֻכּוֹת

</div>

So the people went out and *brought* them, and made themselves booths (v 16).

In this pattern two verbs are used: יצא and הביא. On the other hand a similar description in the Jacob tale includes לקח:

<div dir="rtl">

לֶךְ־נָא אֶל־הַצֹּאן וְקַח־לִי מִשָּׁם שְׁנֵי גְּדָיֵי עִזִּים טֹבִים

</div>

Go to the flock and *fetch* me two choice kids (Gen 27:9)

<div dir="rtl">

אַךְ שְׁמַע בְּקֹלִי וְלֵךְ קַח־לִי

</div>

Just do as I say and go fetch them for me (v 13)

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקַּח וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ

</div>

He went, got them and brought them to his mother (v 14).

In this context לקח indicates not merely taking, but definitely also implies the conveyance of the kids to Rebekah. This meaning is made explicit by the phrase וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ (v 14). The account of the branches for the Sukkoth booths indicates the same actions by הביא only, bypassing לקח. In addition one notes the role of לקח in the biverbal construction וַיִּקַּח וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ (Gen 27: 14). This issue will be discussed in the final chapter of our study.

b. To Go, to Go Out, and to Come

The second verb which is used far less in corpus A than in the classical corpus is הלך, 'to go.'

The following table presents the data for הלך in comparison with a number of intransitive verbs, יצא, בוא, עלה, ירד (all in the *Qal* stem).[33]

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[33] In our corpus the *hiphil* הוליך appears in 2 Chr 33:11; 35:24; 36:6; and in prophetic texts: Hos 2:16; Amos 2:10; Zech 5:10.

Table II. Verbs of Motion: Intransitive

Verb/Text	Gen Narr	1–2Sam	ChroNonS	EzraNehEst	IIPro	IPro	Total
Intrans							
הלך	103	192	20	18	11	71	416
% Intrans	29.10	30.62	13.61	15.13	16.18	35.86	27.30
יצא	48	74	30	16	20	22	210
% Intrans	13.56	11.80	20.41	13.45	29.41	11.11	13.78
בוא	143	256	80	69	29	68	650
% Intrans	40.40	40.83	54.42	57.98	42.65	34.34	42.65
עלה	39	61	13	12	7	28	165
% Intrans	11.02	9.73	8.84	10.08	10.29	14.14	10.83
ירד	21	44	4	4	1	9	83
% Intrans	5.93	7.02	2.72	3.36	1.47	4.55	5.45
Intrans	354	627	147	119	68	198	1524
All Verbs	4177	5273	2021	1896	992	3827	18186
Intrns/ Verbs	8.47	11.89	7.27	6.28	6.85	5.17	8.38

a. Some Notes on the Semantics of Motion Verbs

Of course, the issue is not just the frequency of the verbs. Orientation in space is an important factor. As noted at the outset of this study, Fillmore surmises that in English the verb 'to go' is used for a change of location when the speaker's position serves as point of departure, and the point of destination is remote from the speaker's position. On the other hand, 'to come' is used when the point of departure is the point of destination where the speaker is situated, or where he imagines himself to be.[34] In biblical Hebrew the relationship between the verbs is more complex, since, as I already noted, הלך also may indicate movement in general, for example,[35]

וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֲצֵי הָעֹלָה וַיָּשֶׂם עַל־יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ וַיִּקַּח ... וַיֵּלְכוּ
שְׁנֵיהֶם יַחְדָּו

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[34] Fillmore, "Coming and Going," 83–84, 87.
[35] Similarly Exod 17:5; 22:8; 2 Kgs 2:6; Isa 40:31; Amos 3:3 (*BDB*, 230). One also notes the flowing of the water, Gen 2:14; Isa 8:6 (both with indication of manner); 8:7; Joel 4:18; and the Siloah inscription, lines 5–6 (*KAI* 189; with indication of origin and endpoint).

Abraham took the wood for the burnt offering and put it on his son Isaac … and they *went* both of them together (Gen 22:6; ASV)[36]

One even notes a few passages in which הלך is used with the source as goal:[37]

וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶל־דָּוִד לְכָה אֵלַי

and the Philistine said to David, "Come here" (1 Sam 17:44, ASV).

As I already noted, הלך is neutral with regard to orientation, or indicates movement toward a location that is remote from the origin.

On the other hand, בוא means not only 'to come,' with the origin as endpoint, but also 'to enter,' 'to arrive,' 'to reach' the destination (which then serves as deictic center). In the first meaning it contrasts with הלך, whereas in the latter sense it is opposed to יצא. In both cases the orientation is marked.

The relationship between הלך and יצא is not less complex. Whereas הלך is mostly neutral with regard to orientation or takes the source as point of departure, יצא is used to describe the way viewed from the point of departure, often a closed, and thus protected space, such as, for example, with the residence as origin,

קוּמוּ צְּאוּ מִן־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה

Up, get out of this place (Gen 19:14; NRSV).

וַיֵּצֵא יִצְחָק לָשׂוּחַ בַּשָּׂדֶה לִפְנוֹת עָרֶב

Isaac went out in the evening to walk in the field (Gen 24:63; NRSV).

Or, with a different point of departure:

וַיֹּאמְרוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים הִנֵּה עִבְרִים יֹצְאִים מִן־הַחֹרִים אֲשֶׁר הִתְחַבְּאוּ־שָׁם

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[36] The NJPSV renders וילכו as 'walked off,' highlighting source orientation.

[37] Similarly Num 22:16, 37, Balak addressing Balaam, but in these cases הלך could mean 'travel.' In any case, this use is extremely rare.

and the Philistines said, "Look, some Hebrews are *coming out* of the holes where they have been hiding" (1 Sam 14:11).

וּבָא הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד עַד־בַּחוּרִים וְהִנֵּה מִשָּׁם אִישׁ יוֹצֵא מִמִּשְׁפַּחַת בֵּית־שָׁאוּל

As King David was approaching Bahurim, a member of Saul's clan … *came out* from there (2 Sam 16:5).

Accordingly, the orientation of **יצא** marks the point of departure, which may be the source (like הלך) or a different center of attention (like בוא). Some examples may clarify these distinctions between **יצא** and הלך:

וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָם אֶת־שָׂרַי אִשְׁתּוֹ … וַיֵּצְאוּ לָלֶכֶת אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ אַרְצָה כְּנָעַן

Abram took his wife Sarai … and *they set out for* the land of Canaan, and they *arrived* in the land of Canaan (Gen 12:5)

וַיֵּצֵא יַעֲקֹב מִבְּאֵר שָׁבַע וַיֵּלֶךְ חָרָנָה

Jacob *left* Beer-sheba, and *set out for* Haran (Gen 28:10).

בוא and [38] יצא

וַיָּבֹא לָבָן בְּאֹהֶל יַעֲקֹב … וַיֵּצֵא מֵאֹהֶל לֵאָה וַיָּבֹא בְּאֹהֶל רָחֵל

So Laban *went* into Jacob's tent … *Leaving* Leah's tent, he *entered* Rachel's tent (Gen 31:33).

בְּזֹאת תִּבָּחֵנוּ חֵי פַרְעֹה אִם־תֵּצְאוּ מִזֶּה כִּי אִם־בְּבוֹא אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטֹן הֵנָּה

By this you shall be put to the test: unless your youngest brother *comes* here, by Pharaoh, you shall not *depart* from this place! (Gen 42:15)

וַיְהִי כְּכַלֹּתוֹ לְהַעֲלוֹת הָעֹלָה וְהִנֵּה שְׁמוּאֵל בָּא וַיֵּצֵא שָׁאוּל לִקְרָאתוֹ לְבָרֲכוֹ

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[38] In addition one notes the idiomatic use of **יצא** and **בוא** for indicating 'leaving and entering' a city under siege (Josh 6:1; 1 Kgs 15:17) or leadership (going out to and returning from a campaign; Num 27:21; 1 Sam 18:13, 16; 2 Sam 5:2 and *passim*).

He had just finished presenting the burnt offering when Samuel *arrived*; and Saul *went out* to meet him and welcome him (1 Sam 13:10).

Sometimes we encounter בוא where הלך would be more appropriate to the orientation implied by the narrative. For instance, when the Aramean king is brought before Ahab in order to conclude a covenant:

וַיֹּאמֶר בֹּאוּ קָחֻהוּ וַיֵּצֵא אֵלָיו בֶּן־הֲדַד וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ עַל־הַמֶּרְכָּבָה

"*Go*, bring him," he said. Ben-hadad *came out* to him, and he *invited* him into his chariot (1 Kgs 20:33).

בוא, rendered by 'to go' (NJPSV and NRSV) reflects a surprising orientation toward the abode of the Aramean king, since the envoys have to proceed from Ahab to the place where their king is hiding.[39]

הלך and בוא

וַיָּקוּמוּ שָׂרֵי מוֹאָב וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־בָּלָק וַיֹּאמְרוּ מֵאֵן בִּלְעָם הֲלֹךְ עִמָּנוּ

The Moabite dignitaries *left*, and *they came* to Balak and said, "Balaam refused to *come* with us" (Num 22:14).

וַיֵּלֶךְ בִּלְעָם עִם־בָּלָק וַיָּבֹאוּ קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת

Balaam went with Balak and they came to Kiriath-huzoth (Num 22:39).

וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלֶךְ מָנוֹחַ אַחֲרֵי אִשְׁתּוֹ וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָאִישׁ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ

Manoah promptly *followed* his wife. He *came* to the man and asked him… (Judg 13:11).

וַיֵּלְכוּ חֲמֵשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיָּבֹאוּ לַיְשָׁה

The five men *went on and came* to Laish (Judg 18:7).

וַיַּשְׁכֵּם דָּוִד בַּבֹּקֶר … וַיֵּלֶךְ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּהוּ יִשָׁי וַיָּבֹא הַמַּעְגָּלָה וְהַחַיִל הַיֹּצֵא אֶל־הַמַּעֲרָכָה וְהֵרֵעוּ בַּמִּלְחָמָה

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[39] See next note. Alternatively, the speaker could view the Aramean party as returning to Ahab (compare Judg 3:24: וְהוּא יָצָא וַעֲבָדָיו בָּאוּ).

Early next morning, David … *set out*, as his father Jesse had in-
structed him. He *reached* the barricade as the army *was going out*
to the battle lines shouting the war cry (1 Sam 17:20).

וַיֵּלֶךְ הַמַּלְאָךְ וַיָּבֹא וַיַּגֵּד לְדָוִד אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר שְׁלָחוֹ יוֹאָב

The messenger set out; he came and told David all that Joab
had sent him to say (2 Sam 11:22).

One notes a number of cases in which the orientation centers
on the endpoint. *BDB* quotes the Isaian prophecy

לֶךְ־בֹּא אֶל־הַסֹּכֵן הַזֶּה עַל־שֶׁבְנָא אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת

Go in to see that steward, that Shebna, in charge of the palace
(Isa 22:15).[40]

לְכִי וּבֹאִי אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד

Go immediately to King David (1 Kgs 1:13).

וַתָּבֹא בַת־שֶׁבַע אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַחַדְרָה

So Bathsheba went to the king in his chamber (v 15).

וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתָּבוֹא וַתְּלַקֵּט בַּשָּׂדֶה אַחֲרֵי הַקֹּצְרִים

So she went. She came and gleaned in the field behind the
reapers (Ruth 2:3; NRSV).

b. הלך *as against* בוא: *Corpus C*

Thus it still is important to note that in the narratives of the Patri-
archs the frequent verbs are הלך, the indication of motion that is
neutral with regard to orientation and of movement toward a desti-
nation that is remote from the origin, and בוא, the marker of
movement with orientation toward the speaker or a central point of
view. In the Abraham tales הלך is more frequent than בוא;[41] in

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[40] Similarly Gen 45:17; 1 Sam 22:5; 2 Kgs 5:5; Ezek 3:4, 11. See BDB,
98 (Qal, 4, 'with limitation of motion given'). But in Isa 47:5 (שְׁבִי דוּמָם
וּבֹאִי בַחֹשֶׁךְ בַּת־כַּשְׂדִּים) the sense of בוא is metaphorical rather than local.
In 2 Kings 10:12 (וַיָּקָם וַיָּבֹא וַיֵּלֶךְ שֹׁמְרוֹן) the LXX has two verbs, καὶ
ἀνέστη καὶ ἐπορεύθη, possibly reflecting ויקם וילך, without representation
of ויבא (similarly Ruth 2:3).

[41] In the Abraham narrative הלך has 13 occurrences in 12:1–16:16; and
31 occurrences in 18:1–25:1, with 14 and 27 instances respectively for בוא.

some sections of the Jacob tales בוא is more frequent, but this is not the general picture.[42] In the Joseph tale בוא is heavily preponderant.[43] On the face of it, this phenomenon could be explained by Joseph's central position at the Egyptian court (for instance, 41:57; 42:5–7, 9, 10, 12, 15; 43:23, 25, 26, 30; 44:14), which likewise affects his position in other passages (37:10). But this is only one aspect of the issue. On the other hand one notes the high frequency of the verbs of vertical motion, ירד and עלה, the specific indications of the journey to Egypt (ירד) or to Canaan (עלה).[44] The incidence of הלך together with these verbs (52 instances) exceeds the incidence of בוא. In the book of Samuel the preponderance of בוא is less striking than in the Joseph tales, but is nevertheless unequivocal.[45] Once again, one point is the central position of the king, his quarters and his court. One notes, for instance, the difference between the opening of Jotham's fable הָלוֹךְ הָלְכוּ הָעֵצִים לִמְשֹׁחַ עֲלֵיהֶם מֶלֶךְ (Judg 9:8; "Once the trees *went* to anoint a king over themselves"), and the description of David's anointment by the Judeans: 2) וַיָּבֹאוּ אַנְשֵׁי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְשְׁחוּ־שָׁם אֶת־דָּוִד לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה Sam 2:4: The men of Judah *came* and there they anointed David king over the House of Judah). On the other hand, in the David narratives עלה and ירד occupy a special position, since the narrator often indicates upward and downward movement.[46] In the first section of the book of Samuel, the incidence of בוא (116 instances) is smaller than that of הלך together with the directional verbs (160 cases). However, this picture changes in the second section. Here

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[42] In the Jacob tale we count 14 instances of הלך in chapters 25–27 and 23 in chs 28–35; for בוא we have 7 examples in chapters 25–27 and 33 cases in chs 28–35. The high number of instances in the latter group is only partly connected with the use of בוא for sexual intercourse (Gen 29:21, 23, 30; 30:3, 4).

[43] In the Joseph narrative we encounter 19 cases of הלך in chapters 37–46, as against 49 cases of בוא, and 1 instance of הלך as against 13 cases of בוא in chapters 46–49; 50. Of course, the quantitative picture is not affected by the use of בוא in sexual context (38:2, 8, 9, 16, 18; 39:14).

[44] For ירד and עלה we find 16 and 17 instances, respectively.

[45] In the sample extending from 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 1, we encounter 94 cases of הלך as against 116 cases of בוא, whereas in 2 Samuel הלך has 98 instances, and 140 בוא. We find 30 and 44 instances of יצא respectively.

[46] S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon press, 1913), 183, 205, 219–220, 263.

בוא (140 instances) is slightly more found than הלך, ירד, and עלה together (137 cases), but the difference is no more than minimal.

Table III. Intransitive Verbs of Motion: Corpus C

Verb/Text Intrans	Abram 1	Abram 2	Jacob 1	Jac 2	Jos 1	Jos 2	Sam 1	Sam 2
הלך	13	31	14	23	19	1	94	98
% Intrans	37.14	40.25	50.00	31.08	16.81		30.72	30.53
יצא	6	12	5	10	12	1	30	44
% Intrans	17.14	15.58	17.86	13.51	10.62		9.80	13.70
בוא	14	27	7	33	49	13	116	140
% Intrans	40.00	35.06	25.00	44.59	43.36	56.22	37.91	43.61
עלה	1	4	1	7	17	8	36	25
% Intrans	2.86			9.46	15.04	34.78	11.76	7.79
ירד	2	3	1	1	16	0	30	14
% Intrans	5.71	3.90		1.35	14.16		9.08	4.36
Intransitive	35	77	28	74	113	23	306	321
All Verbs	297	906	376	891	1147	339	2532	2741
Intrans/Vrb	11.78	8.50	7.45	8.31	9.85	6.78	12.09	11.71

c. בוא and יצא: corpus A

When we turn to Chronicles (those parts not shared with Samuel-Kings) we note two phenomena. First, verbs of movement (intransitive) as a class are less frequent than in Genesis/Samuel: 7.21% versus 8.44 and 11.80% respectively. Secondly, within the class of movement there is a dramatic decrease in the frequency of הלך (13.61% of the intransitive verbs of motion, as against around 30% in Genesis/Samuel), whereas there is a certain increase in the use of בוא (54% as against around 40% in Genesis/Samuel) and of יצא (20% as against around 12–13% in Genesis/Samuel).[47] That is to say, at this juncture יצא is more frequent than הלך.

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[47] The extent of the decrease is seriously underestimated by Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic dating of Biblical Texts* (2 Vols.; London: Equinox, 2008), 1.101. הלך is found in the Mesha stela (KAI 181, lines 14–15), but בוא is not attested. As I showed in a previous paper, the decrease in the use of הלך is already notable in corpus B, coeval with the Hebrew inscriptions; see my paper, F. Polak, "New Means... New Ends: Scholarship and Computer Data," R. Poswick *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium Bible and Computer: Desk and Discipline (Amsterdam, 15–18 august 1994)* (Paris: Champion, 1995), 292–312, esp 297.

Other narrative prose of the Persian period reveals a similar picture. In Ezra-Nehemiah-Esther the said verbs of motion cover 6.28% of all verbs. This figure dovetails with the shift found in the non-shared parts of Chronicles. In the narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah the frequency of הלך is higher than in the Chronistic text (23 and 17% respectively) but still significantly lower than in Genesis/Samuel. In some of the prophetic texts we encounter similar figures (Zechariah 1–8; Malachi), but in Haggai and Zechariah 12–14 הלך does not appear at all. The most frequent verb is בוא, which accounts for 50% or more of all verbs of motion (Ezra; Nehemiah; Haggai; Zechariah 12–14); in some cases the frequency of this verb is larger than 70% (Esther; Malachi). יצא is frequent in many units. In Chronicles, Esther, and Zechariah 12–14 its frequency (20% or more) is almost twice as large as the frequency of the general verb, הלך. In Zechariah 1–8, where הלך is found often (25% of the verbs of motion), יצא still is almost twice as frequent (42%). In these chapters בוא is surprisingly rare (31%).

Table IV. Intransitive Verbs of Motion: Corpus A

Verb/Text	ChroNonS	Ezra	Nehemiah	Esther	Hagg	Zech 1–8	Malachi	12–14
Intrans								
הלך	20	7	8	3	-	9	2	-
% Intrans	13.61	23.33	17.39	7.14		25.71	20.00	
יצא	30	2	5	9	1	15	1	3
% Intrans	20.41	6.67	10.87	21.43	12.50	42.86	10.00	20.00
בוא	80	15	23	30	5	11	7	6
% Intrans	54.42	50.00	50.00	71.43	62.50	31.43	70.00	40.00
עלה	13	5	7	-	1	-	-	6
% Intrans	8.84	16.67	15.22		12.50			40.00
ירד	4	1	3	-	1	-	-	-
% Intrans	2.72	3.33	6.52		12.50			
Intransitive	147	30	46	42	8	35	10	15
All Verbs	2039	532	651	643	119	456	248	169[48]
Intrns/Vrb	7.21	5.64	7.07	6.53	6.72	7.68	4.03	8.88

How to explain these shifts in frequency? Is הלך less frequent in use because of contextual conditions? It seems to me that in some cases this explanation is beside the mark. For instance, in the

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[48] As against 409 nouns, 29.24% of all content words.

narrative of early Israelite support for David, בוא is used with no obvious implications for the orientation:

וּמִמְּנַשֶּׁה נָפְלוּ עַל־דָּוִיד בְּבֹאוֹ עִם־פְּלִשְׁתִּים עַל־שָׁאוּל לַמִּלְחָמָה

> Some Manassites went over to David's side when he *came* with the Philistines to make war against Saul (1 Chr 12:20).

The use of בבאו is perplexing, since David did not reach the war scene (v 21b). If we would view בוא as an indication of a goal orientation, we would have to posit the Philistine offensive at the centre of the narrative, which seems less likely. Could we say that the narrator represents the Philistines as more powerful than David?[49] This solution would hardly be in keeping with the narrator's perspective. In this case, then, the use of בוא does not indicate a specific deictic center.[50] It is to be granted that the preference for orientation towards the deictic center often serves as an expression of the central position of the king, the royal residence, the kingdom, the priests or the Temple.[51] But an explanation along these lines is not always feasible.[52] The king is not at the center of orientation when he is urged to set out for war:[53]

כִּי אִם־בֹּא אַתָּה עֲשֵׂה חֲזַק לַמִּלְחָמָה יַכְשִׁילְךָ הָאֱלֹהִים לִפְנֵי אוֹיֵב

> But *go* by yourself and do it; take courage for battle, [else][54] God will make you fall before the enemy (2 Chr 25:8).

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[49] This is the point of view of Achish (1 Sam 29:6).

[50] Contrast the use of הלך in v 21.

[51] See, e.g., 2 Chr 7:2; 8:11; 11:16; 12:4, 5; and similarly often in 1–2 Chronicles. So also Ezra 3:8; 7:8–9; Neh 1:2; 2:7 and *passim*; Esth 1:12; 2:12, and *passim*. On the other hand one notes the use of הלך in the description of the world wide pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Zech 8:21), influenced as it is by Isa 2:3. But in 8:2 the verb is בוא.

[52] The position of the king at the center may explain the use of בוא to describe the king's return in 2 Chr 25:14 (see also Jonah 2:8; and almost all cases in the Esther novella), but the construction seems forced. See also 2 Chr 32:21; Ezra 8:15; Neh 4:5; 6:10; Hagg 2:16.

[53] Similarly 2 Chr 25:22.

[54] The NJPSV rendering assumes the omission of למה by haplography after למלחמה; see W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1955), 278. In my view the lack of connection between the clauses is related to the elliptic style of spontaneous spoken discourse

When the narrator of the Esther scroll has Hatach returning from Mordecai to Esther, the verb used is בוא, but the NRSV prefers 'to go:'

וַיָּבוֹא הֲתָךְ וַיַּגֵּד לְאֶסְתֵּר אֵת דִּבְרֵי מָרְדֳּכָי

Hathach *went* and told Esther what Mordecai had said (Esth 4:9).

This idiom could be connected to the use of יצא to describe how Hatach made his way to Mordecai in the city square in front of the palace gate (4:6). However, similar cases appear in the Jonah tale:

וַיָּקָם יוֹנָה לִבְרֹחַ תַּרְשִׁישָׁה מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּרֶד יָפוֹ וַיִּמְצָא אָנִיָּה בָּאָה תַרְשִׁישׁ וַיִּתֵּן שְׂכָרָהּ וַיֵּרֶד בָּהּ לָבוֹא עִמָּהֶם תַּרְשִׁישָׁה

But Jonah set out to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord. He went down to Joppa and found a ship *going* to Tarshish; so he paid his fare and went on board, to *go* with them to Tarshish (Jonah 1:3; NRSV).

The destination of the ship is indicated by בוא (בָּאָה תַרְשִׁישׁ), and so is Jonah's travel plan (לָבוֹא עִמָּהֶם תַּרְשִׁישָׁה).[55] One notes the complications in the indication of the prophet's entrance to Nineveh:

וַיָּחֶל יוֹנָה לָבוֹא בָעִיר מַהֲלַךְ יוֹם אֶחָד

Jonah began to *enter* into the city, going a day's walk (Jonah 3:4).

In this case not the orientation stands at the center, but the distance, which in corpus C would in general be indicated by הלך.[56]

These examples indicate a second aspect of the preference for בוא: the use of this verb when it is not demanded by the explicit orientation.

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(fragmented syntax), which is one of the characteristics of the shaping of the dialogue in Chronicles; see my paper, F. Polak, "Spontaneous Spoken Language and Formal Discourse in the Book of Chronicles," M. Bar-Asher, D. Rom-Shiloni, E. Tov, and N. Wazana (eds) *Shai le-Sara Japhet. Studies in the Bible, its Exegesis and its Language* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 2007), 395–414, esp. pp. 406–7 (Hebrew).

[55] Similarly Zech 6:10.

[56] Compare Exod 3:18, נֵלֲכָה־נָּא דֶּרֶךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים (so also 5:3; 8:23).

The use of **יצא** often is not less perplexing. When Mordecai starts walking around in the town, the narrator uses **יצא**, centering on his point of departure, as he leaves the safety of his house:

<div dir="rtl">

וַיִּקְרַע מָרְדֳּכַי אֶת־בְּגָדָיו וַיִּלְבַּשׁ שַׂק וָאֵפֶר וַיֵּצֵא בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר
וַיִּזְעַק זְעָקָה גְדֹלָה וּמָרָה

</div>

Mordecai tore his clothes and put on sackcloth and ashes, and *went* through the city, wailing with a loud and bitter cry (Esth 4:1).

In Chronicles **יצא** may indicate the appearance before a group of people:

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֵּצֵא דָוִיד לִפְנֵיהֶם וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אִם־לְשָׁלוֹם בָּאתֶם
אֵלַי לְעָזְרֵנִי ...

</div>

David went out to meet them, saying to them, "If you come on a peaceful errand, to support me … (1 Chr 12:18).

In this instance, David is represented coming out of his stronghold (v 17), but in most cases **יצא** does not imply leaving a closed locality or a definite place:[57]

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֵּצֵא לִפְנֵי אָסָא וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ שְׁמָעוּנִי אָסָא וְכָל־יְהוּדָה וּבִנְיָמִן

</div>

He *went out*[58] to Asa and said to him, "Listen to me, Asa and all Judah and Benjamin (2 Chr 15:2).

This use of **יצא** is similar to classical **נגש**, such as, for example,[59]

<div dir="rtl">

וַיִּגַּשׁ אֵלִיָּהוּ אֶל־כָּל־הָעָם וַיֹּאמֶר עַד־מָתַי אַתֶּם פֹּסְחִים עַל־שְׁתֵּי
הַסְּעִפִּים

</div>

Elijah approached all the people and said, "How long will you keep hopping between two opinions? (1 Kgs 18:21)

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[57] So also 2 Chr 19:2; 28:9. By contrast, in Gen 14:17 the king of Sodom is supposed to leave his palace in order to meet Abraham (וַיֵּצֵא מֶלֶךְ־סְדֹם לִקְרָאתוֹ).

[58] So NRSV (=LXX); NJPSV renders "he went."

[59] So also 2 Sam 1:15; 1 Kgs 18:30, 36; 20:13, 22, 28; 22:24; 2 Kgs 2:5 and in military context, for example, 1 Sam 17:26. In prose from the Persian era this verb is rarely used (Ezra 4:2; 9:1; 2 Chr 29:31).

The first part of the book of Zechariah, in which יצא is rather frequent (15 instances; 42% of the verbs of movement) contains a vision, in which the prophet sees a scroll flying in the air, with no obvious point of departure (Zech 5:1–2). Nevertheless, in the an-gelic explanation its movement is indicated by יצא:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי זֹאת הָאָלָה הַיּוֹצֵאת עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ

Then he said to me, "This is the curse that goes out over the face of the whole land…" (Zech 5:3).

The continuation of this explanation shows how God brought out the curse, in order to let it enter the homes of the transgressors:

הוֹצֵאתִיהָ נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, וּבָאָה אֶל־בֵּית הַגַּנָּב וְאֶל־בֵּית הַנִּשְׁבָּע בִּשְׁמִי לַשָּׁקֶר

I *have sent it out*, says the Lord of hosts, and it shall *enter* the house of the thief, and the house of anyone who swears falsely by my name (Zech 5:4, NRSV).

This vision, then, posits the points of departure and entrance at the center of stage. The point of departure is likewise implied by the use of יצא to indicate the 'basket coming out' (הָאֵיפָה הַיּוֹצֵאת, vv 5–6; NRSV) and the 'two women coming forward' (שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים יוֹצְאוֹת, v 9; NRSV). An explicit point of departure is provided in the vision of the four chariots 'coming out from between the two mountains' (יֹצְאוֹת מִבֵּין שְׁנֵי הֶהָרִים, 6:1). The angel explains:

אֵלֶּה אַרְבַּע רֻחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם יוֹצְאוֹת מֵהִתְיַצֵּב עַל־אֲדוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ

Those are the four winds of heaven *coming out* after presenting themselves to the Lord of all the earth (6:5).

The rendering 'coming out' indicates the directions: the prophet perceives the winds, with the divine court as point of de-parture.[60] In the sequel, this point is implied, whereas the goal of the movement is indicated explicitly:

אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ הַסּוּסִים הַשְּׁחֹרִים יֹצְאִים אֶל־אֶרֶץ צָפוֹן ... וְהַבְּרֻדִים יָצְאוּ אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַתֵּימָן

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[60] In v 7, 'coming out' (וְהָאֲמֻצִּים יָצְאוּ) indicates the appearance, whereas the goal is indicated as לָלֶכֶת לְהִתְהַלֵּךְ בָּאָרֶץ (NJPSV: to start out and range the earth; NRSV: to get off and patrol the earth).

The one with the black horses *is going out* to the region of the north … the spotted ones *have gone out* to the region of the south (6:6).

A similar constellation may be detected in the vision of the two angels:

וְהִנֵּה הַמַּלְאָךְ הַדֹּבֵר בִּי יֹצֵא וּמַלְאָךְ אַחֵר יֹצֵא לִקְרָאתוֹ

But the angel who talked with me *came forward*, and another angel *came forward to meet him* (Zech 2:7).[61]

In the first clause the implied point of departure is presented by the myrtles where the angel was standing (1:11), whereas the second clause indicates the destination of the second angel.

d. Orientation and Direction of Motion in corpus A

The present data concerning the use of בוא and יצא in corpus A indicate a basic preference for motion verbs with implicit orientation toward origin or goal of the movement. This preference is notable in two distinct cases:

(a) the indication of point of departure and/or goal by means of the verbs which specifically entail these orientation points, יצא for the point of departure, and בוא for the destination;

(b) a preference for these verbs when the orientation points are not mentioned explicitly, and even when the indicated motion does not fit the implied orientation.

These preferences differ from the tendencies manifest in corpus C. In this corpus, the preference for בוא as indication of a goal oriented movement is matched by the indication by הלך of any motion of the acting subject (or speaker) toward a goal that is remote from the origin. In addition, there is a clear preference for the latter verb, when the goal is not in focus.

How are we to account for these shifts? The stipulation of Aramaic influence seems pointless, since neither בוא nor יצא or הביא can be characterized as Aramaic. It seems to me that the explanation is a tendency to prefer motion verbs with implied orientation (בוא, הביא, יצא) to verbs that are neutral with regard to orientation (לקח, הלך), not unlike the tendency to use specific verbs instead of לקח. A similar tendency may be noted in the Aramaic

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[61] 2:3 in most English versions (e.g., NRSV).

sections in Ezra and Daniel, where אזל, 'to go,' is less frequent than
אתה, 'to come,' and נפק, 'to go out.'[62] In the Targum one notes a
certain preference for אתה, for instance in the rendering אֵיתָא for
exhortatory לכה in the MT (Gen 19:32). For נלכה עד־כה (Gen
22:5) the Targum has נתמטי עד כא. ללכת אחרי (Gen 24:5) is
rendered as למיתי בתרי (so also in the Peshiṭṭa),[63] and ואבימלך הלך
אליו (26:26) as ואבימלך אתא לותיה. This matter obviously needs
specific examination in various Aramaic dialects.[64]

3. SYNTACTIC PATTERNS: VERBS OF MOTION IN DISCOURSE

The radical decrease in frequency of לקח and הלך involves a
second phenomenon. In corpus C both verbs serve as preverb in

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[62] אזל appears in Dan 2:17, 24; 6:19, 20; Ezra 4:23; 5:8, 15 (7 cases;
movement toward the deictic center: Dan 2:17; but mostly movement
toward a remote place). הלך appears rarely in *peal*: Ezra 5:5; 6:5 (deposit-
ing valuables); 7:13 (twice, remote goal). נפק, 'to go out,' has 6 instances
(Dan 2:13, 14; 3:26; 5:5; 7:10), including the phrase פקו ואתו (3:26), with
the characteristic opposition of נפק and אתה, //יצא and בוא. אתה appears
seven times (Dan 3:2, 26; 7:13, 22; Ezra 4:12; 5:3, 16). This verb is used
side by side with אזל in 5:15–16 with different points of orientation:
אלה מאניא שא אזל־אחת המו בהיכלא די בירושלם/ אדין ששבצר דך אתא
יהב אשיא די־בית אלהא די בירושלם. In addition one notes 8 instances of
מטה, 'to arrive,' also in the field of בוא (Dan 4:21, 25; 6:25; 7:13, 22; in a
different sense: Dan 4:8, 17, 19). In Ezra 5:15 נשא is used in a way that
matches the use of לקח as preverb (see below).

[63] Similarly 24:8, 39.

[64] The coeditors asked me to compare the Hebrew data with Akkadian
and Greek. However, these languages reflect quite a different structure. In
Greek the basic verb for 'to come,' ἔρχομαι, is closely related to εἶμι, 'to
go,' sharing, for instance, the aorist and the perfect. Moreover, in Greek
the orientation often is indicated by prepositions added to the simplex
(the naked verbal stem) as a composite verb. Thus יצא can be rendered by
ἐξ-έρχομαι and בוא by εἰσ-έρχομαι. In Akkadian the etymological conge-
ner of הלך, alāku, can mean 'to go,' but with a special affix, the so-called
ventive, this verb indicates motion toward the deictic center, 'to come,' a
meaning that can also be conveyed by bā'u, 'to pass along, to come' (the
etymological counterpart of בוא), kašādu, 'to reach' or erēbu, 'to enter.'
The last two verbs match Aramaic מטה and עלל, respectively, both used in
the Targum to render BH בוא.

biverbal or biclausal constructions.[65] As noted above, I use the term *biverbal* to indicate constructions in which two verbal predicates relate to the same subject and describe one single action,[66] as imperative, or as indicative, such as, for example,

אַךְ שְׁמַע בְּקֹלִי וְלֵךְ קַח־לִי

Just do as I say and go fetch them for me (Gen 27:13).

וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקַּח וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ

So he *went* and *got them* and brought them to his mother (Gen 27:14; NRSV)

This verse tells how Jacob obeyed his mother, and mentions explicitly that 'he went and took.'

The same verbs occur in Rebekah's opening instructions:

לֶךְ־נָא אֶל־הַצֹּאן וְקַח־לִי מִשָּׁם שְׁנֵי גְּדָיֵי עִזִּים טֹבִים וְאֶעֱשֶׂה
אֹתָם מַטְעַמִּים לְאָבִיךְ

Go to the flock and fetch me two choice kids, and I will make of them a dish for your father (Gen 27:9).

This order indicates one action, taking two kids from the flock. However, the description of this action is split up into two clauses, of which the first mentions the goal (the flock) and the second the direct object (two kids). This is an example of a *biclausal* construction, which is characterized by the description of one single action by preclause, with preverb as predicate, and main clause.

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[65] Preverb is the term used by Ayo Bambgbose, *A Grammar of Yoruba* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 67–75. 'Two-Verb constructions' are discussed by M. Eskhult, "Marker of Inception in Biblical Hebrew," 21–26.

[66] The case of שלח-הלך (to send-to go) is exceptional in that the first clause mentions the agent who sends the addressee off, whereas the second clause shows how this person/these persons go off, e.g., וַיְשַׁלְּחֶהָ וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתֵּתַע בְּמִדְבַּר בְּאֵר שָׁבַע (Gen 21:14); so also Gen 24:56; 26:31; 28:5; 30:25; 45:24; Exod 18:27; Josh 2:21; 8:9; 22:6; 24:28 (LXX, 23:28); Judg 2:6; 1 Sam 6:6; 10:25 (4QSama); 20:13; 3:21, 22, 23, 24; 1 Kgs 11:21; 2 Kgs 5:24; 6:23; Isa 6:8; Ps 81:13; 104:10; Job 38:25; and similarly Zech 1:10 (להתהלך).

a. הלך as Preverb

The question is why should the narrator use this construction? Why should the narrator insist on mentioning that Jacob 'went and took?' Why not use a single verb, as in Nathan's parable, וַיִּקַּח אֶת־כִּבְשַׂת הָאִישׁ הָרָאשׁ (2 Sam 12:4, 'so he took the poor man's lamb')? This question relates to a large number of cases in which the narrator mentions the change of locality before the main action, such as, for example,

וַיִּפְקַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ וַתֵּרֶא בְּאֵר מָיִם וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתְּמַלֵּא אֶת־הַחֵמֶת מַיִם

Then God opened her eyes and she saw a well of water. She *went* and filled the skin with water (Gen 21:19).

וַיֵּלֶךְ אִישׁ מִבֵּית לֵוִי וַיִּקַּח אֶת־בַּת־לֵוִי

A certain man of the house of Levi went and married a Levite woman (Exod 2:1).

וַתֹּאמֶר אֲחֹתוֹ אֶל־בַּת־פַּרְעֹה הַאֵלֵךְ וְקָרָאתִי לָךְ אִשָּׁה מֵינֶקֶת מִן הָעִבְרִיֹּת

Then his sister said to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call you a nurse from the Hebrew women? (Exod 2:7).

וַיֵּלֶךְ מֹשֶׁה וַיָּשָׁב אֶל־יֶתֶר חֹתְנוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֵלְכָה נָּא וְאָשׁוּבָה אֶל־אַחַי אֲשֶׁר־בְּמִצְרָיִם

Moses went back to his father-in-law Jether and said to him, "Let me go back to my kinsmen in Egypt and see how they are faring" (Exod 4:18)

In all these verses הלך serves as a preliminary for the main action, either as preverb (Gen 21:19; Exod 2:7; 4:18), or as predicate of the preclause (Exod 2:1). The note on the marriage of the 'man from the house of Levi' and 'the Levitic woman' is most troubling, for why mention that he 'went?' What is the function of these notes on the change in locality?

The answer to this question is dependent on biverbal and biclausal constructions in which other lexemes serve as preverb, קום 'to stand up,' and סבב, 'to turn around.' As Dobbs-Allsopp has shown, קום often serves as preverb in order to indicate the incep-

tion of the action,[67] in an ingressive aspect. Eskhult points to a similar use of סבב.[68] The use of 'motion' as a metaphor for 'change' allows us to construe the use of הלך as preverb as an indication of radical change in the prevailing situation, rather than as merely a change in locality.[69] Thus, the Levite modifies his personal situation by marrying a woman from the house of Levi, and also brings change into the state of all 'children of Israel,' since their son is destined to save them from slavery. By the same token, by means of the 'two choice kids' her son is bringing her, Rebekah changes his situation as well as the fate of the entire family.[70] Change is implied in many cases where the imperative לכו, לכה, לך or the cohortative נלכה serve to introduce a second imperative/cohortative:[71]

וְעַתָּה לְכוּ וְנַהַרְגֵהוּ וְנַשְׁלִכֵהוּ בְּאַחַד הַבֹּרוֹת

Come now, let us kill him and throw him into one of the pits (Gen 37:20).

לְכוּ וְנִמְכְּרֶנּוּ לַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִים וְיָדֵנוּ אַל־תְּהִי־בוֹ

Come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, but let us not do away with him ourselves (Gen 37:27).

The biverbal and biclausal patterns are often found in corpus C, and appear in corpus B as well, but are extremely rare in corpus

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[67] L. W. Dobbs-Allsop, "Ingressive *qwm* in Biblical Hebrew," *ZAH* 8 (1995), 31–54, C. S. Smith, *The Parameter of Aspect* (Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 43; Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1991), 35, 48–49. The syntactic structure of this pattern is discussed in my paper, "Linguistic and Stylistic Aspects of Epic Formulae," 293–94.

[68] Eskhult, "Marker of Inception in Biblical Hebrew."

[69] Of course, a spatial meaning is implied in passages where the location is important, e.g., Judg 21:23; 1 Sam 3:5, 6, 9; 9:3; 17:48; 28:7; 31:12; 2 Sam 11:22; 12:29; 14:30. In the Mesha inscription (*KAI* 181) one notes lines 14–15: ואהלך·בללה·ואלתחם·בה·מבקע·השחרת·עד·הצהרם.

[70] So also Gen 22:13; 28:9; 38:11; 45:28; 50:18; Exod 4:27, 29; 12:28; Num 13:26; 32:41, 42; Deut 20:5–8; 24:2; 31:14; Josh 2:1, 22; 8:29; 9:4; Judg 15:4; 2 Sam 6:12; 21:12.

[71] Similarly, e.g., Gen 19:32; 37:14; Judg 4:6, 22; 9:10, 12, 14; 10:14; 11:6; 18:2; 21:10, 20; 1 Sam 9:9, 10; 11:14; 14:1; 15:3, 6, 18; 16:1; 17:32; 20:11, 21; 22:5; 23:2, 22; 2 Sam 3:16, 21; 7:3, 5; 14:21; 15:7, 22; 18:21; 24:1, 12; 1 Kgs 1:12, 13. In particular one notes the phrase לֵךְ עֲבֹד אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים (1 Sam 26:19; and similarly, e.g., Deut 13:7, 14; 17:3; 29:25; Josh 23:16).

A. The indicative with locative meaning is found in the Amaziah tale (2 Chr 25:11, וַיֵּלֶךְ גֵּיא הַמֶּלַח וַיַּךְ אֶת־בְּנֵי־שֵׂעִיר, 'he marched to the Valley of Salt and slew the men of Seir'). The imperative construction is found in the Esther scroll (Esth 4:6: לֵךְ כְּנוֹס אֶת־כָּל־הַיְּהוּדִים הַנִּמְצְאִים בְּשׁוּשָׁן, 'Go, assemble all the Jews who live in Shushan'), the Nehemiah memoirs (2:17; 6:2), the account of the reading of the Torah (Neh 8:10),[72] and in Zechariah's prophecy (Zech 8:21, 23).[73]

The upshot is, that the decrease in the use of הלך correlates with a sharp decline in the use of biverbal and biclausal constructions with this verb.

b. לקח as Preverb

A verb that appears frequently in biclausal constructions is the verb לקח, which occurs as predicate in a series of preclauses. לקח may serve as preverb when the main clause has הלך as predicate, such as, for example:[74]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה עֲבֹר לִפְנֵי הָעָם וְקַח אִתְּךָ מִזִּקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמַטְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הִכִּיתָ בּוֹ אֶת־הַיְאֹר קַח בְּיָדְךָ וְהָלָכְתָּ

Then the Lord said to Moses, "Pass before the people; *take* with you some of the elders of Israel, and *take* along the rod with which you struck the Nile, and *set out* (Exod 17:5).

In this case, the elders and the rod, occurring as the object of the preclause, serve to accompany Moses in the action mentioned in the main clause. This function can be fulfilled by people ('the elders'), animals, and inanimate objects ('the rod'), such as, for example:

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[72] In Neh 8:12 the main verb appears in the infinitive, וַיֵּלְכוּ כָל־הָעָם לֶאֱכֹל וְלִשְׁתּוֹת וּלְשַׁלַּח מָנוֹת וְלַעֲשׂוֹת שִׂמְחָה גְדוֹלָה

[73] On the other hand, in the prophetic texts that relate, according to their content, to the 8th-7th century BCE, one notes the imperative is frequently used: Isa 1:18; 2:3 (//Mic 4:2); 2:5; 6:9; 20:2; 21:6; 22:15; Hos 1:2, 3; 2:9; 3:1; 5:13; 5:15; 6:1; Amos 7:12, 15.

[74] So also Gen 12:19; 14:11, 12; 22:3; 24:51, 61; 34:17; 36:6; 42:33; Exod 12:32; Deut 26:2; Josh 9:11; Judg 18:24; 19:28; 1 Sam 9:3; 24:3; 26:11, 12; 2 Sam 4:7; 2 Kings 4:29; 8:8; 9:1; Jer 13:4; 36:14; 41:12; Job 42:8.

וַיֹּאמֶר קַח־נָא אֶת־בִּנְךָ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ אֲשֶׁר־אָהַבְתָּ אֶת־יִצְחָק
וְלֶךְ־לְךָ אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרִיָּה

And he said, "*Take* your son, your favoured one, Isaac, whom you love, and *go* to the land of Moriah" (Gen 22:2)

וַיִּקַּח הָעֶבֶד עֲשָׂרָה גְמַלִּים מִגְּמַלֵּי אֲדֹנָיו וַיֵּלֶךְ וְכָל־טוּב אֲדֹנָיו בְּיָדוֹ
וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם אֶל־עִיר נָחוֹר

Then the servant *took* ten of his master's camels and *set out*, taking with him all the bounty of his master; and *he made his way* to Aram-naharaim, to the city of Nahor (Gen 24:10).

In other words, from a point of view of case semantics, the object of the preclause provides the comitative (sociative) of the main clause.[75] This pattern is not attested in corpus A.[76]

In other cases the preclause provides the object for the main clause, such as, for example,[77]

וַיִּקַּח שֵׁם וָיֶפֶת אֶת־הַשִּׂמְלָה וַיָּשִׂימוּ עַל־שְׁכֶם שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיֵּלְכוּ
אֲחֹרַנִּית

Then Shem and Japheth *took* a garment, *laid* it on both their shoulders, and *walked* backward (Gen 9: 23; NRSV).

וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֲצֵי הָעֹלָה וַיָּשֶׂם עַל־יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ

Abraham *took* the wood for the burnt offering and *put* it on his son Isaac (Gen 22:6).

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[75] See Charles J. Fillmore, "Toward a Modern Theory of Case," Ch. J. Fillmore, *Form and Meaning in Language. Vol. I: Papers on Semantic Roles* (Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of language and Information, 2003), 2–21, esp. pp. 6–9; "The Case for Case," E. Bach and R. T. Harms (eds) *Universals in Linguistic Theory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 1–88, esp. pp. 21–32; R. E. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse, Second Edition* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 153–218, esp. p. 164.

[76] The example in Job 42:8 apparently reflects the influence of Patriarchal narrative.

[77] לקח and שים form a formulaic pair, appearing also in Gen 21:14; 28:11, 18; 31:34; Exod 2:3; 17:12; Josh 8:12; Judg 4:21; 9:48; 15:4; 1 Sam 7:12; 8:11; (17:40, 54); 19:13; 25:18; 2 Kgs 2:20; 9:13; 10:7; 20:7; Jer 39:12; 43:10; Ezek 17:5; 19:5; Job 22:22; and in cultic context: Exod 24:6; 40:20; Lev 8:26; Deut 26:2; 31:26 (compare Josh 6:18; 7:11).

In corpus A this use is not found in narrative. In prophetic texts from the Persian era one notes two instances: Hag 2:23; Zech 6:11.

A frequent formula joins לקח as preverb to its antonym נתן in the main clause,[78] such as, for example, in legal context:[79]

וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם צֹאן וּבָקָר וַיִּתֵּן לַאֲבִימֶלֶךְ וַיִּכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּרִית

Abraham *took* sheep and oxen and *gave* them to Abimelech, and the two of them made a pact (Gen 21:27).

וְאֶת־שְׂדוֹתֵיכֶם וְאֶת־כַּרְמֵיכֶם וְזֵיתֵיכֶם הַטּוֹבִים יִקָּח וְנָתַן לַעֲבָדָיו

He will *seize* your choice fields, vineyards, and olive groves, and *give* them to his courtiers (1 Sam 8:14).

Other uses include transfer of property (Gen 20:14; 1 Sam 25:11; including the bestowal of the priestly portions of the sacrifice, Lev 7:34), handing over of a maid to the husband (Gen 16:3; 30:9; similarly 2 Sam 12:11); change of location of an object (Gen 15:10; 18:8; 21:14; 1 Sam 9:22) or a person (2 Chr 22:11); even jailing (Gen 39:20; 2 Sam 20:3; Jer 39:14). This formula is not attested in corpus A.[80]

In corpus C לקח appears as preverb with a wide variety of verbs, with locative overtones, such as הניח (Gen 2:15), הביא (Gen 2:22; 27:14; 29:23; 33:11; 1 Sam 17:54; 25:35; 2 Sam 13:10), **יצא** (Gen 12:5; 34:26), העלה (22:13; 2 Sam 24:22), קבר (Gen 23:13; 1 Sam 31:13; 2 Sam 4:12), רדף (Gen 31:23; 2 Sam 20:6), הרים (Gen 31:45), העביר (32:24; 2 Sam 2:8), השליך (Gen 37:24; 2 Sam 18:17),

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[78] So also Gen (3:6); 18:7; 30:9; 39:20; Deut 15:17; 19:12; 29:7; Josh 11:23; 13:8; Judg 14:19; 15:6; 17:4; 1 Sam 6:8; 30:11; 2 Sam 21:8–9; 1 Kgs 11:18, 35; 15:18; 18:26; 19:21; 2 Kgs 12:8, 10; Jer 32:14; 36:32; Ezek 4:1, 3, 9; 17:5, 22; 33:2; 37:19; and in cultic context: Exod 12:7; 16:33; 29:12; 29:20; Lev 8:15, 23; Num 5:17; 6:18; 16:7; 17:11; 31:29; Ezek 43:20; 45:19.

[79] The usage of a similar formula in Akkadian contracts from Ugarit, *našû-nadānu*, is well-known; see E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Documents from Ugarit," *JAOS* 75 (1955), 154–65; J. C. Greenfield, "Našû-Nadānu and Congeners," Maria de Jong-Ellis (ed.), (*Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), 87–91.

[80] The passage in 2 Chr 22:11 (וַתִּקַּח יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת בַּת־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־יוֹאָשׁ בֶּן־אֲחַזְיָהוּ וַתִּגְנֹב אֹתוֹ מִתּוֹךְ בְּנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמּוּמָתִים וַתִּתֵּן אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־מֵינִקְתּוֹ בַּחֲדַר הַמִּטּוֹת) probably reflects the primary text as against 2 Kgs 11:2; see W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 270.

בוא (Gen 38:2; 1 Sam 20:21; 2 Sam 11:4), אסר (Gen 42:24), קום (43:13), הציג (47:2), יצק (1 Sam 10:1; 2 Sam 13:9), קלע (1 Sam 17:49), שלף (17:51), נפל (31:4), פרש (2 Sam 17:19), תקע (18:14), הציב (18:18); with action verbs such as אכל (Gen 3:6, 22; or סעד, 18:5), סגר (Gen 2:21), כסה (24:65), עשה (31:46), שכב (Gen 34:2), שחט (37:31), קשר (38:28), משח (1 Sam 16:13), גלח (2 Sam 10:4), לוש (13:8); and with verbs of speaking, such as ברך (Gen 48:9), אמר (1 Sam 16:2; 2 Sam 14:2).[81]

In corpus A this pattern is rare. It is used to indicate marriage followed by child birth (1 Chr 2:19; 2 Chr 11:20, ילד).[82] In the Esther scroll we note two cases in the scene in which Haman is ordered to honour Mordecai:

מַהֵר קַח אֶת־הַלְּבוּשׁ וְאֶת־הַסּוּס כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ וַעֲשֵׂה־כֵן לְמָרְדֳּכַי הַיְּהוּדִי

Quickly, take the robes and the horse as you have said, and do so to the Judean Mordecai (Esth 6:10; NRSV with slight adaptation).

וַיִּקַּח הָמָן אֶת־הַלְּבוּשׁ וְאֶת־הַסּוּס וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֶת־מָרְדֳּכָי וַיַּרְכִּיבֵהוּ בִּרְחוֹב הָעִיר

So Haman took the garb and the horse and arrayed Mordecai and paraded him through the city square (Esth 6:11).

In prophetic texts we note וּבָאוּ כָּל־הַזֹּבְחִים וְלָקְחוּ מֵהֶם וּבִשְּׁלוּ בָהֶם (Zech 14:21, 'And all those who sacrifice shall come and *take* of these and *boil* [*sc.* their meat'] in it').

c. בוא as Preverb

In corpus A we encounter a number of cases in which בוא, 'to come,' opens a biclausal construction, such as, for example:[83]

וַתָּבוֹאנָה נַעֲרוֹת אֶסְתֵּר וְסָרִיסֶיהָ וַיַּגִּידוּ לָהּ

Esther's maidens and eunuchs came and informed her (Esth 4:4[84]).

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[81] In prophetic texts one notes Isa 8:1 (כתב); 14:2; Hos 1:3; 14:3 (שוב).
[82] So also Exod 6:23, 25; and similarly 1 Chr 14:3; 2 Sam 5:13; Jer 29:6; Hos 1:3; Ruth 4:13.
[83] So also Esth 4:9; and with שלח: Esth 5:10.

וַנָּבוֹא יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם וַנֵּשֶׁב שָׁם יָמִים שְׁלֹשָׁה

We came to Jerusalem and remained there three days (Ezra 8:32;[85] NRSV).

וָאָבוֹא אֶל־פַּחֲווֹת עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר וָאֶתְּנָה לָהֶם אֵת אִגְּרוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ

Then I came to the governors of the province Beyond the River, and gave them the king's letters (Neh 2:9; NRSV).

In the prophetic texts we find such use with עשה (Hag 1:14), בנה (Zech 6:15), לקח (14:21), הכה (Mal 3:24).

On the other hand, in corpus C this pattern is no less frequent. We note this preverb with such lexemes as, for example, ישב (Gen 13:18), הרה (14:7), הכה (14:13; 26:32), בנה (16:2; 22:9), הגיד (16:8), שכב (19:33, 34), פתח (24:32), אמר (24:42; 27:18).[86] However, the relationship between the two clauses in this construction is limited to temporal succession. We do not encounter cases in which the preverb/preclause is used to modify the main clause.

d. The Use of Preverbs and Syntactic-Stylistic Typology

The differences between corpus C and corpus A in the frequency and use of biverbal and biclausal constructions have important implications for the syntactic-stylistic typology of these two corpuses.

From a purely formal point of view, in the biverbal construction the preverb always serves as predicate with implied subject, such as, for example, וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־עֵלִי (1 Sam 3:8, and he rose and went to Eli), and thus is always counted as a short clause. Biclausal constructions also involve short clauses, since the semantic information is split up into two (or more) small chunks, such as, for instance,

וַיִּקַּח שְׁמוּאֵל אֶת־פַּךְ הַשֶּׁמֶן/ וַיִּצֹק עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ/ וַיִּשָּׁקֵהוּ/ וַיֹּאמֶר

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[84] So also 2 Chr 20:2; 29:18; also note 20:24 (פנה); 24:23 (השתחוה); 25:18 (עשה); 28:17 (הכה); 30:8 (קדש); 31:8 (ראה); 32:1 (חנה); 32:4 (מצא); and 1 Chr 7:23(הרה-ילד).

[85] Similarly Neh 2:11; 6:11; and with הרג 4:5; אמר 4:6; ירש 9:24; בין 13:7.

[86] In the sample from Isaiah-Zephaniah we note Isa 7:19 (נוח); 30:8 (כתב); Hos 9:10 (נזר); Amos 5:19 (סמך); Mic 4:10 (נצל); Hab 1:8, 9 (אסף, עוף).

> Samuel took a flask of oil, and poured (some) on his head and,
> kissed him, and said… (1 Sam 10:1)

In this sequence, the first clause includes two constituents apart from the predicate (Samuel, flask of oil), the second one constituent (his head), and the last two none, apart from the verbal predicate (with object suffix). Thus, the biverbal/biclausal patterns enable the split up of the information into small chunks.

Chunking, however, is only one aspect of the issue. The other side of the coin is that these patterns allow for a particular syntactic-semantic structure, in which the information required for the description of one action or event is spread over two clauses. In some of the main European languages, including Latin, such information would be integrated into one single sentence,[87] but the biverbal/biclausal pattern is based on the understanding that the information contained in the first clause, actually serves the second clause. Accordingly, these patterns embody a particular syntactic-semantic structure, which differs from the structures that we are accustomed to see in modern, Western languages, but which actually are partly matched by some of the phenomena subsumed under the title of "serial verbs,"[88] and attested in a number of Asiatic,[89] African, and Creole languages.[90]

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[87] Hence Givón problematizes the term 'single event' and investigates, by measuring pauses in speaking, to which extent the actual speakers of serializing languages separate the clauses; see T. Givón, "Serial Verbs and the Mental Reality of 'Event': Grammatical vs. Cognitive Packaging," E. C. Traugott and B. Heine (eds), *Approaches to Grammaticalization* (2 Vols.; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1991), 1.81–127. Givón (op. cit, 120–23) places serialization of chained clauses in parataxis on a continuum between the chaining of independent clauses and the transformation of stripped-down verbs as modifiers.

[88] L. W. Dobbs-Allsop ("Ingressive *qwm*," 37–40) actually mentions the similarity of the biverbal construction to serialization, but prefers its analysis in terms of aspect. However, the biclausal constructions involve semantic relations which in some European languages would be subsumed under the heading of 'case,' as shown by Givón, "Serial Verbs," 80–83, 96–109, 121. The connection between biverbal/biclausal patterns and serialization was duly noted by Eskhult, "Marker of Inception," 22; see also B. Isaksson, "Circumstantial Qualifiers in the Arabic Dialect of Kinderib (East Turkey)," S. Procházka and V. Ritt-Benmimoun (eds) *Between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. Studies on Contemporary Arabic Dialects*

4. Verbs of Motion and Semanto-Syntactic Patterning

It is time to summarize the results. From a syntactic point of view, the main result is that biverbal and biclausal patterns involve more than chunking and stylistic preferences. There is an underlying linguistic structure, which enables chunking and the chaining of short clauses in a semantically meaningful sequence in which the first clause affects the meaning of the second one. In other words, the characteristic style of corpus C reflects a special discourse structure, a particular semanto-syntactic system of clause chaining that is hardly used in corpus A.

From a semantic point of view, corpus A differs from corpus C in its striking preference for oriented verbs, הביא, and יצא, בוא, as against the more open system in corpus C, in which non-oriented verbs, such as הלך and לקח, are no less important than the oriented verb, בוא, and in which יצא does not stand out by its frequency. A differentiation of this kind transcends the realm of rhetorics, stylistics, and literary design. What is involved is no less than a basic shift in language culture, cognitive stance, and mentality.

(Wien: Lit Verlag, 2008), 251–58, esp. pp. 256–57.

[89] Some of these patterns have been described for Akkadian as "coupling;" see F. R. Kraus, *Sonderformen Akkadischer Parataxe: Die Koppelungen* (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N. S. 50:1; Amsterdam: North Holland, 1987), 10–37; significantly, Kraus points to similar patterns in Turkish, a language with serialization.

[90] See, for example, Bambgbose, *A Grammar of Yoruba*; Talmy Givón, "Prolegomena to Any Sane Creology," I. F. Hancock (ed.) *Readings in Creole Studies* (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1979), 3–35, esp. pp. 12–18.

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