CAUSATIVE *HIP’ÍL VERBS WITH DOUBLE OBJECTS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

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

Figure 1

![Diagram of transformational syntax](image)

This is also the deep structure for verses such as hīgdaltā hāʾassīmḥā ("you caused the joy to be big," Isa 9:2), lāḥaqṭīn ʾēfā ("to cause the measure to be small," Amos 8:5) etc. Their passivization is simple: ʾullēnū ḫukbād, hāʾassīmḥā ḫuḡdōlā, ḫāʾēfā ḫuḡṭēnā.

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1. Cf. Gesenius (1903, pp. 144ff) and Jouon (1923, pp. 374ff). Brockelmann (1908-13, II, pp. 308ff) discusses the double object in the Semitic languages and in Hebrew. But his examples are only in the *qal and pi’el*: mūlē ’et-ʾumṭēḥōt hāʾānāšīm ʾōkel (Gen 44:1); wāyēyyāʾēhū ḫōrēq (Isa 5:2). He does not so much as mention causative verbs in the *hip’íl*. Cf. also Rabin (1974, pp. 57ff) and Kaddari (1970).
However, the Hebrew Bible also possesses hip’l forms whose qal is transitive, and the hip’l is therefore “doubly transitive,” i.e., it may govern two objects. A small number of pi’el forms also govern two direct objects, but we shall first deal with the hip’l forms. We have found seventeen such forms in the Hebrew Bible: 2 he’ekl (“cause to eat, feed”), heb’n (“cause to understand, explain”), 3 hizk’r (“cause to remember, remind”), hōdt’ā (“let know”), hōrā (“direct, teach”), hōrūs (“cause to inherit”), hēnūq (“cause to suck, nurse”), hilbt’s (“clothe”), hinhūl (“cause to inherit”), hipš’t (“strip off, cause to undress”), hijnā (“cause to see, show”), hirwā (“cause to drink, saturate”), hišbā’ (“satisfy”), hiškūl (“make forget”), hišmā’ (“cause to hear”), hišqā (“cause to drink”).

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

Figure 2

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

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

3. heb’n has two meanings: “understand” and “cause to understand, explain.”
while *kuttontó* ("his coat"), which is also an other verses which have verbs with a double object, e.g., *hasmít int *et-gólëk* ("let me hear thy voice," Cant 2:14), where "me" is the SEC and "your voice" the OEC; or *wānōdtā *etkem dābār* ("we will let you know a thing," 1 Sam 14:12).

There are further examples in the Hebrew Bible of two objects in the accusative: *'attā tanhīl *et-hā'-ām hazze *et-hā'-āres* ("thou shalt cause this people to inherit the land," Josh 1:6); *kī tōrēm *et-hadderek hattōbā* ("that thou teach them the good way," 1 Kgs 8:36); *wāhilbaštā *et-*ahārōn *et-hakkuttōnet* ("and thou shalt put upon Aaron the coat," Exod 29:5); *harēnt nā *et kābōdekā* ("show me thy glory," Exod 33:18).

Note that in one instance the verb *hīzkfr* governs two objects and the SEC is governed by the preposition *'el* ("to"), and not with the object marker *et:* *wāhizkartanf *el-parō* ("make mention of me to Pharaoh," Gen 40:14). This use is not uncommon. The verb *hōdātā* ("let know") is found time and again in the construction: *wāhōda'tā lähem *et-hadderek* ("thou shalt show them the way," Exod 18:20)—altogether ten times as against forty times when the SEC is governed by *et* or is in the accusative without *et.* These ten verses are to be found in all strata of the Hebrew Bible, from the Pentateuch to Psalms and Nehemiah. *'a-* ("to") as the governing preposition is also in evidence when the verb governs only one object, i.e., SEC: *hakzkfr laggōyim* ("make ye mention to the nations," Jer 4:16); *hōda' lassaddiq wāyōsep leqah* ("give instruction to a wise man, and he will be yet wise," Prov 9:9). This use of *'a-* is to be found with the following verbs also: *hōrā —yōrū míspaṭekā* *lāya'ágabh* ("they shall teach Jacob thy judgments," Deut 33:10); *hinhīl —wāhinhaltem libnēkem *'ahārēkem* ("you may leave it for an inheritance for your children after you," 1 Chr 28:8); *hōrēs —wāhōraśtem libnēkem *'ad-*ōlām ("leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever," Ezra 9:12). Once we have *hīsmātā* governing the SEC with *'el:* *wālō *'āsmtā *'ēlayik *'ōd* *kalīmmat haggōyim* ("‘neither will I cause men to hear in you the shame of the heathen,’" Ezek 36:15).

It should be noted that one verb governs in some cases the SEC with *bāo,* viz. *hōdātā.* We can take these Noun Phrases as adverbial extensions, i.e., locative adverbs. Perhaps these were some sort of fixed formula, for in every instance we have *hōdātā* *bā'ammmim:* *hōdtū* *bā'ammmim *'āllītōw* ("make

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

5. It should be kept in mind that *'a-* sometimes governs the accusative in other verbs: *wā'ahābara lāre'ākā kāmōkā* ("thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," Lev 19:18); *le'ēwīl yahārog kā'as* ("wrath kills the foolish man," Job 5:2).
known his deeds among the peoples,' Isa 12:4, Ps 105:1, 1 Chr 16:8; hōda'tā bā'ammīm 'uzzekā (‘you have declared your strength among the peoples,’ Ps 77:15). The preposition b-ā- is to be found once governing the OEC, in the verse wattašqēmō bidmā'āt šāltē (‘you give them tears to drink in great measures,’ Ps 80:6), and this is remarkable in that this part of the verse parallels he'ēkaltām lehem dim'ā (‘‘you feed them with the bread of tears’’), where both the SEC and the OEC are direct objects.

The OEC can also be a subordinate clause after certain verbs. In these cases we have two objects, one a regular object and the other an embedded clause. Examples: wāhōrē'tī 'etkēm 'et 'āser taw'āsūn (‘‘I will teach you what you shall do,’’ Exod 4:15); wāhōrē'tikā 'āser tōdabber (‘‘I will teach thee what thou shalt say,’’ Exod 4:12); wayō'da YHWH 'et-āser-lō (‘‘the Lord will make known who are his,’’ Num 16:5); wālō hōda’tā 'et-'abdeka mt yēšēb 'al kissē . . . (‘‘you have not shown it unto thy servant, who should sit on the throne . . .’’ 1 Kgs 1:27); 'āser hā'ēlōhīm 'ōse her'ā 'et-par'ō (‘‘what God is about to do he shows unto Pharaoh,’’ Gen 41:28); bāyōm hānhilō 'et-bānāw 'et 'āser-yihye lō (‘‘when he makes his sons to inherit that which he has,’’ Deut 21:16).

Only these four verbs may govern an OEC which is an embedded clause. Sometimes the relative particle 'āser, or, rather, the anaphoric pro-form ('ōto, etc.) that has been omitted, can function as one of the objects, e.g. bā'āres 'āser YHWH 'ēlōhekm manhîl 'etkēm (‘‘in the land which the Lord your God gives you to inherit,’’ Deut 12:10). Here we have two objects: attem is the SEC, and 'āser (or 'āser 'ōtāh) is the OEC. Witness also: halle'ēm 'āser he'ēkalt 'etkēm bammidbār (‘‘the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness,’’ Exod 16:32); miyyārū'satēkā 'āser hōraštānū (‘‘of your inheritance which you have given us to inherit,’’ 2 Chr 20:11). In cases such as these the anaphoric accusative pro-form is the OEC.

Sometimes the causative hip'tl governs but one object, which may be the SEC or the OEC. Examples of verbs governing only the SEC: wayyasq ·et son liibiin (‘‘... and watered the flock of Laban,’’ Gen 29:10); hazkīrū laggōyim (‘‘make mention to the nations,’’ Jer 4:16); wattalbes 'et ya'āqōb bānāh haqqātān (‘‘and put (them) for an inheritance for your children after you,’’ 1 Chr 28:8); wayyapšēthūhā (‘‘and when they had stripped him,’’ 1 Chr 10:9); hūrānt wa'a'ānt ahārēš (‘‘teach me and I will hold my tongue,’’ Job 6:24); kō hir'ānt 'ādōnāy YHWH (‘‘thus has the Lord God shown me,’’ Amos 7:1); hālō mē'āz hišma'tikā (‘‘have I not told thee from that time,’’ Isa 44:8); wayya'ákīlūm (‘‘the men . . . gave them to eat,’’ 2 Chr 6. This verse is translated as if it contains an OEC, but the OEC is absent in the Hebrew original.
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28:15; wəhōraštem libnèkem ‘ad-‘olăm (‘‘that you leave (it)’’ for an inheritance to your children for ever,’” Ezra 9:12); wəhōrē’ti ‘etkem ‘et ‘ăser ta’āsūn (‘‘I will teach you what you shall do,’’ Exod 4:15); wəhōrē’tkā ‘ăser təḏabbēr (‘‘I will teach you what you shall say,’’ Exod 4:12); ləšōdtā ‘et-‘abdekkā (‘‘to make thy servant know (them),’’ 6 Sam 7:21).

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

When we find just an SEC, it is usually in the accusative (introduced by ’et when with a definite article). But sometimes it is introduced by li-, e.g., wəhinhaltem libnèkem ‘ahārēkem (‘‘you leave it for an inheritance for your children after you,’’ 1 Chr 28:8); hazkītrū laggōyim (‘‘make mention to the nations,’’ Jer 4:16); wəhōraštem libnèkem ‘ad-‘oläm (‘‘you leave it for an inheritance for your children for ever,’’ Ezra 9:12). The verbs hinhīl and hizkīr also govern the SEC in the accusative in several instances.

As was mentioned above, these causative hip’īl verbs sometimes govern an OEC only, i.e., an object of the embedded clause. These sentences bear no indication of the agent of the embedded clause, e.g., hišmī’llū za’aqā za’irēhā (‘‘her little ones have caused a cry to be heard,’’ Jer 48:8). We do not know who the subject is who is supposed to hear the cry. The deep structure of this sentence is:

Figure 3

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NP  VP  S
  NP  VP  S
    N  N  I

ša’irēhā  (‘‘her little ones’’)
        g.r.m. (‘‘cause’’)
            ?
                šāma’ (‘‘to hear’’)
                    za’aqā (‘‘a cry’’)
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Further examples: 'azkîr šidqatekâ lâšaddekâ ("I will make mention of your righteousness only," Ps 71:16); ūqârâ 'tm talbîs númâ ("and drowsiness shall clothe (a man) with rags," Prov 23:21); whîpštî 'et hâ'ôlâ ("and he shall flay the burnt offering," Lev 1:6); lâšândîl nôhâlôt šômêmôt ("to cause to inherit the desolate heritages," Isa 49:8); hôdîlî YHWH yôšû'âîô ("the Lord has made known his salvation," Ps 98:2); wônahat zarô'ô yâr'e ("and shall show the lighting down of his arm," Isa 30:30).

This construction (OEC only) is not found with the verbs heʾēkîl, hîsqâ, hîškîh, hîqân. It cannot be ruled out that in some of the foregoing cases there is no omission of one of the objects (like hîzkîr, hôdîlî, hîr'â in the surface structure, but rather that their deep structure is different. Yet this does not affect the description of the grammatical relations. The verbs hôrîs and hôrâ must be dealt with specially, since both have two meanings, as will be shown.

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

The verb hîsqâ is found without any object in two verses: wôhâsqôt biklê zâhâb ("and they gave (them) drink in vessels of gold," Esth 1:7); wayyasq kitôhmôt rabbâ ("and gave (them) drink as out of the great depths," Ps 78:15). In these verses the SEC is self-explanatory: in Esther the verse means "the people that were present in Shushan," of verse 5; and in Psalms, the verse refers to the rocks mentioned in the first half of the same verse.

The verb hipštî occurs once with no object: wôhallôwiyiyim mapšîlm ("and the Levites flayed (them)," 2 Chr 35:11). Here, too, the object is clear: the pesah mentioned in the same verse.

7. The verb hîqân presents something of a problem, since it appears only twice in the Hebrew Bible, once without an object (Ezek 8:3) and once in an unclear context (Zech 13:5). In Ezek 8:3 there is a version with Ṣîṣ instead of Ṣîṣ. In the deep structure we have a clause indicating the result of the causation: strip her, and she will be naked.

9. Some of these causative verbs occur in the Hebrew Bible with no object. We start with a problematic verb found twice, in unclear circumstances, viz. heʾēkîl: lehâktî (lôšîaʾ ôkîl?) lama'an bôrâq ("to consume because of the glittering," Ezek 21:33); wôša'at elôw 'ôkîl (aʾôkîl? ʾôkîl?) ("and I laid meat unto them," Hos 11:4). If these two verbs are derived from the root 'kl in the hipšîl, we are faced with two cases of heʾēkîl with no object. But there are many interpretations of these verbs, and it is not our intention to deal with problematic verses.
We also find the verb *hôdtâ* with no explicit object three times; *hîzkîr* and *hiśmtâ* seven times each; and *hôrâ* five times. The content is always understood from the context, sometimes by virtue of an adverbial extension. None of the other causative *hip‘îl* forms occur without an object.

Some comments are in order concerning the verbs *hôrîṣ* and *hôrâ*. *hôrîṣ* has these meanings: (1) ‘‘drive away,’’ and (2) ‘‘cause somebody to inherit.’’ In our study we refer to the verb in the second sense, for only this is a causative verb with two objects. The verb *hôrâ* also has at least two meanings: (1) ‘‘shoot,’’ (2) ‘‘teach, direct.’’ Only the second of these was considered, for the stated reason. The verb *hiqînâ* has been referred to, and the existence of this root in the *hip‘îl* is not too certain. The verb *hiśkînâ* occurs but once in the Hebrew Bible with two objects: *hâhôsâhîm lôhaśkînâ ‘et-‘ammî šâmî* (‘‘which think to cause my people to forget my name,’’ Jer 23:27).

Passivization of these causative verbs is normal, although we find clear cases of *hop‘al* from two, perhaps three, roots only. The root *r‘y* occurs four times in the *hop‘al*: ‘‘āṣer hor‘etâ bâḥâr (‘‘which was shown to you in the mount,’’ Exod 26:30); ‘‘āṣer-‘attâ mor‘e bâḥâr (‘‘which was shown to you in the mount,’’ Exod 25:40); wāḥor‘ā ‘et-hakkônîn (‘‘it shall be shown to the priest,’’ Lev 13:49). The root *nhî* occurs in one verse: *kên honhatî lî yarîḥ šâw* (‘‘so am I made to possess months of vanity,’’ Job 7:3). And in one verse we find the Hebrew verb *yd‘* in the *hop‘al*, but with a disparity between *qâre* and *kattîb*: *mûḏa‘at (kattîb: נודע) zôt bâkol hâ‘âres* (‘‘this is known in all the earth,’’ Isa 12:5).

If we do not take into consideration the verse in Isaiah (because of the difference between *qâre* and *kattîb*), we find just five passive forms of the causative *hop‘al* verbs. However, looking at similar forms in related Semitic languages (e.g., Arabic), we may assume that in biblical Hebrew more such forms existed, such as: *hopśatî ‘et hakkônîn* (‘‘their coat was stripped off’’), *wayyo‘oklu ha‘annâśîm ‘et hallehem* (‘‘the people were fed with the bread’’), and so on.

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

In Gesenius (1903, p. 370) we also find causative verbs in the *pi‘êl* that govern two objects: *’izzêr* (‘‘gird’’), *hiśsêr* (‘‘cause to lack’’), *millê* (‘‘fill’’),...
limmēd ("teach"), 'ittēr ("crown"); the same rules stated above for the hip'il forms hold here also. The following are some examples of sentences with two objects: hamma'azza'rent hāyil ("that girds me with strength," Ps 18:33); wayyēsmālā' et-yrūšālayim dam nāqī ("he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood," 2 Kgs 24:4); wa'llimmadtem 'ōtām 'et-bānēkem ("and you shall teach them to your children," Deut 11:19); wēkābōd wēhādār ṯē'attērēhū ("you have crowned him with glory and honor," Ps 8:6).

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

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

To complete our findings, these verbs were checked in the Mishna also. Only ten causative verbs exist with two objects (the biblical verbs except for hōrā, hiqnā, hēbtā, hēnīq, hirwā, hīsbū', and hišktāh), and their distribution is substantially more restricted than in the Bible. hišktr, hišmā', and hisqā never govern two objects; heʾēkīl takes two objects a mere seven times (and once the SEC is with lā-); hōrā twice governs two objects (once the OEC is an embedded clause, and once an infinitive); hilbīs has two objects just once; hinhīl once (the SEC with lā-); hērā seven times, and hipṣīl twice. Constructions with only an OEC occur after the verbs hōdāʾ, hōrā (always infinitive with lā-), heʾēkīl, hišmā' and hišktr. Some verbs govern only the SEC, while some lack an object altogether. The general impression is that the use of causative verbs with two direct objects has diminished considerably in the Mishna.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


