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JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

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The Relations expressed by the Genitive in Hebrew.

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THE annexion of a noun in Hebrew is used to express any conceivable relation between the word in the construct state and the annexed noun. Although Hebrew prose does not warrant this statement, lyric passages and impassioned oratory justify one in saying that any sort of modification which occurs to a speaker or writer may be expressed by an annexed noun. The fact that not only nouns and adjectives, but participles and infinitives, take Genitives after them gives the writers somewhat more liberty; but the most remarkable expressions are made by the grouping of nouns alone.

The reader, therefore, is left to analyze the phrases composed of the construct state and the annexed noun, and to master their meaning. This is a much greater tax upon his power of discrimination than arises from the various uses of ך. It may be that we are sometimes more exacting of the original language than would have seemed justifiable to the author; but he surely meant something by his language, and it is not unreasonable for us to wish to know as nearly as possible what was in his thought.

The grammatical classification of Genitives seems dry to a student; and he is tempted to ask a teacher who seeks exact discrimination, "Why do you wish us to define these Genitives?" If we can master the relations of thought, we are increasing our power to comprehend a work of literature. The best exegetes often paraphrase the more difficult annexional phrases, thus indicating their conception of the relation of the annexed word; but they rarely define the relation.

It is true that the relations are so varied that a perfectly satisfactory classification of them is probably impossible. A tolerably effective working classification is the best that can be hoped. For some time past I have noted with interest the varied uses of the Genitive, and

in consequence have formulated an analysis of these uses which may be serviceable to others. I hope that it will provoke somebody with more leisure than I have to give the subject a complete investigation.

I.

The relation of cause in a broad sense is expressed by annexion.

1. There is a **Genitive of Cause** in the strict sense : *e.g.* **שָׁבַט אַפִּי** (Isa. 10⁵), "rod (used) because of my anger" ; **חֹלֵת אֲהַבָּהּ** (Cant. 2⁵), "sick because of love" ; **מֵתִי מִלְּהַמָּה** (Isa. 22²), "dead because of war."

2. There is a **Genitive of Author**. The annexed noun designates the author or originator of that to which it is annexed : *e.g.* **תּוֹרַת יְהוָה** (Ex. 13⁹), "law of Yahwe," so often, not only with **תּוֹרָה**, but with **חֵק**, **חֻקָּה**, **מִצְוָה**, **מִשְׁפָּט**, **עֲדוּת**, **דְּרוֹךְ**, **דְּבַר**. Ample illustration is found in Ps. 119 ; **מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה** (Prov. 1¹ 25¹), "Proverbs of Solomon" ; **חֲרַפַּת אָדָם** (Ps. 22⁷), "reproach of men."

3. The **Subjective Genitive** in a strict sense denotes the actor after a word denoting the action. *Cf.* **אֲהַבַּת יְהוָה** (1 Ki. 10⁹), "love shown by Yahwe" ; **קִנְאָת אֶפְרַיִם** (Isa. 11¹³), "jealousy felt by Ephraim" ; **קְרֵאִיהָ** (Prov. 9¹⁸), "those who were invited by her."

4. The **Genitive of Instrument** denotes the instrument, the thing by which an act is accomplished. *Cf.* **מִקְנַת כֶּסֶף** (Ex. 12⁴), "possession bought with silver" ; **חָרַב חֶלְלִי** (Isa. 22²), "slain with the sword" ; **לֶחֶמִי רִשָּׁף** (Dt. 32²⁴), "consumed by pestilence."

5. The **Genitive of Source** designates the relation of internal source, birth, and the like. *Cf.* **פְּרִי גִדְלִי** (Isa. 10¹²), "fruit of arrogance" ; **יְלֹד אִשָּׁה** (Job 14¹), "born of woman" ; **אִמְרֵי בִינָה** (Prov. 1²), "words that proceed from intelligence."

6. **Genitive of Occasion**, or of the external source : *e.g.* **אֱלֹהֵי הַנְּכַר** (Jud. 10¹⁶), "gods derived from a foreign country" ; **זַמְרַת זֵר** (Isa. 17¹⁰), "vineslip come from a stranger" ; **לֶחֶם הַצַּבִּיִּים** (Ps. 127²), "bread derived from painful toil."

7. A relation akin to source is indicated in the **Genitive of Separation**, a bold annexion of a noun to the construct state of some participles : *e.g.* **יֹצְאֵי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ** (Gen. 34³⁰), "those who come forth from the gate of his city" ; **יֹצְאֵי יָרֵכֹוּ** (Gen. 46³⁸), "those who came forth from his loins" ; **שׁוֹבֵי פֶשַׁע** (Isa. 59²), "those who turn from transgression" ; **שׁוֹבֵי מִלְּחָמָה** (Mic. 2⁸), "averse from war."

II.

The relation of possession or ownership is sometimes assigned to the Genitive Subjective, but there is a noteworthy difference. Although the possessor often is active in gaining possession, many illustrations of the **Genitive Possessive** exclude all reference to the active acquirement of the thing possessed.

1. The Genitive Possessive may denote strict ownership of objects inseparably attached to the owner: thus, **לב מלך** (Prov. 21¹), "heart of a king"; so also any part of the body, as **יד**, **עין**, and the like; likewise **נפש** and **רוח** followed by noun or pronoun designating the person; similarly **שם יהוה** (1 Sam. 17⁴⁵), "name of Yahwe."

2. The Genitive of Possession denotes the ownership of objects which are not inseparable from the owner: e.g. **פסיליהם** (Isa. 10¹⁰), "their images"; **חיל הכמים** (Isa. 10¹⁴), "treasures belonging to the peoples"; **ארץ חיים** (Isa. 53⁸ Jer. 11¹⁹ Ps. 27¹³), "land of the living," contrasted with **שארל**, the land of the dead; so often a Genitive after **ארץ**, **עיר**, **בקר**, **צאן**, *et sim.*

3. The Genitive of Possession is used with qualities not inseparably attached to the owner: e.g. **כח ידי** (Isa. 10¹³), "might of my hand"; **חכמתי** (Isa. 10¹⁸), "my wisdom"; **בתמו** (Prov. 19¹), "in his integrity"; **בישרו** (Prov. 14²), "in his uprightness."

4. This relation may also imply advantage to the possessor. **אור ישראל** (Isa. 10¹⁷), "light of Israel"; **חוזקי** (Ps. 18²), "my strength." Note also several designations of God in the following verse.

5. The idea of possession is sometimes accompanied with that of peculiar and affectionate relationship.

The relationship may be natural: e.g. **אחיך** (Dt. 13⁷ *et al.*), "thy brother"; **אמך** (Dt. 13⁷ *et al.*), "thy mother"; **אבותך** (Dt. 13⁷), "thy fathers."

The relationship may be personal: e.g. **רעך** (Dt. 13⁷), "thy neighbor"; **בני** (Prov. 1⁸), "my son"; **משיחו** (Ps. 18⁴¹), "his anointed"; **לידודו** (Ps. 127³), "his beloved."

The relationship may be social: e.g. **אביוןך** (Dt. 15¹¹), "thy poor"; **עניך** (Dt. 15¹¹), "thy afflicted ones."

III.

There is a relation between the annexed noun and that in the construct state, which has some likeness to that given above in II. 5,

and differs in the fact that there is no suggestion of ownership. In default of any better term it may be called the **Genitive of Relation**.

1. The relation is necessary. The existence of the annexed noun is necessary to constitute the construct state what it is: *e.g.* אִי הַיָּם (Isa. 11¹¹), "isles (coast lands) of the sea"; מְשֻׁנֵּה הַמֶּלֶךְ (2 Ch. 28⁷), "subordinate of the king"; מְשֻׁנְדוֹ (1 Sam. 17¹³), "his second" (younger brother).

2. The annexed noun as **Genitive of Reference** indicates the scope in which the construct state is to be regarded: *e.g.* שֹׂכֵר שְׂכִיר (Dt. 15¹⁸), "wages proper to a hireling"; גְּדֹל לֵבָב (Isa. 10¹²), "arrogance of heart"; שֶׁמֶן שִׁשּׁוֹן (Ps. 45⁸ Isa. 61³), "oil proper to a festival."

3. The annexed noun may be a **Genitive of the Sphere** in which the governing noun exists or acts: *e.g.* בַּעַל הַחֲלֻמוֹת (Gen. 37¹⁹), "master in dreams"; חֹרֵשׁ בַּחֹל (Isa. 44¹²), "workman in iron"; מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל (Prov. 1¹), "king of Israel."

4. The **Genitive of Definition** designates one out of many similar objects: *e.g.* שְׁנַת הַשְּׁמִטָּה (Dt. 15⁹), "year of release"; יָם מִצְרַיִם (Isa. 11¹³), "sea of Egypt."

5. The **Genitive of Specification** designates the point in which the construct state holds good. This is used freely with adjectives, and in great variety of detail, giving richness of expression. *Cf.* נָקִי כַפַּיִם (Ps. 24⁴), "clean as regards hands"; נִכְהָ רַגְלָיִם (2 Sam. 9⁹), "smitten in feet"; מְרִי נַפְשׁוֹ (Job 3²⁰), "bitterness in soul"; יְדוּעֵי חֲלִי (Isa. 53³), "experienced in sickness"; נִשְׂוָא פִשְׁעֵי (Ps. 32¹), "forgiven in respect of transgression"; אָרְךְ אַפַּיִם (Ex. 34⁶ Nah. 1³), "long in respect of wrath."

IV.

The annexed noun may stand in a recipient relation to the construct state. The variety of this relation affords great wealth of expression.

1. Annexed to a noun of action we have the **Genitive Objective** in the strict sense. This is very common: *e.g.* יִרְאֵת יְהוָה (Prov. 1⁷), "fear of Yahwe"; יְשׁוּעוֹת יַעֲקֹב (Ps. 44³), "complete deliverance of Jacob"; זִבְחֵי אָדָם (Hos. 13²), "sacrificers of men"; מַפְלְטֵי (Ps. 18⁴⁹), "my deliverer"; מַפְלְטֵי עָב (Job 37¹⁶), "poisings of clouds."

2. The annexed noun is an indirect object, sometimes corresponding to a Greek Dative used as indirect object, sometimes standing where a noun depending upon בְּ, לְ, or עַל might have been expected.

Cf. נתיבות ביתו (Job 38²⁰), "paths to his house"; דרכה (Job 28²³), "way to it"; מהוללי (Ps. 102⁹), "those mad against me"; באי שער עירו (Gen. 23^{10, 18}), "those who enter the gate of his city"; יורדי בור (Isa. 38¹⁸), "those who go down to the pit (grave)"; ורם קיר (Ex. 15⁷), "they that rise up against thee"; קיר (Isa. 25⁴), "storm against a wall"; ישבי מרים (Isa. 26⁶), "they that dwell on high"; שכבי קבר (Ps. 88⁶), "they that lie in the grave"; והלי עפר (Dt. 32²⁴), "they that crawl in the dust"; אכלי שלחנך (1 Ki. 2⁷), "they that eat at thy table"; באי השבת (or יצאי) (2 Ki. 11^{5, 7, 9}), "those that enter (go out) on the Sabbath"; הלכי תם (Prov. 2⁷), "those who walk in integrity."

3. The annexed noun designates an object which receives benefit, a **Genitive of Advantage**. *Cf.* אשרי האיש (Ps. 1¹ *et al.*), "happiness of (for) the man"; מטר ורעך (Isa. 30²³), "rain for thy seed"; אור גוים (Isa. 42⁶ 49⁶), "light for [the] nations"; ברית עם (Isa. 42⁶ 49⁹), "covenant for (*i.e.* with) a people"; thus ברית followed by a Genitive (Dt. 4³¹ Ezek. 16⁶¹ Mal. 2^{8, 10} Ps. 89⁴⁰ Neh. 13²⁹); קנאת עם (Isa. 26¹¹), "jealousy for a people."

4. **Genitive of Destination**: צאן מאכל (Ps. 44¹²), "sheep for food"; צאן טבחה (Ps. 44²³), "sheep for slaughter"; צאן הדרגה (Zech. 11⁴), "sheep for slaughter."

5. The annexed noun denotes that toward which the construct state is directed as its natural or proper **outcome**. עון קץ (Ezek. 35⁵), "iniquity which brings an end"; עץ החיים (Gen. 3²²), "tree which secures life"; מוסר חכמה (Prov. 15³³), "discipline which tends to wisdom"; מוסר שלומנו (Isa. 53⁵), "chastisement securing our peace"; מגן ישעך (Ps. 18³⁶), "shield securing my deliverance."

6. Closely akin to the last is the **Genitive indicating the object which it is the nature of a person to secure**. *Cf.* אלהי ישעי (Ps. 18⁴ *et al.*), "God who secures my deliverance"; quite often after the name of God, *cf.* ὁ Θεὸς ἡμεῶν ἰσχυροῦς (Phil. 4⁹) and similar expressions in the New Testament; אלהי חסדי (Ps. 59¹¹), "God who shows goodness to me"; אל הוי (Ps. 42⁹), "God who gives me life"; אלהי צדקתי (Ps. 4²), "God who is the source of my righteousness," *cf.* Hupfeld *in loc.*; עד חמס (Dt. 19¹⁶ Ps. 35¹¹), "witness accomplishing violence."

V.

As the language had not developed the general use of adjectives, the various qualities were largely expressed by nouns in annexion. The **Genitive Attributive** expresses:

1. A simple quality. *Cf.* איש מדוניים (Prov. 26²¹), "a contentious man"; אחוזת עולם (Gen. 17⁸), "an everlasting possession"; בגדי קדש (Ex. 28²), "holy garments."

2. The attribute involves a relation somewhat complex. תוא מכמר (Isa. 51²⁰), "antelope captured by means of a net," or, "a netted antelope"; עם חרמי (Isa. 34⁵), "people cursed by me," or, "people under my curse"; אנשי שלמך (Ob.⁷, *cf.* Jer. 20¹⁰ 38²² Ps. 41¹⁰), "thy confederates," "men at peace with thee."

3. The **Genitive of Characteristic** expresses some feature or event which specially marks the noun in the construct state. *Cf.* אדם דמים (Ps. 5⁷), "man noted for bloody deeds"; ניא הוון (Isa. 22¹), "valley distinguished by visions"; עץ פרי (Gen. 1¹¹), "tree distinguished by fruit."

4. **Genitive of Material**: כלי עץ (Lev. 11³²), "wooden vessels," כל יודב (Ex. 12³³), "jewels of gold"; צדר הצזים (Cant. 4¹), "flock of goats."

5. **Genitive of Measure**: מהלך שלשת ימים (Jon. 3³), "three days' journey"; לחם יומים (Ex. 16²⁹), "two days' food."

6. The metaphorical phrases noted above under I. 5, in which בת and בן are used, really convey an idea which belongs to the Genitive Attributive: *e.g.* בן הכות (Dt. 25²), "worthy to be beaten"; בן מות (1 Sam. 26¹⁶), "worthy of death"; בני מרי (Nu. 17²⁸), "rebels."

VI.

The annexed noun may denote the same thing as the construct, and is equivalent to an Appositive. The **Genitive of Apposition** may denote:

1. The name. נהר פרת (Gen. 15¹⁸), "the river Euphrates"; בת ציון (Isa. 10²²), "the daughter of Zion"; נבעת ירושלם (Isa. 10²²), "hill of Jerusalem."

2. A person or thing is annexed to his attribute: *e.g.* פרא אדם (Gen. 16¹²), "wild ass of a man"; רב החבל (Jon. 1⁸), "chief pilot"; פלא יונק (Isa. 9³), "wonder of a counsellor."

3. The whole is put in apposition to its parts: *e.g.* סככי היער (Isa. 9¹⁷ 10³⁴), "thickets of the forest"; ימי חייד (Dt. 16³), "days of thy life."

VII.

The **Genitive Partitive** designates:

1. The whole of which a part is taken: *e.g.* אחת צריך (Dt. 13²⁸),

"one of thy cities," so often after a numeral; שאר ישראל (Isa. 10²⁰), "remnant of Israel"; לשון ים (Isa. 11¹⁵), "tongue of the sea"; נסיכי אדם (Mic. 5⁴), "the anointed among men"; ראשית חכמה (Ps. 111¹⁰), "the chief part of wisdom."

2. The superlative degree is often expressed by the Genitive Partitive. אביוני אדם (Isa. 29¹⁹), "the poorest of men"; טובם (Mic. 7¹), "the best of them."

3. The Partitive Genitive is used of place. כתף פלשתים (Isa. 11¹⁴), "shoulder (side) of the Philistines" (open to invasion); קצה הארץ (Dt. 13⁴), "end of the earth"; רחבה (Dt. 13¹⁷), "its broad place."

VIII.

There are very many combinations of two or more **Genitives in a series** which seem at times to be complex and not at once to be analyzed. A very common type is הר מרום ישראל (Ezek. 17²³), "Israel's high mountain," in which the Genitive belongs to the phrase, as the pronominal suffix does in ברית שלומי (Isa. 54¹⁰), "my covenant securing peace," and הר קדשי (Psa. 2⁶), "my holy mountain."

Another grouping is seen in נהרי נחלי רבש (Job 20¹⁷), "streams of brooks of honey," and מבצר משגב חומתיך (Isa. 25¹²), "fortification of height of thy walls." In the former a Genitive of Apposition is followed by a Genitive of Material which modifies the whole phrase. In the latter a Genitive Attributive is followed by a Genitive of Material which qualifies the whole phrase.