2017

On the Verbless or Nominal Clause in Biblical Hebrew: A Synthesis of Andersen and Joüon/Muraoka

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ON THE VERBLESS OR NOMINAL CLAUSE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW:

A SYNTHESIS OF ANDERSEN AND JOÜON/MURAOKA

CARL GOODSON HONORS PROGRAM

SENIOR THESIS

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APRIL 19, 2017

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to briefly compare and more fully contrast the methodology, conclusions, and taxonomy used by Francis Andersen in his work *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* and by Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka in *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, regarding the verbless or nominal clause in Biblical Hebrew. As Muraoka's additions to Joüon's work often acknowledge Andersen's conclusions, there is naturally much agreement. There are, however, differences of varying degree concerning terminology (such as "verbless" and "nominal"), the treatment of היה, and most notably, word order.

Agreement

The clause in question

Though labeled differently, the referents of Andersen's verbless clause and Joüon/Muraoka's nominal clause nearly completely overlap. Andersen does not clearly define "verbless clause" but notes that a typical one is a clause in which "two nouns are related as S and P," S referring to "subject," and P, to "predicate."[1] A clause, he defines as "a construction in which the syntagmeme of predication is manifested once."[2] This definition differentiates a clause from a simpler phrase or more complex sentence. A phrase is a group of words that functions as a simpler form, such as a noun or modifier, and a sentence is a complete thought that can be a single clause or the combination of several clauses. Consider the sentence "Though Mary likes to eat chicken, John, her husband, prefers eating fish." This sentence is categorized clausally as complex, consisting of an independent clause ("John, her husband, prefers eating fish") and a dependent clause ("Though Mary likes to eat chicken"). An independent clause can stand on its own as a complete thought, but a dependent clause logically depends on an independent clause to complete its meaning. Each clause contains one occurrence of predication, though each consists

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[1]Francis I. Andersen, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch,* Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series XIV*, ed. Robert A Kraft (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1970), 30.

[2]Ibid., 20.

of phrases. "To eat chicken" is an infinitive phrase functioning as a noun, the direct object of

"likes." "Eating fish" is a gerund phrase also functioning as a noun and the direct object of

"prefers." In English, the gerund and infinitive verbals each function nominally, while in Hebrew,

the same meaning is acheived through the use the infinitive construct. "Her husband" is also a

noun phrase, functioning as the appositive of "John."

Joüon/Muraoka classify a nominal clause as "every clause the predicate of which is not a

verb (but with the exception of היה in the sense of be . . .)"[3] Later, though, they note that the

predicate in a nominal clause is "a noun or a noun equivalent."[4] These two definitions could

potentially conflict, if everything that is not a verb is not considered a noun (such as an adjective

or adverb), but their definition of a noun clarifies this point, and will be explained in the

following section.

The Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics recognizes the classifications of

both Andersen and Joüon/Muraoka as representative of the two main views of the nominal or

verbless clause in Biblical Hebrew: the clause's predicate is either a noun or any part of speech

other than a verb. The differences are further summarized this way:

> "In a nominal clause the predicative relation is expressed syntactically, by mere
> juxtaposition of subject and predicate, while in the verbal clause the predicative relation is
> expressed morphologically, in a single verbal form which contains all three of its
> components: a subject indicated by inflection pronouns, a lexeme constituting a predicate,
> and a predicative relation between them."[5]

The nature of the substantive

When Joüon/Muraoka call the predicate of what they call a nominal clause "a noun or a noun

equivalent," they classify that as possibly being a substantive, adjective, or participle.[6] Soon after,

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[3]Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, vol. II, translated and revised by T. Muraoka (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1923); reprint (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993), 154a.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Tamar Zewi, "Nominal Clause," in *The Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* ed. Geoffrey Khan, dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_00000924, accessed 3 April 2017.

though, they list other options: a pronoun, preposition with its noun or pronoun, adverb, or infinitive construct.[7] It is ambiguous whether they intend to equate all of these forms in the second list with nouns or whether they make a distinction with some (such as prepositions with a noun or pronoun or adverb) or all. If they are including adjectives with nouns, though, it would be fitting with their distinctions to call all of these forms nouns, as a prepositional phrase and an adverb could be argued to be substantival in the same way that a predicate adjective (in English grammatical terms) is. All three are modifiers. See below.

The chair is blue. The chair is the blue chair. (predicate adjective)

The chair is in the room. The chair is the in-the-room chair. (prepositional phrase)

The chair is (facing) backwards. The chair is the backwards (-facing) chair. (adverb)

In an earlier section on adjectives, Joüon/Muraoka clarify their stance on adjectives by stating that "the noun in Hebrew and Semitic grammar includes not only the substantive but also the adjective."[8] This does not completely clarify their stance, though, as it remains ambiguous whether they include all adjectives under nouns or only those functioning as predicate or substantival adjectives, as opposed to the attributive adjective. It is also unclear whether Joüon/Muraoka are equating the terms "noun" and "substantive" or presenting nouns as a subcategory of substantives.

Like Joüon/Murakoa, Andersen includes adjectives (at least predicate and substantival) in the category of nouns. He does this first in his discussion of Albrecht, saying that Albrecht saw a distinction between substantives and adjectives that is not there.[9] Later, he mentions that Plato included the two in the same category and uses this example: "He is bald." "He is a bald man."[10]

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[6]Joüon and Muraoka, 154a.

[7]Ibid., 154d.

[8]Ibid., 86a.

[9]Ibid., 21-22.

[10]Ibid., 22.

To Andersen, the two are indistinguishable. Likewise, he includes as nouns "pronouns, adverbs, prepositional phrases, nominalized clauses, verbal nouns (participles and infinitives), as well as nouns (indefinite, definite, suffixed) and noun phrases."[11]

Conclusion

Though they are listed more ambiguously in Joüon/Muraoka, both Joüon/Muraoka and Andersen include forms as nouns in Biblical Hebrew that would not as readily be classified as such in English. Whereas native English speakers recognize a predicate adjective, Joüon/Muraoka and Andersen agree that this distinction between predicate adjectives and predicate nominatives does not exist in Biblical Hebrew. In English, though, unlike Biblical Hebrew, there is a present tense form of the verb "to be." There is little else striking to be said of Joüon/Muraoka and Andersen's similarities, so at this point, we will move to differences.

Differences

Terminology

a. Verbless and nominal

As evidenced in the title of this paper, Joüon/Muraoka and Andersen differ in what they call the clause in question. Andersen goes with "verbless clause" and Joüon/Muraoka go with "nominal clause," but, aside from יֵשׁ, אֵין, הָיה, and certain participles (often appearing together), the two agree in what they include in this category. The clause they call "verbless" or "nominal" is a clause (where the syntagmeme of predication occurs only once, according to Andersen, previously mentioned) in which the predicate is a substantive, according to their definitions discussed above. A related ambiguity regards whether Joüon/Muraoka include adverbs and prepositional phrases as nouns. If they do not, they include them as a non-verb.

It should be noted that further ambiguity is possible when dealing with the term "nominal clause." In the introduction to *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew*, Cynthia Miller notes that

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[11]Ibid., 30.

"*nominal clause* is derived from medieval Arab grammarians," who classified such a clause as one "in which a nominal element is initial."[12] By this definition, we come to a category altogether different. There is certainly overlap, but only when the word order in what Andersen or Joüon/Muraoka would call a verbless or nominal clause is S—P.

Further, Andersen does not use the term "nominal clause" at all—neither to refer to what he calls "verbless clauses" or to the Arab grammarians' usage. He uses the terms "noun phrase" and "nominalized clause" but these refer to phrases and clauses, respectively, functioning in their entirety as nouns. An example of a noun phrase in English would be "to eat chicken," in the sentence about Mary and John previously mentioned. A nominalized clause, on the other hand, would be something such as "who is sitting in the corner" from the sentence "the girl who is sitting in the corner reads well."

b. Identification, classification, and description

When referring to the function of the predicate in a verbless or nominal clause, Joüon/Muraoka name the categories "identificatory" and "descriptive."[13] Andersen names "identifying" and "classifying."[14] "Identificatory" and "identifying" are the same, and are often interchanged with "identification." "Descriptive" and "classifying" are likewise the same, but their distinctive terms are maintained.

Clauses of identification (identificatory) are those in which the predicate is equivalent to the subject, such as אֲנִי יוֹסֵף, *I am Joseph*.[15] Both the subject and the predicate are definite in clauses of identification. On the other hand, clauses of classification or description are those in which the predicate classifies or describes the subject, rather than renaming it, such as הוּא קֶרַח,

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[12]Cynthia Miller, "Pivotal Issues in Analyzing the Verbless Clause," in *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Cynthia Miller (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 6.

[13]Joüon and Muraoka, 154ea.

[14]Andersen, 32.

[15]Joüon and Muraoka, 154ea.

he is bald.[16] This category would naturally include what we would call predicate adjectives in English, such as in the sentence "they are kind."

c. Quasi-verbal particles, adverbs of existence, and their respective clauses

In the last category of terminological differences, Joüon/Muraoka and Andersen differ in their discussion of words such as יֵשׁ and אֵין. Andersen calls these "quasi-verbal particles" and recognizes them alongside הִנֵּה and עוֹד.[17] Joüon/Muraoka call them "adverbs of existence," maintaining their distinctiveness from הִנֵּה and עוֹד.[18]

When it comes to placing these into clausal categories, Andersen puts them in a separate gray area, between verbal and verbless, included in neither. These, he calls "quasi-verbal clauses."[19] Joüon/Muraoka, on the other hand, recognize only two kinds of clauses—verbal and nominal—and include what they call "adverbs of existence" with a subcategory of nominal clauses, tripartite nominal clauses, which will be discussed later. Calling יֵשׁ and אֵין adverbs, though, makes clear why these two would be included in the nominal clause category, based on Joüon/Muraoka's definition of a noun.

הָיָה and the participle

In beginning Biblical Hebrew grammars, participles are often treated as adjectives—having a substantival, predicate, or attributive function.[20] Because Joüon/Muraoka treat them as such, calling them "verbal nouns" (because they include adjectives with nouns) it makes sense that they

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[16]Andersen, 22.

[17]Ibid., 23, 29.

[18]Joüon and Muraoka, 154k.

[19]Andersen, 29.

[20]Brian L. Webster, *The Cambridge Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8.1.

would include all participles in the category of nominal clauses.[21] Even when a participle appears with הִיה, they do this.

Andersen, on the other hand, though he does not explicitly say so, seems to maintain a distinctiveness in function between predicate participles and the substantival/attributive participles. He first calls participles "verbal, not nominal," implying they should be treated in verbal (or perhaps quasi-verbal) clauses, but later includes verbal nouns, which he names as participles and infinitives, in his description of nouns.[22]

Likewise with הִיה, it is unclear whether Andersen includes it in verbal or quasi-verbal clauses, but it does not appear to be part of what he considers the verbless clause, unlike Joüon/Muraoka. Joüon/Muraoka include הִיה in the nominal clause category, but they do so only when the meaning is "to be" and not when its meaning is "to become, to fare, to exist," etc.[23]

Word Order

Both Andersen and Jouon/Muraoka recognize that S—P is the "preferred" word order in nominal/verbless clauses, meaning that this order is found most frequently. Still, only 2/3 have the S—P order, so both Andersen and Jouon/Muraoka recognize that calling the P—S order abnormal seems inadequate. Both include descriptive rules (which are often broken) to generalize the trends that may cause a nominal/verbless clause to have its particular word order.

a. Andersen's rules

1. The order is S—P in clauses of identification.[24] An identification clause is one in which the subject and the predicate are definite and equivalent, such as אֲנִי יהוה.

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[21]Joüon and Muraoka, 121k.

[22]Andersen, 22, 30.

[23]Joüon and Muraoka, 154a.

[24]Andersen, 39.

2. If an identification clause contains a pleonastic pronoun, this pronoun comes before P.[25]
A pleonastic pronoun is an "extra" third-person pronoun functioning as either a type of copula or
the subject (creating a casus pendens) in a nominal/verbless clause. An example is Genesis 36:8:
עֵשָׂו הוּא אֱדוֹם.[26] *Esau, he is Edom* or *Esau is Edom*.

3. The order is P—S in clauses of classification.[27]

4. If a classification clause contains a pleonastic pronoun, this pronoun comes after P.[28]

5. The order is S—P in circumstantial classification clauses.[29] "Circumstantial" refers to
the larger discourse function of the clause and usually begins with a וֹ. An example is
Deuteronomy 34:7: וּמֹשֶׁה בֶּן־מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה בְּמֹתוֹ. *And Moses was one hundred
twenty years old when he died*.[30]

6. If P in an identification clause is a definite suffixed noun, the order is S—P. If P in a
classification clause is an indefinite suffixed noun, the order is P—S.[31] This rule seems redundant
but functions to help determine whether a suffixed noun is definite. An indefinite suffixed noun
would be the Hebrew equivalent of "a book of his," as opposed to the definite "his book."

7. The order is S—P if P in a declarative clause is a participle.[32] A declarative clause is a
statement, distinguished from other moods such as interrogative and precative.

נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק

Noah was a righteous man

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[25]Ibid., 42.

[26]Ibid., 60.

[27]Ibid., 42.

[28]Ibid., 45.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., 77.

[31]Ibid., 46.

[32]Ibid., 47.

Genesis 6:9, Andersen ex. 31[33]

    8. The order is P—S if P in a precative clause is an (indefinite) participle.[34] A precative clause expresses a wish or modal form of allowance such as "may," also called "volitional" in other grammars.[35]

אֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר

let those who curse you be cursed

Genesis 27:29, Andersen ex. 474[36]

    9. The order is P—S if S in a declarative clause is an infinitive.[37]

    Overall, Andersen sees problems with identifying S—P as the "normal" pattern in Biblical Hebrew clauses, because he recognizes that doing so can cause other nuances to be overlooked.[38] Joüon/Muraoka take a similar approach, recognizing problems with this generalization, but still note that the order S—P is "statistically dominant."[39]

    Andersen notes that a clause's external function can affect its word order.[40] An external function is a clause's categorization that depends on factors outside of itself—its placein a larger sentence. Examples include the clausal labels independent, coordinate, and subordinate. External function is distinguished from internal function, which is an intrinsic part of a clause, even in isolation. Examples of internal functions include the labels declarative, interrogative, and precative.

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[33]Ibid., 55.

[34]Ibid., 49.

[35]Webster, 14.1.

[36]Andersen, 99.

[37]Ibid., 49.

[38]Ibid., 23.

[39]Joüon and Muraoka, 154f.

[40]Andersen, 31.

When it comes to definiteness, Andersen recognizes degrees. For example, in an identifying clause, the subject and predicate are definite, but the predicate must be less definite than the subject. If it were otherwise, determining subject and predicate would be impossible.[41]

b. Joüon/Muraoka's rules

Though Joüon/Muraoka give the idea more attention, they agree with Andersen that explaining the subject—predicate order with the idea of importance is inadequate.[42] They also note, as Andersen does in different terms, that a pronoun in a tripartite nominal clause ("pleonastic prounoun," according to Andersen) follows the predicate (either S—P—Pron or P—Pron—S). In the first instance, the subject is often a casus pendens, which actually causes the pronoun to be the grammatical subject instead. Another trend recognized by Joüon/Muraoka is that a question's response usually follows the order of the question asked; however, Joüon/Muraoka's examples do not seem to display this.[43] The rest of their rules, or recognized trends, are bulleted below.

c. Synthesis

i. Under what conditions is the "normal" word order S—P?

Andersen:

- The subject and predicate are definite (identification clause).[44] Besides the usual article plus a noun, Andersen defines a definite noun as a pronoun, proper noun, construct phrase with proper noun, definite participle, definite numeral, or a nominalized construction. He does not include suffixed nouns or construct phrases with suffixed nouns, as they form a separate category, noted later.[45]

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[41]Ibid., 40-41.

[42]Ibid., 24; Joüon and Muraoka, 153.

[43]Ibid., 154.

[44]Andersen, 32.

[45]Ibid., 109.

אֲנִי יהוה

pronoun / proper noun

I am Yahweh

Exodus 6:2, Andersen ex. 1[46]

- The predicate is an indefinite number.[47] Andersen does not seem to distinguish this

  from a definite numeral, nor does he provide an example in his corpus.

- The clause is declarative, its subject is definite and its predicate is a participle or participle

  phrase.[48]

  כָּל-עַמּוּדֵי הֶחָצֵר סָבִיב מְחֻשָּׁקִים כֶּסֶף

construct noun / construct noun / definite noun / modifier / indefinite participle phrase

all the posts around the courts are banded with silver

Exodus 27:17, Andersen ex. 43[49]

- The clause is coordinated.[50]

  וְזֶה־פִּרְיָה

conjunction / demonstrative pronoun / suffixed noun

and this is its fruit

Numbers 13:27, Andersen ex. 180[51]

- The clause is circumstantial.[52] Circumstantial clauses are a subcategory of coordinated

  clauses.

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[46]Ibid., 52.

[47]Ibid., 34.

[48]Ibid., 34.

[49]Ibid., 56.

[50]Ibid., 35.

[51]Ibid., 70.

[52]Ibid., 35.

וְהוּא טָמֵא

conjunction / pronoun / indefinite noun (or adjective)

but he is unclean

compare with Lev. 5:2, above, Andersen ex. 187[53]

- The clause is precative and its predicate is a prepositional phrase.[54]

אֱלֹהִים עִמְּךָ בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר-אַתָּה עֹשֶׂה

proper noun / prepositional phrase / prepositional phrase / relative clause

may God be with you in everything that you do

Genesis 21:22, Andersen ex. 479

- The clause is identificatory and its subject is a pronoun and its predicate is a definite noun.[55]

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי-אֵצֶר בִּלְהָן וְזַעֲוָן וַעֲקָן

demonstrative pronoun / construct noun / proper noun / list of names

there are the sons of Ezer—Bilhan and Zaavan and Akan

Genesis 36:27, Andersen ex.74

- The subject is כל.[56]

כָּל-הָעַתֻּדִים הָעֹלִים עַל-הַצֹּאן עֲקֻדִּים נְקֻדִּים וּבְרֻדִּים

construct noun / definite noun / definite participle / prepositional phrase / adjective list

all the male goats mating with the flock are striped, speckled, or spotted

Genesis 31:12

- The subject is שֵׁם.[57]

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[53]Ibid., 70.

[54]Ibid., 38.

[55]Ibid., 40.

[56]Andersen, 41.

[57]Ibid.

שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן

construct noun / definite noun / proper noun

the name of the first is Pishon

Genesis 2:11a, Andersen ex.42[58]

- The clause is identificatory and its predicate is a definite suffixed noun.[59]

חוּא אֲדֹנִי

pronoun / suffixed noun

he is my master

Genesis 24:65, Andersen ex.19

- The clause is precative and its predicate is a prepositional phrase.[60]

דָּמָיו בּוֹ

suffixed noun / prepositional phrase

let his blood be against him

Leviticus 20:9, Andersen ex. 475[61]

Joüon/Muraoka:

- The clause is circumstantial.[62]

וְהוּא נַעַר

conjunction / pronoun / indefinite noun

now he was a boy

Genesis 37:2

וְהִיא מָרַת נָפֶשׁ

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[58]Ibid., 56.

[59]Ibid., 46.

[60]Ibid., 50.

[61]Ibid., 99. This example is not always taken as a precative clause in English Bible translations, such as the NET.

[62]Jouon and Muraoka, 154fa.

conjunction / pronoun / construct adjective / noun

and she was feeling bitter

1 Samuel 1:10

- The clause is relative, with אֲשֶׁר or שֶׁ.[63]

הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה רֹאֶה

definite noun / relative pronoun / personal pronoun / participle

the land that you will see

Genesis 13:15

הָעָם שֶׁיהוה אֱלֹהָיו

definite noun / relative marker / proper noun / suffixed noun

the people for whom Yahweh is their God

Psalm 144:15

- The subject is not a personal pronoun, the predicate is a non-nominalized participle, and prominence is neutral. Though Joüon/Muraoka do not clearly define the term, a nominalized participle seems to be one that is clearly acting as a noun, often with the definite article.[64]

דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ צֹעֲקִים אֵלַי

construct noun / suffixed noun / participle / prepositional phrase

the blood of your brother is crying out to me

Genesis 4:10

- The subject is a noun or pronoun (presumably not personal, because of the next bullet point) and the predicate is a participle.[65] It is unclear whether this is a subcategory of the previous conditions, or simply a repetition.

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[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid, 154fc.

[65]Ibid.

אֲבָל שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ יֹלֶדֶת לְךָ בֵּן

conjunction / proper noun / suffixed noun / participle / prepositional phrase / noun

but Sarah your wife is going to bear you a boy

Genesis 33:13

- The subject is a personal pronoun, the predicate is a participle, and prominence is being given to the personal pronoun (the usual order in this case would be P—S).

אַתָּה אֹמֵר אֵלַי

personal pronoun / participle / prepositional phrase

you've been saying to me

Exodus 33:12

- The subject is a pronoun, the predicate is a participle, and the first slot in the clause is occupied by some other element.[66]

הַמְכַסֶּה אֲנִי מֵאַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה

interrogative ה / personal pronoun / prepositional phrase / relative marker / personal pronoun / predicate participle

Am I going to conceal from Abraham what I intend to do?

Genesis 18:17

By this example alone, this seems to be an extraneous categorization, as Joüon/Muraoka have already explained this question's word order through their discussions of אֲשֶׁר (usually S—P), pronouns with participles (usually P—S), and interrogatives (usually P—S). In the following example, though, one would expect the personal pronoun to follow the participle, but Joüon/Muraoka explain its deviance through the direct object's prominence.

אַךְ דָּבָר אֶחָד אָנֹכִי שֹׁאֵל מֵאִתְּךָ

adverb / noun / number / personal pronoun / participle / prepositional phrase

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[66]Ibid., 154fe.

but I have only one condition to put to you

2 Samuel 3:13

Strangely, in the same section of examples, Joüon/Muraoka list counterexamples and even

one that does not include a participle.

אִם־מְשִׁיבִים אַתֶּם אוֹתִי

conjunction / participle / personal pronoun / direct object

if you allow me to return

Judges 9:15

וּבְצָרָה גְדוֹלָה אֲנָחְנוּ

prepositional phrase / adjective / personal pronoun

we are in dire straits

Nehemiah 9:37

- The predicate is a prepositional phrase with neutral prominence being given.[67]

שְׁנֵי גוֹים בְּבִטְנֵךְ

construct number / noun / prepositional phrase

two nations are in your belly

Genesis 25:23

- The clause is "covered," meaning the subject or predicate are accompanied by

  complements or modifiers, such as direct objects or adverbs.[68]

וַאֲנִי הִנְנִי מֵקִים אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם

conjunction / personal pronoun / interjection with pronoun / participle / direct object

marker / suffixed noun / prepositional phrase

and as for me, here I am about to establish my covenant with you

Genesis 9:9

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[67]Ibid., 154ff.

[68]Ibid., 153, 154h.

- The predicate is a longer element than the subject (not necessarily by letters, but as a phrase).[69]

וְאַתָּה אֱלוֹהַ סְלִיחוֹת חַנּוּן וְרַחוּם אֶרֶךְ־אַפַּיִם וְרַב־חֶסֶד

conjunction / personal pronoun / construct noun / noun / adjective / conjunction / noun / construct adjective / noun / conjunction / construct adjective / noun

but you are a forgiving god, gracious, merciful, long-suffering, and full of loving-kindness

Nehemiah 9:17

ii. P—S

Andersen:

- The predicate is an indefinite noun. The subject could be indefinite or definite, but the indefiniteness of the predicate causes the clause to be one of classification, either way.[70] Besides the usual noun without the article, Andersen defines an indefinite noun as a construct phrase with an indefinite noun, indefinite numeral, partitive phrase, infinitive phrase, adverb, or a prepositional phrase. Interestingly, he does not include indefinite substantival participles.[71]

טָמֵא הוּא

indefinite noun (or adjective) / personal pronoun

he is unclean

Leviticus 13:36, Andersen ex. 94[72]

- The clause is precative and its predicate is a participle.[73]

אָרוּר כְּנָעַן

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[69]Ibid.

[70]Andersen, 32.

[71]Ibid., 109.

[72]Ibid., 61.

[73]Ibid., 38.

indefinite participle / proper noun

cursed be Canaan

Genesis 9:25, Andersen ex.484[74]

- The clause is interrogative and its predicate is מִי or מַה.[75]

  מִי אַתָּה

  interrogative pronoun / personal pronoun

  Who are you?

  Genesis 27:32, Andersen ex. 502[76]

- The clause is one of classification and its predicate is an indefinite suffixed noun.

  Andersen differentiates between the Hebrew equivalents of "my brother" and "a brother of mine."[77]

  אָחִי הוּא

  suffixed noun / personal pronoun

  he is my brother, he is a brother of mine[78]

  Genesis 20:5, Andersen, ex. 92[79]

Joüon/Muraoka:

- The subject is a personal pronoun with no prominence being given to it.[80]

  וּרְחָקִים הֵמָּה מִצֹּדְנִים

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[74]Ibid., 100.

[75]Ibid., 38.

[76]Ibid., 103.

[77]Ibid., 46.

[78]By Andersen's explanation, this clause contains an indefinite suffixed noun, which would carry the meaning of "he is a brother of mine;" however, both translations have been included because Andersen places "he is my brother" alongside this example in his corpus.

[79]Ibid., 61.

[80]Jouon and Muraoka, 154fa.

conjunction / adjective / personal pronoun / prepositional phrase

they were also distant from the Sidonians

Judges 18:7

- The clause is subordinate (dependent) and its predicate is a participle.[81]

וַיַּרְא יהוה כִּי־שְׂנוּאָה לֵאָה

. . . conjunction / passive participle / proper noun

and the Lord noted that Leah was disliked

Genesis 29:31

- The subject is a personal pronoun and the predicate is a participle.[82]

רֹאֶה אָנֹכִי אֶת־פְּנֵי אֲבִיכֶן

participle / personal pronoun / direct object

I see the face of your father

Genesis 31:5

- The predicate is a prepositional phrase with prominence being given to the subject (if neutral prominence, the order is usually S—P).[83]

בְּיָדְךָ עִתֹּתָי

prepositional phrase / suffixed noun

my destiny is in your hand

Psalm 31:16

לִי הַכֶּסֶף

prepositional phrase / definite noun

the money is mine

Haggai 2:8

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[81]Ibid., 154fc.

[82]Ibid., 154fd.

[83]Ibid., 154ff.

- The clause is interrogative.[84]

הֲשָׁלוֹם בֹּאֶךָ

interrogative ה / noun / suffixed infinitive construct

Is your visit a friendly one?

1 Kings 2:13

- The subject is a longer element than the predicate (by words, not letters).[85]

עֹלֹת שֶׁבַע פָּרוֹת יְפוֹת מַרְאֶה

participle / number / noun / construct adjective / noun

seven good-looking cows came up

Genesis 41:2

iii. Either

Andersen:

- The predicate is a suffixed noun. He later generalizes that definite suffixed nouns as predicates take the order S—P and indefinite suffixed nouns as predicates occurs as P—S.[86] Andersen also includes construct phrases with suffixed nouns in this category.[87]

- The predicate is a prepositional phrase.[88]

- There is an occurrence of discontinuity in the clause.[89] Discontinuity is present when words that are part of the complete subject are broken up by the predicate, or vice versa. In the first example, the complete subject is broken up by the predicate and in the second example, the complete predicate is broken up by the subject.

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[84]Ibid., 154g.

[85]Ibid., 154h.

[86]Andersen, 32.

[87]Ibid., 109.

[88]Ibid., 34.

[89]Ibid., 36.

גַּם-תֶּבֶן גַּם-מִסְפּוֹא רַב עִמָּנוּ גַּם-מָקוֹם לָלוּן

adverb / noun / adverb / noun / adjective / prepositional phrase / adverb / noun / infinitive construct

with us are both straw and abundant food and a place to sleep

Genesis 24:25, Andersen ex. 80[90]

נְשִׂיא אֱלֹהִים אַתָּה בְּתוֹכֵנוּ

construct noun / proper noun / personal pronoun / prepositional phrase

you are a prince of God in our midst

Genesis 23:6, Andersen ex. 141[91]

- The predicate is an adverb.[92]

וּפְנֵיהֶם אֲחֹרַנִּית

conjunction / suffixed noun / adverb (or adjective)

and their faces are backwards

Genesis, 9:23, Andersen ex. 227[93]

שָׁם הַבְּדֹלַח וְאֶבֶן הַשֹּׁהַם

bdellium and onyx stone are there

Genesis 2:12, Andersen ex. 115[94]

Joüon/Muraoka:

They make no generalizations in this category.

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[90]Ibid., 59.

[91]Ibid., 67.

[92]Ibid., 49.

[93]Ibid., 74.

[94]Ibid., 63.

Conclusions

Overall, the conclusions of both Andersen and Joüon/Muraoka are complex and seemingly self-contradictory at times. For example, Andersen notes that precative verbless clauses usually take the order S—P, but his tables of evidence reveal that only precative verbless clauses with prepositional phrases as the predicate tend to take this order. When the predicate is a participial phrase, the trend is the opposite. In fact, according to this table, out of all the precative verbless clauses in the Pentateuch, more show up with the order P—S than S—P.[95] As mentioned previously, Joüon/Muraoka often list counterexamples without explaining that they are counter-examples.

As far as methodology is concerned, Andersen and Joüon/Muraoka's treatment of the verbless/nominal clause is understandably different. Whereas Andersen's work is a detailed, systematic, exhaustive study of every verbless clause in the Pentateuch, Joüon/Muraoka's relatively short discussion is part of a much larger grammatical/syntactical work, intended for students' reference. They do not have as much space to spare for detailed examples and statistics.

Even with the difference in length and purpose, though, Andersen and Joüon/Muraoka significantly overlap in the issues treated. Both briefly discuss clauses in general and discuss typical subjects and predicates. Both acknowledge the overlap (or perhaps equation) of adjectives and nouns. Both fail to clarify their perceived differences (or lack of) between attributive, substantival, and predicate participles, but seem to place all types in the verbless/nominal clause category (at least by examples if not by discussion, in Andersen's case). Most significantly, both recognize that, at the time, previous scholarship in the field had oversimplified trends concerning word order. They come to the same conclusions on major general trends, such as 2/3 of verbless clauses being S—P and the order of identification and classification clauses generally being S—P and P—S, respectively, but display very different emphases on the rest of the topics that they treat. Andersen spends much space on the clausal type's (declarative, interrogative,

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[95]Ibid., 111.

circumstantial, etc.) effect on word order, whereas Joüon/Muraoka give much more attention to parts of speech (such as prepositional phrases or participles) and "prominence."

      Though Andersen and Joüon/Muraoka overall do not clearly contradict each another, their complexities reveal the need for further studies of Andersen's scope on the verbless clause in the rest of the Hebrew Bible and for comparative works with later Hebrew literature.

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