

On Similar Syntactical Roles of *inūma* in El Amarna and הנה, והנה and הן in Biblical Hebrew

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Research on the use of particles¹ in Peripheral Akkadian reveals that one West Semitic or Biblical Hebrew particle might be regarded as parallel to several Peripheral Akkadian particles. In this way one may find, for instance, that biblical הנה has been compared with either El Amarna *annū*,² El Amarna *anumma*,³ and elsewhere *inūma* or *šumma*.⁴ There may be controversy about which of the West Semitic particles is the true parallel of הנה, but it can also be argued that all of them parallel in part the various roles of הנה. There is probably no one-to-one relation among the particles of different West Semitic languages, but rather a partial parallelism in

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1. The term "particle" in this study includes conjunctions, prepositions, and adverbs. Sometimes the difference among these categories is not easy to recognize or rather does not exist at all, since the same particles serve either as conjunctions, as prepositions, or as adverbs. Such a phenomenon can be demonstrated in the function of *inūma*, for which the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (= CAD) has three different values: one for *inūma* as an adverb in CAD I/J, 158b–59a, another as a conjunction in *ibid.*, 159a–61a, and a third as a preposition in *ibid.*, 161b. Such variation within one value allocated for *inūma* also occurs in von Soden, *AHw.*, 383b–84a. A similar observation is indicated by Izre'el as regards prepositions and subordinating conjunctions in Sh. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*, Harvard Semitic Studies 40–41 (Atlanta, 1991), 1:294, §4.5.

2. F. M. Th. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanismen* (Leipzig, 1909), 73, §34i; E. Dhorme, "La langue de Canaan," *Recueil Edouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), 477. The suggestion that *annū* relates with הנה probably originated in Ebeling's translation of *annū* "siehe!" in E. Ebeling, "Glossar," in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915), 1377; Dhorme, "La langue de Canaan," 477, n. 1; A. F. Rainey, "Some Presentation Particles in the Amarna Letters from Canaan," *UF* 20 (1988), 209, and nn. 2, 3; *AHw.* 53b. However, the relation between הנה and *annū* is mentioned in W. Gesenius & F. Bühl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament*, 16th ed. (Leipzig, 1915), 185a as well. Nevertheless, Rainey, "Some Presentation Particles," 211, leaves the question open as regards a possible Canaanite particle cognate to *annū*.

3. Gesenius & Bühl, *Handwörterbuch*, 185a; Dhorme, "La langue de Canaan," 477; Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian*, 1:286, §4.1.2.

4. S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (London, 1949), 35, 98; this last suggestion is discussed more extensively below. It was also suggested that Akkadian *šumma* consists of a demonstrative plus enclitic *-ma* in the same way that Biblical Hebrew הנה consists of a demonstrative element; e.g., E. A. Speiser, "A Note on the Derivation of *šumma*," *JCS* 1 (1947) = in J. J. Finkelstein & M. Greenberg, eds., *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 460–64; A. Haldar, "On the Problem of Akkadian *šumma*," *JCS* 4 (1950), 63–64; and additional references in E. L. Greenstein, "Another Attestation of Initial *h* > ² in West Semitic," *JANES* 5 (1973), 160–61.

specific functions. Such a conclusion is warranted by the evidence, which also suggests that more than one Biblical Hebrew particle may sometimes parallel only one Peripheral Akkadian particle.⁵

In any instance one should be able to discern the difference between an etymological cognate and a semantic or syntactical parallel of any particle or conjunction. Etymological connections among Semitic particles are often obscure, while typological connections are open to examination through extensive study of as many examples as possible. Similar semantic and syntactical roles can be assigned to etymologically unrelated particles as a consequence of language contact. Mutual semantic and syntactical influences in the roles of particles and conjunctions belong to the general phenomenon known as loan shift and loan translation, or calque. Such a semantic or syntactical relation need not be accompanied by an etymological one.

The Akkadian particle *inūma* is basically either an adverb of time meaning “now,” “here is,” or “then,”⁶ or a subordinate conjunction of time meaning “when,” “after,” “while,” or “that.”⁷ The employment of *inūma* as an adverb is frequent in peripheral areas such as El Amarna and Boghazköy and also in Middle Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian.⁸ Employment of this particle as a substantival conjunction meaning “that” is cited by the *CAD* as rarely found in Old Babylonian, but frequent in peripheral regions such as Boghazköy, Alalakh, and El Amarna.⁹

It has been suggested by various scholars that the usage of the particle *inūma* in El Amarna letters was similar to that of biblical כִּי and deviated from the standard Akkadian of its time.¹⁰ However, at least one suggestion refers to the possibility of a relation between *inūma* and biblical הִנֵּה. This suggestion is found in a study of the inscription on the statue of Idrimi, found in Alalakh,¹¹ and dates about 75 years ear-

5. Such phenomena are familiar among other Semitic languages in relation to Akkadian as well. The influence on the usage of particles and conjunctions can be in both directions. For example, compare, on the one hand, the influence of Akkadian prepositions on Ugaritic usage according to A. F. Rainey, “Some Prepositional Nuances in Ugaritic Administrative Texts,” *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies Held in Jerusalem, 19–23 July 1965* (Jerusalem, 1969), 205–11, and, on the other hand, the influence of Aramaic on the use of Akkadian *ana* in Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian in W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1952), §114e.

6. *CAD* I/J, 158b–59a.

7. *Ibid.*, 159a–61b.

8. *Ibid.*, 158b–59a.

9. *Ibid.*, 161a.

10. W. F. Albright, “A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C.,” *BASOR* 94 (1944), 21, n. 50, and elsewhere according to A. F. Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses in the Amarna Letters from Canaan,” *IOS* 12 (1992), 177, n. 1; W. L. Moran, “A Syntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in the Amarna Tablets” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1950), 67; 132–33, n. 173; R. Youngblood, “The Amarna Correspondence of Rib-Haddi, Prince of Byblos (EA 68–96)” (Ph.D. diss., Dropsie College, Philadelphia, 1961), 20–21; A. F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets 359–379*, 2nd ed., *AOAT* 8 (Kevelaer, 1978), 74; more bibliographical references in Izre’el, *Amurru Akkadian*, 1:306, §4.5; and lately Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 177–91. This observation is important in presenting a parallel semantic and syntactic relation in contrast to an etymological relation, since according to Rainey, “Such a preference [i.e., of *inūma* for substantival “that”—T.Z.] is especially surprising since there is also an Akkadian particle *kī*, cognate to Canaanite *kī*, which could have served equally well.”

11. Smith, *Idri-mi*; E. L. Greenstein & D. Marcus, “The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi,” *JANES* 8 (1976), 59–96; see there, 59, for more references.

lier than the El Amarna period.¹² The particle *inūma* appears in this inscription in lines 24–26 as follows: *i-mu-ru-un-ni-ma i-nu-ma DUMU be-li-šu-nu a-na-ku ù a-na UGU-ia ip-ḥu-ru-nim-ma*, translated by Smith as: “They saw me, and *behold*, I was the son of their lord. And verily, they assembled against me.”

Smith relates the use of *inūma* in this inscription to those of El Amarna where *inūma* follows one of the verbs *idû*, *lamādu*, *amāru*, or *malāku*. The meaning of *inūma* in the inscription of Idrimi, where *inūma* follows the verb *amāru* is interpreted as “behold,” and it is also suggested that it is parallel to הן and הנה in Hebrew.¹³ However, Greenstein and Marcus translate *inūma* here as “that,” a translation that accords with its El Amarna usage: “And when they realized *that* I was their lord’s son, they gathered to me.”¹⁴

The suggestion of Smith will be followed here only partially, since it is preferable to assume, like all studies done so far, the most complete on *inūma* being Rainey’s,¹⁵ that most of the roles played by *inūma* in El Amarna are parallel to those played by כִּי in Biblical Hebrew. It is suggested here that only a specific group of functions of *inūma* defined and classified by Rainey as adverbial clauses—partially parallel to biblical כִּי and partially unique to El Amarna—has its parallels in biblical הנה, והנה and הן.¹⁶ The usage of *inūma* in the inscription of Idrimi is actually similar to the El Amarna examples included by Rainey under the title “substantive clauses” and the subtitle “object clauses” and considered by him to belong to the instances which resemble the use of Biblical Hebrew כִּי.¹⁷ The translation of *inūma* in the inscription of Idrimi by Greenstein and Marcus cited above supports the latter view.¹⁸

The examples of *inūma* introducing adverbial clauses were subdivided by Rainey into various types of adverbial usage, some of which are parallel in their usage to biblical כִּי, namely, circumstantial,¹⁹ causal,²⁰ result,²¹ and conditional.²² Another section of Rainey’s article contains adverbial clauses functioning as logical subjects, a structure which, according to him, is unique to El Amarna and unparalleled by biblical כִּי.²³ Those of Rainey’s instances which show similarity to Biblical Hebrew הנה, והנה and הן are presented below. There is no similarity between the El Amarna function of *inūma* and these biblical particles in causal and result clauses, but there is, however, great resemblance in their use in circumstantial and conditional clauses. The question of an etymological relation between the El Amarna particle and the biblical one cannot be answered on the basis of the available evidence.

12. G. H. Oller, “The Autobiography of Idrimi: A New Text Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 148–73.

13. Smith, *Idri-mi*, 14–15; 35, §3; 98.

14. Greenstein & Marcus, “Inscription of Idrimi,” 67.

15. Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 177–91.

16. *Ibid.*, 178–81, 186–91.

17. *Ibid.*, 181–86.

18. Greenstein & Marcus, “Inscription of Idrimi,” 67.

19. Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 178–79.

20. *Ibid.*, 179–80.

21. *Ibid.*, 180.

22. *Ibid.*, 180–81.

23. *Ibid.*, 186–90.

The first group of El Amarna instances to be presented here includes those of *inūma* introducing adverbial clauses functioning as circumstantial. The second group includes conditionals, both of which are sometimes paralleled by biblical כִּי.²⁴ It is suggested that these constructions are not only similar to biblical כִּי but also to Biblical Hebrew הִנֵּה, וְהִנֵּה and הֵן. Here we endeavor to present only a few marginal roles of הִנֵּה, וְהִנֵּה and הֵן parallel to *inūma*. The more common functions of these particles should be treated more extensively elsewhere. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that these particles share a basic “presentative” meaning and they are used for calling attention. This basic meaning is also maintained in the following instances.²⁵ The partial similarity of these particles to *inūma* will be demonstrated by the El Amarna examples presented alongside those from Biblical Hebrew.

The third El Amarna group of instances of *inūma* to be presented here is explained by Rainey as those introducing adverbial clauses as logical subjects, after which stands another clause serving as a response.²⁶ Rainey also suggests that the relation between the two clauses is that of topic (logical subject) and comment (logical predicate).²⁷ This group is also presented here together with its Biblical Hebrew parallels with הִנֵּה, וְהִנֵּה and הֵן.

Rainey’s classification of the three El Amarna groups is based on the type and function of the protasis. His conclusions on the nature of the protasis are entirely adopted here. Our addition to his conclusions in the following classification concentrates on two points. (1) His examples are discussed below in comparison with Biblical Hebrew הִנֵּה, וְהִנֵּה and הֵן. (2) There is an attempt to sub-classify all the instances both of El Amarna and Biblical Hebrew according to the syntactical structure of the second clause, i.e., the apodosis, as well.

The clauses will be subdivided mainly into two syntactical structures: (1) those having for the apodosis a declarative clause, and (2) those having for the apodosis an interrogative clause, wherever these two types are evident. The declarative clause might be either affirmative or negative, and the interrogative clause might be either rhetorical or ordinary.

As for the Biblical Hebrew particles הִנֵּה, וְהִנֵּה, and הֵן, although these are mostly presentatives, they share other syntactical roles where they function as particles introducing a protasis, whose apodosis is either a *declarative* clause or a *question*, mostly rhetorical. The protasis of this sentence type reveals a *circumstantial* nuance as well as a *conditional* one,²⁸ but sometimes it seems to gain a third meaning, related

24. Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 178–81.

25. For semantic and syntactic overviews of these particles, see, e.g., S. Kogut, “On the Meaning and Syntactical Status of הִנֵּה in Biblical Hebrew,” in S. Japhet, ed., *Studies in Bible* (Jerusalem, 1986), 133–54; D. J. McCarthy, “The Uses of *w’hinnēh* in Biblical Hebrew,” *Biblica* 61 (1980), 330–42; A. Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield, 1983), 62–63, 91, 94–95; B. K. Waltke & M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990), 300, §16.3.5, 674–78, §40.2a, §40.2.1; additional references in T. Zewi, “Syntactical Modifications Reflecting the Functional Structure of the Sentence in Biblical Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 204–42, §4.6.1 [in Hebrew].

26. Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 186–87.

27. *Ibid.*, 187.

28. For the definition of “circumstantial clauses” as regards Biblical Hebrew sentences with וְהִנֵּה, see G. Goldenberg, “The Amharic Tense-System” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1966), 7, n. 1

to both previous meanings but slightly different. This third meaning should be interpreted like Rainey's in his group of examples involving *inūma*, defined as "adverbial clauses as logical subject."²⁹

As to the types of apodosis found in Biblical Hebrew apart from the *declarative* clause and the *rhetorical question*, there is yet another type of clause, typical of the usage described here, which expresses a *conclusion* with inference from minor to major. This usage, which is restricted only to apodosis of conditionals, has already been recognized by scholars as one of the roles of Biblical Hebrew הן³⁰ and as one of the roles of Biblical Hebrew הנה.³¹ This type of apodosis has no parallel in the El Amarna data.

The instances adduced below will present these biblical uses in comparison with the El Amarna uses of *inūma* as far as possible. Whenever Biblical Hebrew differs from the El Amarna material, its examples will stand by themselves. Note too that it is not always easy to distinguish the three nuances of the protasis, viz., *circumstantial*, *conditional* and *adverbial clause* serving as logical subject. Sometimes the instances share more than one nuance. Moreover, the third nuance is true for the first and second as well, since a circumstantial clause or a conditional clause also are logical subjects of their principal sentence.³²

All the following instances from El Amarna are cited following Rainey's readings and interpretations and his observation concerning syntactical structure.³³

The first and second groups of instances include instances of the Akkadian conjunction *u*. The employment of this conjunction here has its parallels in the use of Biblical Hebrew cognate /w/ in similar structures with הנה, והנה and הן.³⁴ It should be indicated, however, that the conjunction *u* does not appear at all in the third group of El Amarna examples.

As for this third group of instances, it may be noted that Rainey's translations are slightly different from the English translations of Moran.³⁵ Rainey translates

[in Hebrew]. As to the conditional nuance of the Biblical Hebrew presentative particles, it was ascribed only to הן and not to הנה and והנה. הן was considered to acquire this meaning due to Aramaic influence in, e.g., GKC §159w; P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1947), §1671; BDB, 243b.

29. Rainey, "inūma Clauses," 186–91. Examples of this usage of הנה and והנה were collected and classified in Zewi, "Syntactical Modifications," 241–42, §4.6.1.8.5. A similar function was probably felt by Waltke & O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 627–28, §37.6f.

30. S. Loewenstamm & J. Blau, *Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1959), 2:411 [in Hebrew]; J. Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Wiesbaden, 1976), §103.2.

31. Loewenstamm & Blau, *Thesaurus*, 413–14. However, the instances with the formula . . . הנה/הן . . . אף כי are not mentioned here in order to show one of the roles of הנה/הן, but to present a different type of apodosis capable of occurring after these particles. The apodosis type . . . אף כי also appears independently without הנה, e.g., 1 Sam. 21:6; 2 Kgs. 5:13.

32. For the recognition that adverbial clauses function as logical subjects, see J. Haiman, "Conditionals are Topics," *Language* 54 (1978), 564–89, regarding conditionals, and N. Kinberg, "Adverbial Clauses as Topics in Arabic: Adverbial Clauses in Frontal Position Separated from Their Main Clauses," *JSAI* 6 (1985), 353–416, regarding other types of adverbial clauses as well, though Kinberg refers only to Arabic.

33. Rainey, "inūma Clauses," 178–81, 187–90.

34. On the use of Biblical Hebrew /w/ in separating logical subject and logical predicate of *casus pendens* in Biblical Hebrew, see Joüon, *Grammaire*, §176; GKC §143d. There, this /w/ is usually called *waw* apodosis.

35. W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore & London, 1992).

inūma as “since” (EA 77:6–11; EA 126:4–6; EA 224:7–9),³⁶ “that” (EA 129:35–39, meaning “as for” and not substantival), “although” (Ea 130:9–14), and mostly “inasmuch as” (EA 85:23–28; EA 96:6–14; EA 102:14–19; EA 119:8–10; EA 125:7–13; EA 306:12–16; EA 323:13–16), while Moran prefers: “as to . . .” or “as for . . .,” while in one case he does not translate it at all.³⁷ These differences are only variants and do not reflect any major dispute as regards the meaning of the examples. It should also be borne in mind that, as Rainey himself indicates, the examples are only a selection of a common usage.³⁸

The classification of the Biblical Hebrew examples will be done according to the type of the protasis and in a subdivision according to the type of the apodosis. All of the Biblical Hebrew evidence will be presented in accordance with the El Amarna examples.³⁹

1. Circumstantial Protasis

The following instances share one common semantic context. In all of them the protasis and the apodosis take place at the same time. Therefore, they are presented as circumstantial.

1.1. Apodosis-Declarative

El Amarna

In the following examples *u* introduces the apodosis:

i-nu-ma uš-ši-ir-ti 2 LÚ.DUMU šī-ip-ri a-na URUŠu-mu-ra ù ú-ka-li LÚ-lì an-nu-ú a-na šu-te-er a-wa-ti a-na šār-ri

When I sent two emissaries to Šumur, then I detained this man of mine to send word back to the king (EA 108:46–50, from Byblos).⁴⁰

i-nu-ma yi-mur LÚŠEŠ-ia i-nu-ma a-šf LÚDUMU šīp-<ri>-ia ri-qa-mi i-ia-nu ERÍN.MEŠ ma-ša-ar-taš it-ti-šu ù ia-an-aš-ni

When my brother saw that my ambassador came out (of Egypt) empty handed, no garrison troops with him, then he scorned me (EA 137:20–30, from Byblos).

36. EA = El Amarna letters cited according to text numbers in Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* and Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets* 359–379.

37. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, regarding *inūma* not translated: 147 (EA 77:6–11), and regarding *inūma* translated as “as to . . .” or “as for . . .”: 156 (EA 85:23–28); 170 (EA 96:6–14); 175 (EA 102:14–19); 197 (EA 119:8–10); 204 (EA 125:7–13); 205 (EA 126:4–6); 209 (EA 129:35–39); 212 (EA 130:9–14); 287 (EA 224:7–9); 344 (EA 306:12–16); 352 (EA 323:13–16).

38. Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 178.

39. The translations of Hebrew verses into English are mainly based on the JPS = *Tanakh* (The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1985). Minor changes were made in order to emphasize the role of הַיָּהוָה and הַיָּהוָה in the translations. Hesitation as regards an appropriate translation is evident in the JPS translation itself. Although the translations might vary, the original Hebrew construction is uniform.

40. The places from which the EA letters were sent are mentioned here according to Izre'el's list in Sh. Izre'el, “A New Translation of the Amarna Letters,” *Bi.Or.* 47 (1990), 592–98.

i-nu-ma TUR a-na-ku ù šu-ri-ba-an-ni a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri

When I was young, he sent me down to Egypt (EA 296:25–26, from central/south Palestine).⁴¹

Biblical Hebrew

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הנה and והנה:

וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל-יוֹסֵף הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מֵת וְהָיָה אֱלֹהִים עִמָּכֶם

Then Israel said to Joseph, “When I am about to die, God will be with you” (Gen. 48:21).⁴²

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי יוֹצֵא מֵעִמָּךְ וְהִעֲמַרְתִּי אֵל-ה'

And Moses said, “When I leave your presence, I will plead with the Lord” (Exod. 8:25).

וְהָיָה אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי יִקְרַב אֶל-אָחִיו אֶת-הַמִּדְיָנִית לְעֵינֵי מֹשֶׁה וּלְעֵינֵי כָל-עַדְת בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל

Just then, when one of the Israelites came, he brought a Midianite woman over to his companions, in the sight of Moses and of the whole Israelite community” (Num. 25:6).

וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֶל-מֹשֶׁה הִנֵּךְ שֹׁכֵב עִם-אֲבֹתֶיךָ וְקָם הָעָם הַזֶּה וְנָתַן אֲחֵרֵי אֱלֹהֵי נֹכַר-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הוּא כָּא שָׁמָּה בְּקִרְבּוֹ

The Lord said to Moses: “When you are soon to lie with your fathers, then this People will thereupon go astray after the alien gods in their midst, in the land that they are about to enter” (Deut. 31:16).

וְהָיָה בָּרֶךְ רֹדֶף אֶת-סִיסְרָא וְנִצָּא יָעַל לְקִרְאָתוֹ

When Barak appeared in pursuit of Sisera, Jael went out to greet him (Judg. 4:22).

וְהָיָה אָנֹכִי כֹּא בְקִצָּה הַמַּחֲנֶה וְהָיָה כְּאֲשֶׁר אֶעֱשֶׂה כֵּן תַּעֲשִׂוּן

When I get to the outposts of the camp, do exactly as I do (Judg. 7:17).⁴³

הִנֵּה עוֹדֶךָ מְדַבֶּרֶת שָׁם עִם-הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֲנִי אָבוֹא אַחֲרָיֶךָ

While you are still there talking with the king, I will come in after you (1 Kgs. 1:14).

וְהָיָה אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים כֹּא מִיְהוּדָה בְּדָבָר ה' אֶל-בֵּית אֵל וַיִּרְבְּעֵם עֹמֵד עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לְהִקְטִיר

And when Jeroboam ascended the altar to present an offering, a man of God arrived at Bethel from Judah at the command of the Lord (1 Kgs. 13:1).

וְהָיָה אֲנָשִׁים עֹבְרִים וַיֵּרְאוּ אֶת-הַנֶּבֶלָה מְשֻׁלָּתָה בַּדֶּרֶךְ

When some men passed by, they saw the corpse lying on the road (1 Kgs. 13:25).

41. Some other related instances are to be found in Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 178–79.

42. The temporal nuance expressed in the translation of this instance and the following one is based on the fact that both the protasis and the apodosis take place at the same time. Thus, in Gen. 48:21 God promises to be with his people just as Joseph is about to die; in Deut. 31:16 the people is expected to go astray just as Moses is about to die. On the other hand, in an example such as Gen. 25:32, which has a similar protasis (וְהָיָה אָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ לְמוֹת), the protasis and the apodosis do not take place at the same time.

43. The verb וְהָיָה in this verse also has a special temporal nuance, but it is restricted to the apodosis and does not have an impact on the sentence as a whole.

Examples of הָן:

הָן הִכָּה-צוּר וַיִּזְרְחוּ מֵיִם וַיִּנְחָלִים יִשְׁטְפוּ

When he struck the rock, the water flowed, and streams gushed forth (Ps. 78:20).⁴⁴

Examples without /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הִנֵּה and הִנֵּהנָה:

אָבִי הִשְׁבִּיעַנִי לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי מֵת בְּקִבְרִי אֲשֶׁר בְּרִיתִי לִי בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן שָׁמָּה תִקְבְּרֵנִי

My father made me swear, saying, “When I am about to die, be sure to bury me in the grave which I made ready for myself in the land of Canaan” (Gen. 50:5).

הִנֵּה אֲנִיחֶנּוּ בָּאִים בְּאֶרֶץ אֶת-תְּקֵנוֹת חוּט הַשָּׁנִי הַזֶּה תִּקְשְׁרִי בַחֲלוֹן

When we invade the country, you tie this length of crimson cord to the window (Josh. 2:18).

1.2. *Aposodis-Interrogative*

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Biblical Hebrew

Examples of הָן:

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה לִפְנֵי ה' הֵן אֲנִי עֹרֵל שְׁפָתַיִם וְאֵיךְ יִשְׁמַע אֵלַי פְּרָעָה

Moses appealed to the Lord, saying, “Since I am of impeded speech; how then should Pharaoh heed me!” (Exod. 6:30).⁴⁵

2. *Conditional Protasis*

The following instances are similar in their basic structure to those cited above as circumstantial, but they express a different semantic nuance. The most important observation is that in conditional sentences the apodosis always seems to be a consequence of the protasis, conditioned by its existence. Therefore, the following instances are also effectively translated by “if.”

2.1. *Apodosis-Declarative*

El Amarna

The following examples are with *u* introducing the apodosis.

i-nu-ma ḥa-za-nu lib-bu-šu it-ti lib-bi-ia ù ú-da-bi-ra ¹IR-A-ši-ir-ta iṣ-tu ^{KUR}A-mu-ri

44. This verse was translated as circumstantial, since the apodosis is a consequence of the protasis, and the two clauses take place at the same time. The use of consecutive *wa* before the apodosis with the verbal form *וַיִּזְרְחוּ* supports a relation between the protasis and the apodosis.

45. Compare this instance with Exod. 6:12: *וַיֹּאמֶר ה' לְמֹשֶׁה וְאֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָעוּ לֹא-שָׁמְעוּ אֵלַי וְאֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָעוּ* (Exod. 6:12), “But Moses appealed to the Lord, saying, ‘If the Israelites would not listen to me, how then should Pharaoh heed me, a man of impeded speech!’” where the clause *וְאֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁמָעוּ* is clearly circumstantial.

If there were one city ruler whose heart was with my heart, then I would drive 'Abdi-Ashirta from Amurru (EA 85:66–69, from Byblos).⁴⁶

i-nu-m[a] i-ka-ša-da-am KUR.KUR.MEŠ.KI ù ti₇-pa-ti₄-ru-na¹ LÚ.MEŠ-tu a-na la-qé KUR.KUR!MEŠ-i-mi a-na ša-šu-nu

Should I (attempt to) conquer the lands, then the men would desert to take territories for themselves (EA 362:33–37, from Byblos).

Biblical Hebrew

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הן:

הן יַעֲבֹר עָלַי וְלֹא אֶרְאֶה

When/if he passes me by—I do not see him (Job 9:11).⁴⁷

הן יִהְיוּ וְלֹא יִבְנֶה

When/if he tears down it cannot be rebuilt (Job 12:14).

הן יַעֲצֹר בְּמַיִם וַיִּבְשּׁוּ

When/if he holds back the waters, they dry up (Job 12:15).

הן אֶעֱצֵק חֲמָס וְלֹא אֶעֱנֶה

When/if I cry “Violence!” I am not answered (Job 19:7).

הן אֶעֱצֹר הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלֹא-יִהְיֶה מָטָר וְהֵן-אֶעֱצֹנָה עַל-חֲגָב לֶאֱכֹל הָאָרֶץ וְאִם-אֲשַׁלַּח דְּבַר בְּעַמִּי

If I shut up the heavens and there is no rain; if I command the locusts to ravage the land; or if I let loose pestilence against My people (2 Chr. 7:13).⁴⁸

Examples without /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הן:

לֹא אֶיְחָל הֵן יִקְטְלֵנִי לֹא אֶיְחָל—If he slay me, I may have no hope (Job 13:15).⁴⁹

46. See also: *ma-an-nu ba-la-aṭ LÚ. GĪR e-nu-ma la-a it-ta-šī ša-a-ru iš-ti* ^{UZU}*pí LUGAL be-li-šu ù ba-li-iṭ šum-ma LUGAL iš-ta-par [a]-na ĪR-šu ù ba-la-iṭ*, “What is the life of a foot soldier, if the breath from the mouth of the king, his lord, does not come forth that he should live? If the king sends to his servant, then he lives” (EA 149:21–26, from Tyre), where there is a parallelism between *inūma* and *šumma*; but *inūma* stands in a slightly different construction, since it is not followed by an apodosis. An apodosis follows only the second protasis, introduced by *šumma*. For the reference to that parallelism, see Rainey, “*inūma* Clauses,” 181.

47. This instance and the following from Job are poetry. This might suggest a more paratactic structure and an understanding of the particle הן in the standard way as “behold, see, lo,” etc. The choice of a translation which relates the second clause to the first in terms of protasis and apodosis in a conditional clause is based on the fact that the apodosis is a consequence of the protasis, conditioned by the existence of the latter. A relation between the protasis and the apodosis is suggested in the majority of these instances by the JPS translation, e.g., Job 12:14: “Whatever he tears down cannot be rebuilt”; or Job 12:15: “When he holds back the waters, they dry up.”

48. Note the parallelism between two occurrences of הן and one with אם in the same verse. Such evidence proves the connections of the discussed construction to conditionals. Note also Hag. 2:12, 13 below.

49. That is the *kethib*, adopted by the JPS translation as follows: “He may well slay me; I may have no hope.” The *kethib* was also followed here, but with a relation between protasis and apodosis in a conditional sentence, since the apodosis is a consequence of the protasis, conditioned by the existence of the latter. According to the *qere* it might be translated, “Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him” (JPS, 1357, note d–d).

2.2. *Apodosis-Interrogative*

El Amarna

The following example is without *u* introducing the apodosis.

i-nu-ma [a!]-*mu-ta mi-nu* 'yi'-*na-ša-ru-ši*_x(ŠE)

If/when I should die, who will protect it (the city)? (EA 130:50–52, from Byblos).⁵⁰

Biblical Hebrew

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of והנה and הנה:

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ הִנֵּה לְאָבִי וּלְאִמִּי לֹא הִגַּדְתִּי וְלָךְ אֲגִיד

He replied, “If I could not tell my father and mother, how shall I tell you?” (Judg. 14:16).

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל לְנִעְרֹו וְהִנֵּה גִלָּךְ וּמָה-נָּכִיָּא לְאִישׁ

“But if we go,” Saul said to his servant, “what can we bring the man?” (1 Sam. 9:7).

כִּי אָמְרוּ הִנֵּה בְּהִיּוֹת הַיֶּלֶד חַי וְדַבְּרָנוּ אֵלָיו וְלֹא-שָׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ וְאִיךָ נֹאמַר אֵלָיו מֵת הַיֶּלֶד

For they said, “If we could speak to him when the child was alive and he wouldn’t listen to us, how can we tell him that the child is dead?” (2 Sam. 12:18).

וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹאָב לְאִישׁ הַמַּגִּיד לוֹ וְהִנֵּה רָאִיתָ וּמָדוּעַ לֹא הִכִּיתָו שָׁם אַרְצָה

Joab said to the man who told him, “If you could see it, why didn’t you kill him to the ground?” (2 Sam. 18:11).

וַיֹּאמְרוּ הִנֵּה שְׁנֵי הַמְּלָכִים לֹא עָמְדוּ לְפָנָיו וְאִיךָ נִעְמַד אֲנַחְנוּ

And they said, “If the two kings could not stand up to him, how can we?” (2 Kgs. 10:4).

יֵשֶׁב הָאִי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הָהוּא הִנֵּה-כֹה מִבְּטָנוּ אֲשֶׁר נִסְנוּ שָׁם לְעֶזְרָה לְהַנְצִל מִפְּנֵי מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר וְאִיךָ נִמְלֹט אֲנַחְנוּ וְאֹמַר

In that day, the dwellers of this coastland shall say, “If this could happen to those we looked to, to whom we fled for help and rescue from the king of Assyria, how can we ourselves escape?” (Isa. 20:6).

כִּי-כֹה אָמַר ה' הִנֵּה אֲשֶׁר-אֵין מִשְׁפָּטָם לְשִׁתּוֹת הַכּוֹס שְׁתּוּ יִשְׁתּוּ וְאֵתָהּ הוּא נֹקָה תִּנָּקָה

For thus said the Lord: “If they who rightly should not drink of the cup must drink it, are you the one to go unpunished?” (Jer. 49:12).

Examples of הֵן:

וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה לְפָנָיו ה' לֵאמֹר הֵן בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא-שָׁמְעוּ אֵלַי וְשָׁמְעֵנִי פָּרַעַה וְנֹאנִי עָרַל שִׁפְתָּיִם

But Moses appealed to the Lord, saying, “If the Israelites would not listen to me, how then should Pharaoh heed me, a man of impeded speech!” (Exod. 6:12).

50. Rainey indicates that this example can be translated either by “if” or by “when”; “*inūma* Clauses,” 181.

הן אתם כלכם חזיתם ולמה זה הכל תהבלו

If all of you have seen it, so why talk nonsense? (Job 27:12).

Examples without /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of והנה and והנה:

ויאמר אכיש אל-עבדיו והנה תראו איש משתגע למה תביאו אותו אלי

And Achish said to his courtiers, "When/if you see a man raving, why bring him to me?" (1 Sam. 21:15).

ויאמר והנה ה' עשה ארבות בשמים היתה הדבר הזה

And he said, "Even if the Lord were to make windows in the sky, could this come to pass?" (2 Kgs. 7:2, 19).

והנה נפל הקיר הלא אמר אליכם ציה הטיח אשר טחיתם

Then, suppose the wall collapses, wouldn't you be asked, "What became of the plaster you daubed on?" (Ezek. 13:12).

והנה שתולה התצלח

And suppose it is transplanted, will it thrive? (Ezek. 17:10).

Examples of הן:

הן אדני ה' יעזר-לי מי-הוא ירשיעני

If the Lord God will help me, who can get a verdict against me? (Isa. 50:9).

לאמר הן ישלח איש את-אשתו והלכה מאתו והיתה לאיש-אחר הישוב אליה עוד

If a man divorces his wife, and she leaves him and marries another man, can he ever go back to her? (Jer. 3:1).

כה אמר ה' צבאות שאל-נא את-הכהנים תורה לאמר. הן ישא-איש בשר-קדש בכנה בגדו ונגע בכנפו אל-הלחם ואל-הנזיד ואל-הזין ואל-שמן ואל-כל-מאכל היקדש ויענו הכהנים ויאמרו לא

Thus said the Lord of Hosts: "Seek a ruling from the priests, as follows: If a man is carrying sacrificial flesh in a fold of his garment, and with that fold touches bread, stew, wine, oil, or any other food, will the latter become holy?" In reply, the priests said, "No" (Hag. 2:11–12).⁵¹

הן יחתף מי ישיבנו

When/if he snatches away, who can stop him? (Job 9:12).

51. The continuation of this structure in the following verse is very interesting, since it resembles that of the instance introduced by הן in all details except the use of אם instead of הן, as follows: ויאמר חגי אם-יגע טמא-נפש בכל-אלה היטמא ויענו הכהנים ויאמרו יטמא (Hag. 2:13)—"Haggai went on, 'If someone defiled by a corpse touches any of these, will it be defiled?' And the priests responded, 'Yes.'" Unlike most of the examples, these two contain regular questions rather than rhetorical ones. The similarity of these two instances shows again that this structure, be it with והנה, והנה, והנה, or הן, generally belongs to the realm of conditionals (and see also 2 Chr. 7:13).

2.3. *Apodosis-Inference from Minor to Major*⁵²

Biblical Hebrew

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הנה and והנה:

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲנָשֵׁי דָוִד אֵלָיו הֲנֵה אֲנַחְנוּ פֹה בְּיְהוּדָה יִרְאִים וְאִם כִּי-גִלְדָּה קָעֵלָה אֶל-מַעֲרֻכֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים

But David's men said to him, "If we are afraid here in Judah, how much more if we go to Keilah against the forces of the Philistines!" (1 Sam. 23:3).

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל-אַבִּישַׁי וְאֶל-כָּל-עֲבָדָיו הֲנֵה בְנִי אֲשֶׁר-יֵצֵא מִמֶּעִי מִבְּקֵשׁ אֶת-נַפְשִׁי וְאִם כִּי-עָתָה בֶן-הַיְמִינִי

David said further to Abishai and all the courtiers, "If my son, my own issue, seeks to kill me, how much more the Benjaminite!" (2 Sam. 16:11).

Examples of הֵן:

הֵן בְּעוֹדָנִי חַי עִמָּכֶם הַיּוֹם מִמָּרִים הָיִיתֶם עִם-ה' וְאִם כִּי-אַחֲרֵי מוֹתִי

If now, while I am still alive in your midst, you have been defiant toward the Lord; how much more, then, when I am dead! (Deut. 31:27).

Examples without /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הנה and והנה:

הֲנֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַי וְשָׁמַי לֹא יִכְלְלוּךָ אִם כִּי-הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי

Even the heavens to their uttermost reaches cannot contain you, how much less this house that I have built! (1 Kgs. 8:27; 2 Chr. 6:18).

3. *Examples of Adverbial Protasis Clauses as Logical Subjects*

The following instances are similar in their basic structure to the instances cited above as circumstantial or conditional. Nevertheless, they are slightly different in their semantic context. One difference is that the protasis and the apodosis of these instances do not take place at the same time as in circumstantial clauses. Another difference is that the apodosis is not a consequence of the protasis, conditioned by the existence of the protasis. These instances cannot be translated by an introductory "if" or "when." There is nevertheless a relation of protasis and apodosis within these instances, and the apodosis usually follows the protasis in time. Therefore the term "adverbial clauses as logical subjects" is applied here.⁵³

3.1. *Apodosis-Declarative*

El Amarna

The following examples are without *u* introducing the apodosis.⁵⁴

52. This sentence type was found only in Biblical Hebrew. Nevertheless, it belongs here since its structure resembles that of the other Biblical Hebrew types, though it does not have any El Amarna parallels.

53. This term is adopted from Rainey, "inūma Clauses," 186. Rainey's explanation for El Amarna instances holds for Biblical Hebrew.

54. All the examples of adverbial clauses as logical subjects in El Amarna are without *u* introducing the apodosis.

i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra a-[na] URUDU.MEŠ ù a-na ší-in₄-ni-m[i ti-]i-de ^dNIN ša ^{URU}Gub-^lla¹ šum-ma ^li-^{<ba>}-šu URUDU.MEŠ ù-š[i- i]n₄-ni [a-n]a >a-na< ia-ši

Since you have written for copper and ivory, the Lady of Byblos knows whether I have copper or ivory (EA 77:6–11, from Byblos).

i-nu-ma ta-aš-tap-ra a-na ia-ši a-lik-mi i-zi-iz a-na ^{URU}Šu-mu-ur a-di ka-ša-di-ia [t]i-de i-nu-ma nu-kúr-tu₄ ^{MES}KAL.GA ma-gal UGU-ia ù ú-ul i-le-^lú^l(!) a-la-[ká]m

Inasmuch as you have written to me, “Go, take up a position at Šumur until my arrival,” [be] apprised that there is very great hostility against me and I am unable to go (EA 102:14–19, from Byblos).

i-nu-ma ša-pár be-li a-na ^{GIŠ}TÚG¹ iš-tu KUR.MEŠ Sà-al-ḫi ù iš-^ltu¹ URU.KI Ú-ga-ri-ti₇ tu-ul₁₁-qú-na

Since my lord has written for boxwood, it has to be brought from the mountains (or lands) of Salḫu and from the city of Ugarit (EA 126:4–6, from Byblos).

i-nu-ma ša-pár-mi LUGAL be-^ll¹ a-nu-ma ERÍN.MEŠ a-ša-at u ti-i[q-bu-na]: ka-ma-^lmi¹ ^lka¹-az-bu-tu ia-nu-mi ERÍN.MEŠ pí-ṭá-ta₅ la-[a] tu-šu u da-nu UGU-nu

That the king has written, “Now the army has gone forth,” [they] s[ay] thus: “It’s a lie! There is no army; it is not coming forth so that it will overpower us!” (EA 129:35–39, from Byblos).

i-nu-ma yi-iš-tap-pa-ra šàr-ru a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma ^lI-ri-ma-ia-aš-ša ia-ak-šu-du-na a-na mu-ḫi-ka ù-ul ka-ši-id a-na mu-ḫi-ia

Although the king has written to me, “Now Irimayassa is surely coming to you,” he has not come to me (EA 130:9–14, from Byblos).

i-nu-ma ^lša¹-pár-mi LUGAL EN-ia a-na ŠE-IM^{MES} [p]a(?)-ni mu-ḫu-šu

Since the king, my lord, has written for early(?) grain, it is spoiled (EA 224:7–9, provenance unknown).

[i]-nu-ma qa-ba LUGAL EN-ia a-na NA₄.MEŠ ^leh¹-^llu¹-pa-^lak¹-ku ^lal¹-lu-ú uš-ši-ir-ti a-na L[LUGAL E]N-ia 30 NA₄.MEŠ ^leh¹-^llu¹-pa-ak-ku

[In]asmuch as the king, my lord, spoke concerning raw glass, behold, I have set to the k[ing] my [lo]rd, thirty pieces of raw glass (EA 323:13–16, from Ashqelon).

Biblical Hebrew

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הן

וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֱלֹהִים הֵן הָאָדָם הָיָה כְּאַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ לְדַעַת טוֹב וְרָע וְעַתָּה פֶּן-יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח גַּם מֵעֵץ הַחַיִּים וְאָכַל וְחַי לְעֹלָם

And the Lord God said, “Now that the man has become like one of us, knowing good and bad, what if he should stretch out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat, and live forever!” (Gen. 3:22).

וַיֹּאמֶר פְּרָעָה הֵן-רַבִּים עֲתָה עַם-הָאָרֶץ וְהִשְׁבַּתָּם אֹתָם מִסִּבְלָתָם

And Pharaoh continued, “The people of the land are already so numerous, and you would have them cease from their labors!” (Exod. 5:5).

Examples without /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הֵן:

וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֶל-מֹשֶׁה הֵן קָרְבוּ יְמֶיךָ לָמוּת קְרָא אֶת-יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְהֵתְיָצְבוּ בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְאָצְנְנִי

The Lord said to Moses: “Inasmuch as the time is drawing near for you to die, call Joshua and present yourselves in the Tent of Meeting, that I may instruct him” (Deut. 31:14).⁵⁵

3.2. Apodosis-Interrogative

El Amarna

In the following examples *u* does not introduce the apodosis.

ša-ni-tam i-nu-ma yi-iq-bi ¹Ia-an-ḥa-mu [na-a]d-na-ti-mi ŠE-IM^{HA} a-na ¹Ri-ib-^dIŠKUR . . .
¹mi¹-¹na¹ ¹na¹-da-an ¹šu¹-¹ur¹ ¹a¹-na ia-<šī>

Furthermore, inasmuch as Yanḥamu has said, “I have given grain to Rib-Haddi . . . , what has he given to m<e>?” (EA 85:23–28, from Byblos).

i-[n]u!-ma! táq-bu-ú la-a-mi an-ti-in₄-nu e-re-eb LÚ.MEŠ ša ^{URU}Šu-mu-ri^{KI} [a-n]a URU.KI-ia
mu-ta-nu-mi i-na ^{URU}Šu-mu-ri^{KI} mu-ta-nu-ú UG[U-ḥi] LÚ.MEŠ-ú ù i-na [UGU-ḥi]i
ANŠE.MEŠ

Inasmuch as you say, “I am not permitting the entry of the men of Šumur into my city; there is a pestilence in Šumur,” is it a pestilence agai[nst] people or agai[nst] donkeys? (EA 96:6–14, from the Phoenician Coast?).

i-nu-ma yi-iš-ta-pa-ru šār-ru EN-lì ú-šur-mì ra-ma-an-ka [m]i-nu yi-na-ša-ra-ni

Inasmuch as the king, my lord, writes, “Guard yourself,” who will guard me? (EA 119:8–10, from Byblos).

i-nu-ma i-qa-bu šār-ru EN-ia ú-šur-mi ra-ma-an-ka ù ú-šur URU šār-ri ša it-ti-ka iš-t[u]
ma-ni i-na-ša-ru-na ra-ma-ni-ia ù URU [šār-ri]

Inasmuch as the king, my lord, says, “Guard yourself and the city of the king that is in your charge,” with what will I guard myself and the king’s city? (EA 125:7–13, from Byblos).

[i]-nu-ma ša-pár ¹LUGAL¹ b[e-lf] al!-ka-m[i] ¹ù¹ [du-gu-ul pa-ni] [¹LUGA]L be-l[f-]k[a
a-na] [m]a-na-[n]i e[-zi-bu URU LUGAL ù] da-[na-a]t-[mì] nu-KÚR[UGU-ia]

[In]asmuch as the king, [my] lo[rd], has written, “Come and [look on the face of] [the kin]g your lord,” [w]hy should I [abandon the city of the king while] hostility is st[ron]g [against me]? (EA 306:12–16, from Palestine (South)).

Biblical Hebrew

Examples with /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הֵנָּה and הֵנָּה:

וַיֹּאמֶר עֲשׂוּ הֵנָּה אֲנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ לָמוּת וְלִמָּוֶה-זֶּה לִּי בְכֶרֶךְ

Esau said, “Inasmuch as I am at the point of death, of what use is my birthright?” (Gen. 25:32).

55. The apodosis of this instance contains an imperative rather than a declarative clause, but otherwise it is constructed similarly.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוּדָה תִּשְׁמְרֵם-לָהּ כִּן נִהְיֶה לְבוֹד הַנָּה שְׁלַחְתִּי הַנָּה וְאַתָּה לֹא מָצָאתָהּ

Judah said, "Let her keep them, lest we become a laughingstock. Inasmuch as I send her this kid, how is it that you did not find her?" (Gen. 38:23).⁵⁶

וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּה אֶנֶכִּי חָטָאתִי וְאַנְכִּי הָעוֹיֹתִי וְאַלֶּהָ הַצֹּאֵן מָה עָשׂוּ

He said, "Inasmuch as I alone am guilty, and I alone have done wrong, these poor sheep, what have they done?" (2 Sam. 24:17).⁵⁷

Examples of הן:

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל-רֵבֶקָה אִמּוֹ הִוָּ עֲשׂוּ אִתִּי אִישׁ שֹׁעַר וְאַנְכִּי אִישׁ חֶלֶק. אוֹלִי יִמְשְׁנִי אָבִי וְהִיִּיתִי בְּעֵינָיו כְּמִתְעַתֵּעַ

Jacob told his mother Rebekah, "Inasmuch as my brother Esau is a hairy man and I am smooth-skinned, perhaps my father touches me, and I appear to him as a trickster?" (Gen. 27:11).

וַיַּעַן יִצְחָק וַיֹּאמֶר לְעֵשָׂו הֵן גִּבִּיר שְׂמִיתִי לָךְ וְאֵת-כָּל-אָחִיו נָתַתִּי לְךָ כְּעֹבְדִים וְדָגוּ וְתִירַשׁ סִמְכִיתִיו וְלָכָה אִפּוּא מָה אַעֲשֶׂה בְּנִי

Isaac answered, saying to Esau, "Inasmuch as I have made him master over you, I have given him all his brothers for servants, and sustained him with grain and wine, what, then, can I still do for you, my son?" (Gen. 27:37).

הֵן כֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר מָצְאָנוּ בְּפִי אֲמִתְחַתִּינוּ הִשִּׁיבָנוּ אֵלֶיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְאִיךָ נִגְנוֹב מִבֵּית אֲדֹנֶיךָ כֶּסֶף אוֹ זָהָב

Inasmuch as we brought back to you from the land of Canaan the money that we found in the mouths of our bags, how then could we have stolen any silver or gold from your master's house? (Gen. 44:8).

Examples without /w/ or *wa* introducing the apodosis.

Examples of הנה and והנה:

וַיֹּאמֶר בַּלְעָם אֶל-בָּלָק הֲנֵה-בָאתִי אֵלֶיךָ עֲתָה הִכָּל אוֹכֵל דְּבַר מֵאוֹמָה

But Balaam said to Balak, "And now that I have come to you, have I the power to speak freely?" (Num. 22:38).

אָמַר-נָא אֵלֶיךָ הַנָּה חֲרָדָתִי אֵלֵינוּ אֵת-כָּל-הַחֲרָדָה הַזֹּאת מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ הַיֵּשׁ לְדַבֵּר-לָךְ אֶל-הַמֶּלֶךְ אוֹ אֶל שׂר הַצָּבָא

Tell her, "Inasmuch as you have gone to all this trouble for us, what can we do for you? Can we speak in your behalf to the king or to the army commander?" (2 Kgs. 4:13).

Examples of הן:

וְאָמַרְתָּ בְּלִבְךָ . . . הֵן אֲנִי נִשְׁאַרְתִּי לְבַדִּי אֵלֶּה אֵיפֹה הֵם

And you will say to yourself . . . , "Inasmuch as I was left all alone, where have these been?" (Isa. 49:21).

56. This verse is translated in the JPS as a negative declarative sentence, but it might be translated as a rhetorical question.

57. Interestingly enough, this verse has a parallel in 1 Chr. 21:17, wherein instead of הנה, הלוא is being used. This was indicated in A. Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* (Tel-Aviv, 1971), 2:802, §643 [in Hebrew].

כי-תאמר הן לא-ידענו זה הלא-תכן לבות הוא-יבין ונצור נפשך הוא ידע

If you say, "Inasmuch as we knew nothing of it," will not he who fathoms hearts discern [the truth], will not he who watches over your life know it? (Prov. 24:12).

הן-אל ישגיב בכחו מי כמהו מורה

Inasmuch as God is beyond reach in his power, who governs like him? (Job 36:22).

הן קלתי מה אשיבך

Inasmuch as I am of small worth, what can I answer you?

הן-תחלתו נכזבה הגם אל-מראיו יטל

Inasmuch as any hope of him must be disappointed, shall not one be prostrated by the very sight of him? (Job 41:1).

Conclusions

This paper was meant to present a comparison between several syntactical functions of El Amarna *inūma* and Biblical Hebrew הנה, והנה, והן. Although the usage of *inūma* in El Amarna is generally reminiscent of כי in Biblical Hebrew, כי does not fulfill all the roles of *inūma*. On the other hand, even though Biblical Hebrew הנה, והנה, והן generally fulfill totally different roles from those of El Amarna *inūma*, they share a few.

The specific structures examined were of complex sentences introduced by *inūma* in El Amarna and הנה, והנה, והן in Biblical Hebrew. These particles were presented introducing adverbial clauses of either (1) circumstantial or (2) conditional meaning or, (3) functioning as logical subjects of their principal clause. The resemblance between the El Amarna sentences and those of Biblical Hebrew was found not only in the type of their protasis, but also in the type of their apodosis, namely, (1) declarative or (2) (mostly rhetorical) interrogative. In conditionals Biblical Hebrew manifests another type of apodosis (3), which expresses inference from minor to major. This last clause type has no parallels in El Amarna, but it belongs to this discussion, since it shares all the other characteristics with the above material.

All of the three adverbial clause types of protasis serve in fact as logical subjects of their apodosis. The status of these adverbial clauses as logical subjects is further confirmed by a partial use of the conjunction *u* in El Amarna and its Biblical Hebrew cognate *waw* apodosis, whose role in separating between logical subject and predicate is well recognized.