A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF PURPOSE AND RESULT CONNECTIVES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

by
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree.

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הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה כִּי־טֹוב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ:

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife:

So-Young

ABSTRACT

This study represents an investigation of a set of BH connectives (בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן) as well as other grammatical constructions relevant to the lexical items. This investigation seeks to establish the datatypes which are relevant for distinguishing the meanings and/or senses that the BH connectives בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן may display.

A literature overview of BH linguistics and existing BH lexica demonstrate that although current resources provide some useful information, there still lacks an adequate framework for describing the lexical items. On the one hand, linguistic descriptions of the connectives in BH linguistics fail to define the word class(es) and scope of the target lexemes, as well as the relations they indicate. None of the studies have structurally described the paradigmatic relation between the different types of purpose constructions. On the other hand, BH lexica show a variety of data types that are assumed to contribute towards both defining and distinguishing the meanings/senses of the lexical items we are concerned with; however, this information only partly helps in this endeavor.

To describe more adequately the meaning and polysemic relationships of the lexemes, we relied on cognitive semantics (e.g., conceptual view of meaning, prototype theory, and semantic potential). We were also concerned with purpose/result constructions across languages in order to establish criteria for describing purpose constructions. On the basis of these investigations, we established a model for a semantic description of the target lexemes in addition to some criteria for distinguishing between purpose, result, cause, and reason constructions so that the different relations the target lexemes indicate might be identified. We also established some typological parameters of purpose constructions – such as verbal forms in the matrix, participant encoding, and the positioning patterns of purpose clauses. The value and validity of these criteria were then tested in an empirical investigation.

The investigation established that בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן have a semantic potential that prompts the conceptualization of multiple relationships (e.g., לְמַעַן: purpose, result, and reason) with varying scopes, among different levels. We were able to distinguish between the different relationships that the lexemes בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן display by relying on the notions of purpose, result, cause, and reason, as defined in cognitive linguistic circles. We also identified the prototypical and less prototypical meanings of the lexemes. This study establishes the value of the model employed, but also reveals that our theoretical model has some limitations.

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OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie verteenwoordig 'n ondersoek van 'n stel Bybels-Hebreeuse verbindingswoorde (בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן en פֶּן) sowel as die grammatikale konstruksies wat relevant is vir die beter verstaan van hierdie leksikale items. Hierdie ondersoek poog in besonder om datatipes vas te stel wat ter sake is vir betekenisonderskeidings wat בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן en פֶּן vertoon.

'n Literatuur-oorsig van bestaande Bybels-Hebreeuse bronne (bv. grammatikas en lexika) demonstreer dat, alhoewel hierdie bronne nuttige inligting verskaf, hulle nie 'n toereikende raamwerk bied vir 'n noukeurige beskrywing van die leksikale items nie. Die grammatikale studies, aan die een kant, versuim om die items se woordklas(se) te definieer. Weinig aandag word ook gewy aan die reikwydte en/of ter sake sintagmaties en paradigmatiese verbande van die ter sake konstruksies. Die leksika, aan die ander kant, wys wel op 'n verskeidenheid van datatipes wat veronderstel is om by te dra tot beide die definisies en betekenisonderskeidings. Hierdie inligting is egter dikwels nie genoegsaam nie.

Om 'n meer toereikende beskrywing van hulle betekenis te maak, asook om die polisemiese struktuur van die lekseme te bepaal, het ons gebruik gemaak van insigte van die kognitiewe semantiek (bv. prototipe-teorie, en die konsep 'semantiese potensiaal'). Ons het ook doelkonstruksies in ander tale bestudeer. Kriteria is geïdentifiseer om te onderskei tussen konstruksies waarin doel, gevolg, oorsaak en rede gerealiseer word. Ons het 'n paar taaltipologiese parameters van doelkonstruksies vasgestel, bv. die werkswoordsvorm wat in die matriks gebruik word, die manier waarop deelnemers gekodeer word, en die posisie van die doelkonstruksie tov die matriks. Die waarde en geldigheid van hierdie kriteria is daarna in 'n empiriese ondersoek getoets.

In hierdie studie is vasgetel dat לְמַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר en פֶּן 'n semantiese potensiaal het wat die konseptualisering van veelvoudige verhoudings aktiveer (bv. לְמַעַן: doel, gevolg, en die rede), wat beide op verskillende vlakke mag wees asook met verskillende reikwydtes. Ons het ook die prototipiese en minder prototipiese betekenis van die lekseme geïdentifiseer. Hierdie studie illustreer die waarde van die werksmodel wat gebruik, maar het ook aangetoon dat die model enkele leemtes het.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BDB	Brown, R, Driver, S & Briggs, C 1907. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon.
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHRG	Van der Merwe, C H J, Naudé, J & Kroeze, H 1999. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
DCH	Clines, D J A (ed.) 1993-2011 *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Vol 1-8. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
ESV	English Standard Version (2001)
GKC	Gesenius, W, Kautzsch, E & Cowley, E A 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar: As edited and enlarged by the late E Kautzsch. Second English edition revised in accordance with the twenty-eighth German Edition (1909) by A E Cowley*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
HALOT	Koehler, L, Baumgartner, W, Richardson, M, & Stamm, J J (1999, c1994-1996). *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament*. Volumes 1-4 combined in one electronic edition. (electronic ed.). Leiden: E J Brill.
HB	Hebrew Bible
KJV	The King James Version (1611)
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LXX	The Septuagint
NET	The Net Bible (2004)
NIV	New International Version (1978)
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible (1985)
NKJV	The New King James Version (1982)

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (1989)
RSV	The Revised Standard Version (1952)
Tanakh	JPS Tanakh (1985)
TBH	Transitional Biblical Hebrew

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years the lexicographical treatment of Biblical Hebrew (=BH), as well as the semantic models underlying most current BH lexica have been criticized from various angles. Barr (1992:143), De Blois (2000b:12ff) and Van der Merwe (2004:121-134; 2006a:92-94; 2006b:85) exposed some of the inadequacies of the semantic models, while O'Connor (2002:191ff) pointed out some shortcomings from a lexicographical point of view. Imbayarwo (2008) provides conclusive evidence that BH scholars, in general, seem to be unaware of developments in theoretical lexicography. He illustrates how much value insights from this field of study can have for a more adequate description of the BH lexicon. However, he also points out that the data needed for a more adequate lexicographic treatment of many BH lexemes are wanting due to uncertainties about the type of information needed to distinguish between the different senses they may have, particularly the so-called function words (which include some adverbs, connectives, focus particles, etc.).

The reason for this state of affairs becomes apparent when one considers the writings of De Blois (2000a; 2000b; 2002), the editor of the new *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (=SDBH). De Blois uses insights from cognitive linguistics to inform his empirical analysis of each lexeme in his corpus (i.e. the Hebrew Bible=HB). After decades during which the formal syntactic features of languages received most of the attention in mainstream linguistics, cognitive scholars like Langacker (2008), Lakoff (1980), Cruse (2004), Taylor (2002b) and Geeraerts (2002) directed the quest for the "meaning of linguistic constructions" back into the focus of the linguistics enterprise. This resulted in a wealth of insights into the way humans tend to categorize the mental representations of the world they live in, for example, categorization seldom takes place in terms of fixed sets of distinctive criteria (Taylor 2003b:44; Ungerer and Schmid 1996:38). Categories tend, rather, to have fuzzy borders (Geeraerts 2006:146-147; Taylor 2003b: 45; Ungerer and Schmid 1996:15) and prototypical and less-prototypical examples (Taylor 2003b:45; Ungerer and Schmid 1996:9ff). Furthermore, the meaning extensions of linguistic constructions may often not be predicted in terms of logical relationships. However, the mapping of new meanings (i.e. senses) can, as a rule, be motivated in terms of a set of principles (e.g., from concrete to abstract, from space to time, in terms of metaphorical or metonymic mapping, etc.) (Croft and Cruse 2004:193ff; Fauconnier and Turner 2002:139-144). Particularly relevant for the purposes of this investigation is the fact that in a cognitive linguistic paradigm, grammatical and lexical meaning are not regarded as two separate entities, but represent two poles on a continuum of linguistic meaning (Langacker 2008:5). De Blois's decision to use a cognitive linguistic model is therefore not without justification.

Unfortunately, despite new and ground-breaking insights into the semantics of nominals and verbs, and the other word classes (called relationals in cognitive circles), mainly prepositions have received serious attention from cognitive linguists (see Lee 2001:18-48; Taylor 2002b:205ff). As a result, De Blois was reluctant to treat the relationals in his project. He realized that his theoretical model simply did not yet provide him with the analytic tools needed to address these types of linguistic entities.

While a cognitive linguistic model does not yet represent a sophisticated instrument for the analysis of all types of BH lexemes, it does represent a broader framework in terms of which the findings of a range of studies on connectives may be incorporated, either from a functionalist, psycholinguist or relevance theoretical perspective.[1]

In BH there are a number of lexical items with the semantic potential to invoke a purpose or result relationship between the propositional content of the phrase, clause(s) or sentence(s) it governs and that of the propositional content of a preceding entity. Assuming that absolute synonymy is rare, and having ruled out any possible diachronic, genre or author specific pattern of use, the crucial questions become: What are the differences between these sets of lexemes, and in particular, on account of which criteria can these differences be identified?

The goal of this investigation is to establish the datatypes that are relevant for distinguishing the meanings and/or senses a set of BH connectives may display.

1.1 ASSUMPTIONS

- Connectives across languages are used to regulate ("constrain the relevance of") relationships between linguistic entities of a different scope (e.g., from the phrasal to the discourse level) and of a different type (e.g., from effective to discursive level).

- The cognitive processes of these procedures display some similarities across languages.

- Many of these relationships can often be associated with identifiable encoded constructions.

- Insights from research in the field of spoken languages could also shed light on the use of connectives in written languages, as well as the fact that, despite some level of overlap, the notions "purpose" and "result" tend to be encoded differently.

1.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The first phase of this investigation will entail extensive literature studies. Firstly, in the field of BH, existing descriptions of connectives that have the semantic potential to signal a purpose or result relationship will be scrutinized. Special attention will be paid to the major lexica (BDB, HALOT, and DCH) in order to identify the datatypes they assume contribute

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[1] In his synthesis of the current state of the art of cognitive grammar, Langacker (2008) includes a chapter on discourse in a section called "frontiers."

towards defining and/or distinguishing the meaning and/or different senses of connectives. Secondly, literature in the field of cognitive linguistics will be investigated in order to identify, among other things, the following: 1) principles that motivate the extension of the meaning of lexemes and grammatical constructions that may be relevant for this investigation and 2) the possible range of factors (in addition to the syntagmatic distribution) to be considered when categorizing the meaning of linguistic constructions like לְמַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר, and פֶּן. Thirdly, a series of literature studies of connectives (in addition to those in cognitive linguistics), and linguistic typology will be embarked upon in order to identify the typical features of connective constructions across languages, both generally and specifically, in purpose and result relationships.

In light of the insights gained from the above-mentioned literature study, a working-hypothesis will be formulated as regards the range of factors (i.e. datatypes) to be analyzed when one would like to provide a more adequate description of בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן. The validity of the working hypotheses will be empirically tested in light of a detailed description of the lexemes בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן as they appear in the HB. Similarly, we shall examine a substantial sample of instances where a לְ + infinitive construct and "'directive or question' + 'waw copulative + a jussive, imperative or cohortative'" could produce a purpose and/or result relationship.[2]

For the investigation of the patterns of use associated with the various constructions, the *Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible* will be used. An electronic template that has been developed for preparing the *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (a major dictionary project of the United Bible Societies), *Source Language Tools*, will be used to store, compare and manipulate the insights concerning provisional patterns of use in order to identify prototypical patterns.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The investigation is presented in six chapters.

In Chapter 2, we will provide a literature overview of the treatment of final constructions in BH linguistics and lexica, and state the problem. In §2.2.1, an overview of the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן, which signify positive purpose and avertive relations will be presented. For this purpose, literature in the field of BH linguistics and BH lexica will be scrutinized. In §2.2.2, we will embark on an overview of purpose or result constructions that occur without a conjunction. Then, §2.3 will clarify the problem on the description of the lexical items in the field of BH linguistics and BH lexica.

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[2] BHRG (1999), and Payle (2000) identified various constructions which express purpose or result relationship, e.g., 'main sentence followed by a syndetic *yiqtol*' beside 'main sentence + לְמַעַן clause.' However, Payle (2000:17) did not include 'לְ + infinitive' which expresses final relations, for he separated purpose as a semantic (functional) notion from purpose as a syntactic category.

In Chapter 3, we will investigate the semantics of connective constructions to establish the theoretical frame of reference for the adequate description of connectives. In §3.2, we will explore cognitive categorization from the perspective of cognitive linguistics (§3.2.2). In §3.2.3, we will investigate the meaning of linguistic expressions focusing on the conceptual viewpoint. In §3.2.4, the function of connectives will be elaborated upon. This will reveal that connectives operate on multiple levels. In §3.3, we will explore the challenges and prospects that typological approaches hold for the investigation of purpose constructions. Furthermore, in this section, we will investigate the different notions of purpose, result, cause and reason. This will clarify how to distinguish between the different relations when a connective displays multiple relations.

In Chapter 4, working hypotheses will be formulated, based upon the insights drawn from chapters 2 and 3. Then, an empirical description of connective construction in BH will be made to test the hypotheses. We will examine connectives בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן, (which display multiple relations), as well as a representative sample of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions and purpose constructions with *waw*. The description will reveal the semantic potential of items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן. It will clarify 1) multiple relationships that the connectives display, 2) scopes and levels that the connectives govern and operate, and 3) the semantic categories extended according to the cognitive principles identified in chapter 3. The description will also identify the typological features of purpose constructions that were identified in chapter 3. Furthermore, it will show the differences between connectives that indicate a similar range of relationships.

Chapter 5 will briefly summarize the main conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF CONNECTIVES IN BH LINGUISTICS AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an overview of multiple investigations that aimed to evaluate the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן – as well as other grammatical constructions in BH – which invoke a purpose or result relationship between the propositional content of the phrase, clause(s), or sentence(s) it governs and that of the propositional content of a preceding entity. The purpose of the overview is to critically evaluate current insights relating to the field of BH in order to formulate and substantiate the problem statement of this larger investigation.

The ranges of linguistic constructions we want to review are described in journal articles, grammars, and lexica. Since the structures of lexica are typically formalized in terms of user-oriented data-types, the latter resource will be analyzed separately in the cases of each lexeme. We will therefore proceed as follows:

Firstly, in the field of BH linguistics, existing descriptions of the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן – all of which have the semantic potential to signal a purpose or result relationship – will be scrutinized focusing on the following questions:

- How are the lexical items categorized in terms of word classes?

- How are the meanings/senses of the lexical items defined and distinguished?

- Do the different senses show an internally structured set of links that could be regarded as systematic extensions of meaning (Lakoff 1987)?

- When the same linguistic means are employed to express purpose and result, do BH linguists provide criteria for distinguishing between purpose and result?

- What is the difference between the seemingly near synonyms, e.g., בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן?

- What is the difference between purpose/result constructions introduced by the lexical items and the ones without them, e.g., between a לְמַעַן final clause and '*waw* copulative + volitive form'?

Secondly, attention will be directed towards major lexica (BDB, HALOT, and DCH) in order to identify the data types that they assume contribute towards defining and/or distinguishing the meaning and/or different senses of the target lexical items. Specifically, then, attention will be paid to the following:

- Do the lexica make use of current insights of BH linguistics in order to define the meaning of the lexical items or to distinguish the different senses of them?

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- When the lexica give only some examples (i.e., example verses) for a sense distinguished, do they provide some criteria for distinguishing it from other different senses, or can any such criteria be inferred from the sense distinctions made?

- Are the different senses arranged in a systematic way, viz., in terms of meaning extensions?

- Do the lexica recognize the difference between seemingly near synonyms, viz., do they provide a paradigmatic relationship between seemingly near synonyms?

Overall the chapter is organized in the following manner: The first section (§2.2) is comprised of two phases. First, an overview of the treatment of the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן in BH grammars and a critical assessment of the lexical items in BH lexica will be presented (§2.2.1-2.2.2). Second, an overview of the treatment of purpose or result constructions without the lexical items will be given in order to establish those constructions that could be in a paradigmatic relationship with the above-mentioned set of lexemes. In section §2.3, the main focus of this investigation will be formulated based upon the most pertinent problems identified in §2.2.

2.2 LITERATURE OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY OF CONNECTIVES IN BH

2.2.1 Lexical Items Signifying a Final Relation

2.2.1.1 בַּעֲבוּר

Not all BH grammars deal with בַּעֲבוּר in the same way. Ewald (1879:225-228),[3] GKC,[4] and Waltke and O'Connor[5] treat it only briefly. Generally, בַּעֲבוּר is dealt with under the final construction, viz., as a part of a final construction that introduces a final clause.

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[3] Ewald just shortly mentions that לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר are employed to convey the idea [of purpose] more definitely. These are used either as [a] preposition, meaning because of, on account of or as conjunction in the sense of in order that, with the imperfect (Ewald (1879:226).

[4] GKC (1910:318, 504) mentions בַּעֲבוּר twice: 1) under a discussion of the use of the (modal) imperfect; 2) under a discussion of the final clause. GKC (1910:504) categorizes בַּעֲבוּר as a final conjunction. GKC mentions that בַּעֲבוּר introduces a final clause that is subordinated to the main clause. They do not provide much information about בַּעֲבוּר. According to them, בַּעֲבוּר often occurs with אֲשֶׁר. As for the semantics of בַּעֲבוּר, GKC only gives a translational gloss "for the purpose that" for בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר. As for the word classes, when one considers the constituents following בַּעֲבוּר, it is evident that it cannot always be regarded as a conjunction, for it may also occur with an infinitive.

[5] Waltke & O'Connor (1990:638) do not deal with בַּעֲבוּר directly, but just mention בַּעֲבוּר shortly under their discussion of the final clause. They differentiate instances of בַּעֲבוּר with אֲשֶׁר from those without אֲשֶׁר. However, they do not further investigate the differences in terms of the syntax or semantics of the lexeme.

2.2.1.1.1 בַּעֲבוּר in BH linguistics

2.2.1.1.1.1 Mitchell (1915)

In his investigation of the final construction,[6] Mitchell (1915:156) categorizes the word class of בַּעֲבוּר as a 'compound final particle' composed of the preposition בְּ and the noun עֲבוּר derived from the root עבר. Mitchell (1915:156) claims that עֲבוּר "has the force of *fruit, produce*" based on Josh 5:11.

וַיֹּאכְלוּ מֵעֲבוּר הָאָרֶץ מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח מַצּוֹת וְקָלוּי בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:	And on the morrow after the Passover, on that very day, they ate of the produce of the land, unleavened cakes and parched grain. (Josh 5:11)(RSV)[7]

However, based on 2 Sam 12:21, Mitchell argues that the central meaning of the compound בַּעֲבוּר is "concomitance," and that from the central meaning, בַּעֲבוּר is employed to express by-purpose or cause.[8]

וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיו מָה־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָה בַּעֲבוּר הַיֶּלֶד חַי צַמְתָּ וַתֵּבְךְּ וְכַאֲשֶׁר מֵת הַיֶּלֶד קַמְתָּ וַתֹּאכַל לָחֶם:	Then his servants said to him, "What is this thing that you have done? You fasted and wept for the child while it was alive; but when the child died, you arose and ate food." (2 Sam 12:21)

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[6] GKC (1910:503) and Mitchell (1915) regard a final construction as having two elements: main clause + final clause (i.e., a clause that indicates a final relation to the main clause). The final clause is subordinated to the main clause. When Mitchell (1915) uses the term "final clause," it indicates only that the subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause. He observes that "the final construction without a connective is arranged with reference not only to the form of the verb in the clause denoting a purpose itself, but also to the character of the clause or sentence on which it depends" (Mitchell 1915:84).

[7] We use the RSV as a translation of our Hebrew examples since it is a relatively "modern" literal translation. However, we will modify the translation of the RSV if it does not fully accord with our reading of the text.

[8] In this regard, Mitchell states:

"There is no reason why a purpose may not have a concomitant as well as any other form of thought or expression; and there is nothing in בעבור to prevent it from introducing this by-purpose … The main purpose is sometimes expressed and sometimes implied in the context. The idiom by which the particle [בעבור] should be rendered depends on the presence of the main purpose" (Mitchell 1915:156).

"But there is no reason why concomitance may not imply cause as well as purpose. Hence it is not strange that there should be some examples in which בעבור not only may, but must, be rendered in this way" (Mitchell 1915:161).

1. According to Mitchell, בַּעֲבוּר is employed to denote a by-purpose in the following constructions.

(1) בַּעֲבוּר + an infinitive (e.g., Exod 9:16; 20:20; 1 Sam 1:6; 2 Sam 10:3; 14:20; 17:14; 18:18; 1 Chron 19:3) (Mitchell 1915:157).

וְאוּלָ֗ם בַּעֲב֥וּר זֹאת֙ הֶעֱמַדְתִּ֔יךָ בַּעֲב֖וּר הַרְאֹתְךָ֣ אֶת־כֹּחִ֑י וּלְמַ֛עַן סַפֵּ֥ר שְׁמִ֖י בְּכָל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃

But for this purpose have I let you live, to show you my power, so that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.

(Exod 9:16)

In this illustration, בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן appear together. Mitchell (1915:157) claims that the main purpose is expressed by the לְמַעַן clause, and that the בַּעֲבוּר clause indicates the by-purpose of the main purpose stating that "thus it appears that God's dealings with the king were only incidental to the pursuit of his eternal purpose to reveal himself in his glory to the world."

(2) בַּעֲבוּר + an imperfect (e.g., Gen 21:30; 27:4) (Mitchell 1915:158ff). Mitchell renders בַּעֲבוּר + the imperfect as "that … may …."

וַיֹּ֕אמֶר כִּ֚י אֶת־שֶׁ֣בַע כְּבָשֹׂ֔ת תִּקַּ֖ח מִיָּדִ֑י בַּעֲבוּר֙ תִּֽהְיֶה־לִּ֣י לְעֵדָ֔ה כִּ֥י חָפַ֖רְתִּי אֶת־הַבְּאֵ֥ר הַזֹּֽאת׃

He said, "These seven ewe lambs you will take from my hand, that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well."

(Gen 21:30)

Mitchell claims that the second present (the seven ewe lambs) is for a by-purpose ("a witness for me that I dug this well"), while the first present ("sheep and oxen" in Gen 21:27) is for the main purpose, i.e., making a covenant (cf. v 27: "So Abraham took sheep and oxen and gave them to Abimelech, and the two men *made a covenant*").

(3) בַּעֲבוּר + a noun or a pronoun/suffix (e.g., Gen 3:17; 8:21; Exod 9:16) (Mitchell 1915:159ff). Mitchell renders בַּעֲבוּר + a noun or a pronoun as "for the sake of" or "for one's sake."

וּלְאָדָ֣ם אָמַ֗ר כִּֽי־שָׁמַעְתָּ֮ לְק֣וֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ֒ וַתֹּ֨אכַל֙ מִן־הָעֵ֔ץ אֲשֶׁ֤ר צִוִּיתִ֨יךָ֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר לֹ֥א תֹאכַ֖ל מִמֶּ֑נּוּ אֲרוּרָ֤ה הָֽאֲדָמָה֙ בַּֽעֲבוּרֶ֔ךָ בְּעִצָּבוֹן֙ תֹּֽאכֲלֶ֔נָּה כֹּ֖ל יְמֵ֥י חַיֶּֽיךָ׃

And to Adam he said, "Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you, 'You shall not eat of it,' cursed is the ground because of you;[9] in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life.   (Gen 3:17)

According to Mitchell, בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ introduces a by-purpose (a negative purpose): cursing the ground for Adam's sake is a means to an end.

2. According to Mitchell, בַּעֲבוּר is also employed to denote a causal relation in the following constructions.

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[9] Mitchell (1915:160) renders בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ here as "for the sake of."

בַּעֲבוּר + a noun or pronoun/suffix (e.g., 2 Sam 6:12; 2 Chron 28:19) (Mitchell 1915:161).[10]
Mitchell renders בַּעֲבוּר + a noun or pronoun into "on account of."

כִּי־הִכְנִיעַ יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוּדָה בַּעֲבוּר אָחָז מֶלֶךְ־	For the Lord brought Judah low on account
יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הִפְרִיעַ בִּיהוּדָה וּמָעוֹל מַעַל בַּיהוָה:	of [11] Ahaz king of Israel, for he had dealt wantonly in Judah and had been faithless to the Lord. (2 Chron 28:19)

In line with traditional BH grammars,[12] Mitchell categorizes the word class of בַּעֲבוּר as a compound final particle; however, it is not clear on what ground(s) he does this.

As for the semantics of בַּעֲבוּר, Mitchell does not define the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר. Although Mitchell claims the central meaning of בַּעֲבוּר is concomitance, and that by-purposive and causal meanings are derived from the concomitance sense, he only provides different translation values in his illustrations – e.g., "that …may," "for the sake of," or "for one's sake" and "on account of" – without showing how the central meaning is extended to the by-purposive and causal meanings. These translation glosses simply show a rough classification of distinguishable senses or functions, but they are not themselves the meaning of the word (Barr 1961:159). In addition, Mitchell's assumption that one word has one meaning and that its different senses are variations of the central meaning is typical of an etymologically orientated rationale (De Blois 2001:5; Scanlin 1992:134).

2.2.1.1.1.2 Joüon-Muraoka (1991)
Joüon-Muraoka (1991:471, 492, 635, 637, 640) categorize בַּעֲבוּר as representative of two word classes: 1) final particle and 2) causal particle. Joüon-Muraoka (1991:329) define particles as "any part of speech which is not a noun, pronoun, or verb, namely the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction and the interjection." They are aware of the difficulty of determining lines of demarcation between these diverse categories: "the same word can, for instance, be used as an adverb and as a preposition" (Joüon-Muraoka 1991:329).

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[10] Eg. Exod 13:8; 2 Sam 6:12; 13:2; 2 Chron 28:19; Job 20:2; Ps 106:32; Jer 14:4; Micah 2:10.

[11] בַּעֲבוּר is rendered as "on account of" according to Mitchell (1915).

[12] For instance, GKC divide word classes into four groups: 1) the pronoun, 2) the verb, 3) the noun, and 4) the particles. They categorize word classes by means of morphological criteria (concerning the form of the word) based on etymology. Hence, they deal with word classes under the heading "etymology or the parts of speech." For instance, they define the word class 'particle' as follows: "The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs" (GKC 1910:293).

1. בַּעֲבוּר is employed to indicate a purpose[13] relation.

Joüon-Muraoka (1991:637) claim that "בַּעֲבוּר is essentially a final particle," while לְמַעַן is used to signify a purpose and result relation. Joüon-Muraoka (1991:635) give a literal translation equivalent for בַּעֲבוּר as "in relation to that which." According to them, בַּעֲבוּר occurs either alone, or with אֲשֶׁר or with לְ: 1) בַּעֲבוּר (Gen 21:30), 2) בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר (Gen 27:10), 3) בַּעֲבוּר with infinitive (Exod 9:16), and 4) לְבַעֲבוּר with infinitive (Exod 20:20).

וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשֹׂת תִּקַּח מִיָּדִי בַּעֲבוּר תִּהְיֶה־לִּי לְעֵדָה כִּי חָפַרְתִּי אֶת־הַבְּאֵר הַזֹּאת:	He said, "These seven ewe lambs you will take from my hand, that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well." (Gen 21:30)
וְהֵבֵאתָ לְאָבִיךָ וְאָכָל בַּעֲבֻר אֲשֶׁר יְבָרֶכְךָ לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ:	And you shall bring it to your father to eat, so that he may bless you before he dies. (Gen 27:10)
וְאוּלָם בַּעֲבוּר זֹאת הֶעֱמַדְתִּיךָ בַּעֲבוּר הַרְאֹתְךָ אֶת־כֹּחִי וּלְמַעַן סַפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:	But for this purpose have I let you live, to show you my power, so that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. (Exod 9:16)
וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם אַל־תִּירָאוּ כִּי לְבַעֲבוּר נַסּוֹת אֶתְכֶם בָּא הָאֱלֹהִים וּבַעֲבוּר תִּהְיֶה יִרְאָתוֹ עַל־פְּנֵיכֶם לְבִלְתִּי תֶחֱטָאוּ:	And Moses said to the people, "Do not fear; for God has come to prove you, and that the fear of him may be before your eyes, that you may not sin." (Exod 20:20)

2. בַּעֲבוּר is also employed in a causal clause to express causality. Its near synonym is בִּגְלַל (e.g., Gen 3:17).[14] Joüon-Muraoka (1991:640) give the translation gloss "because of."

וּלְאָדָם אָמַר כִּי־שָׁמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ וַתֹּאכַל מִן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לֵאמֹר לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ אֲרוּרָה הָאֲדָמָה בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ בְּעִצָּבוֹן תֹּאכֲלֶנָּה כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ:	And to Adam he said, "Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you, 'You shall not eat of it,' cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life. (Gen 3:17)

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[13] Joüon-Muraoka do not distinguish between 'final' and 'purpose,' though they do in fact employ both individually. Joüon-Muraoka (1991:621) say "the final, i.e., purpose, clause." Their separate use of these two terms is not very helpful when investigating lexical items that indicate a purpose relation. For this reason, we use the term 'purpose' and 'final' interchangeably.

[14] Joüon-Muraoka (1991:637) define and categorize causality as follows: "Causality or logical antecedence is like the reverse of result, and is quite often expressed by the same means. Here it is possible to distinguish ordinary causality (Engl. *Because*, Lat. *cum*), explanatory causality (for), and supposedly known cause (since)."

In line with Mitchell (1915), Joüon-Muraoka argue that בַּעֲבוּר is employed as both a final particle as well as a causal particle. However, Joüon-Muraoka neither explicate what the relationship between purpose and causality is, nor do they address how to distinguish between the two. It may also be asked whether causality refers to a relation of reason or a relation of cause.

As for the semantics of בַּעֲבוּר, Joüon-Muraoka do not define the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר, but simply proffer several translation values.

2.2.1.1.1.3 BHRG (1999)
BHRG deals with בַּעֲבוּר under two different headings: "preposition" and "conjunction," i.e., בַּעֲבוּר belongs to two different word classes.

1. בַּעֲבוּר indicates purpose.
As a preposition:[15] BHRG (1999:283) gives a translation equivalent of "in order to" (e.g., 2 Sam 10:3).

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן אֶל־חָנוּן אֲדֹנֵיהֶם הַמְכַבֵּד דָּוִד אֶת־אָבִיךָ בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־שָׁלַח לְךָ מְנַחֲמִים הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר חֲקוֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וּלְהָפְכָהּ שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ׃	But the princes of the Ammonites said to Hanun their lord, "Do you think, because David has sent comforters to you, that he is honoring your father? Has not David sent his servants to you *in order to search*[16] the city, and to spy it out, and to overthrow it?" (2 Sam 10:3)

As a (subordinating) conjunction: בַּעֲבוּר introduces a purpose (BHRG 1999:297)[17] (e.g., Exod 9:14).

כִּי בַּפַּעַם הַזֹּאת אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ אֶת־כָּל־מַגֵּפֹתַי אֶל־לִבְּךָ וּבַעֲבָדֶיךָ וּבְעַמֶּךָ בַּעֲבוּר תֵּדַע כִּי אֵין כָּמֹנִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ׃	For this time I will send all my plagues upon your heart, and upon your servants and your people, that you may know that there is none like me in all the earth. (Exod 9:14)

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[15] BHRG (1999:57) defines a preposition as follows: "A preposition is used to join a succeeding noun or a pronoun to another word or group of words. It does [this] in such a way that the preposition and the subsequent noun or pronoun become directly associated with the remaining words of the clause."

[16] בַּעֲבוּר is rendered as 'in order to' following a translation gloss given by BHRG.

[17] BHRG (1999:57) defines conjunctions as follows: "A conjunction joins words, phrases, clauses or sentences in such a way that they form a unit. There are two types of conjunctions." They divide conjunctions into two sub-categories: 1) the co-ordinating conjunction, which joins grammatically equivalent items such as nouns or independent clauses, and 2) the subordiating conjunction, which joins a subordinate clause (i.e. a clause that cannot stand independently) to the main clause.

2. בַּעֲבוּר indicates grounds (motive).

As a preposition: BHRG (1999:283) gives the translation equivalent "because of" (e.g., Gen 3:17).

וּלְאָדָ֣ם אָמַ֗ר כִּֽי־שָׁמַעְתָּ֮ לְק֣וֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ֒ וַתֹּ֙אכַל֙ מִן־הָעֵ֔ץ אֲשֶׁ֤ר צִוִּיתִ֙יךָ֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר לֹ֥א תֹאכַ֖ל מִמֶּ֑נּוּ אֲרוּרָ֤ה הָֽאֲדָמָה֙ בַּעֲבוּרֶ֔ךָ בְּעִצָּבוֹן֙ תֹּֽאכֲלֶ֔נָּה כֹּ֖ל יְמֵ֥י חַיֶּֽיךָ׃

And to Adam he said, "Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you, 'You shall not eat of it,' cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life.   (Gen 3:17)

According to BHRG, בַּעֲבוּר is employed to indicate both purpose and grounds. As for the distinction between purpose and grounds, the subordinating conjunction בַּעֲבוּר introduces a purpose clause, while the preposition בַּעֲבוּר indicates purpose and grounds.[18]

As for the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר, BHRG also only provides translation values, but do not define the meaning. In addition, they do not address the relationship between purpose and grounds. As a side note, it was observed that grounds is also vague whether it specifies a relation of reason or a relation of cause.

2.2.1.1.1.4 Payle (2000)

Payle (2000) investigates בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions in order to compare them with לְמַעַן purpose constructions (§2.2.1.2.1.6) and purpose constructions with a *waw* (i.e., conjunctionless final constructions) (§2.2.2.1.9). For these purposes, he explores verbal forms and participant encoding in both the matrix and final clause in order to identify features of בַּעֲבוּר final constructions and to specify whether the final constructions are employed in a discourse or narrative.[19] He also considers the syntactic scope of בַּעֲבוּר.

According to Payle, בַּעֲבוּר does not feature in the books where the use of לְמַעַן is prominent.[20] בַּעֲבוּר is completely absent from the books traditionally considered to contain late Hebrew, i.e., 1 and 2 Chron, Ezra, Neh, Ester, Dan (Payle 2000:115).

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[18] In the illustrations, when בַּעֲבוּר is followed by an infinitive, it signifies a purpose relation, while when בַּעֲבוּר is employed with a suffix, it indicates grounds. However, it is not obvious whether BHRG claims this.

[19] Payle (2000:59) makes a distinction between a final construction and a final clause. In line with GKC (1910) and Mitchell (1915), Payle (2000:59) regards a final construction as being composed of "the matrix or the main clause" and "the final clause subordinated to the matrix." He uses the term "Vordersatz" for the matrix and "Nachsatz" for the final clause.

[20] בַּעֲבוּר mainly occurs in Gen 1 and 2 Sam, with no occurrences in the Prophets, while the prepositional use of לְמַעַן and לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*, on the other hand, are spread throughout the Prophets.

As far as the word class of בַּעֲבוּר is concerned, Payle (2000:114-115) categorizes בַּעֲבוּר as belonging to two word classes: 1) a preposition and 2) a final conjunction. When בַּעֲבוּר is used as a preposition, it is followed by a noun/pronoun or it has a pronominal suffix. Payle does not seem to believe that when בַּעֲבוּר is used as a preposition it can be used to express a purpose relation; thus, he necessarily does not include the constructions in which בַּעֲבוּר is used as a preposition in his investigation of בַּעֲבוּר final constructions. Of the 48 occurrences of בַּעֲבוּר, he only investigates 16 cases where בַּעֲבוּר is followed by a *yiqtol* form or an infinitive. When בַּעֲבוּר is used as a conjunction, it is followed by either an infinitive or a *yiqtol* (a finite verb), and is likewise employed to signify a purpose relation. However, according to Payle, statistically speaking, בַּעֲבוּר functions mainly as a preposition.[21]

As Payle's main concern is not semantics, he does not define the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר. Instead, he only gives the translation gloss "in order to" for the cases in which בַּעֲבוּר is used with the infinitive.

Payle identified the following features of בַּעֲבוּר final constructions in terms of the verbal forms and the subject in the Nachsatz, and the matrix.[22] These features reveal the domain (i.e., narrative or discourse) in which בַּעֲבוּר is employed.

(1) The matrix is occupied by a volitional form (e.g., Gen 21:30) (Payle 2000:118). When volition occurs in the matrix, a *yiqtol* appears in the Nachsatz. When the 2nd person is the subject of the *yiqtol* in the Nachsatz, there is typically no change of subject between the matrix and subordinated final clause (Nachsatz) (see Gen 21:30).

וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשֹׂת תִּקַּח מִיָּדִי בַּעֲבוּר תִּהְיֶה־לִּי לְעֵדָה כִּי חָפַרְתִּי אֶת־הַבְּאֵר הַזֹּאת׃	He said, "These seven ewe lambs you will take from my hand, that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well."

(Gen 21:30)

(2) The matrix is not occupied by a volitional form (e.g., 2 Sam 18:18; Exod 19:9) (Payle 2000:119).

וְאַבְשָׁלֹם לָקַח וַיַּצֶּב־לֹו בְחַיָּו אֶת־מַצֶּבֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵמֶק־הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי אָמַר אֵין־לִי בֵן בַּעֲבוּר הַזְכִּיר	Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and set up for himself the pillar which is in the

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[21] Payle (2000:115) argues that "with בַּעֲבוּר the function as final conjunction is secondary to that of preposition." Out of 49 occurrences, בַּעֲבוּר is used 32 times as a preposition and 9 times as a conjunction. This is significantly different from לְמַעַן which primarily functions as a conjunction (see §2.2.1.2.1.6).

[22] To identify and describe the syntactic features of a final construction, Payle (2000:66-67) differentiates between 1) the verbal forms that occupy the matrix (Vordersatz) as well as 2) the person (i.e., 1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the verb in the Nachsatz. In order to investigate the relationship of the final clause (Nachsatz) to the matrix (Vordersatz), Payle (2000:67) further distinguishes between 1) the relationship of the Vordersatz and the Nachsatz, in addition to 2) the verbal forms found in the matrix (Vordersatz).

שְׁמֵי וַיִּקְרָא לַמַּצֶּבֶת עַל־שְׁמוֹ וַיִּקֵּרֵא לָהּ יַד
אַבְשָׁלֹם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

King's Valley, for he said, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance"; he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called Absalom's monument to this day.

(2 Sam 18:18)

The בַּעֲבוּר clause is immediately subordinated to the preceding matrix. In this illustration, the matrix, however, does not have a volitional form but a nominal clause (אֵין־לִי בֵּן). There is a subject change between the matrix (1st person) and Nachsatz (3rd person).

וְכִעֲסַתָּה צָרָתָהּ גַּם־כַּעַס בַּעֲבוּר הַרְעִמָהּ כִּי־סָגַר
יְהוָה בְּעַד רַחְמָהּ:

And her rival used to provoke her sorely, to irritate her, because the LORD had closed her womb.   (1 Sam 1:6)

Here, the בַּעֲבוּר clause is also subordinated to the immediately preceding matrix.

(3) In the Nachsatz of בַּעֲבוּר final constructions, the 2nd and 3rd persons are predominant, while the 1st person is almost never used (Payle 2000:117).

(4) Subordinated בַּעֲבוּר clauses precede the matrix. In these cases, the final clause has an infinitive and the matrix a *qatal* form (Exod 20:20; 2 Sam 10:3; 14:20) (Payle 2000:120ff).

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם אַל־תִּירָאוּ כִּי לְבַעֲבוּר
נַסּוֹת אֶתְכֶם בָּא הָאֱלֹהִים וּבַעֲבוּר תִּהְיֶה יִרְאָתוֹ
עַל־פְּנֵיכֶם לְבִלְתִּי תֶחֱטָאוּ:

And Moses said to the people, "Do not fear; for God has come to prove you, and that the fear of him may be before your eyes, that you may not sin."   (Exod 20:20)

In the light of his study of the above mentioned of בַּעֲבוּר, Payle concluded that בַּעֲבוּר final constructions occur in both narrative (e.g., 1 Sam 1:6) and discourse texts (e.g., see above 2 Sam 18:18) (Payle 2000:17).

Payle also identified that the scope of בַּעֲבוּר may vary.

(1) The final clause is subordinated to an immediately preceding sentence (Payle 2000:118).

וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשֹׂת תִּקַּח מִיָּדִי בַּעֲבוּר
תִּהְיֶה־לִּי לְעֵדָה כִּי חָפַרְתִּי אֶת־הַבְּאֵר הַזֹּאת:

He said, "These seven ewe lambs you will take from my hand, that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well."

(Gen 21:30)

(2) The final conjunction is not syntactically linked to an immediately preceding sentence in the matrix, but to a verbal chain (e.g., Gen 27:4, 19; 27:31; 46:34; Exod 9:14) (Payle 2000:117-118).

וַעֲשֵׂה־לִי מַטְעַמִּים כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתִּי וְהָבִיאָה לִּי
וְאֹכֵלָה בַּעֲבוּר תְּבָרֶכְךָ נַפְשִׁי בְּטֶרֶם אָמוּת:

And prepare for me savory food, such as I love, and bring it to me that I may eat; that I may bless you before I die.   (Gen 27:4)

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(3) בַּעֲבוּר connects the preceding propositional content to the narrator's comment. Hence, the בַּעֲבוּר clause stands outside the story line. Concerning this case, Payle (2000:122) claims that the בַּעֲבוּר clause functions as a narrative comment (discourse level).

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אַבְשָׁל֗וֹם וְכָל־אִ֣ישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל טוֹבָ֗ה עֲצַ֛ת חוּשַׁ֥י הָאַרְכִּ֖י מֵעֲצַ֣ת אֲחִיתֹ֑פֶל וַֽיהוָ֣ה צִוָּ֗ה לְהָפֵ֞ר אֶת־עֲצַ֤ת אֲחִיתֹ֙פֶל֙ הַטּוֹבָ֔ה לְבַעֲב֗וּר הָבִ֤יא יְהוָה֙ אֶל־אַבְשָׁל֖וֹם אֶת־הָרָעָֽה׃ ס

And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, "The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel." For the LORD had ordained to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, so that the LORD might bring evil upon Absalom.

(2 Sam 17:14)

In 2 Sam 17:14, not only the final clause but also the entire final construction functions as a narrative comment.

Based on the scope and domain usage (i.e., discourse or narrative) of בַּעֲבוּר, Payle provides the paradigmatic relations between a בַּעֲבוּר final clause with a לְמַעַן final clause and conjunctionless final clause[23] which has 'waw copulative + volitive forms' in the Nachsatz. Firstly, 'waw copulative + volitive forms' (conjunctionless final clause) are restricted to discourse or direct speech while the בַּעֲבוּר final clause occurs in both narrative and discourse texts. Secondly, in the Nachsatz of בַּעֲבוּר final constructions, the 2nd and 3rd persons predominate, while in the conjunctionless final constructions, the 1st and 3rd persons are the most common forms in the Nachsatz. Hence, בַּעֲבוּר final constructions and conjunctionless final constructions are distinct syntactical entities that cannot simply be used interchangeably. Lastly, בַּעֲבוּר (final clause) is older than לְמַעַן (final clause) which completely replaces בַּעֲבוּר (final clause) later,[24] and "בַּעֲבוּר seems to function in the same way as לְמַעַן so that the two are interchangeable" (Payle 2000:122). He further motivates the last claim as follows:

(1) Some of בַּעֲבוּר forms appear to be archaic, e.g., הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר, לְבַעֲבוּר (Payle 2000:123).

(2) In Deut, the writer uses אֲשֶׁר for coordinated conjunctional final clauses and does not seem to know בַּעֲבוּר in this manner (e.g., Deut 4:40) (Payle 2000:123).

וְשָׁמַרְתָּ֞ אֶת־חֻקָּ֣יו וְאֶת־מִצְוֺתָ֗יו אֲשֶׁ֤ר אָֽנֹכִי֙ מְצַוְּךָ֣ הַיּ֔וֹם אֲשֶׁר֙ יִיטַ֣ב לְךָ֔ וּלְבָנֶ֖יךָ אַחֲרֶ֑יךָ וּלְמַ֜עַן

Therefore you shall keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command you this

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[23] Payle (2000:64, 142) categorizes the final construction into two groups: 1) conjunctional final constructions which have a final conjunction (e.g., בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן) in the Nachsatz; and 2) conjunctionless final constructions which do not have a final conjunction in the Nachsatz (conjunctional final clause). In conjunctionless final constructions, the Nachsatz is introduced by a waw copulative, viz., in general the Nachsatz (i.e. a conjunctionless final clause) is 'waw copulative + volitive form.' However, Payle does not regard the waw copulative as a final conjunction (see §2.2.1.1.9).

[24] Payle goes further than Hurvitz (1972) and Rooker (1990), who only claim that the construction לְמַעַן לֹא is a feature of Late Biblical Hebrew (henceforth, LBH) (see §2.2.1.2.1.6).

day, that it may go well with you, and with your children after you, and that you may prolong your days in the land which the LORD your God gives you forever.

תַּאֲרִיךְ יָמִים עַל־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לְךָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים: פ

(Deut 4:40)

(3) The scope and constructions of בַּעֲבוּר in terms of the verbal forms and subject in the Nachsatz and the matrix are identical with that of לְמַעַן (see §2.2.1.2.1.6).

As for Payle's categorization of בַּעֲבוּר in terms of word classes, it is not clear what criterion it is based on. He categorizes בַּעֲבוּר as a conjunction when it governs an infinitive or finite verb, although בַּעֲבוּר is typically in fact categorized as a preposition when it governs an infinitive (Mitchell 1915; Joüon-Muraoka; BHRG). In addition, although he establishes that בַּעֲבוּר may function on a meta-level, he does not distinguish this use of בַּעֲבוּר as a separate word class.

Payle's claim that בַּעֲבוּר is an older archaic conjunctional expression than לְמַעַן, and that לְמַעַן subsequently replaced בַּעֲבוּר, can also be a called into question.

Firstly, Payle does not include cases where בַּעֲבוּר occurs with a noun/pronoun/suffix. His distributional criterion is based on the occurrences where בַּעֲבוּר is followed by an infinitive or *yiqtol*. However, when we include בַּעֲבוּר + a noun into the final clause, we can claim that בַּעֲבוּר is still used to signify a purpose relation in the later books (e.g., 1 Chron 14:2 and 17:19). In addition, if לְמַעַן replaces בַּעֲבוּר, it is difficult to understand why the Chronicler still uses the obsolete בַּעֲבוּר instead of לְמַעַן in 1 Chron 19:3; compare, for example, 2 Sam 10.3 with 1 Chron 19.3.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן אֶל־חָנוּן אֲדֹנֵיהֶם הַמְכַבֵּד דָּוִד אֶת־אָבִיךָ בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־שָׁלַח לְךָ מְנַחֲמִים הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר חֲקוֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וּלְהָפְכָהּ שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ:

(2 Sam 10:3)

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן לְחָנוּן הַמְכַבֵּד דָּוִיד אֶת־אָבִיךָ בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־שָׁלַח לְךָ מְנַחֲמִים הֲלֹא בַּעֲבוּר לַחְקֹר וְלַהֲפֹךְ וּלְרַגֵּל הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ: פ

(1 Chron 19:3)

In addition, when one considers the distribution of all the instances of לְמַעַן, it is obvious that Payle investigates only the cases where לְמַעַן is followed by an infinitive or a *yiqtol*. He does not include instances of לְמַעַן + a noun/pronoun/suffix; however, when one does include these, one must conclude that לְמַעַן final clauses occur throughout the entire HB, including the earlier books.

Secondly, Payle does not provide any reason why constructions like הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר or לְבַעֲבוּר are archaic.

Thirdly, Payle's claim that אֲשֶׁר in Deut introduces coordinated final clauses (e.g., Deut 4:40) is not convincing.

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וְשָׁמַרְתָּ֞ אֶת־חֻקָּ֣יו וְאֶת־מִצְוֺתָ֗יו אֲשֶׁ֨ר אָנֹכִ֤י מְצַוְּךָ֙ הַיֹּ֔ום אֲשֶׁר֙ יִיטַ֣ב לְךָ֔ וּלְבָנֶ֖יךָ אַחֲרֶ֑יךָ וּלְמַ֨עַן תַּאֲרִ֤יךְ יָמִים֙ עַל־הָ֣אֲדָמָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֨ר יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ נֹתֵ֥ן לְךָ֖ כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים: פ

Therefore you shall keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command you this day, that it may go well with you, and with your children after you, and that you may prolong your days in the land which the LORD your God gives you forever.

(Deut 4:40)

In the illustration, Payle claims that אֲשֶׁר֙ יִיטַ֣ב לְךָ֔ וּלְבָנֶ֖יךָ אַחֲרֶ֑יךָ is a final clause that is coordinated to a לְמַעַן final clause (לְמַ֨עַן תַּאֲרִ֤יךְ יָמִים֙ עַל־הָ֣אֲדָמָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֨ר יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ נֹתֵ֥ן לְךָ֖ כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים). However, אֲשֶׁר still functions as a relative pronoun whose antecedent is אֶת־חֻקָּיו וְאֶת־מִצְוֺתָיו (Holmstedt 2001:6-11; Holmstedt 2002:295-300). In addition, although בַּעֲבוּר does not occur in Deut, this cannot serve as evidence that בַּעֲבוּר is archaic, for Deut is not a later book (Sáenz-Badillos 1993:52).

Lastly, as for the claim that בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן are used in the same type of syntactic constructions, Payle does not take the usage with the negative particle לֹא into consideration. בַּעֲבוּר is never used with לֹא to express a negative purpose, while לְמַעַן (לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר) is often employed to indicate such a thing with לֹא.

Hence, the reason why בַּעֲבוּר does not occur in some books should be based on more compelling evidence than that בַּעֲבוּר is an older archaic form and that לְמַעַן had replaced it.

Payle does not regard the relation between purpose and cause as identified by Mitchell (1915), Joüon-Muraoka (1991), and BHRG (1999) as a problem. Yet, this is probably because he did not include בַּעֲבוּר + a noun/pronoun/suffix in his investigation.

Although Payle's investigation has some shortcomings, mentioned above, Payle's investigation moved the debate a step forward and has established the following:

(i) The scope of בַּעֲבוּר may vary. It connects propositional content at different levels, viz., that of two subsequent utterances in a text or that of an utterance in the text and that of a proposition that is part of the conceptual world of the narrator. In addition, when it functions at a syntactic level, it can also connect units larger than a sentence, e.g., a final clause introduced by בַּעֲבוּר may be connected to a sequence of immediately preceding sentences.

(ii) A בַּעֲבוּר final clause and a conjunctionless final clause (*waw* copulative + volitive forms) have different domains of usage and are not interchangeable as far as participant encoding is concerned.

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2.2.1.1.2 בַּעֲבוּר in BH lexica

2.2.1.1.2.1 BDB (1907)

BDB (1907:721) does not lemmatize the actual form בַּעֲבוּר[25] but a hypothetical form II עֲבוּר which is in homonymic relation with I עֲבוּר.

BDB (1907:721) also categorizes בַּעֲבוּר as two word classes: **1**. A preposition; **2**. A conjunction. BDB does not describe the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר, but provides the translation glosses "for the sake of, on account of, in order that" claiming that its original meaning is "for the produce or gain of."[26] It appears as if BDB implies that these glosses represent the central meaning(s) of the lexeme. However, the relationship between the three translation values is not clear, viz., are they different meanings or synonyms of one another?[27]

1. As a preposition, BDB (1907:721) distinguishes the following senses: **a**. "for one's sake" (בַּעֲבוּר + suffix/a noun); "on account of" (בַּעֲבוּר + a noun/a demonstrative pronoun); "because of" (בַּעֲבוּר + a noun) **b**. "in order to" (בַּעֲבוּר/לְבַעֲבוּר/בַּעֲבוּר לְ + infinitive construct). **2**. As a conjunction, BDB distinguishes one more sense, viz., "in order that" (בַּעֲבוּר with אֲשֶׁר; and without אֲשֶׁר).

The semantic model underlying BDB is one based in comparative-philology and etymology.[28] Although BDB assumes that different senses are derived from a central meaning, sense distinctions represented by translation values do not show an internally structured set of links. Due to a lack of meaning-description, the relationship between translation values is also vague.

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[25] Orthographically, two different forms are attested, viz., בַּעֲבוּר and בַּעֲבֻר.

[26] BDB, HALOT, and DCH give only translation values. They do not describe the meaning of the lexical items to show the concepts behind the lexical items. Strictly speaking, translation values are not meanings or senses. It only shows a rough classification of distinguishable senses or relations that the lexical items indicate, but they themselves do not represent the meaning of a word. Being aware of this limitation, we will investigatge how BH lexica distinguish different meanings/senses.

[27] It is not clear how BDB uses a comma (,) or semi-colon (;), viz., whether or not BDB uses a semi-colon as indicative of a different sense while perhaps a comma indicates synonyms.

[28] The preface of BDB (1907:v) clearly declares:

"The languages cognate with Hebrew have claimed the attention of specialists in nearly all civilized countries. … Arabic, ancient and modern, Ethiopic, with its allied dialects, Aramaic, in its various literature and localities, have all yielded new treasures; while the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions from Babylonia and Assyria, Phoenicia, Northern Africa, Southern Arabia, and other old abodes of Semitic peoples, have contributed to a far more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the Hebrew vocabulary in its sources and its usage than was possible forty or fifty years ago. … The present Editors consider themselves fortunate in thus having the opportunity afforded by an evident demand…. In the matter of etymologies they [the Editors] have endeavoured to carry out the method of sound philology, making it their aim to exclude arbitrary and fanciful conjectures, and in cases of uncertainty to afford the student the means of judging of the materials on which a decision depends."

2.2.1.1.2.2 HALOT (1993-2000)[29]

HALOT (1999:777) also does not lemmatize the actual form, but a hypothetical form עֲבוּר or עֶבֶר. Comparative and etymological materials are provided and occupy a dominant position in the lexical entry. HALOT (1999:777) gives roots or words from cognate languages, e.g., *ēbor* עבר in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Although the final form is not certain, עֲבוּר is a derivation of Akkadian *ebūru* "harvest (produce), summer." As for the relationship with Ugarit, it is not certain whether עֲבוּר is actually parallel with *ᶜbrm* in Ugarit. In the Arad Hebrew inscription, עבר is parallel with חטם. In Middle Hebrew עֲבוּר and עִיבּוּר, in Jewish Aramaic עֲבוּרָא and עִיבּוּרָא are attested. According to HALOT, in Egyptian Aramaic, Punic (uncertain), Syriac, and Mandean, the construct form עֲבוּר "grain" occurs.

HALOT (1999:777-778) does not assign עֲבוּר to one particular word class. It categorizes עֲבוּר as two groups according to its functions: 1) עֲבוּר without the preposition בְּ and 2) עֲבוּר with the preposition בְּ.

1. עֲבוּר without the preposition בְּ has the English translation value "produce." This use of עֲבוּר occurs in Egyptian Aramaic and in the Arad Inscription. For BDB this use of עֲבוּר is considered a homonym of 2.

2. עֲבוּר with the preposition בְּ: בַּעֲבוּר. According to HALOT, בַּעֲבוּר occurs in Middle Hebrew, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Phoenician, and Old South Arabian. HALOT is aware that BDB, KBL, and Zorell (1954) treat this case as a separate lemma. HALOT also categorizes בַּעֲבוּר as a preposition and a conjunction. As a preposition, HALOT distinguishes three different meanings/senses based on syntactic differences: a) "because of, for the sake of" (בַּעֲבוּר with suffix); b) "because of"[30] (בַּעֲבוּר with genitive or demonstrative pronoun); c) HALOT claims that two cases (Amos 2:6; 8:6) should be rendered "for the price of." As a conjunction, HALOT defines the meaning by giving a translation value of "so that." Then HALOT distinguishes four syntactic differences: a) בַּעֲבוּר with *yiqtol*; b) בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר; c) בַּעֲבוּר with infinitive; d) לְבַעֲבוּר with infinitive. However, HALOT only gives a translation value of "so that" for בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר.

HALOT's semantic model is etymological,[31] though it also provides comparative and etymological evidence; however, HALOT does not explain how this evidence contributes to

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[29] Koehler & Baumgartner's *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [HALOT] was first published in German in 1953. The third revised edition took 25 years to produce. It was comprised of five fascicles. It is the third edition that was translated into English, which began to appear in 1993 with the last volume appearing in 2000. In this section, the English translation of HALOT will be critically analysed.

[30] When we read the example verses, neither Gen 8:21; 18:29, 31 or 26:24 have genitives.

[31] In the introduction of the first edition, HALOT (1993:xi) states that "The main task of any dictionary of the Old Testament is to render accurately in modern language the meaning of the

an understanding of the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר. Although HALOT distinguishes different senses, the use of the same translation values for syntactically different constructions makes it difficult to establish whether these syntactic differences also imply semantic differences, viz., different senses. Furthermore, giving only translation glosses makes it difficult to know what kind of relationship בַּעֲבוּר indicates.

2.2.1.1.2.3 DCH (1993-2011)[32]

DCH (1995:234) lemmatizes the actual form and classifies בַּעֲבוּר as a preposition. DCH provides a generic meaning by means of the translation value "on account of," then distinguishes the following senses:

Hebrew words." HALOT describes the underlying semantic model that would facilitate the fulfillment of this primary task:

"Two ways are open for the fulfillment of such a scientific study. One way leads to the context or exegesis of the whole. A word is correctly translated if the translation makes plain sense and fits into the context. The other way is that of linguistic reasoning. This way again has two lines. The most important part of linguistics is the comparison of languages. […] Another part of linguistics which has served lexicography increasingly is semantics. Since the Old Testament in its prevalent parts contains theology, the theological meanings of Hebrew words have been carefully noted from the beginning. … The safe principle of modern semantics is to look first for the original meaning of a word (in many cases more concrete and restricted than the secondaries) and from this to derive the word's more abstract and even more spiritual meanings. As a rule today one endeavours to draw a genetical sequence of the meanings a word is apt to assume. That principle has, as far as possible, been followed in this dictionary."

[32] In the preface, DCH (1993:14-15) states that "the meaning of a word is its use in the language." Its focus is on "the patterns and combination in which words are used." Its "special concern has been to display the full evidence for the way Classical Hebrew words are used in our extant texts." For this purpose, DCH exhibits the following features:

1. DCH excludes comparative and etymological information, for the meaning of cognate words is not strictly relevant to BH (17).

2. The senses of words are arranged in order of frequency (19).

3. DCH exhaustively gives syntagmatic information.

4. DCH also provides paradigmatic information (20).

However, surprisingly, DCH declares that "the primary function of this Dictionary is to organize and rationalize the available data about Hebrew words, enabling readers to make their own decisions about the meaning of words in the light of all the evidence, which has been arranged in such a way as to make that task feasible" (DCH 1993:26). Hence, although DCH provides syntagmatic and paradigmatic information, DCH does not define the meaning of words at all. The task of defining the meaning of the words is left to the reader.

1. As a preposition: "On account of, for the sake of, because of, for the price of (Am 2:6; 8:6)." After positing translation values, DCH provides exhaustive syntagmatic information about בַּעֲבוּר according to: a. בַּעֲבוּר followed by a noun/suffix and b. the verb in the matrix.

2. As a conjunction: The translation value "so that, in order that" is provided. DCH, then, gives an exhaustive list of the syntagmatic relationships in which בַּעֲבוּר is used, distinguishing in general between: a. בַּעֲבוּר with a *yiqtol*, and b. בַּעֲבוּר with an infinitive. DCH (1993:235) claims that לְמַעַן is a synonym of בַּעֲבוּר.

When combined with an infinitive, DCH categorizes בַּעֲבוּר as a conjunction; however, the theoretical grounds for this distinction are not clear. The same critique of BDB and HALOT regarding their weak semantic model can be applied to DCH, at this point. Furthermore, though DCH exhaustively provides all the syntagmatic information with English translations, they do not show how the information is relevant to understanding the different meanings/senses of בַּעֲבוּר.

DCH's claim that לְמַעַן is a synonym of בַּעֲבוּר may also be called into question when we compare the syntagmatic relation of לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר. For instance, according to the data provided by DCH, בַּעֲבוּר is used with the *yiqtol* of היה, מוש, ישב, ברך, ידע and שמע. However, לְמַעַן is used only with היה and שמע.

2.2.1.1.3 Summary

בַּעֲבוּר is classified as different word classes: 1) particle (Mitchell 1915; Joüon-Muraoka 1991); 2) conjunction (GKC; Payle 2000; BDB); 3) preposition (Joüon-Muraoka 1991; Payle 2000; BDB; DCH). However, explicit criteria for these categorizations are not provided.

None of the studies investigated define the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר. They only give translation glosses without providing the conditions for the selection of a particular translation equivalent. As for the semantic model(s) underlying these studies, Mitchell's (1915) and Joüon-Muraoka's are etymological. BDB and HALOT also heavily depend upon comparative material and etymology to define the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר. However, BDB and HALOT do not indicate how the information can help to define the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר. Although BH lexica distinguish different senses by giving translation values, it is difficult to know how many senses they distinguish, for the relationship between the translation values is not clear and the same translation glosses are applied to different constructions. In addition, translation values do not show how different meanings/senses are extended or should be distinguished.

It was identified that בַּעֲבוּר indicates both purpose and causal relationships; however, the exact relationship between these two notions has not yet been described. In addition, and specifically concerning the causal relation, the distinction between cause and reason is confounded by BH scholars' vague use of the term "causality."

None of the BH lexica take account of current insight from BH linguistics, e.g., the scope of בַּעֲבוּר is not necessarily limited to the connection between two immediately following

sentences; the distribution of בַּעֲבוּר is different from that of the seemingly near synonym לְמַעַן, and בַּעֲבוּר final constructions and conjunctionless final constructions are used in different domains and are not necessarily interchangeable.

2.2.1.2 לְמַעַן

2.2.1.2.1 לְמַעַן in BH linguistics

2.2.1.2.1.1 GKC (1910)

GKC (1910:298, 504) categorizes לְמַעַן as two different subclasses: 1) a preposition and 2) a (final) conjunction. According to GKC (1910:236), לְמַעַן is composed of the preposition לְ and מַעַן, which is further comprised of a performative מ and some form of a ל״ה verb (or perhaps ענה).

According to GKC, לְמַעַן displays two relations: purpose and causal relation.

1. לְמַעַן indicates a purpose relation.

(1) As a preposition: GKC (1910: 298) provides the translation value "for the purpose of," yet, they do not provide an example.

(2) As a conjunction (e.g., Deut 4:1; Pss 51:6; 78:6): The imperfect form occurs in (אֲשֶׁר) לְמַעַן final clauses.[33] GKC gives the translation equivalent "to the end that" for the final conjunction לְמַעַן.

| וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁמַע אֶל־הַחֻקִּים וְאֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְלַמֵּד אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת לְמַעַן תִּחְיוּ וּבָאתֶם וִירִשְׁתֶּם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵיכֶם נֹתֵן לָכֶם: | "And now, O Israel, give heed to the statutes and the ordinances which I teach you, and do them; *to the end that*[34] you may live, and go in and take possession of the land which the LORD, the God of your fathers, gives you. |
| | (Deut 4:1) |

2. לְמַעַן indicates a causal relation.

As a preposition: The translation value is "on account of," but no example is offered (GKC 1910:298).

GKC (1910:332-333) deals with those cases where a *weqatal* follows a לְמַעַן final clause (e.g., Gen 12:13; Num 15:40; Isa 28:13). GKC claims that the *weqatal* expresses future actions "as temporal or logical consequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require

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[33] GKC (1910:318) regards this imperfect as a modal imperfect. GKC (1910:316-319) discusses the use of a modal imperfect which "serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent."

[34] לְמַעַן is rendered "to the end," in accordance with GKC (1910)

such future actions or events." However, it is not certain whether they claim that the *weqatal* expresses purpose or result.

<div dir="rtl">

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַ֫עַן יִֽיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵ֫ךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:

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Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account.   (Gen 12:13)

GKC's treatment of לְמַ֫עַן does not differ from that of בַּעֲבוּר. The same critique of GKC's treatment of בַּעֲבוּר regarding its semantics can be applied to GKC's dealing with לְמַ֫עַן. According to GKC, לְמַ֫עַן indicates both purpose and causal relations; however, they fail to make clear whether a causal relation indicates reason or cause. Furthermore, they fail to provide criteria for distinguishing between purpose and causal relations. They argue that לְמַ֫עַן signifies a purpose relation when it is used as a conjunction followed by *yiqtol*; however, it is partially true. לְמַ֫עַן + yiqtol can indicate other relation, i.e., reason and cause, than purpose relation (see §4.2).

2.2.1.2.1.2 Mitchell (1915)

Mitchell (1915:142) claims that "the most complete development of the idea of purpose in the Hebrew language is denoted by the particle למען." Like GKC, Mitchell (1915:142-143) categorizes לְמַ֫עַן as a particle comprised of the preposition לְ and a noun מַ֫עַן, which is a derivative of ענה, "answer, respond."

As for the semantics of לְמַ֫עַן, Mitchell states the following:

> Its original meaning, therefore, must have been response; from which the transition to purpose is simple and easy, as appears from Prov 16:4, where מענה, which elsewhere has the sense of *response*, may be rendered *end* or *purpose*. The compound למען indicates a bearing. The difference between it and the simple preposition [ל], when used in its intentional sense, is just that which corresponds to the distinction between bearing and direction. The former denotes a constant [purpose], the latter a transient purpose. […] The purpose denoted by ל exhausts itself in a single act, that denoted by למען may give rise to an unlimited number of efforts. […] למען denotes a constant purpose, corresponding very nearly to the German *auf daß* and the English *for the sake of* in its strict sense (Mitchell 1915:142-144).

1. לְמַ֫עַן is employed to express a final relation.

According to Mitchell (1915:144-145), in general, when a *qatal* or *wayyiqtol* occur in the main clause, לְמַ֫עַן is followed by an infinitive. However, when a *yiqtol* or *weqatal* or the imperative is found in the main clause, *yiqtol* is found in the subordinate clause.[35]

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[35] Mitchell does not use the term "main clause" and "subordinating clause," but uses the term "protasis" and "apodosis" or "dependent clause."

Mitchell (1915:148-149) distinguishes three different purposes that לְמַעַן final clauses can express: 1) a universal purpose, 2) a characteristic purpose, and 3) a deliberate purpose. However, as far as the notion of three different purposes is concerned, he only provides a definition for the universal purpose: "By a universal purpose is meant a purpose that is grounded in human nature, one that appeals to any normal person. It is to such a purpose that an appeal is oftenest made when a person urges another to any course of action. It has the force of a sanction of the given command or request" (Mitchell 1915:148).

(1) לְמַעַן + infinitive (Mitchell 1915:145-148)

a. Universal purpose: No example is given.

b. Characteristic purpose (e.g., 1 Sam 17:28)

וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלִיאָב אָחִיו הַגָּדוֹל בְּדַבְּרוֹ אֶל־הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיִּחַר־אַף אֱלִיאָב בְּדָוִד וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָּה־זֶּה יָרַדְתָּ וְעַל־מִי נָטַשְׁתָּ מְעַט הַצֹּאן הָהֵנָּה בַּמִּדְבָּר אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־זְדֹנְךָ וְאֵת רֹעַ לְבָבֶךָ כִּי לְמַעַן רְאוֹת הַמִּלְחָמָה יָרָדְתָּ׃	Now Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spoke to the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, "Why have you come down? And with whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your presumption, and the evil of your heart; for you have come down to see the battle." (1 Sam 17:28)

c. Deliberate purpose (e.g., Exod 1:11; Ezek 39:12)[36]

וַיָּשִׂימוּ עָלָיו שָׂרֵי מִסִּים לְמַעַן עַנֹּתוֹ בְּסִבְלֹתָם וַיִּבֶן עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת לְפַרְעֹה אֶת־פִּתֹם וְאֶת־רַעַמְסֵס׃	Therefore they set taskmasters over them to afflict them with heavy burdens; and they built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Raamses. (Exod 1:11)

(2) לְמַעַן + an imperfect (Mitchell 1915:148-151)

a. Universal purpose (e.g., the desire of well-being, Deut 5:16)

כַּבֵּד אֶת־אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְמַעַן יַאֲרִיכֻן יָמֶיךָ וּלְמַעַן יִיטַב לָךְ עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ׃ ס	Honor your father and your mother, as the LORD your God commanded you; that your days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with you, in the land which the LORD your God gives you. (Deut 5:16)

b. Characteristic purpose (e.g., Gen 12:13)

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ׃	Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account. (Gen 12:13)

c. Deliberate purpose (e.g., Exod 13:9; Num 27:20)[37]

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[36] The purpose is manifested by a single act in Exod 1:11, while the purpose is manifested by a course of action in Ezek 39:12.

וְנָתַתָּה מֵהוֹדְךָ עָלָיו לְמַעַן יִשְׁמְעוּ כָּל־עֲדַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: — You shall invest him with some of your authority, that all the congregation of the people of Israel may obey.   (Num 27:20)

(3) לְמַעַן + a noun/a pronoun/suffix (Mitchell 1915:153-155)

a. Universal purpose (e.g., Deut 30:6)

וּמָל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־לְבָבְךָ וְאֶת־לְבַב זַרְעֶךָ לְאַהֲבָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ לְמַעַן חַיֶּיךָ: — And the LORD your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your offspring, so that you will love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul, that you may live.   (Deut 30:6)

b. Characteristic purpose (e.g., Gen 18:24)

אוּלַי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר הַאַף תִּסְפֶּה וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא לַמָּקוֹם לְמַעַן חֲמִשִּׁים הַצַּדִּיקִם אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבָּהּ: — Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city; wilt thou then destroy the place and not spare it for the fifty righteous who are in it?   (Gen 18:24)

c. Deliberate purpose (e.g., Jer 7:19)

הַאֹתִי הֵם מַכְעִסִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה הֲלוֹא אֹתָם לְמַעַן בֹּשֶׁת פְּנֵיהֶם: ס — Is it I whom they provoke? Says the LORD. Is it not themselves, to their own confusion?   (Jer 7:19)

2. לְמַעַן is used to express a causal relation.
לְמַעַן + a noun/suffix (e.g., Deut 3:26; 1 Kgs 11:39; Pss 48:12; 97:8) (Mitchell 1915:155)

וַיִּתְעַבֵּר יְהוָה בִּי לְמַעַנְכֶם וְלֹא שָׁמַע אֵלָי וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי רַב־לָךְ אַל־תּוֹסֶף דַּבֵּר אֵלַי עוֹד בַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה: — But the LORD was angry with me on your account, and would not hearken to me; and the LORD said to me, 'Let it suffice you; speak no more to me of this matter.   (Deut 3:26)

Mitchell (1915:155) compares לְמַעַן in Deut 3:26 with Deut 1:37 (בגללכם), Deut 4:21 (על דבריכם) and Ps 106:32 (בעבוכם), and gives a possible translation value "*on account of.* However, he suggests the possibility of interpolation. Mitchell (1915:155) also suggests the possibility that in the case of 1 Kgs 11:39, לְמַעַן takes the place of the יַעַן אֲשֶׁר of verse 33. In addition, Mitchell (1915:155) regards לְמַעַן in Ps 48:12 and 97:8 as a gloss. He mentions "in any case, it is of late origin, and, therefore, like the other two examples of the use of למען in a causal sense, may be treated as a mark of linguistic deterioration."

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[37] The purpose is manifested by a single act in Num 27:20, while the purpose is manifested by a course of action in Exod 13:9.

To conclude: Mitchell's categorization of לְמַעַן as "a particle" is vague when we consider the constructions that לְמַעַן governs (e.g., infinitive, verb, noun, suffix). As far as a semantic model is concerned, Mitchell's treatment of לְמַעַן does not differ from that of בַּעֲבוּר. Hence, the same critique of Michell's treatment of בַּעֲבוּר can be applied to Mitchell's model for לְמַעַן.

Mitchell distinguishes three different types of purpose that לְמַעַן expresses; however, it is difficult to know how they can contribute to distinguishing between the different meanings or senses of לְמַעַן due to his negligence of defining the notional value of each.

2.2.1.2.1.3 Brongers (1973)

On the basis of whether לְמַעַן is followed by a verb or noun/infinitive, Brongers (1973:86) similarly categorizes לְמַעַן as 1) a conjunction and 2) a preposition.

Brongers lists the distribution of the 268 occurrences of the lexeme and observes that 60% occur in 5 books, viz., Deut (48x); Ezek (37x); Ps (32x); Jer (23x), and Deut-Isa (23x); however, he does not posit a reason for why this is the case.

As for the etymology of לְמַעַן, Brongers is of a different opinion than Mitchell (1915), suggesting that מַעַן – like יַעַן – stems from the ענה III "to trouble". While no substantival masculine form of מען is attested, the feminine form מַעֲנָה refering to a "plough furrow" is, in fact. According to Brongers, the concept of purpose or aim is already communicated in this word. Hence the translation of לְמַעַן "Rücksicht auf," "um ... willen," "wegen" (with the purpose of, in order to, because of). Relatively frequent is the combination לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר + a finite verb, which has the connotation of "so that" (e.g., Gen 18:19).

According to Brongers, לְמַעַן displays four distinct relations: purpose, result, cause, and reason.

1. לְמַעַן is employed in the following constructions to indicate a purpose relation.
לְמַעַן + an infinitive construct (Brongers 1973:86-88): With the purpose connotation it is best translated as "um ... zu" (in order to) (e.g., 1 Sam 15:15). This translation value is preferred when a transitive verb is involved; while when a transitive verb is at stake, "damit" (therewith) is more appropriate (e.g., Josh 4:24).

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל מֵעֲמָלֵקִי הֱבִיאוּם אֲשֶׁר חָמַל הָעָם עַל־מֵיטַב הַצֹּאן וְהַבָּקָר לְמַעַן זְבֹחַ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְאֶת־הַיּוֹתֵר הֶחֱרַמְנוּ: ס	Saul said, "They have brought them from the Amalekites; for the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen, to sacrifice to the LORD your God; and the rest we have utterly destroyed." (1 Sam 15:15)
²³אֲשֶׁר־הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֶת־מֵי הַיַּרְדֵּן מִפְּנֵיכֶם עַד־עָבְרְכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְיַם־סוּף אֲשֶׁר־הוֹבִישׁ מִפָּנֵינוּ עַד־עָבְרֵנוּ: ²⁴לְמַעַן דַּעַת כָּל־עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ אֶת־יַד יְהוָה כִּי חֲזָקָה הִיא	²³For the LORD your God dried up the waters of the Jordan for you until you passed over, as the LORD your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up for us until we passed

לְמַ֫עַן יְרָאתֶ֥ם אֶת־יְהוָ֖ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֖ם כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים: ס over,[24] *therewith*[38] all the peoples of the earth may know that the hand of the Lord is mighty; that you may fear the Lord your God for ever. (Josh 4:24)

לְמַ֫עַן + a finite verb (Brongers 1973:89): Most of these instances occur in Deut within contexts of admonitions or promises, in which case they typically express "purpose" (e.g., Deut. 11:8). "Damit" (so that) may be regarded as a translation equivalent.

וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם֙ אֶת־כָּל־הַמִּצְוָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֛ר אָנֹכִ֥י מְצַוְּךָ֖ הַיֹּ֑ום לְמַ֣עַן תֶּחֶזְק֗וּ וּבָאתֶם֙ וִירִשְׁתֶּ֣ם אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁ֥ר אַתֶּ֛ם עֹבְרִ֥ים שָׁ֖מָּה לְרִשְׁתָּֽהּ: "You shall therefore keep all the commandment which I command you this day, that you may be strong, and go in and take possession of the land which you are going over to possess." (Deut 11:8)

2. לְמַ֫עַן is also used to express a result relation.

לְמַ֫עַן + an infinitive construct (e.g., Lev. 20:3; Amos 2:7). "Wodurch" (by which) is the offered translation value (Brongers 1973:89).

וַאֲנִ֞י אֶתֵּ֤ן אֶת־פָּנַי֙ בָּאִ֣ישׁ הַה֔וּא וְהִכְרַתִּ֥י אֹתֹ֖ו מִקֶּ֣רֶב עַמֹּ֑ו כִּ֤י מִזַּרְעֹו֙ נָתַ֣ן לַמֹּ֔לֶךְ לְמַ֗עַן טַמֵּא֙ אֶת־מִקְדָּשִׁ֔י וּלְחַלֵּ֖ל אֶת־שֵׁ֥ם קָדְשִֽׁי: I myself will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people, because he has given one of his children to Molech, *by which he defiled my sanctuary and profaned my holy name*.[39] (Lev 20:3)

לְמַ֫עַן + a finite verb (e.g., Jer 51:39). A translation gloss is "so dass" (so that) (Brongers 1973:90-91).

בְּחֻמָּ֞ם אָשִׁ֣ית אֶת־מִשְׁתֵּיהֶ֗ם וְהִשְׁכַּרְתִּים֙ לְמַ֣עַן יַעֲלֹ֔זוּ וְיָשְׁנ֥וּ שְׁנַת־עֹולָ֖ם וְלֹ֣א יָקִ֑יצוּ נְאֻ֖ם יְהוָֽה: While they are inflamed I will prepare them a feast and make them drunk, *so that*[40] they swoon away and sleep a perpetual sleep and not wake, says the Lord. (Jer 51:39)

3. לְמַ֫עַן is also employed to indicate a causal relation.

Brongers (1973:92ff) distinguishes two different categories: 1) לְמַ֫עַן + a pronominal suffix, and 2) לְמַ֫עַן + a noun.

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[38] לְמַ֫עַן is rendered according to the translation value of Brongers.

[39] לְמַ֗עַן טַמֵּא֙ אֶת־מִקְדָּשִׁ֔י וּלְחַלֵּ֖ל אֶת־שֵׁ֥ם קָדְשִֽׁי is rendered as such considering Brongers' translation equivalent of לְמַ֫עַן.

[40] "So that" is a rendering based on Brongers' translation value.

(1) לְמַעַן + a pronominal suffix

לְמַעַן with 1st person suffixes are few in number and refer only to God (e.g., 2 Kgs 19:34). These constructions are always used in the context of a promise as a way to confirm the promise (i.e., "for my own sake" it will happen).

וְגַנּוֹתִי אֶל־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת לְהוֹשִׁיעָהּ לְמַעֲנִי וּלְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדִּי:	For I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David. (2Kgs 19:34)

לְמַעַן with 2nd person suffixes always refer to people (e.g., in Isa 43:14) – it is to the good of the addressee.[41]

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה גֹּאַלְכֶם קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַעַנְכֶם שִׁלַּחְתִּי בָבֶלָה וְהוֹרַדְתִּי בָרִיחִים כֻּלָּם וְכַשְׂדִּים בָּאֳנִיּוֹת רִנָּתָם:	Thus says the LORD, your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: "For your sake I will send to Babylon and break down all the bars, and the shouting of the Chaldeans will be turned to lamentations. (Isa 43:14)

Near-synonyms are the suffixed forms of בִּגְלַל and בַּעֲבוּר ('for x's sake' in a positive sense; 'because of you' in a negative sense) (e.g., Gen 3:17 and 12:13). Interestingly, these near synonyms never refer to God.[42]

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:	Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account. (Gen 12:13)

(2) לְמַעַן + a noun

שֵׁם + לְמַעַן fulfils the same function as לְמַעַן + a 1st person suffix (e.g., Ezek 20:9). לְמַעַן + a noun (pronoun) also has a similar function to לְמַעַן + שֵׁם (e.g., 2 Kgs 8:19). In most cases

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[41] This is, however, not the case in Deut 3:26.

[42] Like לְמַעַן, both בִּגְלַל and בַּעֲבוּר may also govern a noun. The same two semantic nuances as in the case of לְמַעַן + a noun are possible , viz., "for the sake of x" in a positive sense (e.g., Gen 26:24; Deut. 18:12) or "because of you" in a negative sense (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:16).

כִּי־תוֹעֲבַת יְהוָה כָּל־עֹשֵׂה אֵלֶּה וּבִגְלַל הַתּוֹעֵבֹת הָאֵלֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מוֹרִישׁ אוֹתָם מִפָּנֶיךָ:	For whoever does these things is an abomination to the LORD; and because of these abominable practices the LORD your God is driving them out before you. (Deut 18:12)
וְיִתֵּן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּגְלַל חַטֹּאות יָרָבְעָם אֲשֶׁר חָטָא וַאֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל:	And he will give Israel up because of the sins of Jeroboam, which he sinned and which he made Israel to sin. (1 Kgs 14:16)

these constructions involve an action that prompted God to take action in the interest of himself or someone else (Brongers 1973:94).

וָאַעַשׂ לְמַעַן שְׁמִי לְבִלְתִּי הֵחֵל לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־הֵמָּה בְתוֹכָם אֲשֶׁר נוֹדַעְתִּי אֲלֵיהֶם לְעֵינֵיהֶם לְהוֹצִיאָם מֵ אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:	But I acted for the sake of my name, that it should not be profaned in the sight of the nations among whom they dwelt, in whose sight I made myself known to them in bringing them out of the land of Egypt. (Ezek 20:9)

In some Pss, לְמַעַן "because of" + my enemies must be interpreted as "despite my enemies" (e.g., Ps 5:9).

יְהוָה נְחֵנִי בְצִדְקָתֶךָ לְמַעַן שׁוֹרְרָי הַיְשַׁר לְפָנַי דַּרְכֶּךָ:	Lead me, O LORD, in your righteousness *despite*[43] my enemies; make your way straight before me. (Ps 5:9) (YCK)

4. לְמַעַן is also employed to indicate reason.
לְמַעַן + a noun/pronoun (e.g., Isa. 49:7). The translation value is "durch" or "seitens" (because of).

כֹּה אָמַר־יְהוָה גֹּאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל קְדוֹשׁוֹ לִבְזֹה־נֶפֶשׁ לִמְתָעֵב גּוֹי לְעֶבֶד מֹשְׁלִים מְלָכִים יִרְאוּ וָקָמוּ שָׂרִים וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לְמַעַן יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמָן קְדֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְחָרֶךָ:	Thus says the LORD, the Redeemer of Israel and his Holy One, to one deeply despised, abhorred by the nations, the servant of rulers: "Kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall prostrate themselves; because of the LORD, who is faithful, the Holy One of Israel, who has chosen you." (Isa 49:7)

In summary: As for the semantic model of לְמַעַן, Brongers' treatment of לְמַעַן does not differ from that of GKC and Mitchell (1915). Hence, the same critique of GKC and Mitchell can be applied.

As far as the distinction between purpose, result, cause, and reason is concerned, according to Brongers, לְמַעַן + an infinitive/finite is employed to indicate purpose or result, while לְמַעַן + a noun/pronoun/suffix is used to signify cause or reason. As far as the distinction between purpose and result is concerned, it is only dependent on the context (Brongers 1973:90-91). Brongers' criteria for distinguishing between purpose, result, cause, and reason are not very useful.

As for the paradigmatic relation, Brongers claims that בִּגְלַל and בַּעֲבוּר are near synonyms of לְמַעַן when they are used with a pronominal suffix refering to humans (never God).

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[43] לְמַעַן is rendered based on Brongers' translation value.

Brongers states that purpose can also be expressed in BH by בַּעֲבוּר (e.g., Gen 21:30) and a simple *waw* (e.g., Deut. 10:17), claiming that the interchange of these constructions may be attributed to stylistic considerations. However, Brongers' claims are not convincing (see §2.2.1.1.1.4, 2.2.1.2.1.6, and 2.2.2.1.9).

2.2.1.2.1.4 Waltke & O'Connor (1990)

Waltke & O'Connor categorize לְמַעַן as: 1) a preposition and 2) a final conjunction.[44] The preposition לְמַעַן governs an infinitive construct, while the conjunction לְמַעַן governs a finite verb.

According to Waltke & O'Connor (1990:638-640), purpose and result are expressed by the same means.[45] Hence they do not regard final (purpose) and result clauses as separate syntactic entities, viz., לְמַעַן is employed to signify either a final or result relation. They argue that distinction between final and result clauses cannot be made syntactically but only contextually.

1. The preposition לְמַעַן is employed to indicate a final or result relation (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:604). Waltke & O'Connor provide the translation equivalent "so as to" (e.g., Deut 2:30). However, it is not certain whether this translation gloss represents the final לְמַעַן or result לְמַעַן.

וְלֹא אָבָה סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ חֶשְׁבּוֹן הַעֲבִרֵנוּ בּוֹ כִּי־ הִקְשָׁה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־רוּחוֹ וְאִמֵּץ אֶת־לְבָבוֹ לְמַעַן תִּתּוֹ בְיָדְךָ כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה: ס

But Sihon the king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him; for the LORD your God hardened his spirit and made his heart obstinate *so as to*[46] give him into your hand, as at this day. (Deut 2:30)

2. The final conjunction לְמַעַן introduces the final clause with or without אֲשֶׁר (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:638-639) (e.g., Gen 18:19; Exod 4:5; 1 Sam 15:15).[47] They provide a translation value of "so that" for both לְמַעַן and לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר.

כִּי יְדַעְתִּיו לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּה אֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אַחֲרָיו וְשָׁמְרוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט

No, for I have chosen him, so that[48] he may charge his children and his household after

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[44] Waltke & O'Connor (1990:187) define the word class preposition as follows: "Prepositions are relational terms that stand before nouns and noun equivalents (including certain verb forms), and thereby form phrases." However, they do not address what the conjunction is.

[45] In line with GKC and Mitchell (1915), Waltke & O'Connor regard final/result constructions as two-element syntactic constructions. "The main clause expresses a situation, and the subordinate clause either a purpose (final or telic clause) or a consequence (result clause)" (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:638).

[46] לְמַעַן תִּתּוֹ is rendered into "so as to give" according to Waltke & O'Connor's translation value.

[47] Waltke & O'Connor regard אֲשֶׁר as a final or resultative conjunction. "In positive clauses אשר alone can introduce either a final (e.g., Deut 4:10) or a result clause (e.g., Gen 22:14)." However, Holmstedt (2001;2002) questions such an interpretation of אֲשֶׁר.

[48] לְמַעַן is rendered into "so that" according to Waltke & O'Connor's translation value.

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לְמַעַן הָבִיא יְהוָֹה עַל־אַבְרָהָם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר עָלָיו:	him to keep the way of the LORD by doing righteousness and justice; so that the LORD may bring to Abraham what he has promised him. (Gen 18:19)

3. A negative purpose (e.g., Ezek 14:11; 25:10; 26:20) and result (e.g., Ezek 19:9) are indicated by לְמַעַן לֹא (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:639).

לִבְנֵי־קֶדֶם עַל־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן וּנְתַתִּיהָ לְמוֹרָשָׁה לְמַעַן לֹא־תִזָּכֵר בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן בַּגּוֹיִם:	I will give it along with the Ammonites to the people of the East as a possession, that it may be remembered no more among the nations (Ezek 25:10)
וַיִּתְּנֻהוּ בַסּוּגַר בַּחַחִים וַיְבִאֻהוּ אֶל־מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל יְבִאֻהוּ בַּמְּצֹדוֹת לְמַעַן לֹא־יִשָּׁמַע קוֹלוֹ עוֹד אֶל־הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: פ	With hooks they put him in a cage, and brought him to the king of Babylon; they brought him into custody, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel. (Ezek 19:9)

The categorization of word classes by Waltke & O'Connor is a formal one that is in line with most traditional grammars (GKC and Joüon- Muraoka). As far as the semantics of לְמַעַן is concerned, Waltke & O'Connor's does not differ from Brongers; hence, the same critique of Brongers can be applied.

2.2.1.2.1.5 Joüon-Muraoka (1991)
In line with GKC, Joüon- Muraoka categorize לְמַעַן as 1) a subordinating conjunction and 2) a preposition. In line with Mitchell (1915), they argue that לְמַעַן is composed of an apocope form of מַעַן derived from a ל″ה verb, ענה "answer," and לְ (Joüon-Muraoka 1991:75, 257).

According to Joüon-Muraoka, לְמַעַן is employed to indicate purpose or result. As for the distinction between purpose and result, Joüon-Muraoka mention that "the final clause and the consecutive clause are closely related to each other, [and that] Hebrew does not make any strict distinction between them, and quite often we may not be sure about the precise nuance." Although they deal with purpose and result under two different headings regarding them as distinct entities, they do not provide explicit criteria for distinguishing them syntactically.

1. לְמַעַן indicating a purpose relation.

(1) When לְמַעַן + an infinitive is used as a preposition, Joüon-Muraoka (1991:634) provide the translation value "in order to."

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם׀ רְאוּבֵן אַל־תִּשְׁפְּכוּ־דָם הַשְׁלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־הַבּוֹר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בַּמִּדְבָּר וְיָד אַל־תִּשְׁלְחוּ־בוֹ לְמַעַן הַצִּיל אֹתוֹ מִיָּדָם לַהֲשִׁיבוֹ אֶל־	And Reuben said to them, "Shed no blood; cast him into this pit here in the wilderness, but lay no hand upon him"—that he might

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אָבִֽיו: rescue[49] him out of their hand, in order to restore him to his father.　　　(Gen 37:22)

(2) Subordinating conjunction לְמַעַן (לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר). In this case, Joüon-Muraoka (1991:634) call לְמַעַן (לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר) a final conjunction (e.g., Gen 12:13; Jer 42:6). They provide the translation glosses "in order that" and "so that."

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִֽיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵֽךְ:

Say you are my sister, so that it may go well with me because of you, and so that[50] my life may be spared on your account.

(Gen 12:13)

(3) In line with Hurvitz (1972), Joüon-Muraoka (1991:634) claim that לְמַעַן לֹא (negated construction) occurs only in later BH (8x) and is thus a feature of LBH.[51]

10וְנָשְׂאוּ עֲוֺנָם כַּעֲוֺן הַדֹּרֵשׁ כַּעֲוֺן הַנָּבִיא יִהְיֶֽה:
11לְמַעַן לֹֽא־יִתְעוּ עוֹד בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאַחֲרַי וְלֹא־יִטַּמְּאוּ עוֹד בְּכָל־פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם וְהָיוּ לִי לְעָם וַאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָהֶם לֵֽאלֹהִים נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהֹוִֽה: פ

10And they shall bear their punishment—the punishment of the prophet and the punishment of the inquirer shall be alike—11that the house of Israel may go no more astray from me, nor defile themselves any more with all their transgressions, but that they may be my people and I may be their God, says my LORD. (Ezek 14:10-11) (YCK)

2. לְמַעַן indicating result.[52]

(1) When the context talks about a punishable act, or "the effect of which is an offence against God rather than its aim," לְמַעַן indicates result (Joüon-Muraoka 1991:636-637) (e.g., Lev 20:3; 2 Kgs 22:17; Pss 30:13; 51:6; 130:4; Hos 8:4; Amos 2:7; 5:14). In this case, a translation value for לְמַעַן is "so as to."

וַאֲנִי אֶתֵּן אֶת־פָּנַי בָּאִישׁ הַהוּא וְהִכְרַתִּי אֹתוֹ מִקֶּרֶב עַמּוֹ כִּי מִזַּרְעוֹ נָתַן לַמֹּלֶךְ לְמַעַן טַמֵּא אֶת־מִקְדָּשִׁי וּלְחַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִֽׁי:

I myself will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people, because he has given one of his children to Molech, *so as to defile* my sanctuary and

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[49] לְמַעַן הַצֵּיל is rendered into "in order to rescue" according to Joüon-Muraoka's translation value.

[50] לְמַעַן is rendered according to Joüon-Muraoka's translation value.

[51] In his investigation of BH in transition, Hurvitz (1972:147) claims that לְמַעַן לֹא can be used as a criterion for dating a psalm (לְמַעַן לֹא occurs in s 119:11, 80; 125:30). Hurvitz (1972:147) claims that לֹא אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן, פֶּן and לְבִלְתִּי – which have the same semantic range as לְמַעַן לֹא – are utilized only in Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH), while לְמַעַן is employed in LBH. However, Hurvitz's claim is not true, for לֹא אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן, פֶּן and לְבִלְתִּי also occur in later books (i.e., LBH).

[52] Joüon-Muraoka use the term 'consequence' and 'result' interchangeably. In the case of the resultative function of לְמַעַן, Joüon-Muraoka do not differentiate between different constructions according to whether לְמַעַן is a preposition or a conjunction.

profane my holy name.[53]　　　(Lev 20:3)

(2) When the context describes the effect of the intended action rather than its aim, לְמַעַן introduces result (Joüon-Muraoka 1991:636-637) (e.g., Pss 30:13; 51:6; 130:4; Jer 27:10, 15; 36:3; Hos 8:4; Amos 5:14; Obad 9; Micah 6:16).[54]

כִּי שֶׁקֶר הֵם נִבְּאִים לָכֶם לְמַ֫עַן הַרְחִיק אֶתְכֶם מֵעַל אַדְמַתְכֶם וְהִדַּחְתִּי אֶתְכֶם וַאֲבַדְתֶּם:	For it is a lie which they are prophesying to you, with the result that you will be removed far from your land, and I will drive you out, and you will perish.　　　(Jer 27:10)

As for the categorization of לְמַעַן in terms of word classes, Joüon-Muraoka are therefore in line with traditional BH grammars. As for the semantics of לְמַעַן, the same critique of Muraoka's treatment of בַּעֲבוּר regarding its semantics can be applied, for Muraoka's treatment of לְמַעַן does not differ from that of בַּעֲבוּר.

According to Joüon-Muraoka, the distinction between purpose and result cannot be made syntactically. Joüon-Muraoka only provide some contextual criteria for distinguishing between purpose and result: when talking about an intended result and a punishable act, לְמַעַן indicates a result relation.

2.2.1.2.1.5 Chinitz (1994; 1998)

Chinitz (1994; 1998) claims that לְמַעַן expresses teleological causality based on his investigation of the 613 commandments (מצוות) in the HB. In his investigation, Chinitz identified that half of the 613 מצוות are rationalised,[55] and that the reasonales are often

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[53] The rendering is based on Joüon-Muraoka's translation value.

[54] Joüon-Muraoka treats the final function of לְמַעַן under the heading "consecutive clause."

[55] Chinitz (1994:14) states that "my overview has found that almost half of the *mitzvot* are stated in what can be called a reasoning or reasonable mode, while the other half are given as laws without reference to any underpinning other than biblical or non-biblical laws and values. My study supports the proposition that the Torah as a legal code offers more reason and rationalization in the very statement of the laws than does the U.S. Constitution."

Chinitz (1994:16) distinguishes four different kinds of reasons given in the Torah for its commandments.

1. Words that directly refer to the cause and effect relationship, or the attempt to answer the question "Why?"

2. References to a rationale already given for a previous מצוה, when subsequent מצוות are based on the same concepts.

3. Pragmatic, common-sense rationale based on general human values and understanding.

4. An expression of self-evident valuation through the use of value-laden words, such as טְמֵאָה (uncleanness), שֶׁקֶץ (disgust), תּוֹעֵבָה (abomination).

introduced either by the use of one of the three words: לְמַעַן ,אֲשֶׁר, כִּי. According to him, "teleological element in causality is expressed more closely by *lᵉmaan* in Hebrew than by *ki* or *asher*" (Chinitz 1998:190).

Chinitz (1998:189) distinguishes three different uses of לְמַעַן: 1) expressing a causal relation between two events without any moral implications (e.g., Gen 12:13; Exod 1:11; Deut 2:30), 2) for the specific relation between an action or an entity and its educational or inspirational effect on people (e.g., Gen 18:19; Exod 4:5; Deut 6:2), and 3) introducing the promise of reward for the commandments (e.g., Gen 27:25; Deut 4:1).

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:	Please say that you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that I may remain alive thanks to you. [Chinitz's rendering] (Gen 12:13)
¹וְזֹאת הַמִּצְוָה הַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְלַמֵּד אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ: ²לְמַעַן תִּירָא אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לִשְׁמֹר אֶת־כָּל־חֻקֹּתָיו וּמִצְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְצַוֶּךָ אַתָּה וּבִנְךָ וּבֶן־בִּנְךָ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ	¹"Now this is the commandment, the statutes and the ordinances which the LORD your God commanded me to teach you, that you may do them in the land to which you are going over, to possess it; ²that you may fear the LORD your God, you and your son and your son's son, by keeping all his statutes and his commandments, which I command you, all the days of your life. (Deut 6:1-2)
וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁמַע אֶל־הַחֻקִּים וְאֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְלַמֵּד אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת לְמַעַן תִּחְיוּ וּבָאתֶם וִירִשְׁתֶּם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵיכֶם נֹתֵן לָכֶם:	"And now, O Israel, give heed to the statutes and the ordinances which I teach you, and do them; that you may live, and go in and take possession of the land which the LORD, the God of your fathers, gives you. (Deut 4:1)

Chiniz (1994; 1998) claims that לְמַעַן expresses teleological causality. Although Chiniz (1994; 1998) does not define the notion "teleological causality," the term implies that the cause in the relationship of cause-effect is a teleological cause, viz., an event as a cause is performed for the purpose of bringing about the other event (effect). However, the term "teleological causality" is confusing. When we consider all the examples above, לְמַעַן indicates a relation of purpose, viz., the event of the matrix is performed in order to bring about the other event in a לְמַעַן clause. In this case a לְמַעַן clause is a final clause (see §3.3.1). The term "teleological causality" just reveals that the relationship between the event in the matrix and the event of לְמַעַן purpose clause is a causal relation, in its broadest sense.

2.2.1.2.1.6 Payle (2000)

Also Payle categorizes לְמַעַן as 1) a preposition and 2) a final conjunction. When לְמַעַן is used as a final conjunction, it is followed by a *yiqtol* or infinitive; while when it is used as a

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preposition, it is followed by a noun/pronoun/suffix (§2.2.1.1.1.4). According to Payle, the main function of לְמַעַן is that of a final conjunction. Among 272 occurrences, לְמַעַן is used 67 times as a preposition as opposed to 205 times as a final conjunction. Contrary to לְמַעַן, the function of בַּעֲבוּר as a final conjunction is secondary to that of its use as a preposition (see §2.2.1.1.1.4).

Payle's main concern is not to investigate the semantics of לְמַעַן, but the final construction with לְמַעַן in order to compare it with other final constructions.[56] He does not investigate the construction לְמַעַן + a noun/a pronoun/suffix.[57] He seems to regard the preposition לְמַעַן as not being able to signify a final relation. However, he does not provide any reason for not dealing with the instances where לְמַעַן is used as a preposition.

Payle identified the following features of לְמַעַן final clauses, i.e., לְמַעַן + a *yiqtol* and לְמַעַן + an infinitive.

1. As for the distribution, לְמַעַן + a *yiqtol* is predominant in the Pentateuch, and is spread evenly through the Prophets except for the Minor Prophets. The לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* construction occurs 133 times. 50% occurs in Deut (47x), Ezek (28x), Jer (16x), Exod (16x), and Ps (14x). The construction לְמַעַן + an infinitive occurs 72 times. The most prevalent books are Jer (13x), Deut (12x), and Ezek (12). The rest are spread evenly throughout the HB (Payle 2000:70-72).

2. לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* final clauses are only employed to express final relations in discourse (e.g., Exod 16:32), while לְמַעַן + infinitive final clauses are utilized to express final relations in narrative (e.g., Exod 1:11) as well as discourse (e.g., Exod 11:9) (Payle 2000:112).

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהֹוָה מְלֹא הָעֹמֶר מִמֶּנּוּ לְמִשְׁמֶרֶת לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם לְמַעַן יִרְאוּ אֶת־הַלֶּחֶם אֲשֶׁר הֶאֱכַלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּהוֹצִיאִי אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:	And Moses said, "This is what the LORD has commanded: 'Let an omer of it be kept throughout your generations, that they may see the bread with which I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you out of the land of Egypt.'" (Exod 16:32)
וַיָּשִׂימוּ עָלָיו שָׂרֵי מִסִּים לְמַעַן עַנֹּתוֹ בְּסִבְלֹתָם וַיִּבֶן עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת לְפַרְעֹה אֶת־פִּתֹם וְאֶת־רַעַמְסֵס:	Therefore they set taskmasters over them to afflict them with heavy burdens; and they built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Raamses. (Exod 1:11)
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֲלֵיכֶם פַּרְעֹה לְמַעַן רְבוֹת מוֹפְתַי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:	Then the LORD said to Moses, "Pharaoh will not listen to you; that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt." (Exod 11:9)

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[56] For this reason, he only gives a translation gloss "in order to" for לְמַעַן used in the final clause לְמַעַן + an infinitive.

[57] For the reason for this, see §2.2.1.1.1.4.

3. When the (אֲשֶׁר) לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause is negated, it is always negated by לֹא and never אַל (Payle 2000:135-137).

וְהוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה אֶת־אָהֳלֵי יְהוּדָה בָּרִאשֹׁנָה לְמַעַן
לֹא־תִגְדַּל תִּפְאֶרֶת בֵּית־דָּוִיד וְתִפְאֶרֶת יֹשֵׁב
יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם עַל־יְהוּדָה:

And the LORD will give victory to the tents of Judah first, that the glory of the house of David and the glory of the inhabitants of Jerusalem may not be exalted over that of Judah. (Zech 12:7)

Payle recognizes that פֶּן and לְבִלְתִּי are also employed to negate a final clause; however, he does not investigate this matter any further.

4. When a volitional form occurs in the matrix, לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* is employed to signify a purpose relation in the Nachsatz[58] (e.g., Gen 12:13). However, when a *qatal/wayyiqtol* (non-volitional forms) occurs in the matrix, לְמַעַן + an infinitive is used in the Nachsatz (e.g., Gen 50:20) (Payle 2000:83, 102). This confirms Mitchell's (1915) rule (see §2.2.1.2.1.2).

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ
וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:

Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account. (Gen 12:13)

וְאַתֶּם חֲשַׁבְתֶּם עָלַי רָעָה אֱלֹהִים חֲשָׁבָהּ לְטֹבָה
לְמַעַן עֲשֹׂה כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְהַחֲיֹת עַם־רָב:

As for you, you meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, *in order to*[59] bring it about that many people should be kept alive, as they are today. (Gen 50:20)

5. The scope of לְמַעַן may vary.

(1) A לְמַעַן final clause may depend on a single sentence (a one sentence) matrix (e.g., Gen 12:13; Deut 8:1) (Payle 2000:76).[60]

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ
וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:

Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account. (Gen 12:13)

כָּל־הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ הַיּוֹם תִּשְׁמְרוּן
לַעֲשׂוֹת לְמַעַן תִּחְיוּן וּרְבִיתֶם וּבָאתֶם וִירִשְׁתֶּם
אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לַאֲבֹתֵיכֶם:

All the commandment which I command you this day you shall be careful to do, that you may live and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the LORD swore to give to your fathers. (Deut 8:1)

(2) More common are cases where the לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* final clause is not syntactically subordinated to an immediately preceding matrix clause but to a chain of clauses (Num 27:18-20; Ezra 9:12) (Payle 2000:73-75).[61]

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[58] Payle (2000:59) makes a distinction between the final construction and the final clause. He uses the term "Nachsatz" to indicate the final clause. See footnote 19.

[59] According to Payle's translation value, לְמַעַן is rendered into "in order to."

[60] The subject of the Nachsatz in Gen 12:13 is 3rd person, while it is 2nd person in Deut 8:1.

¹⁸וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה קַח־לְךָ֫ אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בִּן־ נוּן אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־ר֣וּחַ בּ֑וֹ וְסָמַכְתָּ֫ אֶת־יָדְךָ֫ עָלָֽיו: ¹⁹וְהַעֲמַדְתָּ֫ אֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי֫ אֶלְעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן וְלִפְנֵי כָּל־ הָעֵדָ֑ה וְצִוִּיתָ֫ה אֹתוֹ לְעֵינֵיהֶֽם: ²⁰וְנָתַתָּ֫ה מֵהוֹדְךָ֫ עָלָ֑יו לְמַעַן יִשְׁמְע֫וּ כָּל־עֲדַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵֽל:

¹⁸And the LORD said to Moses, "Take Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay your hand upon him; ¹⁹cause him to stand before Eleazar the priest and all the congregation, and you shall commission him in their sight, ²⁰invest⁶² him with some of your authority, that all the congregation of the people of Israel may obey.

(Num 27:18-20)

In this example, the matrix of the לְמַעַן clause in v. 20 is not only a *weqatal* clause וְנָתַתָּ֫ה מֵהוֹדְךָ֫ עָלָ֑יו (v.20), but also, so are all the preceding clauses (from קַח־לְךָ֫ in v.18 to וְנָתַתָּ֫ה מֵהוֹדְךָ֫ עָלָ֑יו in v.20). The scope of לְמַעַן is therefore clearly more than a single sentence.

וְעַתָּ֫ה בְּנֽוֹתֵיכֶם אַל־תִּתְּנ֣וּ לִבְנֵיהֶם וּבְנֹֽתֵיהֶם אַל־ תִּשְׂא֫וּ לִבְנֵיכֶ֑ם וְלֹֽא־תִדְרְשׁ֫וּ שְׁלֹמָם וְטוֹבָתָם עַד־ עוֹלָ֑ם לְמַעַן תֶּחֶזְק֫וּ וַאֲכַלְתֶּם אֶת־ט֣וּב הָאָ֔רֶץ וְהוֹרַשְׁתֶּ֫ם לִבְנֵיכֶם עַד־עוֹלָֽם:

Therefore give not your daughters to their sons, neither take their daughters for your sons, and never seek their peace or prosperity, that you may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever.

(Ezra 9:12)

In the above-mentioned example, a chain of prohibitions comprises the matrix. לְמַעַן connects the final clause to this multi-sentence matrix.

(3) לְמַעַן may also connect some preceding propositional content to a comment of the narrator. Hence, the לְמַעַן clause stands outside the story line (and functions as a narrative comment), e.g., לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* (Exod 11:7) and לְמַעַן + infinitive (Gen 18:19). In such cases, the לְמַעַן clause operates at a discourse level (Payle 2000:104-105).

⁴וַיֹּ֫אמֶר מֹשֶׁה כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָ֑ה כַּחֲצֹת הַלַּ֫יְלָה אֲנִי יוֹצֵ֫א בְּת֣וֹךְ מִצְרָֽיִם: ⁵וּמֵת כָּל־בְּכוֹר֫ בְּאֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרַ֫יִם מִבְּכ֣וֹר פַּרְעֹה הַיֹּשֵׁ֣ב עַל־כִּסְא֫וֹ עַד בְּכ֣וֹר הַשִּׁפְחָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֣ר אַחַ֣ר הָרֵחָ֑יִם וְכֹל בְּכ֣וֹר בְּהֵמָֽה: ⁶וְהָֽיְתָ֫ה צְעָקָ֣ה גְדֹלָ֫ה בְּכָל־אֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרָ֑יִם אֲשֶׁ֫ר כָּמֹ֫הוּ לֹ֣א נִהְיָ֔תָה וְכָמֹ֫הוּ לֹ֣א תֹסִֽף: ⁷וּלְכֹל֫ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵל֫ לֹ֣א יֶחֱרַ֫ץ־כֶּ֫לֶב לְשֹׁנ֔וֹ לְמֵאִ֣ישׁ וְעַד־בְּהֵמָ֑ה לְמַעַן תֵּֽדְעוּן אֲשֶׁר֫ יַפְלֶ֣ה יְהוָ֔ה בֵּ֣ין מִצְרַ֫יִם וּבֵ֣ין יִשְׂרָאֵֽל: ⁸וְיָֽרְד֫וּ כָל־עֲבָדֶ֫יךָ אֵ֫לֶּה אֵלַ֫י וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוּֽוּ־לִ֫י לֵאמֹ֫ר צֵ֣א אַתָּ֫ה וְכָל־הָעָ֫ם אֲשֶׁר־בְּרַגְלֶ֫יךָ וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵ֫ן אֵצֵ֑א וַיֵּצֵ֫א מֵעִם־פַּרְעֹה בָּחֳרִי־אָֽף: ס

⁴And Moses said, "Thus says the LORD: About midnight I will go forth in the midst of Egypt; ⁵and all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh who sits upon his throne, even to the first-born of the maidservant who is behind the mill; and all the first-born of the cattle. ⁶And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there has never been, nor ever shall be again. ⁷But against any of the people of Israel, either man or

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⁶¹ The subject of the Nachsatz in Num 27: 20 is 3rd person, while it is 2nd person in Ezra 9:12.

⁶² *Weqtal* וְנָתַתָּ֫ה is rendered as an imperative ("invest"), for the *weqatal* is a continuation of the imperative קַח in verse 18.

beast, not a dog shall growl; *that you may know that the* LORD *makes a distinction between the Egyptians and Israel.* [8]And all these your servants shall come down to me, and bow down to me, saying, 'Get you out, and all the people who follow you.' And after that I will go out." And he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger.

(Exod 11:4-8)

In the לְמַעַן clause, the subject is 3rd person singular (יְהוָה). Although Yahweh is the subject of the matrix, in this clause Yahweh himself does not speak in the 3rd person; it should rather be understood as a comment by the narrator.

כִּי יְדַעְתִּיו לְמַ֫עַן אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּ֫ה אֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אַחֲרָיו וְשָׁמְרוּ דֶּ֫רֶךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט לְמַ֫עַן הָבִיא יְהוָה עַל־אַבְרָהָם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר עָלָיו:

No, for I have chosen him, that he may charge his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD by doing righteousness and justice; so that the LORD may bring to Abraham what he has promised him. (Gen 18:19)

6. In his investigation of the verbal forms and subject(s) in the Nachsatz with לְמַעַן, and in the matrixes of this Nachsatz, Payle establishes that לְמַעַן final constructions are used in contexts that differ from that of conjunctionless final constructions, and that these two constructions are not interchangeable. Verbal forms and the subjects in Nachsatz and matrixes of לְמַעַן final constructions include the following:

(1) When a 3rd person (singular or plural) is the subject of a Nachsatz (לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*), there is always a subject change between the matrix and the Nachsatz (e.g., see above Gen 12:13) (Payle 2000:83).

(2) When a 2nd person is the subject of Nachsatz (לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*), in most cases no subject change occurs between the matrix and subordinated final clause (Nachsatz) (e.g., see above Ezra 9:12). "2nd person verbal forms in the Nachsatz are exclusive to the conjunctional final construction" (Payle 2000:95) (see §2.2.2.1.9).

(3) 1st person final sentences belong to the domain of the conjunctionless final construction (see §2.2.2.1.9). However, rarely does a story demand a construction that is syntactically unattainable with the conjunctionless final constructions. In such cases, conjunctional final constructions are employed.

When no volition occurs in the matrix, a 1st person verbal form occurs in the Nachsatz (e.g., Exod 16:4) (Payle 2000:98-99).

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וַיֹּ֤אמֶר יְהוָה֙ אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֔ה הִנְנִ֨י מַמְטִ֥יר לָכֶ֛ם לֶ֖חֶם מִן־הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם וְיָצָ֨א הָעָ֤ם וְלָֽקְטוּ֙ דְּבַר־י֣וֹם בְּיוֹמ֔וֹ לְמַ֧עַן אֲנַסֶּ֛נּוּ הֲיֵלֵ֥ךְ בְּתוֹרָתִ֖י אִם־לֹֽא׃

Then the LORD said to Moses, "Behold, I *am about to*[63] rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a day's portion every day, that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law or not.

(Exod 16:4)

When final sentences occur consecutively, and when the first final construction (matrix and Nachsatz) serves as a matrix for the second final construction, the Nachsatz has a 1st person verbal form (e.g., Exod 33:13) (Payle 2000:98-99).

וְעַתָּ֡ה אִם־נָא֩ מָצָ֨אתִי חֵ֜ן בְּעֵינֶ֗יךָ הוֹדִעֵ֤נִי נָא֙ אֶת־דְּרָכֶ֔ךָ וְאֵדָ֣עֲךָ֔ לְמַ֥עַן אֶמְצָא־חֵ֖ן בְּעֵינֶ֑יךָ וּרְאֵ֕ה כִּ֥י עַמְּךָ֖ הַגּ֥וֹי הַזֶּֽה׃

Now therefore, I pray you, if I have found favor in your sight, show me now your ways, that I may know you and find favor in your sight. Consider too that this nation is your people.   (Exod 33:13) (YCK)

(4) Contrary to a לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* construction, most לְמַעַן + infinitive verbal forms immediately follow the matrix. There is rarely a subject change between the matrix and final clause. The translation value of לְמַעַן in these cases is "in order to" (Payle 2000:100)

וְאַתֶּ֕ם חֲשַׁבְתֶּ֥ם עָלַ֖י רָעָ֑ה אֱלֹהִים֙ חֲשָׁבָ֣הּ לְטֹבָ֔ה לְמַ֗עַן עֲשֹׂ֛ה כַּיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּ֖ה לְהַחֲיֹ֥ת עַם־רָֽב׃

As for you, you meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, *in order to*[64] bring it about that many people should be kept alive, as they are today.   (Gen 50:20)

7. Inversion (לְמַעַן + infinitive precedes the matrix) (Payle 2000:106).

וַיִּשְׁמַ֤ע אֱלִיאָב֙ אָחִ֣יו הַגָּד֔וֹל בְּדַבְּר֖וֹ אֶל־הָאֲנָשִׁ֑ים וַיִּֽחַר־אַף֩ אֱלִיאָ֨ב בְּדָוִ֜ד וַיֹּ֣אמֶר ׀ לָמָּה־זֶּ֣ה יָרַ֗דְתָּ וְעַל־מִ֨י נָטַ֜שְׁתָּ מְעַ֨ט הַצֹּ֤אן הָהֵ֨נָּה֙ בַּמִּדְבָּ֔ר אֲנִ֧י יָדַ֣עְתִּי אֶת־זְדֹנְךָ֗ וְאֵת֙ רֹ֣עַ לְבָבֶ֔ךָ כִּ֗י לְמַ֛עַן רְא֥וֹת הַמִּלְחָמָ֖ה יָרָֽדְתָּ׃

Now Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spoke to the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, "Why have you come down? And with whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your presumption, and the evil of your heart; for you have come down to see the battle."   (1 Sam 17:28)

Although Payle mainly focuses on the investigation of the final construction, he recognizes that the same construction may also express result. In order to make a distinction between purpose and result, Payle makes three distinctions: 1) purpose, 2) intended result (aimed result), and 3) real result. Intended result is not real but hypothetical (not achieved), while

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[63] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express imminent action referred to by means of the participle form מַמְטִיר.

[64] According to Payle's translation value, לְמַעַן is rendered "in order to."

real result is factual (achieved) (Payle 2000:11).[65] When indicating a real result relation, Payle (2000:108) provides the translation value "thus, whereby."

1. When a לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause is not subordinated to a preceding volition(s) but to an entire idea expressed by a hypothetical clause introduced by כִּי (e.g., Deut 22:6-7; 24:19), and it concludes the segment (the hypothetical sentences), the construction expresses intended result (not achieved, because of the hypothetical nature of the expression) (Payle 2000:108).

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⁶כִּי יִקָּרֵא קַן־צִפּוֹר׀ לְפָנֶיךָ בַּדֶּרֶךְ בְּכָל־עֵץ׀ אוֹ עַל־הָאָרֶץ אֶפְרֹחִים אוֹ בֵיצִים וְהָאֵם רֹבֶצֶת עַל־הָאֶפְרֹחִים אוֹ עַל־הַבֵּיצִים לֹא־תִקַּח הָאֵם עַל־הַבָּנִים: ⁷שַׁלֵּחַ תְּשַׁלַּח אֶת־הָאֵם וְאֶת־הַבָּנִים תִּקַּח־לָךְ לְמַעַן יִיטַב לָךְ וְהַאֲרַכְתָּ יָמִים: ס

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⁶If you chance to come upon a bird's nest, in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs and the mother sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, you shall not take the mother with the young; ⁷you shall let the mother go, but the young you may take to yourself; that it may go well with you, and that you may live long.   (Deut 22:6-7)

2. When לְמַעַן + a *yiqtol* occurs after Yahweh has declared his intention ("Yahweh Rede"), the לְמַעַן clause expresses the intended result of Yahweh's action (e.g., Isa 41:20; Ezek 4:16-17; 16:53-54) (Payle 2000:110).[66]

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¹⁶וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בֶּן־אָדָם הִנְנִי שֹׁבֵר מַטֵּה־לֶחֶם בִּירוּשָׁלִַם וְאָכְלוּ־לֶחֶם בְּמִשְׁקָל וּבִדְאָגָה וּמַיִם בִּמְשׂוּרָה וּבְשִׁמָּמוֹן יִשְׁתּוּ: ¹⁷לְמַעַן יַחְסְרוּ לֶחֶם וָמָיִם וְנָשַׁמּוּ אִישׁ וְאָחִיו וְנָמַקּוּ בַּעֲוֹנָם: פ

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¹⁶Moreover he said to me, "Son of man, behold, I will break the staff of bread in Jerusalem; they shall eat bread by weight and with fearfulness; and they shall drink water by measure and in dismay. ¹⁷I will do this that they may lack bread and water, and look at one another in dismay, and waste away under their punishment."   (Ezek 4:16-17)

3. When the verb כעס and/or קום (Hiphil) is used (e.g., 2 Kgs 22:16-17), a לְמַעַן + infinitive indicates a result relation. Payle claims that examples of this case express "some form of 'Yahweh Rede'." (Payle 2000:110)

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[65] In line with Muraoka (1997), Payle (2000:11) distinguishes intended result from real result. Semantically, intended result is putative, desired, or aimed at a result; however, real result is actually achieved. Payle claims that intended result and real result are realized by different means: "Final constructions, as a single syntactic category, can express both purpose and result, without any difference in the syntax of the construction. It is my contention that one should distinguish between real result and intended result. Final clauses, because they are occupied by modal verbal forms, can only express intended result. Real result, however, is a separate syntactic category quite distinct from final clauses. The verbal forms used (indicative as opposed to modal) and the unique syntax (consecutive wayyiqtols can express real result) distinguish real result as a different syntactic category" (Payle 2000:11).

[66] This type of construction occurs in Exod, Isa, and Ezek (Payle 2000:82).

¹⁶כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה הִנְנִי מֵבִיא רָעָה אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל־יֹשְׁבָיו אֵת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַסֵּפֶר אֲשֶׁר קָרָא מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה: ¹⁷תַּחַת‎‎ אֲשֶׁר עֲזָבוּנִי וַיְקַטְּרוּ לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְמַעַן הַכְעִיסֵנִי בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם וְנִצְּתָה חֲמָתִי בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְלֹא תִכְבֶּה

¹⁶Thus says the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place and upon its inhabitants, all the words of the book which the king of Judah has read. ¹⁷Because they have forsaken me and have burned incense to other gods, *whereby they provoked*[67] me to anger with all the work of their hands, therefore my wrath will be kindled against this place, and it will not be quenched.   (2 Kgs 22:16-17)

4. When a conjunctional final sentence is coordinated with a *weqatal*, the former is modal and expresses intended result or purpose whereas the latter is indicative of and expresses a real result or consequence (e.g., Gen 12:13; Deut 4:1; 8:1) (Payle 2000:76-77, 90-95).[68]

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:

Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account.   (Gen 12:13)

As far as the word class of לְמַעַן is concerned, Payle's categorization of the lexeme as a preposition and conjunction is vague and inadequate (see §2.2.1.1.1.4).

Payle's distinction between purpose and intended result does not make sense, for purpose is an intended/aimed result of the action performed in the matrix, i.e., the notion purpose and intended/aimed result are like "the other side of a coin". The notion intended/aimed result contrasts with (real) result, viz., what purpose differs from result (i.e., real result) is that purpose is an intended/aimed result which is not real but putative, while result is real.

In addition, Payle's contention that a *weqatal* indicates a real result is not convincing. His argument differs from most BH scholars and when we investigate *weqatals*, *weqatals* do not indicate a real result, but an intended result, i.e., purpose (e.g., see above example Gen 12:13).[69]

However, Payle's investigation does indeed move the debate somewhat forward. According to Payle, then, לְמַעַן with the finite (i.e., לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*) and infinitive (i.e., לְמַעַן + infinitive)

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[67] לְמַעַן הַכְעִיסֵנִי is rendered "whereby they provoked" expressing result, based on Payle's translation value.

[68] Payle (2000:91) does not believe that the *weqatal* expresses modality, but simply that it expresses the indicative mood. Payle's claim is contrary to most traditional BH grammars. See also §2.2.2.1.9.

[69] Payle allows a section to deal with a *weqatal* following a לְמַעַן final clause. He deals with *weqatals* in Gen 12:13; Num 15:40; Deut 4:1; 6:18; 8:1; 11:8; 16:20; Ezra 9:12; however, more *weqatals* following a לְמַעַן final clause occur in Deut 5:33; 13:18; 22:7; 31:12; 2 Sam 13:5; 1 Chron 28:8; Isa 28:13; 66:11; Jer 27:15; 36:3; 50:34; Ezek 4:17; 16:54, 63; 24:11. When we investigate the *weqatals*, in all cases, *weqatals* indicate a purpose relation.

cases are employed in different domains and are not interchangeable. Final constructions with conjunctions and conjunctionless final constructions are also not interchangeable for they are employed in different domains (see §2.2.2.1.9). Payle also recognizes that the scope of לְמַעַן may vary, even though he does not distinguish all of the linguistic levels – i.e., phrase level, clause level, sentence level and discourse level.

2.2.1.2.2 לְמַעַן in BH lexica

2.2.1.2.2 1 BDB

BDB (1907:775) does not lemmatize the actual form, but rather includes לְמַעַן under a hypothetically basic form, מַעַן, which is an abbreviation of מַעֲנֶה.

BDB (1907:775) categorizes לְמַעַן as **1**. a preposition and **2**. a conjunction, providing the translation values "for the sake of, on account of, to the intent or in order that" in order to represent the meaning of לְמַעַן.

Within the preposition section, BDB (1907:775) distinguishes three different senses based on syntactic differences: **a**. "for the sake of x, for x's sake" (לְמַעַן + suffix/ a noun/a pronoun); **b**. "in view of, on account of" (but not expressing causation distinctly) (לְמַעַן + a suffix/noun/demonstrative pronoun); **c**. "for the purpose of" = "to the intent that …", "in order to" (לְמַעַן + infinitive construct).

When used as a conjunction, BDB (1907:775) distinguishes one more sense for the lexeme: "to the end that." In this case, the conjunction לְמַעַן – with or without אֲשֶׁר – is followed by a *yiqtol*. When it is negated, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא or לְמַעַן לֹא is employed.

According to BDB (1907:775), there is a paradigmatic relation between לְ בַּעֲבוּר/לְבַּעֲבוּר/בַּעֲבוּר + an infinitive construct and לְמַעַן + an infinitive construct. However, לְמַעַן always indicates a designed purpose whether it is used as a preposition or conjunction. Accordingly, when לְמַעַן is employed, the action is viewed as if it were designed in spite of being undesigned (e.g., Deut 29:19; Isa 30:1; 44:9). Hence, BDB provides the following translation value for the different constructions "in order to" for לְ בַּעֲבוּר/לְבַּעֲבוּר/בַּעֲבוּר + an infinitive construct, "for the purpose of = to the intent that" for 'לְמַעַן + an infinitive construct.'

In short, BDB's treatment of לְמַעַן does not differ from בַּעֲבוּר. Therefore, the same critique of BDB's treatment on בַּעֲבוּר can be applied to לְמַעַן, as well. In addition, BDB's claim that בַּעֲבוּר differs from לְמַעַן in that the latter always indicates a designed purpose is not convincing. The examples of their argument rather indicate a relation of result.

2.2.1.2.2 2 HALOT

HALOT (1999:614) does not regard מַעַן as a hypothetical form, nor do they lemmatize it, although this form never occurs in the HB. According to HALOT, לְמַעַן is composed of a preposition לְ and מַעַן which is derived from III ענה or מַעַל or II מַעֲנֶה. According to HALOT, מַעַן also occurs in Egyptian Aramaic and the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, the comparative

and etymological information does not contribute towards a better understanding of the meaning of לְמַעַן.

Like most of the other resources consulted, HALOT (1999:614) categorizes לְמַעַן as both 1) a preposition and 2) a conjunction.

1. Preposition: Like BDB, HALOT describes the meaning of the preposition לְמַעַן by means of translation glosses, viz., "with reference to, on account of, for the sake of." HALOT distinguishes a number of collocations: לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ "for his name's sake;" לְמַעַן זֹאת "on this account" – though they do not provide translation values for לְמַעַן in the following collocations: לְמַעֲנִי, לְמַעַן יהוה, לְמַעַן צִדְקוֹ, לְמַעַן חַסְדֶּךָ.

2. Conjunction: HALOT does not describe the meaning of the conjunction לְמַעַן. Instead, HALOT distinguishes two different meanings/senses on account of syntactic differences: a) "in order to" (לְמַעַן with an infinitive–the same subject or subject change), and b) "so that" (לְמַעַן with a *yiqtol*).

According to HALOT (1999:614), "לְמַעַן + an infinitive" often expresses intended result or an "ironical style" (e.g., Deut 29:18; Jer 27:15). However, HALOT does not provide any translation values for these cases.

HALOT's treatment of לְמַעַן does not differ from the way in which he describes בַּעֲבוּר. Hence the same critique can be lodged against it (§2.2.1.1.2.2).

2.2.1.2.2 3 DCH
DCH's treatment of לְמַעַן provides nothing different from BDB and HALOT except for the taxonomy of syntagmatic relationships.

2.2.1.2.3 Summary
Although most scholars tend to classify לְמַעַן as a conjunction and בַּעֲבוּר as a preposition, לְמַעַן is also described as a particle, preposition, conjunction, final conjunction and subordinating conjunction. Criteria for these categories are clearly both formal and functional. However, to which of these categories do instances of לְמַעַן belong that function at a discourse level is not clear.

The semantic model underlying the description of the meaning of לְמַעַן in most of the studies investigated, thus far, is etymologically based. However, BH scholars disagree about the details of the lexeme's origin. None of the studies define the meaning of לְמַעַן. Instead, translation glosses are used to point out the different senses they distinguish and the polysemic relationship between the different senses are seldom discussed or indicated.

As for the relations that לְמַעַן indicates, according to the studies investigated, the lexeme indicates purpose, result, cause, and reason, while בַּעֲבוּר signifies purpose and causal relations (see §2.2.1.1.3). However, the studies investigated fail to provide some criteria for distinguishing between the different relations that לְמַעַן displays.

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The scope of לְמַעַן may vary. It may be a phrase, clause, sentence or sentences. In addition, it may function at an intra-textual level or a meta-level.

The following syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations have been identified:

- At the clause level, the following constructions were identified: 1) לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*; 2) לְמַעַן + infinitive; 3) לְמַעַן + a noun or pronominal suffix. לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* and לְמַעַן + infinitive are mainly employed in the final and result clauses, while לְמַעַן + a noun or pronominal suffix is mainly used to indicate cause and reason.

- When לְמַעַן signifies a causal relation in the construction 'לְמַעַן + pronominal suffix,' near-synonyms are בִּגְלַל and בַּעֲבוּר, yet of note, the noun phrases which the latter particle governs never refer to God (Brongers 1970).

- לְמַעַן + an infinitive and לְמַעַן + a *yiqtol* are employed in different domains and are not interchangeable: 1) when a *qatal* or *wayyiqtol* form occur in the main clause, לְמַעַן is followed by an infinitive; 2) when a *yiqtol*, *weqatal*, or imperative are found in the main clause, a *yiqtol* is then found in the subordinating clause.

- לְמַעַן final constructions are used in other domains besides conjuntionless final constructions. They also are not interchangeable. 1st and 3rd person subjects are prevalent in conjunctionless final clauses, whereas 2nd and 3rd person subjects dominate in לְמַעַן final clauses.

Unfortunately, it appears that the BH lexica did not make use of these insights in their lexicographical treatment of the lexeme לְמַעַן. Furthermore, despite the value of these criteria, what we still lack is a clear profile of לְמַעַן in terms of the statistics of each of these constructions. Such a profile could provide a more adequate empirical basis for a comparison with its near-synonyms. The value of such a profile will be illustrated in chapter 4.

2.2.1.3 פֶּן

2.2.1.3.1 פֶּן in BH linguistics

פֶּן always occurs with a maqef, with the exception of Gen 44:34; Deut 7:25; 11:6; 1 Sam 4:9; 13:9; 17:16; Prov 25:8; 30:9; Isa 27:3. Ewald (1879) shortly deals with פֶּן giving some paradigmatic information between different negative final constructions. According to Ewald (1879:227), negative purpose is expressed by אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect (e.g., Gen 11:7), לְבִלְתִּי with the infinitive, more briefly מִן with an infinitive construct and פֶּן־. Among these, much more definite is פֶּן־, which is construed with the imperfect as a brief expression for *that not, lest*, "in such a way that it almost describes merely the dread of a misfortune, rather than the wish to avoid it" (Ewald 1879:227) (e.g., Gen 3:22; Exod 13:17).

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2.2.1.3.1.1 GKC

GKC (1910:305, 318, 478, 504) categorizes פֶּן as a negative final conjunction.[70] GKC does not give much information on the semantics of פֶּן, but gives only the translation equivalents "lest" and "that not." However, from these two translation values, it is not clear whether GKC detects or seeks to suggest different meanings/senses.

According to GKC:

1. פֶּן indicates a negative purpose, and is normally followed by *yiqtol*.[71]

2. פֶּן implies a fear or precaution at the beginning of a clause after such as "fearing" (e.g., Gen 32:12), "taking heed" (e.g., Gen 24:6; 31:24),[72] and "taking care" (e.g., 2 Kgs 10:23).

הַצִּילֵנִי נָא מִיַּד אָחִי מִיַּד עֵשָׂו כִּי־יָרֵא אָנֹכִי אֹתוֹ פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְהִכַּנִי אֵם עַל־בָּנִים:	Deliver me, I pray you, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau, for I fear him, lest he come and slay us all, the mothers with the children. (Gen 32:12) (YCK)

3. Often the idea on which פֶּן depends is only virtually contained in the main clause (e.g., Gen 19:19).

הִנֵּה־נָא מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וַתַּגְדֵּל חַסְדְּךָ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי לְהַחֲיוֹת אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאָנֹכִי לֹא אוּכַל לְהִמָּלֵט הָהָרָה פֶּן־תִּדְבָּקַנִי הָרָעָה וָמַתִּי:	Behold, your servant has found favor in your sight, and you have shown me great kindness in saving my life; but I cannot flee to the hills, lest the disaster overtake me, and I die. (Gen 19:19)

4. In some cases, *weqatal* follows a פֶּן final clause (e.g., Gen 3:22; 19:19; 32:12; Isa 6:10; Amos 5:6) (GKC 1910:333). However, GKC does not further address the relation between the final clause and the following *weqatal*, viz., whether the *weqatal* expresses purpose or result.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים הֵן הָאָדָם הָיָה כְּאַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ לָדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע וְעַתָּה פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח גַּם מֵעֵץ הַחַיִּים וְאָכַל וָחַי לְעֹלָם:	Then the LORD God said, "Behold, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." (Gen 3:22)

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[70] GKC mentions פֶּן under different headings "negative sentences," "the use of imperfect," "final clauses," and "conjunctions." However, the most space for פֶּן is allocated to the discussion of "negative sentences."

[71] 2 Sam 20:6 and 2 Kgs 2:16 are exceptions. In these verses, פֶּן is followed by *qatal*. GKC (1910:318) read *qatal* in 2 Sam 20:6 as a *yiqtol* in line with Driver (1892); however, concerning the *qatal* in 2 Kgs 2:16, they mention that "פֶּן occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late."

[72] Frequently after הִשָּׁמֶר and הִשָּׁמְרוּ.

5. GKC (1910:504) mentions, briefly, that negative purpose is expressed by means of לְבִלְתִּי with an imperfect (e.g., Exod 20:20), עַל־דִּבְרַת שֶׁלֹּא (e.g., Eccl 7:14) "for the matter (purpose) that … not," and מִן with an imperfect (e.g., Deut 33:1). However, GKC does not investigate further into the relationship between them.

2.2.1.3.1.2 Mitchell (1915)

Mitchell categorizes פֶּן as a particle. According to Mitchell (1915:138-139), פֶּן is closely related to the noun פנים "face" derived from the intransitive פנה "turn one's self," "turn one's self toward a person or object." Mitchell (1915:138) argues that the meaning Zuwendung ("turn toward"), when expressed by פֶּן, is often equivalent to preparation and finally, readiness to approach this or that person or object – noting further that "this is the attitude in which an undesirable future event would naturally be presented; but its readiness would become *imminence*, and this is the term that best relates the various shades of meaning with which פן appears in the Old Testament."

פֶּן is employed to denote a negative purpose.

- It is always employed with a *yiqtol*, except once.[73]

- It is employed after verbs of fearing in the matrix (e.g., ירא Gen 26:7; גור Deut 32:27; דאג Jer 38:19); a simple command to exercise precaution in the matrix (e.g., שמר Gen 24:6; ראה 2 Kgs 10:23) and any verb, declarative or voluntative,[74] that embodies a precautionary measure in the matrix (e.g., Gen 19:15; Josh 24:27) (Mitchell 1915:139-140).

וַיִּשְׁאֲלוּ אַנְשֵׁי הַמָּקוֹם לְאִשְׁתּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲחֹתִי הִוא כִּי יָרֵא לֵאמֹר אִשְׁתִּי פֶּן־יַהַרְגֻנִי אַנְשֵׁי הַמָּקוֹם עַל־רִבְקָה כִּי־טוֹבַת מַרְאֶה הִיא׃	When the men of the place asked him about his wife, he said, "She is my sister"; for he feared to say, "My wife," thinking, "lest the men of the place should kill me for the sake of Rebekah;" because she was fair to look upon. (Gen 26:7)
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תָּשִׁיב אֶת־בְּנִי שָׁמָּה׃	Abraham said to him, "See to it that you do not take my son back there. (Gen 24:6)
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־כָּל־הָעָם הִנֵּה הָאֶבֶן הַזֹּאת תִּהְיֶה־בָּנוּ לְעֵדָה כִּי־הִיא שָׁמְעָה אֵת כָּל־אִמְרֵי יְהוָֹה אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עִמָּנוּ וְהָיְתָה בָכֶם לְעֵדָה פֶּן־תְּכַחֲשׁוּן בֵּאלֹהֵיכֶם׃	And Joshua said to all the people, "Behold, this stone shall be a witness against us; for it has heard all the words of the LORD which he spoke to us; therefore it shall be a witness against you, lest you deal falsely with your

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[73] According to Mitchell (1915:141), only once is פֶּן used with a *qatal* (2 Kgs 2:16). Although פֶּן occurs with a *qatal* (מָצָא) in 2 Sam 20:6, in line with (GKC 1910:191), Mitchell reads מָצָא (*qatal*) as יִמְצָא (*yiqtol*).

[74] The term "voluntative" is used to embrace the cohortative and jussive (Mitchell 1915:87; Driver 1892:50).

God.   (Josh 24:27)

וּכְמוֹ֙ הַשַּׁ֣חַר עָלָ֔ה וַיָּאִ֥יצוּ הַמַּלְאָכִ֖ים בְּל֣וֹט לֵאמֹ֑ר
קוּם֩ קַ֨ח אֶֽת־אִשְׁתְּךָ֜ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּ֤י בְנֹתֶ֙יךָ֙ הַנִּמְצָאֹ֔ת
פֶּן־תִּסָּפֶ֖ה בַּעֲוֺ֥ן הָעִֽיר׃

When morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying, "Arise, take your wife and your two daughters who are here, lest you be consumed in the punishment of the city."

(Gen 19:15)

Mitchell (1915:132ff) recognizes that לְבִלְתִּי is also employed to indicate a negative purpose relation.[75] Mitchell addresses the difference between פֶּן and לְבִלְתִּי: "The difference between פן and לבלתי is evident. The latter is used when there is a positive effort to prevent or avoid a

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[75] לְבִלְתִּי is employed to indicate purpose, result, and a concomitance relation (Mitchell 1915:133). Among these, Mitchell investigates cases in which לְבִלְתִּי indicates a purpose relation. According to Mitchell (1915:133), "לְבִלְתִּי is a compound of the preposition לְ with בִלְתִּי, the construct of בֶּלֶת, from בלה, *wear out*, the noun having, with the lapse of time, become a mere particle, meaning *not* or *except*."

When לְבִלְתִּי is employed to signify a purpose relation, two constructions appear: 1) לְבִלְתִּי + infinitive and 2) לְבִלְתִּי + *yiqtol*. When לְבִלְתִּי signifies a purpose relation, it indicates that "the act performed, as described in the main clause, is performed with a view to the avoidance or the prevention of the event of the dependent clause." Significant is the fact that the preceding clause (the main clause) is always affirmative, i.e., expressing a positive effort.

a. לְבִלְתִּי + an infinitive (e.g., Gen 38:9; Gen 4:15)

וַיֵּ֣דַע אוֹנָ֔ן כִּ֛י לֹּ֥א ל֖וֹ יִהְיֶ֣ה הַזָּ֑רַע וְהָיָ֞ה אִם־בָּ֨א אֶל־אֵ֤שֶׁת
אָחִיו֙ וְשִׁחֵ֣ת אַ֔רְצָה לְבִלְתִּ֥י נְתָן־זֶ֖רַע לְאָחִֽיו׃

But Onan knew that the offspring would not be his; so when he went in to his brother's wife he spilled the semen on the ground, lest he should give offspring to his brother.   (Gen 38:9)

וַיֹּ֧אמֶר ל֣וֹ יְהוָ֗ה לָכֵן֙ כָּל־הֹרֵ֣ג קַ֔יִן שִׁבְעָתַ֖יִם יֻקָּ֑ם וַיָּ֨שֶׂם יְהוָ֤ה
לְקַ֙יִן֙ א֔וֹת לְבִלְתִּ֥י הַכּוֹת־אֹת֖וֹ כָּל־מֹצְאֽוֹ׃

Then the Lord said to him, "Not so! If anyone slays Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." And the Lord put a mark on Cain, lest any who came upon him should kill him.

(Gen 4:15)

As far as the subject in the matrix and לְבִלְתִּי + infinitive is concerned, no subject change occurs in Gen 38:9, while the subject is changed in Gen 4:15. Statistically speaking, לְבִלְתִּי + an infinitive is most frequent in Ezek.

b. לְבִלְתִּי + a *yiqtol* (Exod 20:20; 2 Sam 14:14; Jer 23:14: 27:18).

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר מֹשֶׁ֣ה אֶל־הָעָם֮ אַל־תִּירָאוּ֒ כִּ֗י לְבַֽעֲבוּר֙ נַסּ֣וֹת
אֶתְכֶ֔ם בָּ֖א הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים וּבַעֲב֗וּר תִּהְיֶ֧ה יִרְאָת֛וֹ עַל־פְּנֵיכֶ֖ם
לְבִלְתִּ֥י תֶחֱטָֽאוּ׃

And Moses said to the people, "Do not fear; for God has come to prove you, and that the fear of him may be before your eyes, that you may not sin."   (Exod 20:20)

Mitchell (1915:134) reads the *qatal* (שָׁבוּ) in Jer 23:14 as a *yiqtol* (יָשׁוּב), and an imperative (בֹּאוּ) in Jer 27:18 as a *yiqtol* (יָבֹאוּ).

single definite event, the former when the subject acts, or refrains from acting, to prevent or avoid one of an indefinite number of possible occurrences" (Mitchell 1915:139).

In addition, Mitchell (1915:136ff) also recognizes that מִן is also employed to indicate a negative purpose relation.[76] The distinction between פֶּן and מִן is: 1) the note of anxiety which

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[76] When מִן is employed to express negative purpose, the following constructions are used (Mitchell 1915:136-138):

1. מִן + an infinitive: Cases in which 1) the subject remains the same in the matrix and מִן + an infinitive, and 2) the subject change between the matrix and מִן + an infinitive occur.

a. after verbs denoting precaution (e.g., Gen 31:29)

יֶשׁ־לְאֵל יָדִי לַעֲשׂוֹת עִמָּכֶם רָע וֵאלֹהֵי אֲבִיכֶם אֶמֶשׁ׀ אָמַר אֵלַי לֵאמֹר הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ מִדַּבֵּר עִם־יַעֲקֹב מִטּוֹב עַד־רָע:

It is in my power to do you harm; but the God of your father spoke to me last night, saying, 'Take heed that you speak to Jacob neither good nor bad.' (Gen 31:29)

b. after verbs denoting hindrance, separation (e.g., Num 32:7)

וְלָמָּה תְנוּאוּן אֶת־לֵב בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעֲבֹר אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן לָהֶם יְהוָה:

Why will you discourage the heart of the people of Israel from going over into the land which the LORD has given them? (Num 32:7)

c. after expressions describing the reverse of natural operations (e.g., Isa 33:15)

הֹלֵךְ צְדָקוֹת וְדֹבֵר מֵישָׁרִים מֹאֵס בְּבֶצַע מַעֲשַׁקּוֹת נֹעֵר כַּפָּיו מִתְּמֹךְ בַּשֹּׁחַד אֹטֵם אָזְנוֹ מִשְּׁמֹעַ דָּמִים וְעֹצֵם עֵינָיו מֵרְאוֹת בְּרָע:

He who walks righteously and speaks uprightly, who despises the gain of oppressions, who shakes his hands, lest they hold a bribe, who sto his ears from hearing of bloodshed and shuts his eyes from looking upon evil. (Isa 33:15)

2. מִן + a *yiqtol* (e.g., only Deut 33:11)

בָּרֵךְ יְהוָה חֵילוֹ וּפֹעַל יָדָיו תִּרְצֶה מְחַץ מָתְנַיִם קָמָיו וּמְשַׂנְאָיו מִן־יְקוּמוּן: ס

Bless, O LORD, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, that they rise not again. (Deut 33:11)

3. מִן + a noun/adjective (e.g., Jer 2:25; 48:2)

אֵין עוֹד תְּהִלַּת מוֹאָב בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן חָשְׁבוּ עָלֶיהָ רָעָה לְכוּ וְנַכְרִיתֶנָּה מִגּוֹי גַּם־מַדְמֵן תִּדֹּמִּי אַחֲרַיִךְ תֵּלֶךְ חָרֶב:

The renown of Moab is no more. In Heshbon they planned evil against her: 'Come, let us cut her off from being a nation!' You also, O Madmen, shall be brought to silence; the sword shall pursue you. (Jer 48:2)

is heard in a פֶּן construction is wanting in a מִן construction; 2) a מִן construction almost always occurs after the verbs of hindering and separating (Mitchell 1915:137).

The same critique of Mitchell's treatment of the other lexemes applies to his description of פֶּן.

Mitchell provides a description of the paradigmatic relation between פֶּן, לְבִלְתִּי, and מִן: לְבִלְתִּי is used when there is a positive effort to prevent or avoid a single definite event, while פֶּן is employed when the subject acts, or desists from acting, to prevent or avoid an indefinite number of possible occurrences. The מִן construction almost always occurs after verbs of hindering and separating without anxiety (see also footnotes 75 and 76).

2.2.1.3.1.3 Waltke & O'Connor (1990)

Waltke & O'Connor (1990:639) briefly mention פֶּן as a conjunction indicating a negative final relation. They do not define the meaning of פֶּן but provide the translation gloss "lest." They also mention that besides פֶּן, אֲשֶׁר with לֹא, לְבִלְתִּי and לְמַעַן לֹא are employed to indicate negative final clauses.[77] However, they do not further describe the paradigmatic relations between them.

2.2.1.3.1.4 Joüon-Muraoka (1991)

Joüon-Muraoka (1991:347) categorize פֶּן as a subordinating conjunction, arguing that פֶּן is a shortened form of פְּנֵי. Joüon-Muraoka (1991:635) also claim that the original meaning of פֶּן is "as regards, in relation to (a dreaded thing, a thing to ward off)," and that the negative nuance is derived from this original meaning. Hence, פֶּן is maintained to indicate the negative wish of a speaker(s), "I (or: we) do not wish the following to be, become or have become a reality."[78] Joüon-Muraoka (1991:58, 347) give a translation equivalent of "in case" or "lest" for פֶּן.

Joüon-Muraoka (1991:634) recognize that a negative purpose can be indicated by means of לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא (Num 17:5), לְבִלְתִּי, לְמַעַן לֹא, and פֶּן as well as negative conjunctionless clauses. According to Joüon-Muraoka, the difference between negative purpose clauses with the conjunctions and negative conjunctionless clauses is that פֶּן and לְבִלְתִּי, לְמַעַן לֹא, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא are never followed by a form in the volitive mode (imperative, jussive, cohortative). Volitive forms occur only in conjunctionless final clauses. Furthermore, in line with Hurvitz (1972), Joüon-Muraoka claim that לְמַעַן לֹא is a feature of LBH, since the construction only occurs in

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| מִנְעִי רַגְלֵךְ מִיָּחֵף וּגְרוֹנֵךְ מִצִּמְאָה וַתֹּאמְרִי נוֹאָשׁ לוֹא כִּי־אָהַבְתִּי זָרִים וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֵךְ׃ | Keep your feet from going unshod and your throat from thirst. But you said, 'It is hopeless, for I have loved strangers, and after them I will go.' (Jer 2:25) |

[77] Waltke & O'Connor (1990:639) claims that אֲשֶׁר לֹא (2 Kgs 9:37) and לְמַעַן לֹא (Ezek 19:9) also introduce result clauses.

[78] E.g., Joüon-Muraoka (1991:635) give an example in this regard: Gen 3.3 לֹא תִגְּעוּ בּוֹ פֶּן־תְּמֻתוּן you shall not touch it lest you die (lit. in relation to the fact that you would die)."

later books (e.g., Ezra 14:11); however, this claim is similarly unconvincing (see §2.2.1.2.1.6).

Joüon-Muraoka do not define the meaning of פֶּן. On top of this, their claim that in a conjunctional final clause, volitive forms never occur is not always true. For example, לְמַעַן + a cohortative (e.g., Ps 9:15) and לְמַעַן + an imperative (e.g., Ezek 21:15) also occurs. Yet as far as פֶּן is concerned, the claim is true.

2.2.1.3.2 פֶּן in BH lexica

2.2.1.3.2.1 BDB
BDB (1907:814) categorizes the word class of פֶּן as a conjunction. Its meaning is described as averting or deprecating. BDB gives a translation value "lest" for פֶּן. Although BDB is aware that its origin is dubious, they provide etymological information claiming that it is derived from the substantive פָּנָה in a construct state and accusative case; and also that its original meaning is "for the aversion of." Its cognate particle is פּוֹן in the Targums,[79] which means "es möchte etwa, spoken in a tone of alarm, might readily acquire a deprecatory force" (BDB 1907:814).

BDB seems to distinguish several different senses for פֶּן according to syntactic variations and context; however, they do not provide translation values for each of the different senses. According to BDB, פֶּן is mainly employed with the *yiqtol* – with the exception of only two times with a *qatal* (2 Sam 20:6; 2 Kgs 2:16).

1. When פֶּן is employed with the *yiqtol*, it often occurs after הִשָּׁמֶר־לְךָ, a verb of fearing (once a verb of swearing), and "deprecating pathetically." BDB regards פֶּן (אָמַרְתִּי) כִּי אָמַר as an idiom "implying always that some precaution has been taken to avert the dreaded contingency." When פֶּן is employed at the beginning of a sentence, it implies a dissuasive force, "(beware) lest."

2. When פֶּן is employed with the *qatal*, פֶּן signals "the result feared being conceived as having possibly already taken place."

So, BDB's semantic model for פֶּן is also etymological, as is the case with other lexemes. The comparative material related to BH does not help to understand the meaning of פֶּן. Furthermore, although it appears as if different senses are distinguished by BDB for פֶּן, it is not clear how these senses could be expressed in a translation. They suggested only one translation value, i.e., 'lest.'

2.2.1.3.2.2 HALOT
HALOT (1999:936) categorizes פֶּן as a preventative conjunction and then proceeds to give comparative and etymological material related to the Hebrew form. פֶּן is *fan* in ostraka from

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[79] פּוֹן: "a particle indicating the subjunctive mood, *would, might*." (Jastrow 1950:1143).

Samaria. In Middle Hebrew and the Dead Sea Scrolls, פֶּן is "a fossilized particle from an archaic imperative *pini* "turn back, renounce." פֶּן also occurs in a Hebrew inscription. In Jewish Aramaic, פֻּן "about, rather" occurs. In Ugartic *pn* or *pny* occurs.

HALOT (1999:936-937) distinguishes different meanings according to syntactic differences by providing translation values.

a. "So that not, lest" (פֶּן with *yiqtol*). HALOT compares different translations (REB, NRSV). Different translations give different translation values "lest, what if, beware that … not, beware of, take care not to." However, it is not clear what the purpose of this comparison is.

b. HALOT distinguishes different senses among פֶּן with a *yiqtol* taking the context of each case into consideration. In the context of "rejection of a consequence which might be possible," פֶּן has different senses "or else, in case, perhaps."

HALOT differentiates 'פֶּן + *qatal*' from 'פֶּן + *yiqtol*'. Although HALOT does not give different translation values, in the examples, HALOT renders פֶּן with a *qatal* differently than פֶּן with a *yiqtol*. The translation value provided by HALOT for פֶּן with a *qatal* is "it may be that, otherwise." Furthermore, HALOT distinguishes פֶּן with יֵשׁ from other cases; however, they do not give any translation values.

In short, HALOT's treatment of פֶּן does not differ from BDB's in terms of its semantic evaluation; hence, the same critique can be applied.

2.2.1.3.2.3 DCH
DCH categorizes the word class of פֶּן as a conjunction and then gives the translation glosses "lest, in case, so that not" in addition to the taxonomy of syntagmatic relationships according to verbs in the matrix and the פֶּן clause. However, when we look into the translations for the taxonomy, DCH only use one translation value "lest" for all the translations. So it is not clear why it gives three translation values in the beginning. Furthermore the taxonomy does not help anyone to understand פֶּן due to using only one translation value "lest."

2.2.1.3.3 Summary
פֶּן is variously categorized in terms of word classes: a negative final conjunction, a particle, a subordinating conjunction and a preventative conjunction. BH grammarians and lexica (e.g., BDB and HALOT) are dependent on comparative and etymological information to define the meaning of פֶּן. However, neither the studies nor the BH lexica define the meaning of פֶּן. Comparative and etymological information does not help to define/distinguish the meaning/senses of פֶּן.

A difference between פֶּן and conjunctionless negative purpose constructions was identified. פֶּן is followed by the *yiqtol* with the exception of two cases. פֶּן never requires the volitive forms (imperative, jussive, cohortative), while volitive forms occur typically in conjunctionless

final clauses. When the verb of the matrix expresses a fear or precaution, פֶּן is employed to express a negative purpose.

It was also identified that לְבִלְתִּי, לְמַעַן לֹא, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא and מִן are employed to indicate a negative final relation. Among them, לְבִלְתִּי is used when there is a positive effort to prevent a single definite event, while פֶּן is employed when the subject acts to prevent an indefinite number of possible events. As for the difference(s) between פֶּן and מִן, the latter is employed to signal a negative purpose in a context where there is no reference to anxiety in the matrix clause – mainly after verbs of hindering and separation, while the former is utilized to indicate a negative purpose after verbs expressing fear or precaution in the matrix.

2.2.1.4 General concluding remarks to this section
Studies and BH lexica that have investigated the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן reveal the following:

- בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן are regarded as both a conjunction and a preposition, while פֶּן is typically regarded as only a conjunction.

- None of the studies or BH lexica investigated defines the meaning of the lexical items: they simply provide translation values. Nevertheless, they distinguish different meanings/senses by offering translation glosses. Although the sense distinctions vary, no explicit criterion for distinguishing different meanings/senses has yet been provided. In addition, due to the application of the same translation glosses, it is difficult to identify the real sense distinctions.

- As for the relations that the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן indicate, they vary. However, the relationship between the different relations has not yet been investigated. As for distinguishing different relations, studies and BH lexica fail to provide criteria for it due to a lack of explicit definitions for the relations (i.e., purpose, result, reason and cause) that the lexemes are claimed to display. It has been identified that the scope of בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן vary and operate on multiple levels.

- As for the paradigmatic relations, opinions differ as far as the exact relationship between בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן is concerned. As for פֶּן, the paradigmatic relations between לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא, לְמַעַן לֹא, לְבִלְתִּי, and מִן have been identified.

2.2.2 Purpose or Result Constructions without a Conjunction
The preceding section provided an overview of the lexical items that invoke final or result relations. However, to fully understand the lexical items they should be understood in light of the paradigmatic relations holding between them (Barr 1992:144; Cruse 1986:84-85). Hence, this section gives an overview of two grammatical constructions that have been identified to express a purpose or result relation: they are the לְ + infinitive construction and a construction introduced by *waw* (i.e., conjunctionless final clause). Attention will be paid to whether the current insights provide information as to what the differences are between the conjunctional final construction and the conjunctionless final construction, viz., what are the features of a

conjunctionless final construction, and why is the conjunctionless final construction employed?

2.2.2.1 Final constructions introduced by a waw

2.2.2.1.1 Ewald (1879)

Ewald (1879:233-257) discusses the final construction with a *waw* under the heading "copulative words and sentences," in which he (1879:233ff) makes a distinction between a *waw* of sequence (or *waw* consecutive) and a *waw* copulative. According to Ewald, a *waw* copulative is feeble, and employed to attach a new sentence to the preceding sentence, while a "*waw* of sequence," (or "*waw* consecutive or *waw* relative)" is stronger, possesses "retrospective force," and also "expresses a sequence of the second from the first, a necessary progression from the first to the second, and consequently, an internal reference on the part of the second to the first" (Ewald 1879:244).

According to Ewald (1879:244ff), a "*waw* of sequence" forms three different constructions with different verbal forms: 1) a *waw* of sequence with the imperfect and perfect; 2) a *waw* of sequence with the voluntative and imperative; and 3) a *waw* of sequence with any word. These three different constructions specify various relations as follows:

1. The *waw* of sequence (consecutive) + imperfect/perfect construction is mainly employed to express the consecution of time (Ewald 1879:244).

2. The *waw* of sequence + voluntative/imperative construction indicates the design of the previous action (1 Sam 15:16; Prov 20:22) or consequence (Gen 20:7) (Ewald 1879:255).[80]

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל הֶרֶף וְאַגִּידָה לְךָ אֵת אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֵלַי הַלָּיְלָה וַיֹּאמֶרו לֹו דַּבֵּר: ס	Then Samuel said to Saul, "Stop that I may tell you what the LORD said to me this night."[81] And he said to him, "Say on." (1 Sam 15 16)
וְעַתָּה הָשֵׁב אֵשֶׁת־הָאִישׁ כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בַּעַדְךָ וֶחְיֵה וְאִם־אֵינְךָ מֵשִׁיב דַּע כִּי־מוֹת תָּמוּת אַתָּה וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לָךְ:	Now then restore the man's wife; for he is a prophet, and he will pray for you, and you shall live.[82] But if you do not restore her, know that you shall surely die, you, and all that are yours." (Gen 20:7)

Ewald (1879:24) calls the voluntative with a *waw* of sequence "the relatively-progressive voluntative," for "it presents the desire and the design of attaining something as the consequence or aim of something presupposed. […] It is usually preceded by an imperative."

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[80] Ewald (1879:16) uses the term "voluntative" to embrace the cohortative and the jussive.

[81] וְאַגִּידָה is rendered to express purpose, according to Ewald.

[82] Ewald (1879:255) renders וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בַּעַדְךָ וֶחְיֵה into "let him pray for thee and live (i.e., that thou mayest then live, as I wish)."

The *waw* of sequence + imperative construction can also indicate the apodosis of a conditional sentence, when the proposition preceding this construction is the condition of an imperative following the *waw* of sequence (Ewald 1879:256).

כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל דִּרְשׁוּנִי וִחְיוּ׃   For thus says the LORD to the house of Israel: "Seek me and live. (Amos 5:4)

3. A *waw* of sequence with any word expresses the mere consecution of a thought (Ewald 1879:256ff).

וּדְעוּ כִּי־הִפְלָה יְהוָה חָסִיד לֹו יְהוָה יִשְׁמַע בְּקָרְאִי אֵלָיו׃   Know then[83] that the LORD has set apart the godly for himself; the LORD hears when I call to him. (Ps 4:2)

In short, Ewald distinguishes between the design (intention) of a previous action, the consequence of a previous action, and the consecution of time/thought, syntactically. As for the distinction between design and consequence, Ewald claims that the construction "*waw* of sequence with voluntative" following an imperative indicates design, while the *waw* of sequence with an imperative indicates consequence, when it is not used to indicate the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

Ewald does not use the term "purpose" or "intention" for the construction "*waw* of sequence with voluntative," even though he does use the term "purpose" and "intention" for the conjunctional final clause, e.g., לְ with an infinitive, לְמַעַן final clause. However, it is not apparent whether Ewald distinguishes between three different notions (i.e., design, purpose, and intention) or employs them interchangeably.

2.2.2.1.2 Driver (1892)

Driver discusses the conjunctionless final construction under the heading "the voluntative with *waw*." Driver treats the construction slightly differently from Ewald (1879). Driver (1892:64, 149) uses different terminology – "simple *waw*" or "weak *waw*" – for the *waw* used with the voluntative form. Moreover Driver distinguishes between the "weak *waw*" and "*waw* consecutive," while Ewald (1879) uses the terminology "*waw* of sequence" for both the *waw* employed with a voluntative and the one employed in the *waw* consecutive + an imperfect (*wayyiqtol*) construction. In addition, Driver does not regard the weak *waw* as having the force of the consecution of time or thought, though he (1892:64, 149) does claims it has a "demonstrative force."

Driver describes the construction "the voluntative with weak *waw*" as follows:

> Inasmuch as the particular signification it then assumes depends upon its being, not a *mere* imperfect, but a *voluntative*, it is important to recollect … that the voluntative force may be really present even though the corresponding modal form does not meet the eye. This weak וְ is used with the imperfect – as a jussive

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[83] וּדְעוּ is rendered into "know then" according to Ewald's rendering.

or cohortative by preference, if these exist as distinct forms, though not exclusively even then[84] – in order to express the design or purpose of a preceding act, which it does in a less formal and circumstantial manner than למען, בעבור etc., but with greater conciseness and elegance (Driver 1892:64).

According to Driver, generally the "weak *waw* + voluntative" construction is employed to indicate design or a purpose relation (e.g., Lev 9:6). However, the "weak *waw* + simple *yiqtol*" construction (not the voluntative form) is also employed (e.g., Exod 14:2). In addition, "sometimes the imperative is found instead of the jussive, to express with rather greater energy the intention signified by the preceding verb" (Driver 1982:69) (e.g., Gen 12:2).[85] When the construction is negated (i.e., negative purpose) לא and not אל is almost invariably employed with the simple *yiqtol* form (e.g., Exod 28:43) (Driver 1892:67).

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה תַּעֲשׂוּ וְיֵרָא אֲלֵיכֶם כְּבוֹד יְהוָה:	And Moses said, "This is the thing which the LORD commanded you to do; that the glory of the LORD may appear to you."[86] (Lev 9:6)
דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיָשֻׁבוּ וְיַחֲנוּ לִפְנֵי פִּי הַחִירֹת בֵּין מִגְדֹּל וּבֵין הַיָּם לִפְנֵי בַּעַל צְפֹן נִכְחוֹ תַחֲנוּ עַל־הַיָּם:	Tell the people of Israel that they may turn back and encamp in front of Pi-ha-hiroth, between Migdol and the sea, in front of Baal-zephon; you shall encamp over against it, by the sea.[87] (Exod 14:2)
וְאֶעֶשְׂךָ לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל וַאֲבָרֶכְךָ וַאֲגַדְּלָה שְׁמֶךָ וֶהְיֵה בְּרָכָה:	And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you may be a blessing.[88] (Gen 12:2)
וְהָיוּ עַל־אַהֲרֹן וְעַל־בָּנָיו בְּבֹאָם אֶל־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד אוֹ בְגִשְׁתָּם אֶל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לְשָׁרֵת בַּקֹּדֶשׁ וְלֹא־יִשְׂאוּ עָוֹן וָמֵתוּ חֻקַּת עוֹלָם לוֹ וּלְזַרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו: ס	And they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go into the tent of meeting, or when they come near the altar to minister in the holy place; lest they bring guilt upon

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[84] E.g., in Num 25:4 the jussive form (short form) וְיֹשֵׁב is employed, whereas in Exod 14:2, וְיָשֻׁבוּ is used. The jussive 3rd person masculine plural is not distinguishable in וְיָשֻׁבוּ. The jussive is seldom distinguishable, except in, generally speaking, Qal and Hifil ע״ו, ל״ה verbs; while before suffixes, both forms are equally incapable of recognition. "From this it follows that they are not indispensible elements in Hebrew; and the truth of the remark made at the beginning of the chapter, the unmodified imperfect is sufficient for the expression of any kind of volition, becomes self-evident. So, too, it may be noticed that they are not always used, even in cases where their presence might naturally be expected" (Driver 1892:52-53) (e.g., Gen 19:17).

[85] Driver (1892:69) gives Gen 12:2 as an example, and renders the imperative as follows: "and I will make thee into a great nation … וֶהְיֵה *and be* (that thou mayest be) a blessing."

[86] According to Driver's (1892:66) rendering, the translation of RSV in the final clause was modified.

[87] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express finality in a purpose clause.

[88] The RSV was modified according to Driver's rendering.

themselves and die. This shall be a perpetual statute for him and for his descendants after him.   (Exod 28:43)

Driver (1892:64) uses the term "design" and "purpose" interchangeably to describe the relation that the "weak *waw* with voluntative" clause indicates. As for the distinction between purpose/design and consequence, contrary to Ewald (1879), Driver (1892:69) does not claim that the weak *waw* + imperative construction expresses consequence (see above example Gen 12:2), but claims that the weak *waw* + imperative also indicates purpose/design. According to Driver (1892:64, 123-124), purpose or design is indicated by means of a 'weak *waw* + voluntative,' while consequence is signified by means of a '*waw* consecutive + *qatal*' (*weqatal*).[89] For this reason, in a discussion of the differences between וִיהִי (weak *waw* + voluntative) and וְהָיָה (*weqatal*) (when they refer to future time), Driver (1892:65-66) maintains that in BH, "and it will" is expressed by means of *weqatal* וְהָיָה, while "that it may…" is indicated by means of 'weak *waw* + voluntative' וִיהִי. He suggests that we should render the "weak *waw* + voluntative" construction into "that … subjunctive" (e.g., Exod. 7:19).

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אֱמֹר אֶל־אַהֲרֹן קַח מַטְּךָ וּנְטֵה־יָדְךָ עַל־מֵימֵי מִצְרַיִם עַל־נַהֲרֹתָם׀ עַל־יְאֹרֵיהֶם וְעַל־אַגְמֵיהֶם וְעַל כָּל־מִקְוֵה מֵימֵיהֶם וְיִהְיוּ־דָם וְהָיָה דָם בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּבָעֵצִים וּבָאֲבָנִים׃	And the LORD said to Moses, "Say to Aaron, 'Take your rod and stretch out your hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, their canals, and their ponds, and all their pools of water, that they may become blood; and there will be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone.'"[90] (Exod 7:19)

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[89] Driver (1892:118) claims the function of *weqatal* as a continuation form is as follows: "To all intents and purposes the perfect, when attached to a preceding verb, by means of this *waw* consecutive, loses its individuality: no longer maintaining an independent position, it passes under the sway of the verb to which it is connected."

Driver (1892:123-124) mentions that the subordinated *weqatal* following main verbs expressing modality (e.g., will, would, or let …) "must be understood in the same tense or mood; in other words, as governed by the same auxiliary." When there is a change of person between the main verbs and the following verbs, he argues that "either the auxiliary will have to be repeated each time the person changes, or, since the perfect in the original really indicates a result or consequence (but not the *design,…*) of the action denoted by the principal verb, we may even employ *that* with the subjunctive." In his illustration, Driver (1892:124) renders the *weqatal* in Gen. 24:7 as follows: "May HE send his angel before thee וְלָקַחְתָּ *and mayest* thou take (or, *that* thou mayest take) a wife for my son from there." Although the rendering is confusing – for it is as if the *weqatal* indicated purpose because of the modal auxiliary "mayest" – it should be understood as denoting consequence.

[90] According to Driver's rendering, the rendition of the RSV was modified.

In the above illustration (Exod 7:19), where וְיִהְיוּ־דָם (simple *waw* + voluntative) and וְהָיָה דָם (*weqatal*) occur, Driver (1892:66) renders וְיִהְיוּ as "that they *may* become," saying that "for וִיהִי the sense would *permit* the rendering *and there shall be*, the writer, however, … brings the result into more intimate connexion with the previous act נְטֵה, *that there may be*, … but וְהָיָה and there *will* be."

However, Driver (1892:65) does not seem to regard all of the cases of a "simple *waw* + voluntative" as indicating a purpose relation. He claims that "in translating, we may sometimes preserve the force of the jussive or cohortative; sometimes it is better to employ *that*." Driver renders the "weak *waw* + voluntative" construction in several different ways: 1) 'let …' (e.g., Ps 9:10);[91] 2) 'and will …' (e.g., Prov 20:22);[92] 3) 'that … may' (e.g., Lev 9:6);[93] 4) 'so that …' or 'that so …may…' (e.g., 1 Sam 28:22; Ps 49:10).[94] However, he does not indicate explicitly how to distinguish between these different nuances.

2.2.2.1.3 GKC

GKC (1910:306) also discusses the *waw*-final construction, calling the *waw* employed with the final clause a '*waw* copulative' – distinguishing it from the consecutive *waw*. GKC (1910:484-485) regards the *waw* copulative as serving to connect two or more sentences, or single words, maintaining that its use is not restricted to coordination, but is also employed to subordinate one clause to another, e.g., it subordinates a final clause to the main clause.

According to GKC, whether a clause introduced by a *waw* copulative in the two juxtaposed clauses is a final clause or not depends on two factors: 1) the relationship between the two juxtaposed clauses, viz., whether the second clause is *subordinated* to the first or *coordinated* to the first; and 2) the verbal forms occurring in the two clauses. As for the relationship between the juxtaposed clauses, the second clause should be subordinated to form a final clause. As a consequence of this, GKC (1910:504-505) regards the final construction as a two-element syntactic construction consisting of a main clause (the matrix) and a final clause. As for the verbal forms in the matrix and the final clause, GKC (1910:503-504) claims the following verbal successions to form the final construction (As for the relations that the final clause with a *waw* copulative specifies, GKC (1910:320) maintains it indicates intention or intended consequence):

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[91] The rendition of Driver (1892:66) is "וִיהִי and let Yahweh be."

[92] "Wait for Yahwe וְיֹשַׁע and he will save thee" (Driver 1892:66). However, he claims that this is not an absolute future, but it depends on the preceding verb "being carried into effect," viz., it expresses modality.

[93] "this shall ye do וְיֵרָא that the glory of Yahweh may appear" (Driver 1892:66).

[94] Driver (1892:67) renders וִחִי in 49:10 into "so that he should live." Driver (1892:66) renders וִיהִי בְךָ כֹּחַ in 1 Sam 28:22 as "that so thou mayest have strength."

a. Perfect/optative (precative) + a *waw* copulative + a final imperfect[95] (e.g., Ps 51:9; Lam 1:19).

קָרָ֤אתִי לַֽמְאַהֲבַי֙ הֵ֣מָּה רִמּ֔וּנִי כֹּהֲנַ֥י וּזְקֵנַ֖י בָּעִ֣יר גָּוָ֑עוּ כִּֽי־בִקְשׁ֥וּ אֹ֙כֶל֙ לָ֔מוֹ וְיָשִׁ֖יבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָֽׁם׃ ס

I called to my lovers but they deceived me; my priests and elders perished in the city, while they sought food to revive their strength.   (Lam 1:19)

b. Simple *yiqtol* + a *waw* copulative + a jussive (1 Kgs 13:33) (p.322).

אַחַ֨ר הַדָּבָ֤ר הַזֶּה֙ לֹא־שָׁ֣ב יָרָבְעָ֔ם מִדַּרְכּ֖וֹ הָרָעָ֑ה וַ֠יָּשָׁב וַיַּ֜עַשׂ מִקְצ֤וֹת הָעָם֙ כֹּהֲנֵ֣י בָמ֔וֹת הֶחָפֵץ֙ יְמַלֵּ֣א אֶת־יָד֔וֹ וִיהִ֖י כֹּהֲנֵ֥י בָמֽוֹת׃

After this thing Jeroboam did not turn from his evil way, but made priests for the high places again from among all the people; *whosoever would, he consecrated him that he might be a priest of the high places.*[96]
                              (1 Kgs 13:33)

c. Volitive (jussive, cohortative, imperative) + a *waw* copulative + volitive/a final imperfect (e.g., Gen 12:2; 29:20, 21; 42:18; Exod 9:1; 1 Kgs 11:21; 2 Chron 29:10; Neh 2:5; Job 21;19).[97]

וַהֲדַ֞ד שָׁמַ֣ע בְּמִצְרַ֗יִם כִּֽי־שָׁכַ֤ב דָּוִד֙ עִם־אֲבֹתָ֔יו וְכִי־מֵ֖ת יוֹאָ֣ב שַׂר־הַצָּבָ֑א וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הֲדַד֙ אֶל־פַּרְעֹ֔ה שַׁלְּחֵ֖נִי וְאֵלֵ֥ךְ אֶל־אַרְצִֽי׃

But when Hadad heard in Egypt that David slept with his fathers and that Joab the commander of the army was dead, Hadad said to Pharaoh, "Let me depart, that I may go to my own country."   (1 Kgs 11:21)

וָאֹמַ֣ר לַמֶּ֔לֶךְ אִם־עַל־הַמֶּ֣לֶךְ ט֔וֹב וְאִם־יִיטַ֥ב עַבְדְּךָ֖ לְפָנֶ֑יךָ אֲשֶׁ֧ר תִּשְׁלָחֵ֣נִי אֶל־יְהוּדָ֗ה אֶל־עִ֛יר קִבְר֥וֹת אֲבֹתַ֖י וְאֶבְנֶֽנָּה׃

And I said to the king, "If it pleases the king, and if your servant has found favor in your sight, that you send me to Judah, to the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may rebuild it."   (Neh 2:5)

d. Interrogative sentence + a *waw* copulative + a *volitive* (an imperative/cohortative/jussive)/a final imperfect (e.g., 2 Sam 9:1; 21:3; 1 Kgs 22:7; Ester 7:2).

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר דָּוִ֜ד אֶל־הַגִּבְעֹנִ֗ים מָ֤ה אֶעֱשֶׂה֙ לָכֶ֔ם וּבַמָּ֖ה אֲכַפֵּ֑ר וּבָרְכ֖וּ אֶת־נַחֲלַ֥ת יְהוָֽה׃

And David said to the Gibeonites, "What shall I do for you? And how shall I make

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[95] GKC (1910:503) uses the term "final imperfect" only here without defining the term. The term seems to indicate imperfect forms that cannot be distinguished between long imperfect forms and short imperfect forms.

[96] According to GKC's rendering, the RSV was modified.

[97] Gen 12:2 (cohortative + *waw* copulative + imperative); Gen 19:20 (cohortaive + *waw* copulative + jussive); Gen 29:21 (imperative + *waw* copulative + cohortative); Gen 42:18 (imperative + *waw* copulative + imperative); Exod 9:1 (imperative + *waw* copulative + jussive); 2 Chron 29:10 (jussive + *waw* copulative + imperative); Job 21:19 (jussive + *waw* copulative + jussive).

expiation that you may bless the heritage of
the LORD?” (2 Sam 21:3)

e. Imperfect/jussive/imperative + a *weqatal* (e.g., Gen 1:14; 2:24; 2 Sam 7:5).

עַל־כֵּן֙ יַֽעֲזָב־אִ֔ישׁ אֶת־אָבִ֖יו וְאֶת־אִמּ֑וֹ וְדָבַ֣ק
בְּאִשְׁתּ֔וֹ וְהָי֖וּ לְבָשָׂ֥ר אֶחָֽד׃

Therefore a man leaves his father and his
mother in order to cleave to his wife, and
they become one flesh.[98] (Gen 2:24)

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֱלֹהִ֗ים יְהִ֤י מְאֹרֹת֙ בִּרְקִ֣יעַ הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם לְהַבְדִּ֕יל
בֵּ֥ין הַיּ֖וֹם וּבֵ֣ין הַלָּ֑יְלָה וְהָי֤וּ לְאֹתֹת֙ וּלְמ֣וֹעֲדִ֔ים וּלְיָמִ֖ים
וְשָׁנִֽים׃

And God said, “Let there be lights in the
firmament of the heavens to separate the day
from the night; that they may be[99] for signs
and for seasons and for days and years.
(Gen 1:14)

לֵ֤ךְ וְאָֽמַרְתָּ֙ אֶל־עַבְדִּ֣י אֶל־דָּוִ֔ד כֹּ֚ה אָמַ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה הַאַתָּ֥ה
תִּבְנֶה־לִּ֛י בַ֖יִת לְשִׁבְתִּֽי׃

Go and tell (that you may tell) my servant
David, ‘Thus says the LORD: Would you
build me a house to dwell in? (2 Sam 7:5)

In line with Driver (1892), GKC (1910:503-504) observed that mainly the ‘*waw* copulative +
voluntative (jussive, cohortative)/imperative’ construction is employed in the final clause.
GKC also claims that *yiqtol* forms occupy the final clause. In addition, contrary to Driver
(1892), GKC (1910:503) maintains that *weqatal* forms are also employed in the final clause.
As for the verbal forms in the main clause, GKC (1910:503) avers that perfect, interrogative,
voluntative, imperative, and *weqatal* forms typically occur in the main clause.

GKC also maintains that the same constructions – e.g., voluntative + a *waw* copulative +
voluntative – are employed to indicate other relations besides intention. In such cases, the
waw copulative + voluntative is not subordinated but coordinated to the preceding voluntative
(GKC 1910:319,324). In this regard, GKC recognizes two cases: 1) cohortative + *waw*
copulative + cohortative, and 2) imperative + *waw* copulative + imperative. Broadly speaking,
these two cases indicate the juxtaposition of volitions.

The ‘cohortative + *waw* copulative + cohortative’ construction expresses 1) “self-
encouragement” (e.g., Exod 3:3), 2) a “more or less emphatic statement of a fixed
determination” (e.g., Ps 31:8), and 3) “a summon to others to help in doing something” (e.g.,
Ps 2:3) as well as 4) “a wish or a request for permission” (e.g., 2 Sam 16:9) (GKC 1910:319-
320).

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר מֹשֶׁ֔ה אָסֻֽרָה־נָּ֣א וְאֶרְאֶ֔ה אֶת־הַמַּרְאֶ֥ה הַגָּדֹ֖ל
הַזֶּ֑ה מַדּ֖וּעַ לֹא־יִבְעַ֥ר הַסְּנֶֽה׃

And Moses said, “I will turn aside and see
this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.”
(Exod 3:3)

אָגִ֥ילָה וְאֶשְׂמְחָ֗ה בְּחַ֫סְדֶּ֥ךָ אֲשֶׁ֣ר רָ֭אִיתָ אֶת־עָנְיִ֑י
יָ֝דַ֗עְתָּ בְּצָר֥וֹת נַפְשִֽׁי׃

I will rejoice and be glad for your steadfast
love, because you has seen my affliction,

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[98] וְדָבַק is rendered as “in order to cleave” according to GKC’s (1910:332) rendering.

[99] The rendering of the RSV is modified to express purpose.

thou has taken heed of my adversities,

(Ps 31:8) (YCK)

נְנַתְּקָה אֶת־מֽוֹסְרֽוֹתֵימוֹ וְנַשְׁלִ֣יכָה מִמֶּ֖נּוּ עֲבֹתֵֽימוֹ׃ — "Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us." (Ps 2:3)

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר אֲבִישַׁ֤י בֶּן־צְרוּיָה֙ אֶל־הַמֶּ֔לֶךְ לָ֥מָּה יְקַלֵּ֛ל הַכֶּ֥לֶב הַמֵּ֖ת הַזֶּ֑ה אֶת־אֲדֹנִ֣י הַמֶּ֑לֶךְ אֶעְבְּרָה־נָּ֛א וְאָסִ֖ירָה אֶת־רֹאשֽׁוֹ׃ ס — Then Abishai the son of Zeruiah said to the king, "Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king? Let me go over and take off his head." (2 Sam 16:9)

The 'imperative + *waw* copulative + imperative' constructions expresses 1) a real command ("ironical challenge") (Jdgs 10:14) or 2) a "distinct assurance or promise" (Isa 65:18) (GKC 1910:324).

לְכ֗וּ וְזַֽעֲקוּ֙ אֶל־הָ֣אֱלֹהִ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר בְּחַרְתֶּ֖ם בָּ֑ם הֵ֛מָּה יוֹשִׁ֥יעוּ לָכֶ֖ם בְּעֵ֥ת צָרַתְכֶֽם׃ — Go and cry to the gods whom you have chosen; let them deliver you in the time of your distress. (Jdgs 10:14)

כִּֽי־אִם־שִׂ֤ישׂוּ וְגִ֙ילוּ֙ עֲדֵי־עַ֔ד אֲשֶׁ֖ר אֲנִ֣י בוֹרֵ֑א כִּ֣י הִנְנִ֣י בוֹרֵ֧א אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַ֛ם גִּילָ֖ה וְעַמָּ֥הּ מָשֽׂוֹשׂ׃ — But be glad and rejoice forever in that which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. (Isa 65:18)

GKC (1910:504) does not use the term "result clause," but employs the term "consecutive clause." GKC regards the consecutive clause as a distinct syntactic entity from the final clause by discussing it under the heading "consecutive clause." A consecutive clause is also subordinated to the preceding clause (the matrix) (GKC 1910:485). According to GKC, consecutive clauses are introduced by means of a *waw* copulative with the jussive, especially after negative and interrogative sentences (e.g., Num 23:19;[100] Hos 14:10).

לֹ֣א אִ֥ישׁ אֵל֙ וִֽיכַזֵּ֔ב וּבֶן־אָדָ֖ם וְיִתְנֶחָ֑ם הַה֤וּא אָמַר֙ וְלֹ֣א יַֽעֲשֶׂ֔ה וְדִבֶּ֖ר וְלֹ֥א יְקִימֶֽנָּה׃ — God is not man, that he should lie, or a son of man, that he should repent. Has he said, and will he not do it? Or has he spoken, and will he not fulfill it? (Num 23:19)

GKC distinguishes a logical/temporal consequence from purpose and a consecutive: a logical/temporal consequence is expressed by the *wayyiqtol/weqatal*. The *wayyiqtol/weqatal* is regarded as a temporal or logical consequence of the actions, events or states mentioned immediately before (GKC 1910:326, 330).

וְהָ֣אָדָ֔ם יָדַ֖ע אֶת־חַוָּ֣ה אִשְׁתּ֑וֹ וַתַּ֙הַר֙ וַתֵּ֣לֶד אֶת־קַ֔יִן וַתֹּ֕אמֶר קָנִ֥יתִי אִ֖ישׁ אֶת־יְהוָֽה׃ — Now Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, "I have gotten a man with the help of the LORD." (Gen 4:1)

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[100] GKC (1910:504) regards וִֽיכַזֵּב as a *waw* copulative + a jussive.

In short, GKC regards final clauses (those indicating the juxtaposition of volitions), consecutive clauses (i.e., result clause), and logical/temporal consequence clauses as distinct entities. Consecutive clauses and logical/temporal consequence clauses are distinguishable syntactically from other clauses; however, final clauses and those indicating the juxtaposition of volitions are expressed by the same construction. According to GKC, coordination and subordination is a criterion for distinguishing between intention and the juxtaposition of two volitions. The most significant problem of GKC's articulation is that GKC does not provide any criterion for distinguishing between a coordinated and subordinated construction, even though they maintain that subordination and coordination is a core criterion for distinguishing between a purpose clause (subordination), result clause (subordination), and two juxtapositions of volitions (coordination). Syntactically speaking, the construction with a *waw* that signifies purpose, result and juxtapositions of volitions is a coordinated clause in regards to the matrix. Hence, a question arises whether subordination and coordination can be a criterion for distinguishing these different clauses (see §3.3.1.3).

2.2.2.1.4 Mitchell (1915)

Mitchell divides final constructions into two categories: 1) the final construction without a conjunction and 2) the final construction with a conjunction. Although Mitchell does not regard a *waw* used in the final clause as a final conjunction, he includes the final construction introduced by a *waw* into the conjunctional final clause distinguishing it from an asyndetic final clause.[101]

1. The final construction without a conjunction
Mitchell places final constructions without a connective on par with the juxtaposition of two consecutive clauses that express a final relation.

Mitchell (1915:84) maintains that the context, more or less, clearly indicates whether the juxtaposed second verb can indicate a purpose relation. Mitchell also considers the syntactic environment in order to determine whether the second juxtaposed clause expresses a final relation. In this regard, he argues that, "the final construction without a connective is arranged with reference not only to the form of the verb in the clause denoting a purpose itself, but also to the character of the clause or sentence on which it depends" (Mitchell 1915:84). Based on this claim, Mitchell (1915:84-86) maintains that the following verbal successions indicate a final construction (the main clause + the final clause):

a. *Qatal/participle …yiqtol* (e.g., Neh 13:19; Isa 5:11)
וַיְהִ֗י כַּאֲשֶׁ֣ר צָֽלֲל֞וּ שַׁעֲרֵ֤י יְרוּשָׁלִַ֙ם֙ לִפְנֵ֣י הַשַּׁבָּ֔ת   When shadows filled the gateways of When

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[101] Mitchell (1915:87) categorizes the final clause with a conjunction *waw* as a conjunctional final clause. In line with Driver (1892:64,149), he does not regard the conjunction *waw* in this construction as a mere copulative claiming that this *waw* retains demonstrative significance, and is employed in the final construction. Hence, Mitchell does not use the term '*waw* copulative (simple *waw*, or weak *waw*) for the *waw* employed with a final clause, but uses the term "*waw* conjunctive."

וְאֹמְרָה וַיִּסָּגְרוּ הַדְּלָתוֹת וָאֹמְרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִפְתָּחוּם עַד אַחַר הַשַּׁבָּת וּמִנְּעָרַי הֶעֱמַדְתִּי עַל־הַשְּׁעָרִים לֹא־יָבוֹא מַשָּׂא בְּיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת:

it began to be dark at the gates of Jerusalem before the Sabbath, I commanded that the doors should be shut and gave orders that they should not be opened until after the Sabbath. And I set some of my servants over the gates that no burden might be brought in on the Sabbath day.　　　　(Neh 13:19)

b. *Wayyiqtol …yiqtol*/cohortative (e.g., Lev. 16:30; Ps 55:7)[102]

כִּי־בַיּוֹם הַזֶּה יְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיכֶם לְטַהֵר אֶתְכֶם מִכֹּל חַטֹּאתֵיכֶם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה תִּטְהָרוּ:

For on this day atonement is to be made for you to cleanse you from all your sins that you may be clean before the LORD.[103]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Lev 16:30)

c. *Yiqtol* … imperative (e.g., Ps 110:2)

מַטֵּה־עֻזְּךָ יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן רְדֵה בְּקֶרֶב אֹיְבֶיךָ:

The LORD sends forth from Zion your mighty scepter that you may rule in the midst of your foes![104]　　　　　　　　(Ps 110:2)

d. *Weqatal … yiqtol* (e.g., Num 35:11)

וְהִקְרִיתֶם לָכֶם עָרִים עָרֵי מִקְלָט תִּהְיֶינָה לָכֶם וְנָס שָׁמָּה רֹצֵחַ מַכֵּה־נֶפֶשׁ בִּשְׁגָגָה:

Then you shall select cities to be cities of refuge for you, that the manslayer who kills any person without intent may flee there.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Num 35:11)

e. Imperative … *yiqtol*/volitive (e.g., Exod 18:19; Deut 1:21)

עַתָּה שְׁמַע בְּקֹלִי אִיעָצְךָ וִיהִי אֱלֹהִים עִמָּךְ הֱיֵה אַתָּה לָעָם מוּל הָאֱלֹהִים וְהֵבֵאתָ אַתָּה אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים:

Listen now to my voice; that I may give you counsel,[105] and God be with you! You shall represent the people before God, and bring their cases to God.　　　(Exod 18:19)

According to Mitchell, it is mainly the voluntative (jussive/cohortative/imperative) or *yiqtol* that is employed in a final clause, while various verbal forms are employed in the main clause. Although Mitchell states that whether or not the juxtaposed second clause is a final clause depends on the context and syntactic environment, he does not specify in what context the two juxtaposed clauses should be understood as realizing a final construction. In addition, Mitchell does not indicate why the second clause should be understood as being subordinated

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[102] In Pss 65:4; 88:11; 102:14, the second *yiqtol* is a cohortative.

[103] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express purpose according to Mitchell.

[104] The rendering of the RSV was modified according to Mitchell's own rendering.

[105] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express purpose.

to the first clause and indicating a final relation. The question on GKC's articulation in this regard can also be posited on Mitchell's assertion.

2. The final construction with a conjunction *waw*

According to Mitchell, the final clause introduced by a conjunctive *waw* basically indicates intended result.

> The final constructions in Hebrew differ in the degree of confidence they permit concerning the fulfillment of a given purpose. The one with וֹ, as has been suggested, strictly speaking, denotes an intended result; that is, it presents the end of the act or attitude described or recommended as something whose attainment is not merely desired but more or less confidently expected. In translating this construction it is usually best to use the English conjunction *that* between the clauses (Mitchell 1915:87-88).

Mitchell (1915:86-98) provides some features of the final construction with a conjunctive *waw*.

(1) The final construction is composed of "a main clause" and "a subordinate clause."

(2) When the verb of the dependent clause is volitive (jussive/cohortative/imperative), it suggests purpose – especially if the verb of the main clause is also volitive.

a. Imperative + conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*/volitive (e.g., Gen 24:14; 38:8)[106]

וְהָיָ֣ה הַֽנַּעֲרָ֗ אֲשֶׁ֙ר אֹמַ֤ר אֵלֶ֙יהָ֙ הַטִּי־נָ֤א כַדֵּךְ֙ וְאֶשְׁתֶּ֔ה וְאָמְרָ֣ה שְׁתֵ֔ה וְגַם־גְּמַלֶּ֖יךָ אַשְׁקֶ֑ה אֹתָ֤הּ הֹכַ֙חְתָּ֙ לְעַבְדְּךָ֣ לְיִצְחָ֔ק וּבָ֣הּ אֵדַ֔ע כִּי־עָשִׂ֥יתָ חֶ֖סֶד עִם־אֲדֹנִֽי:	Let the maiden to whom I shall say, 'Pray let down your jar that I may drink,' and who shall say, 'Drink, and I will water your camels'—let her be the one whom you has appointed for your servant Isaac. By this I shall know that you has shown steadfast love to my master. (Gen 24:14) (YCK)

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[106] As for the combination "imperative … conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*," Mitchell (1915:93) identifies that different voluntative forms are employed according to different subjects in the subordinated final clauses.

When the verb of the dependent clause is in the first person: the cohortative ending can be added (Gen 23:4), or the cohortative ending can be found wanting (Gen 24:14; 48:9; Jdgs 16:26; Jer 17:14).

When the verb of the dependent clause is in the second person: an affirmative purpose can be expressed by a jussive (Num 17:25), while a negative purpose might be expressed by a jussive with אל (Jdgs 13:4).

When the verb of the dependent clause is in the third person: it can have the jussive form (Gen 24:51), an ambiguous form (Gen 30:3) or an unmodified form (Ezek 18:30).

b. *Yiqtol*/cohortative + conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*/volitive (e.g., Gen 19:20; 45:18[107])

הִנֵּה־נָ֠א הָעִ֨יר הַזֹּ֧את קְרֹבָ֛ה לָנ֥וּס שָׁ֖מָּה וְהִ֣יא מִצְעָ֑ר אִמָּלְטָ֨ה נָּ֜א שָׁ֗מָּה הֲלֹ֥א מִצְעָ֛ר הִ֖וא וּתְחִ֥י נַפְשִֽׁי:	Behold, yonder city is near enough to flee to, and it is a little one. Let me escape there—is it not a little one? —that my life may be saved![108]　　　　　　　(Gen 19:20)

Describing the semantics of the verb in the main clause for this particular combination, Mitchell posits that the main clause primarily expresses a command or request, a question implying desire, an expression of deprecation or intention, or even a simple declaration. After such expressions, the 'conjunctive *waw* + jussive/cohortative/imperative/ (simple or ambiguous) *yiqtol*' combination expresses purpose.

(1) When the dependent verb has the form of a simple imperfect, it is sometimes difficult to determine the exact relation. However, if the leading verb is voluntative, it denotes purpose; if not a pure purpose, an intentional result (intended result).

אֶעְבְּרָה־נָּ֗א וְאֶרְאֶה֙ אֶת־הָאָ֣רֶץ הַטּוֹבָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֖ר בְּעֵ֣בֶר הַיַּרְדֵּ֑ן הָהָ֥ר הַטּ֛וֹב הַזֶּ֖ה וְהַלְּבָנֹֽון:	Let me go over, I pray, that I may see[109] the good land beyond the Jordan, that goodly hill country, and Lebanon.'　　　(Deut 3:25)

(2) The imperfect, in and of itself, without the influence of a preceding voluntative may denote purpose. "It is required only that the verb be essentially subordinate to that of the main clause, and that the agent presumably perceives this relation" (Mitchell 1915:87).

However, besides the constructions mentioned above, Mitchell (1915:88ff) suggests various combinations of verbal forms in the main clause and a subordinate final clause.

- *Qatal*/*yiqtol* + *weqatal*[110] (e.g., Gen 43:14; Exod 31:6)

- *Wayyiqtol*/*qatal* + conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol* (e.g., 2 Chron 23:19; Isa 41:26)

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[107] "The voluntative, in two of its forms, in dependent clauses denoting purpose, or, more exactly, intended result, is so familiar a usage, that it ought not to surprise anyone to find the imperative sometimes taking the place of the jussive in such a construction. It should, however, be noted, that, in these cases, the imperfect of the main clause is as frequently as not connected with a preceding imperative, so that the combination is virtually that of the double imperative" (Mitchell 1915:91).

וּקְח֧וּ אֶת־אֲבִיכֶ֛ם וְאֶת־בָּתֵּיכֶ֖ם וּבֹ֣אוּ אֵלָ֑י וְאֶתְּנָ֣ה לָכֶ֗ם אֶת־טוּב֙ אֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרַ֔יִם וְאִכְל֖וּ אֶת־חֵ֥לֶב הָאָֽרֶץ:	and take your father and your households, and come to me, and I will give you the best of the land of Egypt so that you shall eat the fat of the land.'　　　　　(Gen 45:18)

In the illustration, the rendering of וְאִכְל֖וּ in the RSV was modified to express a final relation.

[108] וּתְחִ֥י נַפְשִֽׁי is rendered into "that my life may be saved" to express purpose relation.

[109] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express purpose.

[110] Mitchell (1915:88) regards the *weqatal* following the *qatal*, here, as an equivalent of a *yiqtol*.

- *Weqatal* + conjunctive *waw* + imperative/*yiqtol*/*weqatal* (e.g., Gen 41:35;[111] Exod 30:12; 2 Kgs 18:32)[112]

- Infinitive absolute/imperative/*weqatal* + *weqatal*[113] (e.g., Gen 8:17; Isa 5:5)

- Infinitive construct + conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*/jussive (e.g., Lev 18:30; 2 Chron 29:10)

- Verbal particle (עוֹד, יֵשׁ, אֵין) + conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*/cohortative (e.g., 2 Sam 9:1; 1 Kgs 22:7)[114]

- Nominal sentence + conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*/jussive (e.g., Jer 9:11aa; 9:11ab)

In short, Mitchell uses the term "intended result" and "purpose" for the relation that the final clause with a *waw* indicates. He fails, however, to define or provide explicit criteria for distinguishing the notions "purpose" and "result."

Mitchell provides various verbal successions that realize a final construction whether the final clause has a *waw* or not. When we consider the final clause, volitive, *yiqtol* or *weqatal* forms occur while it appears that more various verbal forms occupy in the main clause.

Contrary to GKC, Mitchell claims that 'imperative + conjunctive *waw* + imperative' and 'cohortative + *waw* conjunctive + cohortative' are also final constructions. However, in line with GKC, Mitchell claims that *weqatal* may be used in a final clause.

2.2.2.1.5 Meek (1945; 1955)

Meek (1945:3) also regards the purpose clause with a simple *waw* (or copulative-*waw*) as being subordinated to the main clause. However, he is aware that its surface manifestation is coordination.

> The fact that Hebrew should deviate from its regular usage in the case of purpose clauses and use [a] simple *waw* with the verb instead of the usual *waw* consecutive indicates that by this unusual construction the Hebrews were suggesting something unusual and were trying to indicate that grammatical coordination here was to be interpreted as having the force of logical subordination; that is, the clause, although grammatically coordinate with the main clause, was to convey an idea subordinate to it, […] Logical subordination here is expressed by grammatical coordination as so very often in Hebrew (Meek 1945:3).

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[111] Mitchell mentions that, generally, '*weqatal*… *weqatal*' occur after a *yiqtol* or imperative.

[112] Mitchell mentions that the '*weqatal* … conjunctive *waw* + *yiqtol*' also occurs after a *yiqtol* or imperative.

[113] GKC (1910:334) also argue that a '*waw* + perfect' consecutive can be used "after an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb e.g., Isa 31:5, or is used as an emphatic substitute" for a cohortative or imperfect, e.g., Lev 2:6; Deut 1:16."

[114] More cases are 2 Sam 9:3 (after עוֹד); Ps 59:14 (after אֵין); Isa 19:12 (after אַיֵּה). Interrogative sentences are involved in all cases, except Ps 59:14.

Meek (1945; 1955) also argues that the purpose clause in BH can be distinguished from the result clause syntactically, claiming that "Hebrew never uses [a] *waw* conversive with the perfect to express purpose, and very rarely [a] simple *waw* with the imperfect and its related forms (the cohortative, jussive, and imperative) to express result, but just the opposite – the strong *waw* to express result and the simple *waw* to express purpose" (Meek 1955:40). Meek (1945:3) even claims, regarding the function of the *weqatal* that "no grammar that I know says that the perfect with *waw* consecutive can express purpose."

- Simple *waw* + the imperfect or volitive expresses purpose (Meek 1945:3; 1955:40).
- The perfect with a *waw* consecutive (*weqatal*) expresses result (Meek 1945:3).

Meek's (1945:3) claim that "no grammar that I know says that the perfect with *waw* consecutive can express purpose" does not accord with what we read in GKC (1910:332, 334). Hence, Meek's assertion that *weqatal* indicates result can be called into question.

In addition, Meek claims that the purpose clause with a simple *waw* is indicative of logical subordination in spite of its grammatical coordination. However, he does not provide any criteria for determining whether the clause introduced by a simple *waw* is logically subordinated to the preceding clause. Our query with GKC and Mitchell's (1915) debate in this regard can also be applied to Meek's problem.

2.2.2.1.6 Waltke & O'Connor (1990)

Waltke & O'Connor (1990) regard the final clause as a subordinate clause dependent on the main clause (see §2.2.1.2.1.4). As far as the construction with a *waw* is concerned, purpose (or result) is realized by the second clause in the construction of a volitive (cohortative, jussive, imperative) or a question + a *waw* + a prefix conjugation (imperfect, cohortative, jussive) (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:575, 577). However, according to Waltke & O'Connor (1990:638) it is the context that determines whether the second clause indicates a purpose or result relation. When the construction indicates a purpose or result relation, the *waw* is regarded as a "conjunctive-sequential *waw*," which coordinates two clauses syntactically but logically subordinates the second clause to the first (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:650). It is translated "so that" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:650) (e.g., 2 Sam 19:38; Jer 40:15).

וְיוֹחָנָ֤ן בֶּן־קָרֵ֙חַ֙ אָמַ֣ר אֶל־גְּדַלְיָ֔הוּ בַסֵּ֖תֶר בַּמִּצְפָּ֣ה לֵאמֹ֗ר אֵ֤לְכָה נָּא֙ וְאַכֶּה֙ אֶת־יִשְׁמָעֵ֣אל בֶּן־נְתַנְיָ֔ה וְאִ֖ישׁ לֹ֣א יֵדָ֑ע לָ֧מָּה יַכֶּ֣כָּה נֶּ֗פֶשׁ וְנָפֹ֙צוּ֙ כָּל־יְהוּדָ֔ה הַנִּקְבָּצִ֣ים אֵלֶ֔יךָ וְאָבְדָ֖ה שְׁאֵרִ֥ית יְהוּדָֽה׃	Then Johanan the son of Kareah spoke secretly to Gedaliah at Mizpah, "Let me go *so that I may slay*[115] Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and no one will know it. Why should he take your life, so that all the Jews who are gathered about you would be scattered, and the remnant of Judah would perish?" (Jer 40:15)

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[115] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express a final relation.

However, Waltke & O'Connor are aware that not every second clause in the construction "volitional form (cohortative, imperative, or jussive) + *waw* copulative + prefix conjugation" indicates either a final or result relation.

- When a *waw* does not logically subordinate the second clause to the first, the construction does not indicate a purpose or result relation. In this case, the *waw* is called "conjunctive *waw*" (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:653-654) and is rendered "and" (e.g., Gen 1:26; 1 Kgs 18:41).

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ:	Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."

(Gen 1:26)

- When imperatives are coordinated – viz., it is simply listed by a *waw* – the construction does not express a final or result relation (e.g., Gen 42:2) (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:577).

וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֶשׁ־שֶׁבֶר בְּמִצְרָיִם רְדוּ־שָׁמָּה וְשִׁבְרוּ־לָנוּ מִשָּׁם וְנִחְיֶה וְלֹא נָמוּת:	And he said, "Behold, I have heard that there is grain in Egypt; go down and buy grain for us there, that we may live, and not die."

(Gen 42:2)

According to Waltke & O'Connor, a purpose and result relation can only be distinguished from context. They only provide some criteria for distinguishing between purpose/result and the juxtaposition of volitions based on coordination and subordination. However, they do not provide criteria for how to determine whether the second clause is logically subordinated to the first in the construction 'volitional forms + *waw* + prefix conjugation.' For instance, in Gen 1:26 (see above example), why shouldn't וְיִרְדּוּ in נַעֲשֶׂה … וְיִרְדּוּ be understood as being logically subordinated to the first verb? Hence, the question on GKC's articulation in this regard can also be posited on Waltke & O'Connor (§3.3.1.3).

2.2.3.1.7 Joüon-Muraoka (1991)

Joüon-Muraoka (1991:373, 381) also discuss the final construction with a *waw*; however, they are also aware that the same construction is employed to indicate purpose, consecution, as well as the juxtaposition of two volitions.

Joüon-Muraoka (1991) make a distinction between the direct volitive and the indirect volitive in order to distinguish between the construction signifying the juxtaposition of volitions and the one denoting 'purpose or consecution.'[116] When the volitive mood is used without a *waw*

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[116] The volitive moods are the imperative and the voluntative (the cohortative and the jussive).

– or with a *waw* which has the purely juxtaposing value of *and* (i.e. a coordinating conjunctive *waw*) – they call it a direct volitive.[117] However, when the volitive mood is employed with a *waw* that logically has a subordinating value (i.e. a subordinating conjunctive *waw*), it is called an indirect volitive and indicates either purpose or consecution.

- Direct volitive mood: the juxtaposition of volitions (e.g., Gen 1:28)

וַיְבָ֣רֶךְ אֹתָם֮ אֱלֹהִים֒ וַיֹּ֨אמֶר לָהֶ֜ם אֱלֹהִ֗ים פְּר֥וּ וּרְב֛וּ וּמִלְא֥וּ אֶת־הָאָ֖רֶץ וְכִבְשֻׁ֑הָ וּרְד֞וּ בִּדְגַ֤ת הַיָּם֙ וּבְע֣וֹף הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם וּבְכָל־חַיָּ֖ה הָֽרֹמֶ֥שֶׂת עַל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃	And God blessed them, and God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." (Gen 1:28)

- Indirect volitive mood after a volitive/interrogative/optative clause: purpose (Mal 3:7) or consecution (Gen 23:4).

גֵּר־וְתוֹשָׁ֥ב אָנֹכִ֖י עִמָּכֶ֑ם תְּנ֨וּ לִ֤י אֲחֻזַּת־קֶ֙בֶר֙ עִמָּכֶ֔ם וְאֶקְבְּרָ֥ה מֵתִ֖י מִלְּפָנָֽי׃	I am a stranger and a sojourner among you; give me property among you for a burying place, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. (Gen 23:4)
לְמִימֵ֤י אֲבֹֽתֵיכֶם֙ סַרְתֶּ֤ם מֵֽחֻקַּי֙ וְלֹ֣א שְׁמַרְתֶּ֔ם שׁ֤וּבוּ אֵלַי֙ וְאָשׁ֣וּבָה אֲלֵיכֶ֔ם אָמַ֖ר יְהוָ֣ה צְבָא֑וֹת וַאֲמַרְתֶּ֖ם בַּמֶּ֥ה נָשֽׁוּב׃	From the days of your fathers you have turned aside from my statutes and have not kept them. Return to me, then I will return to you, says the LORD of hosts. But you say, 'How shall we return?' (Mal 3:7)

Joüon-Muraoka (1991:382) mention that in the case of a cohortative + a *waw* + a cohortative, it is not always clear whether the second cohortative indicates coordination or subordination (e.g., Exod 3:3). Joüon-Muraoka therefore claim that 'a *waw* + a volitive' can indicate: 1) the juxtaposition of volitions, 2) purpose, and 3) consecution. In addition, they are of the opinion

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[117] Joüon-Muraoka (1991:379-381) distinguish various kinds of semantic values for a *waw* preceding a finite verbal form (*qatal*, *yiqtol*, jussive, cohortative, imperative): 1) 'and' (juxtaposition); 2) 'and thereafter' (consecution); 3) 'so that' (final). Joüon-Muraoka (1991:379) argue that "Hebrew distinguishes a modal nuance of the *Waw* (consecutive or final)." They call the first one a simple *et* ('and'), and the second and third one an energic *et*. "A simple *et* is always expressed by a weak *waw*; however, an energic *et* is not always indicated by a strong *waw*" (i.e., doubling). A strong *waw* is found in way*yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms. However, "in the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, the difference between an *et* of juxtaposition and an *et* of purpose-consecution does not appear in the form. The only way to see whether the *waw* in that case is of a juxtaposing or final-consecutive manner is to consider both context" (viz., when a *waw* has a nuance of purpose, it is an energic *waw*) and syntax (viz., when a *waw* is used before a noun or particle, it is an energic *waw*, e.g., before the interrogative particle וְלָמָה in Judgs 6:13). However, they do not investigate how to determine whether a *waw* is a coordinator or subordinator.

that a distinction between the juxtaposition of volitions and 'purpose or consecution' can be made by means of a syntactic criterion, i.e., coordination and subordination. However, they do not provide explicit criteria for determining whether 'a *waw* + a volitive' is coordinated or subordinated to the preceding clause. In addition, although they claim that whether a *waw* + volitive mood is employed to indicate purpose or consecution is dependent on context, they do not provide an explicit contextual criterion for distinguishing between the two.

2.2.2.1.8 Muraoka (1997)

Muraoka rejects the view that the second verb in the construction "a volitive + a simple *waw* + a volitive" indicates the purpose of the action denoted by the first.[118] He claims that the construction represents the juxtaposition of volitions, which is based on the following:

1. When ambiguity arises in conjunction with the interpretation of a construction, the decision as to whether the construction "indicates a purpose would depend solely on general contextual consideration[s]," which is intractable (Muraoka 1997:231).

2. Syntactic (grammatical) parallelism is by itself no absolute proof that two parallel syntagms possess an identical syntactic function (Muraoka 1997:233).

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִיד אֶל־אָרְנָן תְּנָה־לִּי מְקוֹם הַגֹּרֶן וְאֶבְנֶה־בּוֹ מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה בְּכֶסֶף מָלֵא תְּנֵהוּ לִי וְתֵעָצַר הַמַּגֵּפָה מֵעַל הָעָם:	And David said to Ornan, "Give me the site of the threshing floor that I may build on it an altar to the LORD—give it to me at its full price—that the plague may be averted from the people." (1 Chron 21:22)
וַיֹּאמֶר אֲרַוְנָה מַדּוּעַ בָּא אֲדֹנִי־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־עַבְדּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד לִקְנוֹת מֵעִמְּךָ אֶת־הַגֹּרֶן לִבְנוֹת מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה וְתֵעָצַר הַמַּגֵּפָה מֵעַל הָעָם	And Araunah said, "Why has my lord the king come to his servant?" David said, "To buy the threshing floor of you, in order to build an altar to the LORD, that the plague may be averted from the people." (2 Sam 24:21)

Based on the syntactic parallelism in the analogous passages, Joüon-Muraoka (1991) argue that וְאֶבְנֶה in 1 Chron 21:22 should be understood as indicating purpose, for its syntactic parallel in 2 Sam 24:21 (לִבְנוֹת) indicates purpose. However, Muraoka (1997:232) concludes that "it is not impossible that we have here to do with a series of actions viewed from different perspectives expressed by different syntactic means."

3. As far as the subject of the verb is concerned, the subject of the leading verb is not identical with that of the second verb in the final construction (volitive + simple *waw* +

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[118] Muraoka (1997) makes a distinction between real result and intended result. Muraoka includes intended result within the category of purpose. Hence, he does not make a distinction between intended result and purpose in his investigation. As for the real result, he "believes that the term 'resultative' or 'consecutive' is to be restricted to cases where something has actually resulted" (Muraoka 1997:229).

volitive), while the logical subject in "לְ + infinitive construct" is almost always identical with that of the main verb, and the subject of a לְמַעַן final clause with a prefix conjugation is identical with that of main verbs in 35 cases against 84 of different subjects. "From these statistics one may conclude that our syntagm is at least less final than that with לְמַעַן" (Muraoka 1997:234).

4. Syntactically, a לְמַעַן clause and "לְ + infinitive construct" construction can precede the main clause (inversion). However, the second clause in the final construction (volitive + simple *waw* + volitive) does not occupy the initial slot (Muraoka 1997:234).

וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלִיאָב אָחִיו הַגָּדוֹל בְּדַבְּרוֹ אֶל־הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיִּחַר־אַף אֱלִיאָב בְּדָוִד וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָּה־זֶּה יָרַדְתָּ וְעַל־מִי נָטַשְׁתָּ מְעַט הַצֹּאן הָהֵנָּה בַּמִּדְבָּר אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־זְדֹנְךָ וְאֵת רֹעַ לְבָבֶךָ כִּי לְמַעַן רְאוֹת הַמִּלְחָמָה יָרָדְתָּ:	Now Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spoke to the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, "Why have you come down? And with whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your presumption, and the evil of your heart; for you have come down to see the battle." (1 Sam 17 28)
וַיִּזְכֹּר יוֹסֵף אֵת הַחֲלֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר חָלַם לָהֶם וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם לִרְאוֹת אֶת־עֶרְוַת הָאָרֶץ בָּאתֶם:	And Joseph remembered the dreams which he had dreamed of them; and he said to them, "You are spies, you have come to see the weakness of the land." (Gen 42:9)

5. The asyndetic construction in which the verb of allegedly final force lacks the conjunction *waw* occurs in poetic texts with the one exception of Exod 7:9 (Muraoka 1997:234).

פִּתְחוּ־לִי שַׁעֲרֵי־צֶדֶק אָבֹא־בָם אוֹדֶה יָהּ:	Open to me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter through them and give thanks to the LORD. (Ps 118:19)

6. There is clearly a semantic mismatch between the final construction and the לְמַעַן constructions. The most common verbs occurring in the first volitive in the construction "a volitive + simple *waw* + a volitive" are those of giving, whether physically or verbally (such as נתן, לקח, קרא, דבר) or those of physical movement (עלה, קום, בו, שלח). However, none of these occurs in the matrix of [a] למען– clause. The most frequent lexemes preceding למען [are] such verbs as היה (10x), עשה (9x), ידע (6x), נתן (5x)" (Muraoka 1997:235).

7. When the syntagm in question consists of more than two verbs, ambiguity arises in determining which of the second and subsequent verbs indicate a purpose of the action denoted by the first verb (Muraoka 1997:237).

וְנִקְחָה דָגָן וְנֹאכְלָה וְנִחְיֶה	Let us obtain that we may have something to eat and keep alive. (Neh 5:2)
שִׁלְחָה הַנַּעַר אִתִּי וְנָקוּמָה וְנֵלֵכָה וְנִחְיֶה וְלֹא נָמוּת	Send the boy with me, and we will arise and go, that we may live and not die. (Gen 43:8)

Muraoka claims that in Neh 5:2, both second and third verbs indicate purpose. However, in Gen 43:8, when the construction can be understood as indicating purpose, a purpose clause begins with only the fourth verb. Based on this ambiguity, Muraoka argues that the function of the construction is to express the juxtaposition of volitions.

Muraoka concludes, summarizing:

> We would say that the syntagm in question does not have a *function* of formally indicating a purpose. A sequence of volitive verb forms is a series of so many expressions of the speaker's or writer's wish and will. The fact that in some cases the second verb can be more elegantly translated as indicating a purpose of the first is essentially a question of pragmatics and translation techniques, and not of descriptive grammar and syntax. Where one and the same syntagm or linguistic form appears to possess multiple translation values, but the choice boils down in the last analysis to the question of aesthetics, one becomes disinclined to assign those distinct patterns of translation as so many grammatical, syntactic functions, unless one is able to demonstrate that the choice between those different patterns of translation is conditioned by another grammatical, syntactic, or semantic factor (Muraoka 1997:240).

Several things can be mentioned concerning Muraoka's claims:

- It is not a new notion that most linguistic constructions are polysemous in nature, and that people use the polysemous linguistic constructions in communication, and that they understand them differently in different contexts. In other words, the construction is representative of a semantic potential. Which sense from that semantic potential is invoked can only be inferred from a specific context.

- Muraoka correctly identified that "a volitive form of a verb + a simple *waw* + a volitive form of a verb" is different from a לְ + infinitive and לְמַעַן construction. However, the difference itself does not indicate that "a volitive form of a verb + a simple *waw* + a volitive form of a verb" does not signify a purpose relation. It may be understood that different constructions are utilized to express purpose relations among *different domains* (see §2.2.1.1.1.4 and §2.2.2.1.9).

- Significant is the fact that Muraoka raises the question whether the second clause (i.e. "a simple *waw* + a volitive form of a verb") in "a volitive form of a verb + a simple *waw* + a volitive form of a verb" construction is a subordinate clause from the observation that it never precedes the matrix; after all, the inversion of the subordinate clause is often claimed to be a criterion of subordination (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 2004:425). Hence, Muraoka's assertion that the second clause in "a volitive form of a verb + a simple *waw* + a volitive form of a verb" is not a subordinate clause but a coordinated clause is valid. If so, either we have to accept that the alleged final clause is not a final clause or we may have to be open to the possibility that subordination and coordination cannot be a criterion for distinguishing purpose in "a volitive form of a verb + a simple *waw* + a volitive form of a verb" construction.

2.2.2.1.9 Payle (2000)

Payle (2000) investigates the conjunctionless final clause (i.e., purpose clause with a *waw*) in order to compare it with עֲבוּר and לְמַעַן purpose clauses. In particular, he explores verbal forms and participant encoding in the matrix and the final clause in order to identify features of conjunctionless final constructions and to specify whether the conjunctionless final clauses are employed in a discourse or narrative. In connection with the conjunctionless final clause, he also examines two problem areas: 1) the problem of coordination – subordination in purpose constructions and 2) the problem of a *weqatal* after the final clause.

Payle (2000:148ff) investigates verbal forms and subjects that occur in the matrix and the final clause. Payle (2000:148ff) categorizes the conjunctionless final clause into five groups according to verbal forms and subjects that occur in the matrix and the final clause.

Category A: Matrix: "Aufforderung" + Nachsatz 1st person

a. imperative + cohortative

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל֙ אֶל־שָׁא֔וּל הֶ֗רֶף וְאַגִּ֤ידָה לְּךָ֙ אֵת֙ אֲשֶׁר֩ דִּבֶּ֨ר יְהוָ֤ה אֵלַי֙ הַלָּ֔יְלָה וַיֹּ֥אמֶרו לֹ֖ו דַּבֵּֽר: ס	Then Samuel said to Saul, "Stop that I may tell[119] you what the LORD said to me this night." And he said to him, "Say on." (1 Sam 15:16)

Category B: Matrix: "Aufforderung" + 3rd person *yiqtol* in Nachsatz

a. imperative + 3rd person *yiqtol* in "Nachsatz"

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוָ֜ה אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֗ה הַשְׁכֵּ֤ם בַּבֹּ֙קֶר֙ וְהִתְיַצֵּב֙ לִפְנֵ֣י פַרְעֹ֔ה הִנֵּ֖ה יֹוצֵ֣א הַמָּ֑יְמָה וְאָמַרְתָּ֣ אֵלָ֔יו כֹּ֚ה אָמַ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה שַׁלַּ֥ח עַמִּ֖י וְיַֽעַבְדֻֽנִי:	Then the LORD said to Moses, "Rise up early in the morning and wait for Pharaoh, as he goes out to the water, and say to him, 'Thus says the LORD, "Let my people go, that they may serve me. (Exod 8:16)

In this example, יַעַבְדֻנִי is ambiguous as to whether it is of a short form or long form due to the suffix.

b. imperative + 3rd person *yiqtol* long form in the Nachsatz

בְּרִית֙ בֵּינִ֣י וּבֵינֶ֔ךָ בֵּ֚ין אָבִ֣י וּבֵ֣ין אָבִ֔יךָ הִנֵּ֨ה שָׁלַ֤חְתִּי לְךָ֙ שֹׁ֣חַד כֶּ֣סֶף וְזָהָ֔ב לֵ֣ךְ הָפֵ֗רָה אֶת־בְּרִֽיתְךָ֙ אֶת־בַּעְשָׁ֣א מֶֽלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל וְיַעֲלֶ֖ה מֵעָלָֽי:	"Let there be a league between me and you, as between my father and your father: behold, I am sending to you a present of silver and gold; go, break your league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may withdraw from me. (1 Kgs 15:19)

In 1 Kgs 15.19, the long form יַעֲלֶה is employed in the Nachsatz instead of the short form יַעַל. Although Payle (2000:159-160) regards this case as a final construction, he is not able to offer an explanation as to why the long form is employed instead of the short form.[120]

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[119] The rendering of the RSV was modified to express purpose.

Category C: interrogative (מִי, מָה, אֵיכָה, and interrogative ה) in the matrix

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הַגִּבְעֹנִים מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה לָכֶם וּבַמָּה אֲכַפֵּר וּבָרְכוּ אֶת־נַחֲלַת יְהוָה:

And David said to the Gibeonites, "What shall I do for you? And how shall I make expiation, that you may bless the heritage of the LORD?"   (2 Sam 21:3)

In 2 Sam 21:3, a final clause is occupied by an imperative.

After investigating the conjunctionless final construction categorized according to the groups above in Gen-2 Kgs, Payle (2000:185-186) concludes that:

(1) The matrix clause of a conjunctionless final construction is always occupied by an "Aufforderung" or interrogative sentence, and the Nachsatz by a *weyiqtol* (short form) in the 3rd person and cohortative in the 1st person. When a cohortative form occupies the matrix, the 1st person form in the Nachsatz is not non-cohortative.

(2) Conjunctionless final constructions are restricted to discourse or direct speech.

(3) Conjunctional and conjunctionless constructions cover different domains. 1st and 3rd person subjects are prevalent in conjunctionless final clauses, whereas 2nd and 3rd person subjects are predominate in conjunctional final clauses.

As far as the status of the conjunctionless final clause is concerned in terms of subordination-coordination, Payle maintains that the conjunctionless final clause is a subordinated clause to the matrix, even though the surface structure is coordination marked by a *waw*. According to him, in the conjunctionless final construction, subordination is dependent upon the syndetic juxtaposition of two verbal forms, viz., the final relation is realized between two successive verbal forms (i.e., in the matrix and the final clause respectively). Payle (2000:60) contends that two conditions must prevail between two successive verbal forms to realize a final relation.

- There must be a change in the verbal forms or subject;
- The first verbal form (i.e., the verbal form in the main clause) must be a form expressing "Aufforderung" and the second verbal form must be syndetic.

Based on the conditions mentioned above, Payle (2000:181-184) argues that the same verbal forms juxtaposed – e.g., two cohortatives (cohortative + *waw* copulative + cohortative) – cannot express a final relation, for he believes that subordination cannot be realized due to the same syntactic statuses of two juxtaposed clauses (e.g., 1 Sam 20:29 – two succeeding cohortatives; Gen 1:6 – two succeeding jussives).

וַיֹּאמֶר שַׁלְּחֵנִי נָא כִּי זֶבַח מִשְׁפָּחָה לָנוּ בָּעִיר וְהוּא צִוָּה־לִי אָחִי וְעַתָּה אִם־מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אִמָּלְטָה נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה אֶת־אֶחָי עַל־כֵּן לֹא־בָא אֶל־שֻׁלְחַן

He said, 'Let me go; for our family holds a sacrifice in the city, and my brother has commanded me to be there. So now, if I have

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[120] Baden (2008:154) regards this *weyiqtol* (*waw* copulative + long form imperfect) as a genuine purpose clause (see. § 2.2.2.1.10).

הַמֶּלֶךְ: ס   found favor in your eyes, let me get away, and see my brothers.' For this reason he has not come to the king's table.

(1 Sam 20:29)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמָּיִם וִיהִי מַבְדִּיל בֵּין מַיִם לָמָיִם: And God said, "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters." (Gen 1:6)

As far as the *weqatal* following a conjunctionless final clause is concerned, Payle argues that the *weqatal* is not employed to indicate a purpose relation. His contention is based on two hypotheses: 1) *weqatal* does not express modality, but rather expresses the indicative mood, and 2) *weqatal* occupies a sentence initial slot and, hence, cannot be subordinated. However, Payle's claim that *weqatal* cannot express modality contradicts most BH grammars. It is difficult to understand why Payle argues that *weqatal* cannot express modality, even though he is aware that a *weqatal* following an imperative will carry the volitional force forward. Furthermore, Payle argues that *weqatal* expresses real result, yet, in fact, after a final clause it does not. At most, it seems to express intended (desired) result (however, intended result is still hypothetical, not real). Hence, I am of the opinion that in line with traditional grammars, *weqatal* should be regarded as indicating modality. Furthermore, *weqatal* indicates a purpose relation when a *weqatal*, as a continuous form, follows a final clause.

Payle maintains that in a conjunctionless final clause, subordination and coordination is determined by the use of verbs that differ in ranking between the matrix and subordinate clause. Based on this claim, he contends that the 'imperfect + *waw* copulative + imperfect' combination, as well as the 'cohortative + *waw* copulative + cohortative' are not final constructions. However, he does not explain why we should regard, for instance, the jussive in a "cohortative + *waw* copulative + jussive" construction as occupying a lower syntactic status than the cohortative, that it might be subordinated to the preceding cohortative. If different verbal forms can be used as a criterion for determining coordination and subordination, he should have addressed how different verbal forms create a syntactic hierarchy or how verbal forms in lower statuses are dependent on the ones in a higher status. Although Payle attempted to prove that the conjunctionless clause (i.e., final clause with a *waw*) is a subordinate clause, he failed to do so. Hence, we argue that the conjunctionless final clause is a coordinated clause to the matrix and that subordination is not a determining factor with regards to whether or not the conjunctionless final clause expresses a final relation (see § 3.3.1.2.1.3 and 3.3.1.3).

Although Payle did not provide convincing evidence regarding the *weqatal* and the subordination-coordination problem, he did move the debate on the conjunctionless final clause a step forward. His investigation on participant encoding in the matrix and purpose clause established that conjunctional and conjunctionless purpose constructions are employed

in different domains. Furthermore, many of his result fits well with the typological result on purpose clauses (see §3.3.1.2.3).

2.2.2.1.10 Baden (2008)

In his investigation of the function of the *weyiqtol* (*waw* copulative + imperfect form) and the sequence of the volitive (the cohortative, the jussive, and the imperative), Baden criticizes current treatments of the final clause with a *waw* in that they fail to make a distinction between the imperfect and the cohortative or jussive in the final clause. He claims that in order to identify the purpose or result clause, a clear distinction between the voluntative and the imperfect should be made.

Morphologically, the distinction between the cohortative and the *yiqtol* in the *weyiqtol* form is obvious. However, the form of *yiqtol* in *weyiqtol* is sometimes ambiguous as to whether it really is the imperfect or the jussive. However, a morphological distinction is observed within II-weak verbs (e.g., וְיָקוּם and וְיָקֹם), Hiphil verbs (e.g., וְיַשְׁמִיד and וַיַּשְׁמֵד) and III-weak verbs (e.g., וְיַעֲלֶה, וַיַּעַל). Hence, Baden investigates the obvious cases of imperfect forms occurring with a *waw* copulative in order to identify the function of the *weyiqtol*. Baden examines eleven unambiguous cases of the *weyiqtol* occurring from Gen to 2 Kgs (Gen 1:9; Exod 2:7; Deut 13:12; Jdgs 19:11; 1 Sam 12:3; 2 Sam 19:38; 1 Kgs 12:9 (//2 Chron 10:9); 1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Kgs 4:10; 6:17). [121] Subsequent to the examination of the eleven examples, Baden (1008:155) concludes:

> "In none of these examples is one required to understand the form as something other than purpose or result."

> "This [purpose or result] is the only meaning that can apply equally well to all examples."

Based on the above result, Baden claims that even ambiguous *yiqtols* in *weyiqtols* can indicate purpose or result.

As for the volitive sequence, Baden argues for three possible functions: 1) consecution (*do X … and then Y*), 2) purpose (*do X … so that Y*), and 3) the continuation of volition (*do X … and do Y*). As for the distinction between them, Baden states:

> The issue is clear: when a volitive is followed by another volitive, it is impossible, based purely on the morpho-syntax, to determine whether the second form, the indirect volitive, is to be understood as simply continuing the volitivity of the first, expressing some sort of consecution, or expressing purpose or result (Baden 2008:156).

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[121] E.g., the ESV, KJV, NKJV, RSV, NRSV, NIV, and NJB regard תֵרָאֶה in Gen 1:9 as a jussive (וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִקָּווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מָקוֹם אֶחָד וְתֵרָאֶה הַיַּבָּשָׁה וַיְהִי־כֵן). However, Baden claims that it is an apparent imperfect morphologically (the final feminine ending ה indicates) and that it is in a volitive squence with יִקָּווּ, although יִקָּווּ is not marked as a jussive morphologically because of the plural ending.

Furthermore, based on markedness, Baden (2008:157-158) claims that "the volitive sequence is a three-tiered system, constructed in order of frequency."

- The first tier: volitive + volitive. This sequence is the most commonly occurring one. It is the simple, unmarked sequence. The basic meaning of the sequence is simple continued volitivity. However, it can take on a variety of meanings based on the logic of the context. "Among those meanings are the notions of consecution and purpose or result" (Baden 2008:158).

- The second tier: volitive + *weqatal*. It is marked for consecution, and has a connotation of consecution in the great majority of examples.

- The third tier: volitive + *weyiqtol*. It rarely occurs and represents a marked form. It explicitly denotes purpose or result.

In line with Driver (1892), Meek (1945, 1955) and Payle (2000), Baden is of the opinion that *weqatal* indicates consecution. However, Baden maintains that *weyiqtol* is marked and indicates purpose or result explicitly and that a *waw* + a volitive is the least marked, expressing various relations dependent upon the context – which contradicts most BH grammars' position that a *waw* + a volitive expresses purpose or result, while a *waw* + the imperfect (*weyiqtol*) is marginal. Furthermore, Baden's assertion that a *weqatal* indicates consecution can be called into a question, for it is in contradiction with most BH grammarians.

2.2.2.1.11 General concluding remarks to this section

Although BH grammarians identified that a final relation is realized by the construction 'voluntative/*yiqtol* with a *waw*,' they disagree with one another regarding the different relations that the construction specifies: purpose or result, design (intention), intended consequence, intended result, consecution. However, none of the BH grammarians define the notions for the concepts they employ. Hence, it is not apparent whether the different terms they use represent different opinions concerning the relations the construction with a *waw* designates. For this reason, BH grammarians fail to provide criteria for distinguishing the different relations the construction with a *waw* displays. Waltke & O'Connor (1990), Joüon-Muraoka (1991), and Baden (2008) claim that distinction between purpose and result can only be made contextually;[122] yet, the contextual criteria they provide are unfortunately minimal. On the contrary, Driver (1892), GKC, and Meek (1945, 1955) regard the result/consequence/consecutive clause as a separate entity from the purpose clause.

Although BH grammarians tried to provide criteria for determining whether or not the construction with a *waw* indicates a purpose relation in terms of the verbal forms of the matrix and the broader construction, they disagreed with one another regarding the verbal

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[122] Although Baden claims that *weqatal* indicates result, he also maintains that the final clause expresses purpose and result.

forms of the matrix and final clause. GKC, Mitchell (1915), Waltke and O'Connor (1990), Joüon-Muraoka (1991), and Baden (2008) take into consideration the verbal forms occurring in the matrix; however, they do not describe how these different verbal forms are relevant to understanding the features of the final clause (construction). Only Payle (2000) explicitly states that the verbal forms in the matrix must express Aufforderung or an interrogative so that the juxtaposed clauses are able to express a final construction (this is one condition).

The verbal forms occupying final clauses with a *waw* are mainly volitives and *yiqtol*s; yet, here too, there is disagreement among BH grammarians, e.g., Ewald (1879) only includes the voluntative (the jussive and cohortative), while GKC include the *yiqtol*, imperative, and *weqatal*. Contrary to most BH grammarians, Baden (2008) claims that *weyiqtol* is an explicitly marked form of a purpose/result clause, whereas a volitive is unmarked and has multiple functions.

Almost all of the BH grammarians are aware that the final clause introduced by a copulative *waw* is, syntactically speaking, coordinating while its semantic structure is of subordination. Hence, some grammarians use subordination and coordination as a criterion for determining whether or not a construction introduced by a *waw* is a final clause. Payle (2000) treats the coordination and subordination problem in the final clause with a *waw*, claiming that subordination in this type of clause is realized by two juxtaposed verbs; however, it is not convincing. Contrary to most BH grammarians, Muraoka (1997) claims that the alleged final clause does not realize a purpose or result relation, but indicates the juxtaposition of volitions. He argues that a purpose/result function is not descriptive but a matter of translation. According to him, the alleged final clause with a *waw* is not a final clause for it is not a subordinate but a coordinate clause, viz., the juxtaposition of volition. Syntactically speaking, Muraoka's assertion that the alleged final clause with a *waw* is a coordinate clause to the matrix is valid, even though we do not agree that the construction indicates only the juxtaposition of volition. Hence, the criterion of using subordination to determine whether a construction introduced by a *waw* is a final clause or not should be investigated further (see §3.3.1.2.1.3 and 3.3.1.3).

As for the paradigmatic relations between the final clause with a *waw* and the ones introduced by a final conjunction, only Payle (2000) provides the difference between the two, namely, that conjunctional and conjunctionless constructions cover different domains (§2.2.2.1.9).

2.2.2.2 לְ + infinitive construction

2.2.2.2.1 GKC
GKC (1910:349) distinguishes three different functions of the construction "לְ + infinitive construct:"

a. to express purpose or aim (e.g., Gen 11:5)

וַיֵּרֶד יְהוָֹה לִרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ בְּנֵי הָאָדָם: — And the LORD came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men had built.

(Gen 11:5)

b. to introduce the object of an action, i.e., לְ + infinitive construct is used as the object of a governing verb[123]

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הָאֱלֹהִים בַּחֲלֹם גַּם אָנֹכִי יָדַעְתִּי כִּי בְתָם־לְבָבְךָ עָשִׂיתָ זֹּאת וָאֶחְשֹׂךְ גַּם־אָנֹכִי אוֹתְךָ מֵחֲטוֹ־לִי עַל־כֵּן לֹא־נְתַתִּיךָ לִנְגֹּעַ אֵלֶיהָ: — Then God said to him in the dream, "Yes, I know that you have done this in the integrity of your heart, and it was I who kept you from sinning against me; therefore I did not let you touch her." (Gen 20:6)

c. to state motives or attendant circumstances

הֲלוֹא קְצִיר־חִטִּים הַיּוֹם אֶקְרָא אֶל־יְהוָֹה וְיִתֵּן קֹלוֹת וּמָטָר וּדְעוּ וּרְאוּ כִּי־רָעַתְכֶם רַבָּה אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂיתֶם בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָֹה לִשְׁאוֹל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ: ס — "Is it not wheat harvest today? I will call upon the LORD, that he may send thunder and rain; and you shall know and see that your wickedness is great, which you have done in the sight of the LORD, in asking for yourselves a king." (1 Sam 12:17)

As for the semantics of the construction "לְ + infinitive construct" GKC (1910:348) argues that it is derived from "the fundamental meaning of לְ, i.e., *direction towards something*."

GKC (1910:504) only briefly mentions the construction "לְ + infinitive construct" as "the equivalent of a final clause."

2.2.2.2.2 Mitchell (1915)

Mitchell exhaustively investigates the constructions 'לְ + infinitive' and 'לְ + noun' that indicate a final relationship between itself and the finite verb.

According to Mitchell, these two constructions can signify various relations in regards to the meaning of לְ. According to Mitchell (1915:105), the original meaning of לְ is 'toward,' being capable of indicating various directions, viz., pointing out in prospect or retrospect to whom a given act is/was performed. Thus לְ "has the force of *in view of* as well as *with a view to*, in other words, it denotes cause as well as purpose" (Mitchell 1915:105). Mitchell (1915:106) even claims that לְ may denote not only purpose, but cause, concomitance and result, and that "care is necessary to avoid mistaking one or another of the last three from the first." According to Mitchell (1915:106), the distinction between them is dependent on the semantics of the preposition לְ. In this regard, Mitchell (1915:106) states:

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[123] The verbs occurring most frequently with an infinitive are as follows: חָדַל, יָסַף, הוֹסִיף, הוֹאִיל, הֵחֵל, הֵחֵל. קָוָה, לָמַד, יָדַע, נָתַן, יָכֹל, בִּקֵּשׁ, מֵאַן, חָפֵץ, אָבָה, מִהַר, הִקְרִיב, תָּמַם, כִּלָּה. Notably, these verbs occur more frequently with an infinitive without לְ (GKC 1910:350).

> When the preposition has a final sense it directs attention to the end at which the subject aims in performing the act described. This act is supposed to be the proper means of attaining the end in view; hence there is implied a probability of its attainment. The probability implied borders so closely on assurance that the construction is often found where the historical sequence would be more exact, but, so long as לְ retains its place, the realization of the purpose may be denied.

However, Mitchell does not show how to determine whether the preposition לְ has a final sense or not.

Firstly, Mitchell makes a distinction between 'לְ + infinitive construct' and 'לְ + noun.' Mitchell investigates the relationship between the subject of 'לְ + infinitive construct/noun' and that of the finite verb. In addition, he also takes into consideration the general character of the finite verbs as well as other constructions that are followed by לְ in a final signification.

1. Mitchell (1915:107-127) distinguishes five different categories in regards to the subject of the לְ + an infinitive final construction.

(1) The subject of the infinitive is at the same time the subject of the finite verb (Gen 23:2).

| וַתָּ֣מָת שָׂרָ֗ה בְּקִרְיַ֥ת אַרְבַּ֛ע הִ֥וא חֶבְר֖וֹן בְּאֶ֣רֶץ כְּנָ֑עַן וַיָּבֹא֙ אַבְרָהָ֔ם לִסְפֹּ֥ד לְשָׂרָ֖ה וְלִבְכֹּתָֽהּ׃ | And Sarah died at Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the land of Canaan; and Abraham went in to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her.   (Gen 23:2) |

(2) The subject of the infinitive is the same as the object of the finite verb (Gen 39:14).

| וַתִּקְרָ֞א לְאַנְשֵׁ֤י בֵיתָהּ֙ וַתֹּ֣אמֶר לָהֶ֣ם לֵאמֹ֔ר רְא֗וּ הֵ֤בִיא לָ֨נוּ֙ אִ֣ישׁ עִבְרִ֔י לְצַ֖חֶק בָּ֑נוּ בָּ֤א אֵלַי֙ לִשְׁכַּ֣ב עִמִּ֔י וָאֶקְרָ֖א בְּק֥וֹל גָּדֽוֹל׃ | She called to the men of her household and said to them, "See, he has brought among us a Hebrew to insult us; he came in to me to lie with me, and I cried out with a loud voice.˙   (Gen 39:14) |

(3) The subject of the infinitive is loosely connected with the finite verb (Gen 6 20).

| מֵהָע֣וֹף לְמִינֵ֗הוּ וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה֙ לְמִינָ֔הּ מִכֹּ֛ל רֶ֥מֶשׂ הָֽאֲדָמָ֖ה לְמִינֵ֑הוּ שְׁנַ֧יִם מִכֹּ֛ל יָבֹ֥אוּ אֵלֶ֖יךָ לְהַֽחֲיֽוֹת׃ | Of the birds according to their kinds, and of the animals according to their kinds, of every creeping thing of the ground according to its kind, two of every sort shall come in to you, to keep alive.[124]   (Gen 6 20) |

(4) The subject of the infinitive is a word not found in the principal clause (Num 35:6).

| וְאֵ֣ת הֶעָרִ֗ים אֲשֶׁ֤ר תִּתְּנוּ֙ לַלְוִיִּ֔ם אֵ֛ת שֵׁשׁ־עָרֵ֥י הַמִּקְלָ֖ט אֲשֶׁ֣ר תִּתְּנ֗וּ לָנֻ֥ס שָׁ֖מָּה הָרֹצֵ֑חַ וַעֲלֵיהֶ֣ם תִּתְּנ֔וּ אַרְבָּעִ֥ים וּשְׁתַּ֖יִם עִֽיר׃ | The cities which you give to the Levites shall be the six cities of refuge, where you shall permit the manslayer to flee, and in addition to them you shall give forty-two cities. |

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[124] לְהַֽחֲיֽוֹת is rendered "to keep alive."

(Num 35:6)

(5) The subject of the infinitive is indefinite and the verb may often be rendered by the English passive (Exod 25:14).

וְהֵבֵאתָ֤ אֶת־הַבַּדִּים֙ בַּטַּבָּעֹ֔ת עַ֖ל צַלְעֹ֣ת הָאָרֹ֑ן לָשֵׂ֥את אֶת־הָאָרֹ֖ן בָּהֶֽם׃

And put the poles into the rings at the sides of the ark in order to carry the ark by them.
(Exod 25:14)

As for the general character of the finite verb, the signification of the finite verbs differentiated by Mitchell may be subsumed under 'movement' (e.g., come, go, haste, flee, approach, depart, bring, send, snatch, drive, cause to approach, depart, give, take, stand, sit, turn, bend, seize, smite, raise, set, turn, bend, etc.).

2. When לְ with a noun signifies a final relation, an abstract noun is often employed (Mitchell 1915:127-132).[125]

(1) after a verb denoting movement (e.g., Deut 10:11)

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוָ֜ה אֵלַ֗י ק֣וּם לֵ֤ךְ לְמַסַּע֙ לִפְנֵ֣י הָעָ֔ם וְיָבֹ֙אוּ֙ וְיִֽרְשׁ֣וּ אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּ֥עְתִּי לַאֲבֹתָ֖ם לָתֵ֥ת לָהֶֽם׃ פ

And the LORD said to me, 'Arise, go on your journey at the head of the people, that they may go in and possess the land, which I swore to their fathers to give them.'
(Deut 10:11)

(2) after nouns (e.g., Jer 18:23)

וְאַתָּ֣ה יְ֠הוָה יָדַ֜עְתָּ אֶֽת־כָּל־עֲצָתָ֤ם עָלַי֙ לַמָּ֔וֶת אַל־תְּכַפֵּר֙ עַל־עֲוֺנָ֔ם וְחַטָּאתָ֛ם מִלְּפָנֶ֖יךָ אַל־תֶּ֑מְחִי וְיִֽהְי֤וּ מֻכְשָׁלִים֙ לְפָנֶ֔יךָ בְּעֵ֥ת אַפְּךָ֖ עֲשֵׂ֥ה בָהֶֽם׃ ס

Yet, you, O LORD, know all their plotting to slay me. Forgive not their iniquity, nor blot out their sin from your sight. Let them be overthrown before you; deal with them in the time of your anger.   (Jer 18:23) (YCK)

Secondly, Mitchell (1915:115ff) recognizes that the construction לְ + infinitive construct points to "a probable outcome of the act described," i.e., result or consequence (e.g., Exod 39:3, Lev 22:8).

נְבֵלָ֣ה וּטְרֵפָ֔ה לֹ֥א יֹאכַ֖ל לְטָמְאָה־בָ֑הּ אֲנִ֖י יְהוָֽה׃

That which dies of itself or is torn by beasts he shall not eat, and so defile himself by it:[126] I am the LORD.'   (Lev 22:8)

In short, Mitchell distinguishes different categories according to the subject of לְ + infinitive constructions. Furthermore, Mitchell established that לְ + infinitive constructions may indicate

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[125] In this regard, Mitchell (1915:127) states that "many abstract nouns are, in fact, merely infinitives with a feminine ending. It is therefore not strange that, even in this form, they should, like infinitives, be found in final constructions."

[126] The rendering of the RSV was modified to make the result relation clear.

both purpose and result. When it signifies a purpose relation, the main verbs generally indicate movement.

2.2.2.2.3 Waltke & O'Connor (1990)

Among the variety of uses of a לְ + an infinitive construct, Waltke & O'Connor (1990:606) also recognize that the construction signifies both a purpose (1 Kgs 5:14) and a result relation (a consequence of the main verb) (e.g., Deut 9:18).

Waltke & O'Connor (1990:606) mention that the "infinitive purpose or final clauses are similar to purpose clauses with finite verbs" comparing Num 27:20 with 1 Kgs 5:14. However they do not further explicate what this claim means.

וְנָתַתָּ֥ה מֵהֽוֹדְךָ֖ עָלָ֑יו לְמַ֣עַן יִשְׁמְע֔וּ כָּל־עֲדַ֖ת בְּנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	You shall invest him with some of your authority, that all the congregation of the people of Israel may obey. (Num 27:20)
וַיָּבֹ֙אוּ֙ מִכָּל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים לִשְׁמֹ֕עַ אֵ֖ת חָכְמַ֣ת שְׁלֹמֹ֑ה מֵאֵת֙ כָּל־מַלְכֵ֣י הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁ֥ר שָׁמְע֖וּ אֶת־חָכְמָתֽוֹ׃ ס	And men came from all peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and from all the kings of the earth, who had heard of his wisdom. (1 Kgs 5:14)

2.2.2.2.4 Joüon-Muraoka (1991)

Joüon-Muraoka (1991:432ff) distinguish between the nominal and verbal uses of the infinitive construct. Among the latter, they claim that the infinitive construct with a לְ is employed to indicate a purpose or result relation. According to Joüon-Muraoka, a purpose or result relation is dependent upon the semantics of לְ, which has various nuances: strong, weak, or even almost *nil*.[127] When לְ is used with a strong value for the direction, aim, or purpose of an action, the לְ + infinitive construct construction signifies a purpose or result (Joüon-Muraoka 1991:436). However, they do not provide any explicit criteria for determining the value of לְ.

As Joüon-Muraoka (1991:637) believe that "the notions of purpose and result are often expressed by the same means," they (1991:436) also argue that לְ + infinitive construct expresses purpose or consecution.

a. purpose of an action (e.g., Gen 31:19)

וְלָבָ֣ן הָלַ֔ךְ לִגְזֹ֖ז אֶת־צֹאנ֑וֹ וַתִּגְנֹ֣ב רָחֵ֔ל אֶת־הַתְּרָפִ֖ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר לְאָבִֽיהָ׃	Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and Rachel stole her father's household gods. (Gen 31:19)

b. consecution (result) (e.g., 1 Kgs 2:27)

וַיְגָ֨רֶשׁ שְׁלֹמֹ֜ה אֶת־אֶבְיָתָ֗ר מִהְי֥וֹת כֹּהֵ֖ן לַֽיהוָ֑ה לְמַלֵּא֙ אֶת־דְּבַ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֧ר דִּבֶּ֛ר עַל־בֵּ֥ית עֵלִ֖י	So Solomon expelled Abiathar from being priest to the Lᴏʀᴅ, thus fulfilling the word of

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[127] English "to" and German "zu."

בְּשִׁלֹה: פ the LORD which he had spoken concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh.   (1 Kgs 2:27)

In other words, Joüon-Muraoka fail to provide a criterion for distinguishing between purpose and result. In addition, Joüon-Muraoka (1991:634) only briefly mention other constructions that are in a paradigmatic relationship with לְ + infinitive constructions.

2.2.2.2.5 Summary

- לְ + infinitive construct constructions can indicate purpose or result. However, BH grammarians provide minimal criteria for differentiating between these relations.

- When a לְ + infinitive construct construction denotes a final relation, the finite verbs on which the construction depends, generally signify movement in terms of semantics (Mitchell 1915; GKC 1910). However, the available description of the לְ + infinitive construction does not describe other final constructions that are or could be in a paradigmatic relationship with this construction.

2.2.2.3 General concluding remarks to this section

The construction with a *waw* specifies various relations such as purpose, result, and the juxtaposition of volitions. A לְ + infinitive construct can also indicate purpose or result. However, adequate and structural criteria for distinguishing between the different relations have not yet been provided.

As for the paradigmatic relations between the final clause with a *waw* and the ones introduced by the final conjunctions בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן, only Payle (2000) provides convincing evidence that they are used in different domains (see §2.2.1.1.1.4, 2.2.1.2.1.6, and 2.2.2.1.9). However, Payle (2000:17) fails to include the construction 'לְ + infinitive construct' into his investigation, despite being aware that this construction is also employed to indicate a purpose relation.

Muraoka (1997) raised a question of whether the conjunctionless final clause with a *waw* is really a final clause. Another question was born out from this question: can subordination be a criterion for determining whether the construction with a *waw* is a purpose clause or not?

2.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Studies on the lexical items that are assumed to indicate a purpose or result relation, and the treatment of the lexical items in BH lexica have shown:

- There is a difference of opinion about the word class(es) of the lexical items under consideration. None of the studies investigated provide explicit criteria for defining a specific word class of the lexical items.

- BH linguists fail to define the meaning of the lexical items with which we are concerned. An etymological description underlies the semantic model of most of the target lexemes; however, the etymological descriptions of these lexemes seldom provide insight into

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how they are used and/or the specific nuances each may express. I want to hypothesize that a more exhaustive description of the uses of these lexemes holds the key towards a better understanding of them and the constructions in which they occur.

- BH linguists differ in their opinions as to the relations that the lexical items specify, even though BH linguists recognized that the lexical items indicate various relations. However, none of studies investigated has examined the relationships between the different relations, or to be more specific, why a particular lexeme or construction is chosen over another.

- Furthermore, when a lexical item or construction can display various relations, most of the studies we investigated rarely provide an explicit set of criteria for identifying these different relations.

- BH linguists seldom fully acknowledged the fact that the scope of the lexemes and constructions could reach beyond that of a sentence. Apart from the study of Payle (2000), little systematic study has yet been done to determine the nature of this scope and/or whether the difference in the extent and type of scope correlates with the use of particular lexemes and or constructions.

- None of the studies have structurally described the paradigmatic relation between the different types of purpose constructions. Payle (2000) only provides a paradigmatic relation between בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן final clauses and the conjunctionless final clause with a *waw*.

BH lexica show a variety of data types that are assumed to contribute towards defining the meaning or distinguishing the meanings/senses of the lexical items we are concerned with:

- Comparative and etymological material: As the semantic model of BDB and HALOT is largely comparative and etymological, the comparative and etymological considerations occupy a prominent place. For instance, they often lemmatize not by the actual form but by a hypothetical reconstruction. Furthermore, the comparative and etymological material comes from cognate languages comparable to BH; however, BDB and HALOT fail to show how this information contributes towards defining the meaning of a word. In fact, comparative and etymological material may be a description of hypothetical historical origins or prehistoric processes of change, but they should not be regarded as constituting some sort of semantic relationship between BH words and cognate forms (Barr 1983:45). Hence, comparative and etymological information does not necessarily aid in defining the meaning of the target lexemes. As we stated in the beginning of our overview of BH lexica, grammarians fail to provide a definition of the lexical items with which we are concerned, and instead merely provide translation values. Translation values are not the meaning of a word but are rather simply target language lexical items that may be used to substitute the source language item in a specific situation (Gouws & Prinsloo 2005:153). Translation values only show a rough classification of distinguishable senses or relations that the target lexemes may indicate.

- Syntagmatic information: BDB, HALOT, and DCH provide syntagmatic information to determine the different meanings/senses. In particular, DCH provides an exhaustive list of syntagmatic information; however, syntagmatic information only partly helps in distinguishing the different senses.

- Contextual information: BDB, HALOT, and DCH only provide some contextual information in distinguishing the different senses. Hence, they too only partly help to differentiate among the senses.

- Paradigmatic information: BDB, HALOT, and DCH also provide some paradigmatic information; however, they disagree with one another in regard to their understanding of this information.

This study is an investigation into the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן in addition to other grammatical constructions relevant to the lexical items. A literature overview of BH linguistics and existing BH lexica in section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 demonstrated that although the current insights provide some useful information, there still lacks an adequate frame of reference for describing the lexical items.

This study will seek the answers to the following questions in order to establish an adequate theoretical frame of reference for the description of the lexical items in order to provide proper data types for compiling a dictionary:

- What is the meaning of the lexical items? How should we describe the meaning of the lexical items? How many meanings/senses should be distinguished? What is the relationship between the different meanings/senses?

- What relations do the lexical items display? When they specify various relations, what relations do they designate? How should they be distinguished? What is the connection between the different relations?

- The conjunctionless final clauses that form paradigmatic relations with the lexical items will also be investigated. In connection with a conjunctionless final clause, a fundamental question was raised by Muraoka (1997) as to whether or not the construction is a final construction despite of syntactic coordination.

CHAPTER 3

THE SEMANTICS OF CONNECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, it was shown that current descriptions of the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן display some shortcomings. Scholars do not agree with one another in terms of the meanings/senses of the lexical items, nor in regards to the different relationships that they specify. Indeed, they are unable to define the meanings/senses of the lexical items due to the wanting of adequate theoretical frames of reference. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to further investigate the problem areas identified in the preceding chapter.

Lexical items are categories of senses. Hence, defining the meaning of a linguistic item is an issue of categorization in nature. Empirical studies on categorization have established that people categorize things not by means of the necessary and sufficient conditions assumed by the classical approach, but with reference to a prototype (Ungerer & Schmid 1996 1-20).

What is the meaning of a word, and how is this meaning defined? Traditional approaches to the meaning of a linguistic expression typically regard the meaning of a word as an object to be found objectively, and distinguish between semantics (linguistic knowledge) and pragmatics (encyclopedic knowledge) (Geeraerts 2010:110-111). Then it focuses on linguistic knowledge to define the meaning of a word. It studies meaning in terms of relations between expressions within a language, viz., this approach deals with the paradigmatic relations (e.g., synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy, etc.) and syntagmatic relations (e.g., a word's collocations) between linguistic expressions (Taylor 2002b:192), and "meaning is equated with sets of relations between linguistic expressions." However, the syntagmatic and paradigmatic information of a word cannot be equated to the meaning of a word (Taylor 2002b:190, 192). More problematic is the fact that this approach operates upon the assumption that there is a categorical distinction between grammatical and content words. Recent developments in cognitive linguistics have shown that the meaning of content and grammatical words should rather be treated as two poles on a continuum of linguistic meaning. They do not belong to two modules of the mind – the grammar and the lexicon (Langacker 2008:5).

Linguistic constructions, typically, can have more than one meaning. Hence, defining meaning inevitably involves the theory of distinguishing different meanings/senses and the relationship between these meanings/senses.

This chapter has the following goals:

Firstly, the ultimate goal is to describe purpose/result connectives in BH. Hence, the first goal of the chapter is to investigate general semantic principles of linguistic expressions that can

apply to purpose/result connectives of BH. For this purpose, we particularly rely on cognitive semantics to answer the following questions.

- What is the meaning of a linguistic expression?
- What is the meaning made of?
- How are the meanings of a word defined?
- How are different meanings/senses of a word distinguished?
- What is the relationship between different meanings/senses?
- What is the function of connectives in terms of cognitive principles?

Secondly, we are specifically concerned with purpose/result constructions across languages in order to establish criteria for describing these constructions in BH. For this purpose, the following questions will be investigated.

- What is the purpose, result, cause and reason constructions?
- What are the criteria for distinguishing between purpose, result, cause and reason constructions?

The chapter proceeds as follows:

We commence with investigating the categorization and definition of the meaning of linguistic items. The theories of categorization will be overviewed in §3.2.1 and §3.2.2. Then, we investigate the meanings of linguistic expressions focusing on the conceptual view of linguistic meaning (§3.2.3). Then in conjunction with this study, the function of connectives will be investigated in terms of cognitive principles (§3.2.4). Some brief summary remarks will then be offered (§3.2.5).

§3.3 investigates purpose, result, cause, and reason constructions. §3.3.1 investigates the purpose construction from a typological perspective. It presents the typological features of purpose constructions across languages in terms of purposive markers, verb forms, participant encoding, and the position of purpose clauses. This is followed by a discussion of the avertive construction (negative purpose construction). Based on the typology of purpose constructions, the problem of subordination and coordination will be considered in order to answer the questions raised by Payle (2000) and Muraoka (1997) of the preceding chapter, viz., 1) can subordination and coordination be determined by verbal forms in BH? 2) cannot the alleged purpose construction with *waw* in BH be a purpose construction? §3.3.2-3.3.4 investigates the result construction, cause construction and reason constructions. Some criteria will be suggested for distinguishing between result, cause, and purpose constructions. In §3.4, the findings of these sections are summarized.

3.2 COGNITIVE CATEGORIZATION AND DEFINING THE MEANING OF LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION

The goal of this section is to investigate the complexities of the way people actually categorize, and the relationship between categorization (the mental process of classification) and the definition of linguistic expressions.

3.2.1 The Classical Theory of Categorization

The classical approach to categorization goes back to Aristotle. He distinguishes between the essence of a thing which makes a thing what it is and accidents that play no part in the determination of what a thing is.

In semantics, Katz & Fodor (1963:185-186) and Katz & Postal (1964:13ff) employ the classical approach to categorization. They claim that the meaning of a word can be decomposed into its atomic concepts (features): 1) semantic markers which are a set of universal primitives, and 2) distinguishers which reflect what is idiosyncratic about its meaning.[128] These atomic concepts define the essence of a linguistic meaning. If any one feature is missing, the entity does not qualify for belonging to a specific category.

The classical theory of categorization is based on the following assumptions: 1) Categories are defined in terms of a set of necessary and sufficient features; 2) Features are binary, i.e., features are a matter of all or nothing; 3) Categories have clear boundaries, i.e., the set of entities that belong to a category are clearly defined; 4) All members of a category have equal status, i.e., all members exhibit all of the defining features.

However, the classical approach to categories has several problems: 1) Semantic markers, proposed to be conceptually primitive (atomic concept), are not conceptually simple. As Wittgenstein (1953:32-33) pointed out with the example of *game*, many concepts cannot be categorized in terms of necessary and sufficient features. In a classical category, all members are equal. However, empirical research has revealed that some members of a category are judged 'better' or 'more representative' of the category than others; 4) The classical approach fails to provide an account of why category boundaries are fuzzy (Croft & Cruse 2004:77);[129]

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[128] For instance, a second meaning of bachelor is decomposed into the semantic marker HUMAN, and the distinguisher HAVING THE FIRST or LOWEST ACADEMIC DEGREE.

[129] Ungerer & Schmid (1996:15) distinguish two different types of boundaries and transition zones. One type of transition zone arises from the observation that some concrete entities do not have clear-cut boundaries in reality, e.g., knee and other body parts, or valley, or mountain. The other type of transition arises from the cognitive classification, e.g., transition zone between chairs and non-chairs in the collection of chairs in a chair museum. In the chair museum, it is not entities that merge into each other, but categories of entities and these categories are the product of cognitive classification. The entities are not vague, but the boundaries of cognitive categories. To distinguish between the two types of vagueness, Ungerer & Schmid use the term 'vague entity,' and 'vagueness' for the first type, and 'fuzzy category boundaries' or 'fuzziness' for the second. However, there are many cases in

5) Classical categories have a special status. "The[y] are what we might call 'expert categories'" (Taylor 2003b:39).

Although the classical view that categories, based on shared features, is not entirely wrong, and people often do categorize on that basis, categorization is far more complex than this.[130] Humans do not categorize by using the necessary and sufficient conditions assumed by the classical approach, but rather do so with reference to a prototype.

3.2.2 The Prototype Theory of Categorization

Categorization is more complex than what the classical approach suggests. An alternative to the classical approach to categorization is a prototype approach which derives from the work of Wittgenstein (1953), and the empirical results of a wide range of disciplines.

Entities are categorized on the basis of their attributes (Taylor 2003b:44).[131] The attributes themselves do not have binary features. Attributes are properties of real-world entities which are readily accessible to competent users of a language in virtue of their acquaintance with the world around them. Hence, attributes cannot be limited to tangible properties, but might sometimes be functional, or interactional.

Labov (1973:352-370) performed a series of experiments to see how people categorize entities using line drawings of cup-like objects of which ratios of width and depth are different. For instance, there were five cups with increasing ratios of width with a constant depth, and five cups with increasing ratios of depth with a constant width.

When the subjects were simply asked to name them (neutral context), the subjects increasingly referred to the objects as bowls as the ratios of width increased. However, there was no clear dividing line between cup and bowl. The category merged gradually into the other. In categorizing a cup, it is not categorized according to whether the cup has the attributes or not, but according to how the dimensions of the cup approximate to the optimum value, viz., the ratio of width to depth (i.e., attributes) is regarded as a continuous variable. In

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which vagueness and fuzziness coincide, e.g., a mountain range in the real world is not clearly delimited (vague) and its cognitive category has not clear boundaries (fuzzy).

[130] Geeraerts (2002:290) argues that a componential analysis retains its value as a heuristic tool for the description and comparison of lexical meanings, for there can be no semantic description without some sort of decompositional analysis. The prototypist's reaction against this approach based on features does not necessarily mean that prototypical theories reject every kind of componential analysis.

[131] In cognitive linguistics, a distinction between 'feature' and 'attribute' is made. The term 'feature' is employed for the abstract features of the classical approach, while the term 'attribute' is utilized for alternative, non-classical theories of categorization. Attributes are characteristics or typical aspects of a category. However, attributes are not aspects as a limited set of necessary and sufficient conditions that is used to define a category in the classical theory of categorization.

addition, it was identified that different functional settings affected categorization, viz., categorization was different according to different situations with the entities. When the same subjects were shown the same drawing in three different contexts (for example, when they were asked to name in a coffee context),[132] cup-responses increased, while a bowl judgment increased when they imagined a food situation. This implies that attributes cannot be limited to tangible properties only. This further implies that a clean separation between a speaker's world knowledge and his purely linguistic knowledge is impossible, i.e., a strict dichotomy between semantics and pragmatics cannot be tenable in defining the meaning of a linguistic expression.

Categories are not uniform, but some members are better examples of the category than others (Berlin & Kay 1969:10). Berlin & Kay (1969:10) identified the existence of focal colors in a series of experiments. In the first experiment, when subjects from 20 different languages were asked to indicate for each basic color term x in their languages, the subjects chose the same areas of the color space from an array of Munsell color chips.[133] Berlin & Kay called theses clusters of best examples focal colors. The foci of color categories are similar among totally unrelated languages. In the second experiment, Berlin & Kay (1969:15) asked the subjects to point out the boundaries of each color category, i.e., to point out all the chips in the array of which color may be denoted by a given color term. The subjects designated foci easily, while they hesitated for long periods before indicating the boundaries of color, viz., indicating the boundaries of colors was more difficult than assigning foci.

Category membership is not determined according to distinctive features, but members of a category form a family resemblance relationship. Wittgenstein (1953: 32-33) pointed out that the classical category which has clear boundaries and which is defined by common features does not fit a category such as "game," for there are no common features shared by all games. Wittgenstein also observed that the category "game" could be extended by introducing new kinds of games, provided they resembled previous games in appropriate ways.

Some categories, e.g., color, are graded and have inherent degrees of membership (central members, peripheral members) and fuzzy boundaries (Ungerer & Schmid 1996:18; Taylor 2003b:45). Other categories, e.g., bird, have clear boundaries; but within those boundaries there are graded prototype effects – some category members are better examples of the category than others.

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[132] For example, in a coffee context, subjects were asked to imagine that they saw someone with the object in his hand, stirring in sugar with a spoon, and drinking coffee from it.

[133] Using a set of 29 color chips Berlin & Kay began their experiment with the elicitation of basic color terms in the elicitation interview with informants from 20 languages. The eleven basic color categories were extracted: white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange and grey.

Good examples are regarded as prototypes of a particular category, and prototypes play important roles in the formation and learning of categories (Rosch 1973:121-122; Rosch, Simpson & Miller 1976:497). The most typical member of a category is perceptually more salient than a non-prototypical member. In addition, it is salient in memory – both short-term memory and long-term memory (Heider 1971: 448-449; 1972:19).

Semantic categories have an internal structure: a high agreement of goodness-of-example rankings was identified between subjects. This implies that the degree of membership of a category is psychologically real (Rosch 1975b:198).

Rosch (1975b) identified that the concept of internal structure is applicable to the semantic classifications of common objects in everyday use. In a series of experiments, subjects make meaningful judgments about the internal structure of semantic categories, i.e., the degree to which instances are good or poor members of categories, e.g., when 200 American college students were asked to judge the goodness of the category members of ten categories using a seven-point-scale (one point for very good examples, four for moderately good examples, and seven points for very poor examples).[134] The result shows: 1) when subjects rated members of categories, they did not perform the task according to the classical view of categorization (Rosch 1975b:198); 2) a high agreement of goodness-of-example rankings between subjects was identified (Rosch 1975b:198).

Categories tend to become organized in such a way that they are maximally discriminable from other categories at the same level of contrast; hence, the most prototypical members of a category are those with the least resemblance to, or membership in, other categories. On the other hand, the most prototypical members of common superordinate and basic level categories are those that bear the greatest family resemblance to other members of their own category and have the least overlap with other categories. In addition, family resemblances are undoubtedly a principle of prototype formation (Rosch & Mervis 1975:599).

3.2.3 Meanings of a Linguistic Expression

In linguistics, two different approaches to linguistic meaning are identified: 1) the dictionary view based on the traditional view of categorization, and 2) the conceptual view based on prototype theory.

3.2.3.1 The dictionary view

The dictionary view of meaning makes a strict distinction between linguistic knowledge, which relates to the mental dictionary (mental lexicon) and world or non-linguistic knowledge (i.e., cultural knowledge, social knowledge which concerns our experience of and interaction with others, and physical knowledge which concerns our experience of interaction with the world). The dictionary view regards only linguistic knowledge as the domain of

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[134] Items between fifty and sixty were listed under ten category names. The ten categories were fruit, bird, vehicle, vegetable, sport, tool, toy, furniture, weapon, and clothing (Rosch 1975b:197-198).

lexical semantics. For this reason, a strict distinction between semantics and pragmatics is maintained (Evans & Green 2006:207; Langacker 2008:38).

The dictionary view of meaning assumes that word meanings have a semantic core that can be distinguished from other non-essential aspects of a word's meaning. However, the distinction between core meaning (semantic knowledge) and other kinds of knowledge (pragmatic knowledge) is arbitrary. Recall the experiment of Labov (1973): the same cup-like vessels were judged (defined) differently according to different contexts and functions. Words are never represented independent of context,[135] but are always understood in relation to frames or domains of experience (see §3.2.3.2.2). Semantic knowledge cannot be separated from pragmatic knowledge, nor can linguistic knowledge be separated from world knowledge. The distinctions are not hard and fast, but matters of degree.

3.2.3.2 Conceptual view

The meanings of linguistic expressions do not exist independently of the minds of speakers as an object to be found. Rather, the meanings of linguistic expressions are found in the minds of speakers who produce and understand the expressions.

3.2.3.2.1 Meaning is conceptualization

Semantic structure – which refers to the meaning of an expression – is conceptual structure.[136] Language refers to concepts in the mind of the speaker rather than to objects in the external world. In other words, the meaning of an expression (e.g., tree) is the 'idea' of a tree, a 'concept,' a mental entity located in the mind of a language user. The meaning of a word resides in conceptualization, which is dynamic in nature.[137]

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[135] For instance, deictic expressions such as *today* and *tomorrow*, cannot be understood fully in isolation from context.

[136] Semantic structure is a pole of the symbolic structure of language. Language is symbolic in nature, i.e., linguistic expressions symbolize conceptualizations. To serve this function, a language needs three kinds of structures: semantic, phonological and symbolic, the latter of which indicates the relations between a phonological and semantic structure. Phonological structure refers to the overt manifestation of a language, which includes sounds as well as gestures and orthographic representations. Semantic structure refers to the meaning of an expression which is broadly encyclopedic in scope. "A symbolic structure ($\sum$) resides in a link between a semantic structure (S) and a phonological structure (P), such that either is able to evoke the other" (Langacker 2008:15). (As symbolic structures incorporates phonological structures and semantic structures, Taylor (2002b:21) prefers to using the term 'symbolic relations' in place of symbolic structures). Hence, a symbolic structure can be described as being bipolar, representing both a semantic and phonological pole. The semantic structure directly associates with the phonological structure.

[137] However, conceptualization does not necessarily mean that semantic structure is identical with conceptual structure. Rather, the meanings of words form only a subset of possible concepts, viz., we have more ideas, feelings, and thoughts than we can conventionally encode in language.

Concepts are the mental representations of classes of objects and entities in the world, which are used in thinking about those entities (Murphy 2002:270), i.e., "a concept is a principle of categorization" (Taylor 2002b:43).

Semantic structure relates all linguistic units. Grammatical categories, constructions, open-class elements, and closed-class elements are essentially conceptual in nature. The meanings of all kinds of words, not only the names of concrete physical objects, but also the names of abstract entities as well as words which belong to other lexical categories, such as prepositions, and even the function words of a language can be understood in terms of conceptualization (Langacker 2008:93ff).[138]

3.2.3.2.2 What are meanings made of?
Word meaning is broadly encyclopedic in scope. Words do not represent neatly packaged bundles of meaning, but serve as points of access to vast repositories of knowledge relating to a particular concept or conceptual domain (Langacker 2008:43ff). Everything we know about the concept is part of its meaning (Langacker 1987:155-159; Langacker 2008:43ff). The encyclopedic nature of word meaning has been identified in two areas which focus on the way semantic structure is organized relative to conceptual knowledge structures.

3.2.3.2.2.1 Frames (Fillmore 2006)
Frame semantics is an approach to describing the meanings of independent linguistic entities by appealing to the kinds of conceptual structures that underlie their meanings and that motivate their use. Fillmore (2006:373) defines the notion of a 'frame' as follows: "By the term 'frame' I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits." Fillmore (2006:373) uses the term 'frame' as a general cover term for 'schema,' 'script,' 'scenario,' 'ideational scaffolding,' 'cognitive model,' or 'folk theory.' According to frame semantics, knowledge of word meanings involves complex networks of knowledge.

For example, we need to access a commercial event frame in order to understand the English verbs 'buy,' 'sell,' and 'pay.' The commercial event frame includes 'a person interested in exchanging money for goods (the buyer),' 'a person interested' in exchanging goods for

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[138] Talmy (2000:22) and Evans & Green (2006:165ff) make a distinction between open-class and closed-class semantic systems in terms of functions. On the one hand, the closed-class semantic system is the system of meaning associated with grammatical constructions, bound morphemes and grammatical words. It is highly schematic in their semantic content, e.g., 'the' profiles a definite entity (that is, an entity identifiable to both speaker and hearer). It provides scene-structuring representation, viz., it provides a kind of frame or scaffolding. On the other hand, the open-class semantic system is the system of meaning associated with content words and morphemes. It provides the substantive content relating to a particular scene, viz., it imposes rich meaningful content upon the frame provided by closed-class semantic systems. However, the distinction is not absolute but a matter of degrees.

money (the seller), the goods which the buyer did or could acquire (the goods), and the money acquired (or sought) by the seller (the money). The commercial event frame provides "the background and motivation for the categories which these words [buy, sell, and pay] represent" (Fillmore 2006:378). The verb 'buy' focuses on the actions of the buyer in respect to the goods, backgrounding the seller and the money; the verb sell focuses on the actions of the seller in relation to the goods, backgrounding the buyer and the money; the verb pay focuses on the actions of the buyer with respect to both the seller and the money, backgrounding the goods. The description shows that to know the meaning of these verbs, we have to know the details of the kinds of scenes that provided the background and motivation for the categories which these words represent.

3.2.3.2.2.2 Domains (Langacker 1987; 2008)
A related approach to frame semantics is the theory of domains developed by Langacker (1987:147ff). Lexical concepts cannot be understood separately from larger knowledge structures. These knowledge structures are called domains (Langacker 2008:44).

Domains are cognitive entities, i.e., mental experiences, concepts, or conceptual complexes. Domains can be reduced to more fundamental conceptual structures. A domain that is cognitively irreducible, and not derived from other conceptions, is a basic domain, e.g., space, time, color space, temperature, taste, and smell. Basic domains "are better thought of as realms of experiential potential, within which conceptualization can occur and specific concepts can emerge" (Langacker 2008:45). Most domains, e.g., LOVE and MARRIAGE, are non-basic which presupposes another domain (Langacker 1987:150; 2008:45). They are more complex in nature and incorporate lower-level concepts and higher-level notions; hence, domains are organized in a hierarchical fashion. For example, the concept KNUCKLE is understood against the domain finger, while the concept FINGER is understood with respect to the domain hand, and the concept HAND is understood in respect to the domain arm, and so forth.

3.2.3.2.3 Defining the meaning of a word
3.2.3.2.3.1 Meaning construction
Although meaning is, in nature, encyclopedic, and in theory all knowledge about an entity is accessible, some knowledge is more central than others to the meaning of a word; and not all encyclopedic knowledge is actualized in the meaning of a single word. In a meaning construction, the centrality of encyclopedic knowledge and as well as the potential of meaning is of great importance.

Encyclopedic knowledge forms a gradation in terms of their centrality (Langacker 2008:39). Langacker (1987:158ff) distinguishes four types of knowledge that contribute to centrality within the encyclopedic network of knowledge.

1. Conventional knowledge: information widely known and shared by a community of speakers.

2. Generic knowledge, which concerns the degree of generality. For instance, the knowledge that yellow bananas taste better than green bananas is highly generic.

3. Intrinsic knowledge, which relates to the internal properties of an entity that makes no essential reference to external entities. For example, shape is a highly intrinsic property of physical objects.

4. Characteristic knowledge, which relates to the unique knowledge of a particular class of entities. For example, shape is generally more characteristic than color. In other words, a cat can be recognized as such by its shape alone, but the observation that something is black would not suffice to identify it as a cat since many non-cats are also black.

[Four continua]

Conventional	↔	Non-conventional
Generic	↔	Specific
Intrinsic	↔	Extrinsic
Characteristic	↔	Non-characteristic

The four types of knowledge relate to four continua. The closer knowledge is to the left-hand side of the continua, the more salient and central it is to the meaning of a lexical concept. For instance, the knowledge that bananas have a distinctive curved shape is conventional, generic, intrinsic and characteristic. Hence, it is central to the knowledge about bananas and to the meaning of the lexical concept of bananas.

The meaning of a word not only includes encyclopedic knowledge, but is also fundamentally guided by context (Allwood 2003:43; Cruse 2004:262). The meaning of a word is constructed online as a result of contextual information. In this regard, Allwood (1999:1-2) claim that fully specified, pre-assembled word meanings do not exist but are selected and formed from encyclopedic knowledge. The basic unit of word meaning is the 'meaning potential' of a word. The meaning potential is "all the information that the word has been used to convey either by a single individual or, on the social level, by the language community" (Allwood 2003:43).[139]

Meaning potentials are activated through various cognitive operations. Some of these are triggered through language use; others can be activated independently of language. There are two contextual requirements that contribute to meaning activation (Allwood & Gardenfors 1999:52-55):

1) linguistic: i) syncategorematic expressions: conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, quantifiers, some adverbs, some interjections, derivational and inflectional suffixes,

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[139] Cruse (2004) uses the term 'purport' for the same notion. "Each lexical item (word form) is associated with a body of conceptual content which is here given the name purport. Purport is part of the raw material contributed by the word to process the construal of meaning. … it does not correspond to any specific meaning. Purport is some function of memories of previous experiences of the contextualized use of the word" (Cruse 2004:262)

and construction types; ii) categorematic roots and stems: roots and stems which are used as nouns, verbs, and adjectives;

2) extra-linguistic requirements: i) "perceptually available information in the speech situation;" ii) "requirements imposed by whatever activity the speaker and listener are pursuing; iii) other activated information" (Allwood & Gardenfors 1999:54).

Consider the following examples against the context of a child playing on the beach.

    a.   The child is safe.

    b.   The beach is safe.

    c.   The shovel is safe (Evans & Green 2006:162).

In the context, (a) means that the child will not come to any harm; (b) does not mean that the beach will not come to harm but the beach is an environment in which the risk of the child coming to harm is minimized; while (c) does not mean that the shovel will not come to harm, but that it will not cause harm to the child. In order to understand what the speaker means with the word 'safe,' we have to draw our encyclopedic knowledge relating to children, beaches, shovels, and our knowledge relating to what it means to be safe. We then 'construct' a meaning by 'selecting' a meaning that is appropriate for the context of the utterance.

3.2.3.2.3.2 Profiling

As noted in the discussion of the conceptualization of meaning and its encyclopedic nature, a linguistic expression selects a certain body of conceptual content as the base for its meaning. As a result of this, a word provides a point of access to the entire knowledge inventory associated with a particular lexical concept. However, only part of this knowledge network is essential for an understanding of the meaning of the lexical concept (cf. the centrality of encyclopedic knowledge and meaning potential in §3.2.3.2.3.1). The essential part of the knowledge network is called the scope of a lexical concept (Langacker 1987:118-119; Langacker 2008:62-63). Two aspects about the scope of a lexical concept – which are indispensable for understanding what the word means – are its profile and its base. The profile is the part of its semantic structure upon which that word places attention: this part is explicitly mentioned. The base is that aspect of semantic structure that is not in focus, but is necessary in order to understand the profile.[140] Now we can define the meaning of a word with the notions profile and base.

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[140] The profile-base relation is not the same as the central-peripheral relation discussed above with respect to the encyclopedic definition of word meaning. The base is that aspect of knowledge which is necessarily presupposed in conceptualizing the profile. Peripheral knowledge is knowledge associated with a concept that is not as generic, characteristic, conventional, and intrinsic as more central knowledge. Peripheral knowledge is not presupposed knowledge but additional, less central asserted knowledge. Of course, peripheral knowledge as well as central knowledge is organized in a profile-base fashion (Croft 2002:165-166).

For instance, the meaning of hypotenuse can be defined in the relationship between a profile and a base. The word 'hypotenuse' profiles a straight line. However, the straight line cannot be identified as the concept HYPOTENUSE. To define the meaning of 'hypotenuse,' the knowledge structure (base), which is presupposed by the straight line, should be considered. In other words, it should be considered that the straight line designated by the word 'hypotenuse' presupposes the right-angled triangle (base).[141] Hence, the concept HYPOTENUSE consists of knowledge of the profile (a straight line) against an understanding of the appropriate base (the right-angled triangle).[142]

One consequence of the profile/base relation is that two or more expressions often evoke the same conceptual content which differs in meaning because of the profiling of different substructures within this common base, viz., the same base can provide different profiles. For example, although a wheel functions as a common conceptual base, a hub, spoke or rim contrast semantically because of a different profiling. A wheel profiles the whole (Langacker 2008:67).
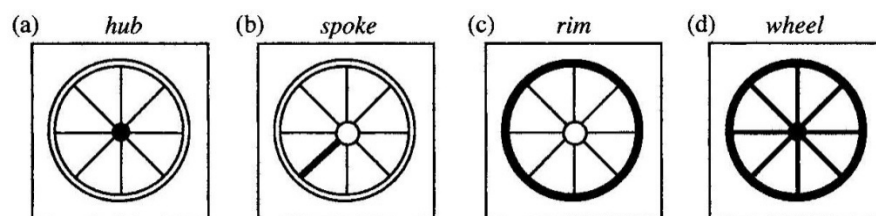
An expression can profile either a thing or a relationship.[143] When a relationship is profiled, its participants are involved in varying degrees of prominence. The most prominent participant within the conceptualization of a relation is called the trajector (tr), which is the primary focus of attention. The other participant, which has secondary focus, is called the landmark (lm). "[An] expression can have the same content, and profile the same relationship, but differ in meaning because they make different choices of trajector and landmark" (Langacker 2008:70).[144] For example, the prepositions above and below differ in this manner

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[141] The notion of a right-angled triangle is intrinsic to the concept HYPOTENUSE, in the sense that a hypotenuse cannot be conceptualized without reference to a right-angled triangle.

[142] Hypotenuse provides a point of access to a potentially infinite knowledge inventory, relating to RIGHT-ANGLED TRIANGLES, TRIANGLES in general, GEOMETRIC FIGURES, GEOMETRIC CALCULATION, SPACE and so on, however, only part of this knowledge network is essential for understanding the meaning of a hypotenuse.

[143] When the semantic structure profiles a relationship, it can be further distinguished between stative relations corresponding to adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and similar categories and processes corresponding to verbs.

[144] "Trajector and landmark are defined in terms of primary and second focal prominence, not in terms of any specific semantic role or conceptual content … Like other aspects of construal, prominence is a conceptual phenomenon, inhering in our apprehension of the world, not in the world *per se* " (Langacker 2008:72-73). See also Langacker (1987:214ff).

(see the following two expressions). However, they both have the same content: they profile a relation between the things in the domain of vertical space. Referentially, X above Y is the same relationship as Y below X. The expressions differ in that they construe the situation differently. The difference lies in the relevant prominence of the two entities, i.e., the difference of alignment with the trajector/landmark. [145]

The picture (X) above the desk (Y)
The desk (Y) below the picture (X)
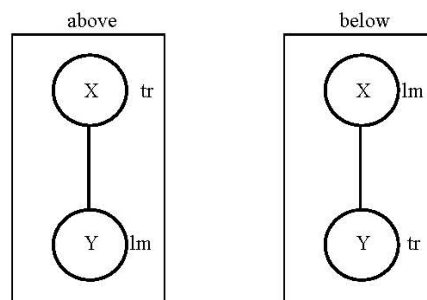
Significant is the fact that the relational profile includes not only the relation, but also the entities related. For instance, the preposition above designates the vertical relation as such as well as the entities that participate in the relation. In this regard, Taylor (2002b:206) claims that "the tr and lm entities are present schematically within the preposition's profile."

Both the primary and secondary entities of focal-prominence can be identified in subordinate constructions. A subordinate construction is composed of the main clause (=the matrix) and a subordinate clause. The profile of the subordinate construction is the matrix. A subordinate clause is describable as one whose profile is overridden by that of a main clause (Langacker 1991:436). For instance, a typical complement construction (i.e., a subordination construction) like 'I know she left' designates the process of *knowing*, not of *leaving*. Hence, the main clause is of primary-prominence, while the dependent clause is secondarily prominent.

3.2.3.2.4 Distinguishing different senses

3.2.3.2.4.1 Cognitive principles of the meaning extension of linguistic expressions

The extension of the meanings of linguistic constructions is motivated in terms of a set of cognitive principles. Identifying these principles will help to distinguish different meanings.

3.2.3.2.4.1.1 Metaphor

"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:5). [146] Metaphor is not inherently a linguistic phenomenon

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[145] I employ Langacker's pictographic conventions: 1) a circle represents a thing; 2) a line represents a relation by joining the related entities; 3) profiled entities are represented in bold; 4) the surrounding rectangle represents the conceptual domain of the relational profile.

[146] The traditional view makes a distinction between metaphor and ordinary literal language. However, on closer inspection, much of our ordinary everyday language turns out to be figurative in nature. (Gibbs Jr 1994:123-124).

(stylistic feature of language) but a pattern of thought (Dirven & Paprotté 1985:viii-ix). The notion of a domain is central to the understanding of metaphor. A metaphor is a conceptualization of one domain in terms of the structure of another autonomous domain, i.e., a mapping across domains (Grady 2007:191). The domain that is mapped is called the source or donor domain, and the domain onto which the source is mapped is called the target or recipient domain. These two domains, the source domain and the target domain, have to belong to different superordinate domains, viz., they do not form a domain matrix for the concepts involved (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:35-37). Consider the following examples:

- Look how far we've come.
- It's been a long, bumpy road.
- We're at a crossroads.
- We may have to go our separate ways.
- Our marriage is on the rocks.
- We're spinning our wheels.

All of these (and other) conventional expressions cluster together under one basic metaphorical system of understanding: LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:44). Here one domain of experience, e.g., love is understood in terms of a very different and more concrete domain of experience, e.g., journeys. Love is related to the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

Cognitive semantics suggests that the meanings of many polysemous words can be explained in terms of basic metaphors. It has been identified that the meaning extension of existing lexemes is motivated by metaphor (Dirven 1985:87ff). Many areas of experience are metaphorically structured by means of a rather small number of image schemas such as containment, a journey and its component parts, proximity and distance, up-down orientation, etc.[147] These image schemas might be deeply grounded in the common human experience that they constitute, as it were, universal pre-linguistic cognitive structures. Many of the schemas derive from our experience of the human body (Lakoff 1987:271ff; Lakoff & Johnson 2003:14ff).

3.2.3.2.4.1.2 Metonymy

Metonymy, like metaphor, is conceptual in nature. One defining feature of metonymy is that it is referential, viz., one entity (e.g., the item the customer ordered) stands for the other (the customer) in 'the ham sandwich has wandering hands' (Taylor 2002a:324).

At first glance, metaphor and metonymy appear to be similar, for each describes a connection between two things where one term is substituted for another. While metonymy is the

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[147] For example, linguistic forms are conceptualized as containers (e.g., put the contents of an essay) – as are emotional states (e.g., be in love, fall out of love). Life is also frequently conceptualized as a journey (e.g., He's come a long way).

conceptual relation 'X stands for Y,' metaphor is the conceptual relation 'X understood in terms of Y.' Lakoff (1987:288), Lakoff & Turner (1989:103), and Langacker (1993:29ff) added a further component to the cognitive semantic view of metonymy. They pointed out that metonymy, unlike metaphor, is not a cross-domain mapping, but instead allows one entity to stand for another because both concepts coexist within the same domain. This explains why a metonymic relationship is based on contiguity or conceptual 'proximity.' The reason 'ham sandwich' in 'the ham sandwich has wandering hands' represents an instance of metonymy is because both the target (the customer) and the vehicle (the ham sandwich) belong to the same domain of CAFÉ.

Metonymy is one of the most fundamental processes of meaning extension, more basic even than metaphor. There are countless instances in the lexicon of the metonymic extension of meanings/senses. For example, the French meaning extension of 'la prison' ('the prison' in English) is metonymic. 'La prison' has four different meanings (Koch 1999:152-153): 1) act of seizing, 2) captivity, 3) prison and 4) penalty of imprisonment. These meanings belong to the domain matrix DEPRIVATION OF LIBERTY. According to Croft (1993: 348), we can interpret metonymy as a conceptual effect of domain highlighting within one domain matrix (opposing it to metaphor as a conceptual effect of domain mapping across different domain matrices). [148] In the case of the meaning extension of 'prison' from 'captivity,' a shift occurs from the domain (HUMAN) CONDITION to the domain LOCATION within the domain matrix (see the following figure). [149]

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[148] Langacker (1984:177; 1993:29ff) calls the 'domain highlighting' phenomenon the "active zone phenomenon." Typically only part of an entity's profile is relevant or active within a particular utterance. This part of the profile is called the active zone (az).

The dog (tr) bit the cat (lm).

The cat's active zone with respect to the process of biting remains unspecified but presumably represents just a small portion of the overall feline. By profiling the salient entity we are interested in, focus attention is placed on it; and by using that entity as a reference point, the proper active zone is evoked. The resulting expressions are communicatively efficient and natural by virtue of brevity and what they explicitly mention. Were it not for an active zone, a sentence like 'the dog bit the cat' would have to be avoided in favor of a not fully accurate cumbersome alternative like the following sentence (Langacker 1993:32): *The dog's teeth, jaws, jaw muscles, and volition bit that portion of the cat's tail extending from 6 to 12 centimeters from the tip.*

[149] Koch (1999:145ff) describes metonymy from the perspective of a frame. He claims that every concept designated by a given lexical item appears as a figure in relation to (at least) another contiguous concept that - for the time being - remains the ground within the same frame. But at some moment, while using the same lexical item, certain pragmatic, conceptual or emotional factors may
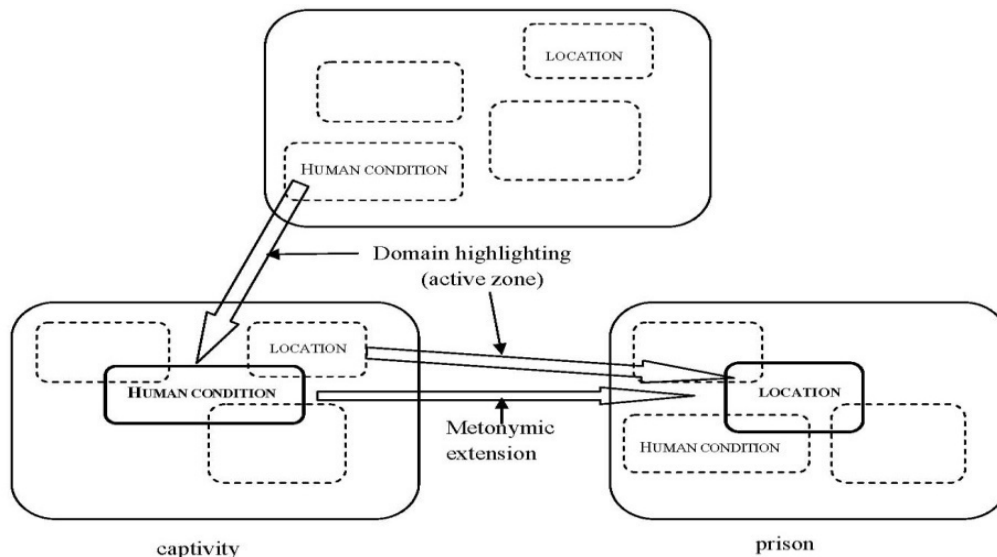
Lakoff (1987), Brugman (1988), Kreitzer (1997), Tyler & Evans (2001) and Brugman & Lakoff (2006) also identified the metonymic extensions of the preposition 'over.' For example, there is a natural metonymic relationship between the path followed by a moving entity and any one of the infinite number of points located on the path. The relationship is, in essence, an instance of the whole-part relationship (Taylor 2002a:329).

    a. The helicopter flew *over* the city. (path)
    b. The helicopter hovered *over* the city. (place)

    A particularly salient point on a path is the end-point.
    a. He walked *over* the hill. (path)
    b. He lives *over* the hill. (place, construed as end-point of a path)

    Somewhat similar is the polysemy of goal and place.
    a. We hung the picture *over* the sofa. (goal)
    b. The picture hangs *over* the sofa. (place)

    Less frequent is the polysemy of place and source.
    a. He came *out of* prison. (source)
    b. He is now *out of* prison. (place)

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highlight the ground concept so that figure and ground become inverted. That is what we call metonymy. For instance, in one of the senses of 'la prison' ('captivity'), the concept captivity was the figure and the concept prison one possible ground. By highlighting prison into the figure and backgrounding captivity, prison was acquiring the new metonymic sense 'prison.'

3.2.3.2.4.1.3 Specialization

"Semantic specialization and generalization are types of lexical semantic change by means of which a lexical item develops a new meaning that stands in a relationship of, respectively, subordination or superordination to the older meaning" (Geeraerts 1997:95). Specialization implies that the range of application of the new meaning is a subset of the range of the old meaning. Specialization is equal to 'restriction' and 'narrowing.' Thus, in a process of specialization the word's original meaning is always narrowed down to a smaller set of special referents (Dirven & Verspoor 2004:34). For example, the English word *corn* was originally a cover-term for 'all kinds of grain.' However, it has been specialized to the most typical referent in various English-speaking countries such as 'wheat' in England, 'oats' in Scotland, and 'maize' in the USA.

3.2.3.2.4.1.4 Generalization

Generalization is the opposite process of specialization. In generalization, the new range of application of the new meaning includes the old meaning. Generalization equals the 'expansion,' 'extension,' 'schematization,' and 'broadening' of meaning (Geeraerts 1997:95; Dirven & Verspoor 2004:34). For example, the word 'moon', which originally referred to the earth's satellite, now refers to any planet's satellite.

3.2.3.2.4.1.5 Image schema transformation

Image schemas are relatively abstract conceptual representations that arise directly from our everyday interaction with and observation of the world around us, viz., they are concepts arising from embodied experience (Johnson 1987:19ff).[150] They derive from sensory and perceptual experience as we interact with and move about in the world. For example, the asymmetry of the body's vertical axis is meaningful for the interaction between gravity and the asymmetry of the human vertical axis, e.g., we have to stoop to pick up fallen objects and look in one direction (downwards) for fallen objects and in another (upwards) for rising objects. This gives rise to an image schema: the UP-DOWN schema. Image schemas are emergent, for in the early stages of development infants learn to orient themselves in the physical world.

"Image-schema transformation is one of the many kinds of cognitive relationships that can form a basis for the extension of a category," viz., image schema transformations motivate meaning extensions (or polysemy) (Lakoff 1987:106). Image schemas can undergo transformations from one image schema into another, for they derive from embodied experience. For example, the path image schema is transformed to the location corresponding

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[150] Image schemas are not the same as mental images. Mental images are detailed and result from an effortful and partly conscious cognitive process that involves recalling visual memory. However, image schemas are schematic and more abstract in nature, emerging from ongoing embodied experience.

to the end of the path. This image schema transformation (path focus ↔ end-point focus) can be seen in 'over' in the following example.

Sam walked *over* the hill. (path)

Sam lives *over* the hill. (end of path)

3.2.3.2.4.2 Relationships between senses

Linguistic categories are no different, in principle, from other kinds of conceptual categories.[151] Less prototypical senses are derived from more prototypical senses by means of meaning extensions facilitated by cognitive principles (see §3.2.3.2.4.1). These mechanisms culminate in the systematic extension of lexical categories resulting in meaning chains. This provokes polysemy, which is the semantic network for a single lexical item consisting of multiple related senses (Taylor 2003b:102-103; Cuyckens & Zawada 2001:x).[152] It follows that the radial category (or family resemblance) represents a semantic network. In a semantic network, one of the senses of a word may be regarded as more salient than the others, but the senses are not seen as being derived from each other in a generative fashion; rather, these categories are viewed as being extended by means of cognitive principles (Cuyckens, Dirven & Taylor 2003:xiv).[153]

What is the set of criteria for determining the representative senses or prototypical sense in radial categories?

- According to Lakoff (1982:69-70; 1987:416-417) and Lakoff & Johnson (2003:14ff), spatial senses are more prototypical than temporal senses, for temporal senses are extended from spatial senses via metaphor. In addition, many conceptual categories are metaphorical in nature, and are extensions from basic experience, especially, spatial experience. In the same line of thought, Lakoff (1982:70; 1987:417) claims that the sense of the word in the source domain is more basic considering the cognitive principles of meaning extension such as metaphorical mapping.

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[151] The evidences against traditional views of categorization and for a prototype approach come from ample investigations of linguistic items such as nouns, verbs, and prepositions. These investigations show that lexical items are natural categories of senses.

[152] Polysemy, i.e., the realization that a word can have more than one meaning becomes a part of the ordinary language user's awareness through everyday experiences with dictionaries. "Out of approximately 60,000 entries in Webster's Seventh Dictionary, 21,488, or almost 40 per cent, have two or more senses, according to Byrd et al. (1987). Moreover, the most commonly used words tend to be the most polysemous. The verb 'run*,*' for example, has 29 senses in Webster's, further divided into nearly 125 sub-senses" (Ravin & Leacock 2000:1).

[153] This is the difference between traditional approaches and the cognitive semantics approach to polysemy.

- Tyler & Evans (2001:734; 2003:45ff) and Evans & Green (2006:344-346) suggest even more criteria for determining the prototypical sense. In their reasoning, there is one prototypical sense in the radial semantic network.

  1) Earliest attested meaning: the primary sense is the historically earliest sense. An investigation of twenty English prepositions revealed that a spatial configuration holding between the tr and the lm is the earliest sense. In addition, the earliest attested sense is still an active component of the synchronic semantic network of each preposition, e.g., 'over' is related to the Sanskrit 'upan' (higher).

  2) Predominance in the semantic network: the sense most likely to be primary is most frequent in other distinct senses.

  3) Relations to other prepositions: "To a large extent, the label assigned to denote a particular tr-lm configuration is determined in relation to other labels in the contrast set. So, for instance, what we label as 'up' is partially determined by what we label as 'down'. In this sense, the meaning of a particle that participates in a contrast set is partially determined by how it contrasts with other members of the compositional set" (Tyler & Evans 2003:49).

Meaning extension according to the cognitive principles and the forming of radial categories has been identified in the investigations of many lexical items. For example, Dirven & Verspoor (2004:30-31) distinguish eight different senses of 'school' which form a cluster that is structured in the shape of a radial network, i.e., a center with radii going in various directions.

Different senses	Examples
a. learning institution or building	Is there a school nearby?
b. lessons	School begins at 9 a.m.
c. pupils and/or staff of teachers	The school is going to the British Museum tomorrow. We must hand in the geography project to the school in May.
d. university faculty	At 18 she went to law school.
e. Holiday course	Where is the summer school on linguistics to be held?
f. group of artists with similar style	Van Gogh belongs to the impressionist school
g. views shared by a group of people	There are two schools of thought on drinking red wine with fish.
h. a group of big fish swimming together	A school of whales followed the boat.

[Radial network and mechanism of sense extension]
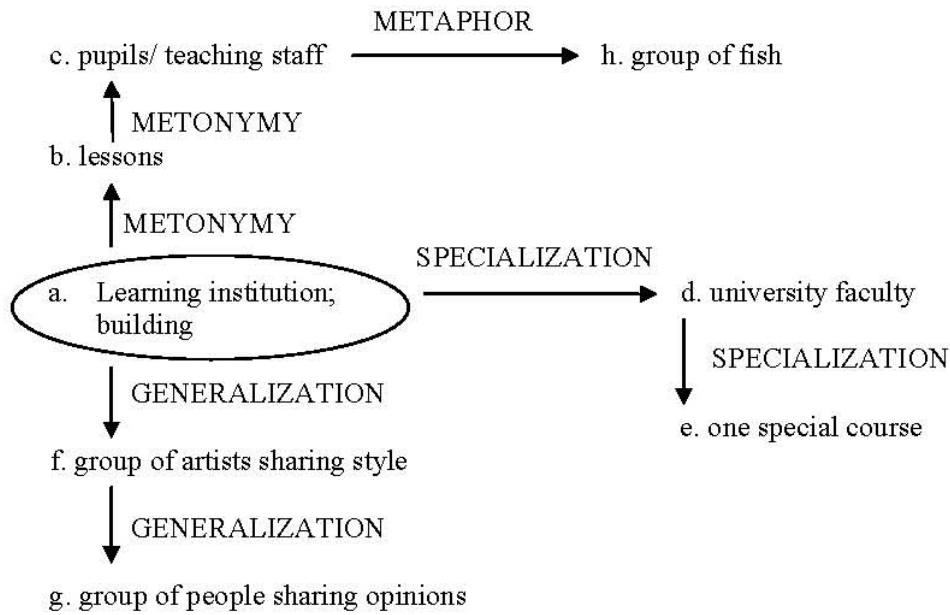
Radial networks and mechanisms of sense extensions are also identified in the investigations of prepositions. An example is the preposition 'over.'[154] Lakoff (1987), Brugman (1988) and Brugman & Lakoff (2006) identified that the preposition 'over' indicates three kinds of prototypical spatial relations between a lm and a tr.

1) Above-across schema: the tr is an object on a path above, and extending beyond, the boundaries of the lm, e.g., the plane flies over the bridge. The tr can be a stationary, one-dimensional object, and the tr can have contact with the lm.
2) Above schema: the tr is vertically above the lm. However, the tr does not touch the lm. E.g., the helicopter hovers over the city.
3) Cover schema: the tr (object) covers the lm. E.g., the tablecloth is over the table.

Lakoff (1987) first shows the precise relations among the spatial senses and then describes the metaphorical extensions of the spatial senses.

[Spatial senses structured in terms of ABOVE-ACROSS schema as follows (Lakoff 1987:426-435)]

Schema type	Basic meaning	Example
The above-across schema (schema 1)	The tr is located above the lm and moving along the path which is above the lm.	The plane flew over.
The above schema (schema 2)	The tr is located above the lm.	The helicopter is hovering over the hill.

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[154] The preposition 'over' is still a controversial target of analysis (Lakoff 1987; Brugman 1988; Taylor 1992; Kreitzer 1997; Tyler & Evans 2001; Coventry & Mather 2002; Taylor 2003a; Deane 2005; Brugman & Lakoff 2006; Evans & Green 2006:328ff;); so I will not discuss about the preposition 'over' in detail, nor will I investigate 'over' here.

The covering schema (schema 3)	The tr is covering the lm.	The board is over the hole.
The reflexive schema (schema 4)	The tr is reflexive: The tr = the lm.	Roll the log over.
The excess schema (schema 5)	When over is used as a prefix, it can indicate excess.	Don't overextend yourself.
The repetition schema (schema 6)	Over is utilized as an adverb that indicates repetition.	Do it over.

3.2.4 The Function of Connectives

Connectives are linguistic items whose function is primarily to link linguistic units at any level. Conjunctions are the most obvious types (e.g., and, or, while, because), but several types of adverbs can be seen as connectives ('conjuncts' such as *therefore*, however, nevertheless), as can some verbs (the copulas be, seem, etc.) (Crystal 2008:102).

As we saw in the preceding sections, our cognition is fundamentally metaphorical. Linguistic usages frequently reflect our inherently metaphorical understanding of many basic areas of our lives. Meaning is rooted in human cognitive experience, e.g., experience of the cultural, social, mental, and physical worlds. We also identified that meaning extension is motivated by cognitive principles.

Language is understood metaphorically as transferring human thoughts and feelings, viz., speech-acts are metaphorically treated as the exchange or transfer of objects from one interlocutor to the other. The objects are linguistic forms, which are containers for meaning. This object-exchange metaphor for speech exchange has been analyzed under the name of the 'conduit metaphor' (Reddy 1993:167; Lakoff & Johnson 2003:29-30). Consider the following examples:

Try to get your thoughts across better.
You still haven't given me any idea of what you mean.

Both speech-acts and mental states are extended from physical domains through metaphor and treated as travel through space. For example, *about/over* is used in the physical domain as well as in the mental-state and speech-act domains. 'Go over the house' indicates more thorough physical coverage than 'go about the house.' This semantic difference is also identified in the mental-state and speech-act domains.

Go about/over the house   (physical domain)
Think about/over   (mental-state domain)
Talk about/over   (speech-act domain)

Studies in the field of linguistic modality have identified the same phenomena: 1) historically, English modals developed from non-modal meanings (such as physical strength or force, e.g., OE magan 'be strong, be able') to 'deontic' modal meanings, and later still broadened to

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include the epistemic readings as well (Sweetser 1990:50);[155] 2) modality is metaphorically extended from the real-world domain to the domains of reasoning and speech acts, viz., epistemic modality and deontic (root) modality are related to each other through metaphor. Root-modal meanings are extended to the epistemic domain precisely because we use the language of the external world to apply to the internal mental world, which is, in other words, metaphorically structured as parallel to that external world.

> (a) You must be there – it's essential.   (Effective level)
> (b) You must be very tired, having walked so far.   (Epistemic)

We view logical necessity, for example, as being the mental analogue of socio-physical force (a), while logical possibility is the mental (or epistemic) analogue of permission or ability in the real world (b). In the following examples, the two readings of the verb 'insist' manifest the contrast between root and epistemic senses.

> (c) I insist that you go to London.

> (d) I insist that you did go to London (though you may deny it).

In the (c) sentence, the speech act involves the speaker's interaction in the force-dynamics of a real-world situation – the insistence or suggestion is on some actual real-world result to be produced. In the (d) sentence, on the other hand, the same sorts of speech-act interactions are directed at the epistemic structure: insistence or suggestion that a proposition be believed or accepted as true, or expectation that it will prove to be true.

It seems evident that a modal verb may be interpreted as applying the relevant modality to:

1. the content of the sentence: the real-world event must or may take place;

2. the epistemic nuance/value represented by the sentence: the speaker is forced to, or (not) banned from, concluding the truth of the sentence;

3. the speech act represented by the sentence: the speaker (or people in general) is forced to, or (not) banned from, saying what the sentence says.

It is not only modal verbs that show this tendency towards multi-domain usage: causal conjunctions, speech-act verbs, and other lexical fields show widespread semantic developments of the same type (see Sweetser 1987:447ff). The extension from the physical to

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[155] Root (deontic) modality denotes real-world obligation, permission, or ability. And epistemic modality denotes necessity, probability, or possibility in reasoning.

(1) John must be home by ten; Mother won't let him stay out any later.

(2) John must be home already; I see his coat.

'Must' in (1) denotes obligation in real-world (deonitic), while 'must' in (2) denotes probability in reasoning (epistemic).

the epistemic domain is a ubiquitous phenomenon in language. For example, in English, the source of perception-verbs is physical nature. The common semantic sources for vision verbs are physical nature. For example, 'to eye' comes from 'the eyes (physical body parts),' and 'behold' from physical touching or manipulation. In the same manner, vision verbs commonly develop abstract senses of mental activity, metaphorically.

- Physical sight → knowledge, intellection: e.g., 'I saw it with my own eyes' indicates certainty.

- Physical vision → mental vision: e.g., look down on, look up to, look forward to, look back on, overlook, etc.

It has also been observed that predicates taking finite clauses as complements (suspect, know, regret, true, astonishing, etc.) profile relationships at the epistemic level, while those taking nonfinite complements (see, force, enjoy, start, try, etc.) pertain to the effective level (Langacker 2008:441-442).

Sam learned that the earth is round.	(Epistemic)
In space, Sam saw the earth to be round.	(Effective)

Numerous adverbs are also conventionally used at different levels (Langacker 2008:485).

He finished his beer, then asked for a scotch.	(Effective)
If his alibi stands up, then he's clearly innocent.	(Epistemic)
As I was saying, then, you need to get more rest.	(Discursive)

Sweetser (1990:77), Lang (2000:253), and Langacker (2008:484) identified that connectives operate on the same three levels as other linguistic phenomena.[156] Connectives apply to our conceptions of the socio-physical, epistemic, and speech-act domains. This is only true given certain metaphorical understandings of the epistemic and speech-act domains; for example,

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[156] Sweetser (1990), Lang (2000), and Langacker (2008), use different terms. However, they all identified the same three levels. These distinctions are not completely novel; they have been observed elsewhere (Verhagen 2005:174ff), even in the field of BH. More recently Follingstad (2001:140-160) also distinguished three different functions of 1) כִּי: as a complementizer, which points to, and grants a previously stated (or implied) proposition; 2) as a focus particle which specifies and qualifies semantic content relative to the processing of the speaker and hearer, rather than linking semantic contents together within the text world; 3) as a modal/evidential particle which expresses epistemic attitudes of a speaker towards a state of affairs or knowledge. Claassen (1983:37); BHRG (1999:302), and Meyer (2001:56ff) have identified that כִּי operates on two levels: 1) between a given situation (A) and the reason or cause for this situation (B); 2) between a statement made by a speaker or author (A) and the reason or cause for this statement (C). In the field of discourse marker studies and psycholinguistics, scholars have also pointed out that *because* may operate at multiple levels (Schiffrin 1987:191-201; Braunwald 1997:133; Noordman & Vonk 1997:77ff; Segal & Duchan 1997:101ff).

the understanding of reasoning processes as following a spatially linear trajectory sequentially moving from one point to another.

(1) Content-level or effective level interpretation is reserved for conjunctions of declarative clauses that render statements (i.e., entities to be related to the world via truth-conditions): (a)

(2) Epistemic-level interpretation is confined to conjunctions of declarative clauses, of which at least one is marked as rendering an ASSUMPTION: (b)

(3) Discursive level-interpretation is available for conjunctions of non-declaratives as well as for conjunctions of clauses differing as to type but with one clause being marked as rendering a SPEECH ACT: (c)

    (a) John came back because he loved her.   (content or effective level)[157]
    (b) John loved her, because he came back.   (epistemic level)
    (c) What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on? (discursive level)

In the example (a), 'because' connects two content units between which a factual causal reason is asserted to obtain. The linking pattern for a causal relation on the content level thus amounts to STATEMENT, because STATEMENT. In the second example (b), the first clause is not asserted as a statement but only as an assumption, which is inferred from what is stated as fact in the second clause. 'Because' marks the second clause as sufficient evidence justifying the assumption rendered by the first clause. The linking pattern on the epistemic level is ASSUMPTION, because STATEMENT (evidence): the speaker's knowledge of John's return (as a premise) causes the conclusion that John loved her. In the third example (c), the causal relation obtains at the discourse level. The first clause serves the purpose of describing a speech act of which the performance is being justified by the statement rendered by the second clause. The linking pattern is SPEECH ACT, because STATEMENT (justification). The 'because' clause does not form part of the question but is linked instead to an understood assertion which may be read like 'what are you doing tonight? I am asking that because there's a good movie on,' or 'I ask what you are doing tonight because I want to suggest that we go see this good movie.'

Chafe (1984:438) makes a distinction between the bound adverbial clause and the free adverbial clause. When a dependent adverbial clause is not separated from the main clause by a punctuation mark (usually a comma), the adverbial clause is bound. However, when adverbial clauses are not bound, they are called free adverbial clauses. There are four types of adverbial clauses based on the position of the adverbial clause and bounding: 1) preposed and bound (the adverbial clause comes first, and the main clause second); 2) postposed and bound; 3) preposed and free; 4) postposed and free. When a punctuation unit (i.e., without a comma)

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[157] As the effective level pertains to the profiled occurrence itself, the causal interaction is not confined in the physical area, but includes social and emotive areas, e.g., he was mad at me because I flirted with his wife.

contains more than a single clause, the flow is from familiar information in the first clause to unfamiliar in the second. Normally, as adverbial clauses typically convey unfamiliar information, 'postposed and bound' adverbial clauses are more frequent than 'preposed and bound.' Hence, bound (comma-less) postposed *because*-clauses have a readily accessible reading that presupposes the truth of the main clause, and asserts only the causal relation between the two clauses.

In content-conjunction cases both comma, and commaless patterns are possible, i.e., a speaker could equally well have a reason for saying (a) and presupposing that John came back, or for saying (a') and asserting it.[158] In the following example (a), 'John came back' is presupposed, and that he came back is caused by his love towards her. However, in the following example (a') (free adverbial clause), both 'John came back' and 'the cause' are asserted.

> (a) John came back because he loved her.   (effective level)
> (a') John came back, because he loved her.   (effective level)

For epistemic-domain and speech-act-domain causal conjunctions, however, a comma-less pattern is impossible. For comma-less adverbial clauses tend to present an initial main clause as presupposed. However, in epistemic causal conjunction cases, the main clause represents the speaker's logical conclusion; and in speech-act causal-conjunction cases, the main clause represents the speech act being performed by the current utterance. As the speaker's logical conclusion (the act concluding) is speaker-internal, it cannot be assumed as common knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Nor can the speech act being performed be taken as already being shared.

> (b) John loved her, because he came back.   (epistemic level)
> *(b') John loved her because he came back.
> (c) What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on? (discursive level)
> *(c') What are you doing tonight because there's a good movie on?

Sweetser (1990:78ff) shows that other conjunctions also have multiple usages: The (1) examples below are cases of an effective conjunction; example (2) includes epistemic conjunctions; and the examples under (3) are discursive conjunction:

Since:

> (1) Since John wasn't there, we decided to leave a note for him.
> (His absence caused our decision in the real world.)

> (2) Since John isn't here, he has (evidently) gone home.
> (The knowledge of his absence causes my conclusion that he has gone home.)

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[158] Both options do not exist for all connectives. For example, 'since'and 'although' cannot be used in commaless clauses.

(3) Since we're on the subject, when was George Washington born?

(I ask you because we're on the subject, – the fact that we're on the subject, for example, enables my act of asking the question.)

Therefore:

(1) The rules cannot be broken; therefore you will have to spend two hours collecting trash.

(The unbreakability of the rules causes your fate in the real world.)

(2) The rules cannot be broken, therefore the Dean knew some way around them that allowed him to hire John.

(My knowledge of the unbreakability of the rules causes my conclusion that the Dean knew a way around them.)

(3) The rules cannot be broken, therefore "No."

(The unbreakability of the rules causes my act of saying "No.")

So:

(1) He heard me calling, so he came.

(The hearing caused the coming, in the real world.)

(2) You say he's deaf, but he came; so he heard me calling.

(The knowledge of his arrival causes the conclusion that he heard me calling.)

(3) Here we are in Paris, so what would you like to do on our first evening here?

(Our presence in Paris enables my act of asking what you would like to do.)

Although:

(1) Although he didn't hear me calling, he came and saved my life.

(His coming occurred in spite of not hearing, which might naturally have led to his not coming.)

(2) Although he came and saved me, he hadn't heard me calling for help.

(The fact that he didn't hear me is true in spite of the fact that he came, which might reasonably have led me to conclude that he had heard.)

(3) Although I sympathize with your problems, get the paper tomorrow!

(I command you, despite my sympathy.)

Despite:

(1) Despite their threats, she kept right on doing her job.

(The real-world doing occurred despite the threats.)

(2) Despite the fact that she never wavered, we now know that she was being threatened the whole time.

(The knowledge of the threats occurs despite the likelihood of the contrary conclusion.)

(3) Despite all the regulations about TA-student relationships, how about dinner at Chez Panisse tonight?

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(The speech act of inviting occurs despite the apparent obstacles.)

And:

(1) John eats apples and pears.[159]

(2) Why don't you want me to take basket-weaving again this quarter? Answer: Well, Mary got an MA in basket-weaving, *and* she joined a religious cult. (... so you might go the same way if you take basket-weaving).

(3) Darling, you're wonderful, and how about dinner at Chez Panisse tonight?

Or:

(1) Every Sunday, John eats pancakes *or* fried eggs.

(On a given Sunday, either "John is eating pancakes" or "John is eating fried eggs" describes the situation truthfully.)

(2) John is home, *or* somebody is picking up his newspapers.

(The only possible *conclusions* I can reach from the evidence are (a) that John is home to pick up his newspapers, or (b) that somebody is picking them up for him.)

(3) Have an apple turnover, *or* would you like a strawberry tart?

3.2.5 Summing up

Empirical research established that linguistic constructions are categories of senses. Defining meaning and distinguishing different senses are fundamentally categorization processes. Hence, the general cognitive apparatus that enters into categorization is a common structuring principle of languages.

Meaning is conceptualization. Language refers to concepts in the mind of the speaker rather than to objects in the external world. Research on knowledge structures involving meaning constructions such as frames and domains established that meaning is encyclopedic. A strict distinction between semantics and pragmatics can therefore not be retained.

Two factors are involved in meaning construction – centrality and meaning potential. Not all knowledge is involved in meaning construction. Only part of a knowledge network is essential for an understanding of the meaning of a lexical concept. Two aspects of the scope of a lexical concept are the profile and its base. The meaning of all linguistic constructions can be defined in terms of a profile and base.

The meaning extension of a linguistic construction is motivated in terms of cognitive principles, i.e., metaphor, metonymy, specialization, generalization, and image schema transformation. The meaning extension of a linguistic construction through cognitive principles culminates in polysemy. Different meanings/senses of a linguistic construction form radial categories.

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[159] In the content domain, our conventions of narrative word-order decree that setting things side-by-side with *and* may further allow their order in the narrative to be an icon for real-world temporal order.

Cognitive principles are not only related to the meaning extension of content words but also to other linguistic phenomena, e.g., modals and connectives. The levels on which connectives operate are extended metaphorically – e.g., from physical domains to mental domains – through metaphor. This results in the fact that connectives typically operate at any one of three levels: an effective, an epistemic or a discursive level.

In this section, we have examined the meaning description of cognitive linguistics in order to better describe connective constructions. We have explored what is the meaning of an expression, how to define the meaning, how to distinguish different meanings/senses, and what the cognitive principles of meaning extension are. We also identified that connectives operative on three levels through cognitive principles, such as metaphor. The next section investigates purpose, reason, cause, and result constructions in order to define their notational values and to distinguish them from one another.

3.3 CAUSE, REASON, PURPOSE, AND RESULT (CONSEQUENCE)

In the previous chapter, we identified that the same purpose/result connectives of BH often specify various relations. They often express cause and reason as well as result. This phenomenon is not limited to BH. Typological investigations of purpose constructions have also established that in many languages purpose constructions display these types of features. Hence, in this section, we first investigate purpose constructions from a typological perspective to capture their prototypical features. Thereafter we try to establish some criteria of how to distinguish between purpose, result, cause, and reason – given the fact that a "purpose" connective may indicate various relations.

3.3.1 Purpose Construction
3.3.1.1 Notion of purpose
Purposes are situations that refer to a goal that is intended or hoped to be attained by means of an actor's action (of the matrix). Purposes are projected into posterior time and only exist in the mind of the speaker (Radden & Dirven 2007:330-331).

Lakoff (1993:219) categorizes the notion of purpose as an aspect of event structure. Various aspects of event structures, including notions like states, change processes, actions, causes, purposes and means, are characterized cognitively via metaphor in terms of space, motion and force.

The event structure system comprises two systems: one conceptualized spatially in terms of location (location system), the other conceptualized as a desired object (object system). In both systems, CHANGE IS MOTION and CAUSES ARE FORCES. Their differences being (Lakoff 1993:226):

> In the location system, change is the motion of the thing changing to a new location or from an old one.

> In the object system, the thing changing doesn't necessarily move. Change is instead the motion of an object to, or away from, the thing changing.

In the location system, abstract concepts such as causes and purposes are conceptualized spatially in terms of locations. All these concepts are understood as part of the movement from one location to another. This version of conceptualization is thus called 'the location-dual' of the duality in the event structure system. The other dual of the duality is called 'the object-dual.'

For example, 'trouble' is metaphorically conceptualized in different ways according to the two different systems.[160]

> I'm in trouble.   (Trouble is a location)
> I have trouble.   (Trouble is an object that is possessed)

In the same manner, the concept of purpose is metaphorically conceptualized according to the two different systems.

1. In the location-dual, purposes are conceptualized metaphorically as destinations: purposes are destinations (desired locations).

Whenever you have a purpose to achieve, you go toward that purpose which is the destination.[161] But if you do not have a particular purpose in mind, you move around without a destination:

> LACK OF PURPOSE IS LACK OF DIRECTION
> He is drifting aimlessly.
> He needs some direction.

When one tries to achieve one's purpose, one tries to reach the destination. Therefore,

> SUCCESS IS REACHING THE END OF THE PATH
> We are seeing the light at the end of the tunnel.
> The end is in sight.
> The end is a long way off.

The activity of conceptualizing purposes as destinations gives rise to purpose markers. For example, the conflation of allative[162] and purpose markers is grounded in the fact that

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[160] The Event Structure Metaphor "is a rich and complex metaphor whose parts interact in complex ways," and its mapping "generalizes over an extremely wide range of expressions for one or more aspects of event structure" (Lakoff 1993: 219).

[161] Destinations and purposes are linked in our experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1999:54; 2003:46), for we often have to go to a certain place in order to attain a purpose, as in 'We'll have to take a taxi (in order) to get to the concert in time.' Here, the subordinate conjunction (in order to) expresses the idea of a goal.

purposive events are construed as destinations (i.e. goals of movement). An already existing goal marker is brought into use for expressing more abstract goals (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:98).

> I'm going *to* the river.

The contiguity of location (river) and purpose (e.g., bathe, fish, wash, etc.) in the specific event frame allows the hearer to infer the purposive action. Such shifts of attention within a frame ultimately result in metonymic changes in language use: a verb of directed motion stands for the accomplishment of an action. As a result, the grammatical marker previously referring to the destination comes to express a purposive action.[163]

2. In object-dual, purposes are conceptualized metaphorically as objects: purposes are a desired object. Achieving a purpose is acquiring a desired object (or ridding oneself of an undesirable one).

> ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS GETTING A DESIRED OBJECT
> It's within my grasp.
> It slipped through my hands.
> Seize the opportunity.

A special case of getting an object is getting an object to eat.[164]

> ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS GETTING SOMETHING TO EAT

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[162] 'Allative' is "a term used in grammatical description to refer to a type of inflection which expresses the meaning of motion 'to' or 'towards' a place" (Crystal 2008:19).

[163] Another example is the relationship between allative and recipient. Recipient is conceptualized as the human endpoints of a physical transaction (destination). Since recipients often benefit from this transfer, it is plausible that (i) recipients and benefactives are often clustered for syntactic purposes, e.g., by a 'dative' morpheme, and that (ii) allatives can develop recipient and benefactive senses.

[164] Traditional methods of getting things to eat (hunting, fishing, and agriculture) can be used metaphorically to conceptualize achieving or attempting to achieve a purpose (Lakoff 1993:225-226; Yu 1998:145-146).

TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS HUNTING

  I'm hunting for a job.

  I bagged a promotion.

TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS FISHING

  He's fishing for compliments.

  She netted a good job.

TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS AGRICULTURE

  It's time I reaped some rewards.

  That job is a plum.

He savored the victory.

All the good jobs have been gobbled up.

He's hungry for success.

This is a mouth-watering opportunity.

Lakoff's dual system of event structures shed light on the more nuanced categorization of purposes. In addition, it provides some insights on the grammaticalization process of purpose markers. The dual system may help to understand why the purpose that לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר display is conceptualized as a goal or location. לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר are generally regarded as being composed of two lexemes: לְמַעַן is composed of a preposition לְ and מַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר is a compound of the preposition בְּ and עֲבוּר. The prepositions לְ and בְּ may be related to the conceptualization of purpose as a goal or location.

3.3.1.2 Identifying purpose constructions

Identifying purpose constructions across languages involves linguistic typology.[165] "The fundamental prerequisite for cross linguistic comparison is cross linguistic comparability, that is, the ability to identify the same grammatical phenomena across languages" (Croft 2003:13). However, the essential problem that languages vary in their structure to such a great extent makes it impossible to use structural criteria to identify grammatical categories across languages. Hence, this study uses semantic criteria to identify purpose constructions. For this reason, the notion of 'purpose construction' will be defined semantically.

A purpose construction is the linguistic realization of the concept 'purpose.' This realization essentially includes two things: (1) meaning: intentionality, target-directedness, future orientation, and a hypothetical result state are the central conceptual ingredients of purpose (see §3.3.1.1). These characteristic ingredients are coded into purpose clauses; (2) form: 'clause,' which can be conceived of as the linguistic instantiation of a proposition, is a chunk of conceptual knowledge formed whenever we construe a particular situation in the world and the participants engaged in this state of affairs. The linguistic realization of purpose involves complex sentences that comprise two clauses in terms of form. The matrix clause encodes the proposition of the action(s), while the purpose clause encodes the proposition pertaining to the desired resultative state.

Under the form-meaning pair, in line with Cristofaro (2003:157) and Schmidtke-Bode (2009:20), the notion of a purpose construction is defined as follows:

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[165] This study makes a distinction between a 'purpose construction' and a 'purpose clause.' A purpose construction is composed of the matrix and the purpose clause (dependent clause).

Purpose constructions are part of complex sentences[166] which encode two states of affairs, one of which (the matrix) is performed with the intention of bringing about the other (the dependent one, purpose clause).

Under this notion of a purpose construction, this study will now proceed and identify purpose constructions across languages.[167] In order to identify purpose constructions, attention will be paid to both the coding and behavioral properties of purpose constructions.

3.3.1.2.1 Purposive markers

The identification of constructions is essentially a categorization problem. Constructions often fall into discrete types, viz., constructions have distinctive properties. For example, there are significant discontinuities between the structure of the English passive clause and the transitive active clause. In addition, there are other cues for the categorization of constructions; namely, many constructions involve several unique markers (Croft 2001:52).

In purpose constructions, purposive markers guide the categorization processes of an audience. The purpose markers are divided into primary and secondary markers. Primary markers function as clause-linking devices, or cues for the on-line construction of a complex sentence node. When the clause boundary is marked by primary markers (e.g., conjunctions or postpositions) that construct the complex sentence node and establish the purposive relationship between the two propositional contents – the matrix and the subordinate purpose clause – other markers, such as infinitives, are secondary markers (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:71-72).

3.3.1.2.1.1 Primary markers

Schmidtke-Bode (2009) established that 218 purpose constructions identified in 80 languages employ 225 primary marking strategies. Three major marking strategies, they found, are conjunctions, affixes, and adpositions. However, purpose clauses are most often marked by adverbial conjunctions (e.g., purposive conjunction in Persian Lango).

Persian (Indo-European: Iran; Mahootian 1997:39) (1SG=1st person singular; OBJ=object; PURP=purpose, purposive; SUBJ=subjunctive)

Eynæk-æm-o	zæd-æm	*Ta*	be-tun-æmbehtær	be-bin-æm.
glasses-1SG-OBJ	hit-1SG	**PURP**	SUBJ-be.able-1SG	better SUBJ-see-1SG

I put my glasses on so I could see better.

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[166] Purpose constructions are part of a complex sentence which expresses a specific contingent relation between two states of affairs in (at least) two clauses. In our case, the specific relationship between the two states of affairs is purposive. (Langacker 1991:417ff., Longacre 1985:235).

[167] The typology of purpose constructions is based on the investigations of Cristofaro (2005) (107 languages) and Schmidtke-Bode (2009) (80 languages). Schmidtke-Bode (2009) identified 218 purpose constructions and typical properties of purpose constructions in his investigation of 80 languages.

Schmidtke-Bode (2009:78) also identified the correlation between word order and a type of purposive markers. First, purposive conjunctions are twice as frequent in VO languages compared to OV languages (34:17). Second, purposive affixes are overwhelmingly more frequent in OV languages than in VO languages (63:8). Third, adpositions are somewhat more common in OV languages. [168]

3.3.1.2.1.2 Secondary markers

Secondary purpose markers are secondary cues for categorization. The secondary markers appear with the primary markers. For example, in Kannada, the case marker often appears on the verb as a feature of purpose clauses.

> Kannada (Dravidian: India; Sridhar 1990:73) (DAT=dative; MSD=masdar (*gerund*); N=neuter; PST=past; PRF=perfective; M=masculine)
> Praka:ʃ   jarmanige   *enjiniyaring   o:duvudakka:gi*   ho:gidda:ne.
> Prakash   Germany.DAT   engineering   study.**MSD**.**DAT**. for   go.N:PST.PRF.3SG:M
> Prakash has gone to Germany to study engineering.

In Kannada, the purpose clause is governed by a postposition and its subordinate status is signaled by a nominalized verb form (MSD). Since the masdar essentially turns the verbal expression into a nominal one (primary marker), the case marking appropriate for the postposition 'for' is added to the nominalized verb form. It is in this way that the dative suffix appears as a secondary marker on the purposive verb in Kannada.

3.3.1.2.1.3 No markers

Purposive interpretation is not necessarily directly encoded by explicit linguistic markers, but should sometimes be inferred from the discourse-pragmatic context of the construction.

1. Serial verb construction: [169] in Mandarin Chinese, a serial verb construction can be interpreted as a purpose construction or a coordinate construction depending on the context.

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[168] Schmidtke-Bode (2009:79) identified that all adpositions found in OV languages are postpositions, while all adpositions found in VO languages are prepositions.

[169] A serial verb construction is a "type of construction for a sequence of verbs or verb phrases within a clause (or a sequence of clauses) in which the syntactic relationship between the items is left unmarked" (Crystal 2008:434). According to Aikhenvald (2006:4-21), serial verb constructions [=SVC] have the following formal and semantic properties.

1. A SVC functions on par with monoverbal clauses in discourse, and occupies one core functional slot in a clause. Verbs which form a SVC act together as a syntactic whole. For this reason, SVCs are often translatable as single predicates into non-serializing languages.

2. SVCs are monoclausal and do not allow markers of syntactic dependency on their components.

3. No intonation break or pause markers can occur between the components of an SVC.

4. The verbs in SVCs all refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event. The action or state denoted by the second verb phrase is an outgrowth of the action denoted by the action of the first verb

Mandarin (Chinese: China; (Li & Thompson 1973:98))

Nǐ	guì-xi	alai	Qiú	Zhāng-sān.[170]
You	kneel	down	Beg	Zhang-san

You knelt down in order to beg Zhang-san. (Purpose)

You knelt down and then begged Zhang-san. (Consecutive action)

You knelt down begging Zhang-san. (Simultaneous action)

You knelt down and begged Zhang-san. (Alternating action)

2. Overt marking of purposive semantics is dispensed with if it can be inferred from other morphemes in the complex sentences. For example, in Noon, purposive conjunctions can be omitted when the matrix verb denotes motion and, if the subjects of both clauses are co-referential.

Noon (Niger-Congo/Atlantic: Senegal; Soukka 2000: 284) (EX=exclusive; PRF=perfective; REL=relative clause marker; INF=infinitive; DUR=durative)

Dí	koor-in	kaan-fu	Ø	ki-këñd-oh	Bó
we-EX	pass-PRF	house-REL.2SG	(**PURP**)	INF-greet-DUR	people

We passed by your house to greet people.

3. Purposive inferences arise when a particular construction is multifunctional and its purpose constitutes one of a restricted number of competing functions. In Turkish, the coordinating enclitic '=da' ('and') does not only have the meaning 'and,' but also a variety of meaning shades determined by the context (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:107).

Turkish (Turkic: Turkey; Kornfilt 1997: 110)

Once	iş-im-i	bitir-eyim **=de**	sinema-ya	gid-eyim.
first	work-1SG-ACC	finish-1SG.OPT = **and**	cinema-DAT	go-1SG.OPT

Let me finish my work first and (then) go to the movies.

(… so that I can go to the movies.)

3.3.1.2.2 Verb form

Events (and states of affairs) are usually conceptualized as processes and are prototypically coded by verbs. Verbs coding dependent events may differ in structure to varying degrees in comparison to the corresponding forms used in independent clauses. Hence, verb forms may manifest the syntactic structures of purpose constructions.

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phrase. The second verb phrase represents a further development, a consequence, result, goal, or culmination of the action named by the first verb.

5. Prototypical SVCs share at least one argument.

6. SVCs typically share the marking of a command.

7. In many languages, components of SVCs cannot be questioned separately.

[170] The Mandarine Chinese was transliterated.

According to the traditional distinction, verb forms may be either finite or nonfinite. Finite verbs are limited by parameters such as tense, aspect, mood, number and person, while nonfinite forms are not marked for these parameters. Furthermore, nonfinite verbal forms typically cannot occur in independent clauses. However, the distinction based on morphosyntactic criteria has a limited cross-linguistic applicability. For instance, the opposition between finiteness and nonfiniteness makes no sense in isolating languages such as Mandarin Chinese, where verbs are not marked for any parameter at all.

The distinction between finiteness and nonfiniteness involves the same problems as the one between coordination and subordination. As it is based on morphological criteria, it is quite restricted in its applicability to cross-linguistic comparison.

There is, however, a cross-linguistically applicable parameter that can be used to classify verb forms. Verb forms may be distinguished on the basis of the clause types in which they can occur. That is, a verb form may be used in only two ways: either it can occur in independent declarative clauses, or it cannot. This distinction is cross-linguistically applicable, because all languages have independent declarative clauses (as well as dependent clauses, i.e., clauses expressing a dependent state of affairs) (Stassen 1985:77; Croft 2003:216-217; Cristofaro 2003; 2005).

As a cognitive notion, temporal chaining can be defined as the process by which the mind establishes "the relation between two events, A and B, as overlapping, preceding or following each other" (Traugott 1975:208). The mapping of this process onto a language system is a syntactic chaining. The syntactic chaining of a series of event-expressing sentences or predicates can be employed to express two different states of affairs based on whether they are ordered with respect to temporal succession: simultaneous action or consecutive action (Stassen 1985:58-59,66ff). When the events or states in question occur at the same point in time, these temporal chains will be referred to as simultaneous (temporal) chains (=S-chains). However, when the events or states referred to in the chain must be taken to occur or obtain one after the other, they will be called consecutive (temporal) chains (=C-chains).[171]

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[171] We can define a simultaneous chain (or S-chain) cross linguistically as that construction type which expresses a situation in which two events happen at the same point in time, or a situation in which two states are obtained at the same point in time. Included in this definition are also situations in which two events or states overlap in time. A somewhat special case of simultaneous chains is formed by those chains in which the two events or states are set off against each other in a relation of adversativity. At the centre of the notion 'consecutive chain (=C-chain)' lies the concept of a temporal succession of events. That is, a minimal requirement for a construction to count as a C-chain is that it describes a situation in which events occur one after the other, in a fixed temporal order. In addition, they should be conceived of as particularly closely related (Welmers, 1973: 367), i.e., it must also be the case that the ordered events in the chain should be conceived of as successive stages in the progress of one complex 'total event.'

In a language, two basic strategies may be employed in order to encode two linked states of affairs occurring in a fixed temporal order (or consecutive chain) (Stassen 1985:76ff).

1. Balancing: a language may choose to express those two events by means of two independent clauses (and typically, though not necessarily, it will connect these clauses by means of a connective particle). In this case, the important thing is that the two predicates that express the two relevant actions remain structurally of the same rank (Dik 1968:30). Chaining constructions in which predicates remain of the same rank are called balanced constructions, and languages which choose this encoding option are called balancing languages.[172]

2. Deranking:[173] a language may also choose to represent the two predicates in a consecutive chain (=C-chain) by reducing one of these predicates in rank. In such a case, only one of the predicates in the chain retains its finite verbal form, whereas the other predicate is represented as a subordinate, usually non-finite, verbal construct.[174] Languages of this type are called deranking languages, and its syntactic chains are called deranked constructions. From a strictly syntactic point of view, one may say that deranking languages do not have any consecutive coordination at all.

Deranked predicates are formally manifested in a surface structure in a variety of ways, even though the actual morphological outcome of the deranking procedure may diverge from one language to another.
* A reduction of the verbal morphology: the loss of personal flexion, restriction in the choice of mood and aspect marking.

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[172] E.g., English:

John jumped out of his chair and grabbed a gun.

[173] The notion of deranking will be defined here as applying exclusively to the predicates of sentences, and not to whole sentences or clauses. The essential point is that in order for a construction to be called deranked, it must be the predicate of one of the sentences itself which is marked as a form of non-equal rank to the main predicate in the chain.

[174] E.g., in Tamil, consecutive chains are obligatorily deranked.

Tamil (NOM = nominative case, ACC = accusative case, PAST = past tense, IND = indicative mood, 3SG = 3rd person singular)

Avaru	kavide	Erudiittu	Naval	moripeyarttaaru
he-NOM	poetry-ACC	write-PERF. GER	novel-ACC	translate-PAST. IND. 3SG

He wrote poetry and then translated a novel.

One of the predicates (viz., moripeyarttaaru 'he translated') is represented as a finite main verb in the Indicative Past, while the other predicate (viz., erudiittu 'having written') has the non-finite subordinate form of the Perfect Gerund. Tamil sentences cannot be regarded as structural coordinations.

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- A change of category status of the deranked predicate: loss of its verbal characteristics (e.g., an infinitive or an action nominal, gerund, a participle).

- The opposite of morphological reduction: the addition of some specific marker, or by application of a special subordinate conjugational form: a so called 'dependent mood.'

- Combinations of different strategies in the morphological codification of its deranked predicates.

The deranking is divided into two categories according to the deranking procedure restricted by specific structural conditions (the conditionality of the deranking).

1) Conditional deranking: the deranking procedure is permitted only when two predicates in the C-chain have identical subjects; if different subjects are involved, the construction must remain balanced (conditionally deranked consecutive constructions). [175]

2) Absolute deranking: languages which allow for absolute deranking may derank their consecutive predicates regardless of whether the predicates in the chain have identical or non-identical subjects. As a consequence, such languages may have consecutive constructions in which both the deranked and the finite main predicate have their own overt subject. [176]

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[175] E.g., in Wolof, C-chains with identical subjects derank their posterior predicates into a subjunctive form, which is characterized by the presence of a specific particle *a* and special rules for the placement of pronouns. If the subjects in the C-chain are not identical, the only option is the use of a coordinate construction, which may be asyndetic, but can also contain the coordinative particle 'te (and).'

Wolof (IMP = imperative mood, SUBJCT = subjunctive marker, PRT = particle, PAST = past tense, IND = indicative mood)

a. Demal a   O

 go-IMP SUBJCT. PRT call-SUBJCT him

Go and call him.

b. Nyeu On na   te wakh On na   ma ko

 come PAST IND. PRT and tell PAST IND. PRT I   him

He came and I told (it to) him.

[176] E.g., Tamil (NOM = nominative case, ACC = accusative case, 3SG = 3rd person singular)

Tamil:

Naan panan kuduttu   avan sinimaa-   poonan
                        vukku

The deranking can further be divided into two categories on the basis of whether it is the anterior predicate or the posterior predicate, which is affected by the deranking procedure (the directionality of the deranking).[177]

- Anterior deranking: the predicate which describes the earlier event (anterior predicate) is deranked in C-chains.

- Posterior deranking: the predicate referring to the later event in a temporal succession is deranked in C-chains.

Basic word order also plays a determining role in the choice between anterior and posterior deranking.

- Deranking languages with SOV word order derank all anterior predicates in a consecutive chain.

- In SVO-languages, the unmarked case only occurs when the first predicate in a consecutive chain retains its finite status, while all following predicates are deranked.

- In VSO-languages, the process of consecutive deranking is a bit more elusive. Part of the difficulty is that quite often, some VSO-languages lack many or all categories of verbal flexion so that the distinction between finite and deranked verbal forms tends to be blurred from the outset. Nevertheless, in those VSO-languages, a clear preference for deranking occurs with posterior predicates.

    Maasai:(PAST =past tense, DEP = dependent mood)
    a. E -iput-a   emoti n   -e -pik   en –kima
       she-fill -PAST   pot   DEP –she -put   on-fire
       She filled the pot and put it on the fire.

Based on investigations across languages, Stassen (1985:91-93) identified that conditionality and directionality are interrelated. The interrelationship between them shows the following features:

- Languages with absolute anterior consecutive deranking typically have SOV word order.

- Languages with absolute posterior consecutive deranking typically have VSO word order.

- Languages that permit only the conditional deranking of C-chains have posterior deranking and typically prefer SVO word order.

I-NOM	money-ACC	give-GER. PERF	he-NOM	movie-to	go-PAST. 3SG	IND.

I gave (him) money and he went to a movie.

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[177] The anterior predicate describes the earlier event in a temporal succession, while the posterior predicate refers to the later event in a temporal succession.

Stassen (1985:71-74) categorizes purpose constructions as a subcategory of the C-chain. From a semantic point of view, constructions of this type are meant to express that, of two successive events, the first event is performed with the purpose of bringing about the second event. There is, however, also a clear semantic difference that can be stated in terms of the truth values of consecutive and final assertions. A final chain, like (a), is true even if the second event did not take place in reality; all that is needed for this assertion to be true is that the first event took place, and that there was some intention on John's part to perform the second action. In contrast, (b) can only be said to be true if the closing of the window by John actually happened.

> (English)
> a. John stood up to close the window
> b. John stood up and closed the window

Balancing and deranking rules can also be applied to the purpose construction, viz., verb forms in purpose clauses can be classified as either balanced or deranked, and the corresponding clauses can be called balanced and deranked purpose clauses.

In line with Stassen, Schmidtke-Bode (2009) analyzed verbal forms from a perspective of deranking and balancing, and were able to identify some of the recurrent typological patterns. It is therefore nowadays widely accepted that although many languages have more than one purposive construction, we can classify languages according to whether they generally prefer balanced or deranked purpose clauses. Deranked purpose constructions considerably outweigh balanced purpose constructions. In addition, languages with 'only deranked' purpose constructions are again much more frequent than those that have 'only balanced' purpose constructions.

Although the majority of purpose constructions come as deranked constructions, and are hence often deprived of tense-aspect marking, not every purpose construction dispenses with temporal marking. If tense aspect specifications are overt, they tend to emphasize the temporal posteriority of the purposive situation with respect to the main clause situation.

[Frequent tense-aspect markers in purpose construction (N=218)] (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:43)

Tense-aspect marker	Absolute frequency
Future tense	24
Non-past or present tense	8
Imperfective aspect	8
Prospective, immediate or directed aspect	3

The predominant tense-aspect (=TA) markers in purpose constructions are from the future (or at least non-past) temporal domain because of the inherent future-orientation of purpose constructions.

Overt mood marking in purpose constructions are also common, for purposive situations are inherently modal. On the one hand, they are *necessarily hypothetical* and *non-realized* at the moment of speech. On the other hand, purpose constructions refer to someone's intention to realize a certain goal, i.e., they are desiderative. Hypothetical markers recurrently turn out to be 'minimal features' in distinguishing purpose from result clauses.

> I put on a jacket so that I wouldn't be freezing in the Great Hall.   (purpose clause)
> I put on a jacket so that I wasn't freezing in the Great Hall.   (result clause)

The investigation of purpose constructions across languages sheds light on the understanding of BH purpose constructions. In particular, it is useful to further scrutinize the views of Payle (2000). We can conclude that Payle fails to explain the features of the final construction with a *waw* as far as its syntactic features are concerned. Payle's claim that in order to form a final construction, the rank of the verb in the matrix and the purpose clause must be different, fails to understand the features of final constructions with a *waw*. The verbal forms employed in the matrix and purpose clause of BH are balanced verbal forms, since they can be used in both the matrix and purpose clause. Morphologically, it is not possible to argue that the jussive form used in the matrix is ranked higher than the cohortative employed in the dependent clause. As far as the syntactic features of the final construction with a *waw* are concerned, the construction is a balanced purpose construction.[178]

3.3.1.2.3 Participant encoding

The most significant feature of (positive) purpose constructions is participant-sharing between the matrix and dependent clause.[179] From 218 purpose constructions, Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) identified three different kinds of participant encoding in dependent clauses: 1) explicit subjects,[180] 2) implicit subjects[181] and 3) both types.

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[178] From a perspective of balancing and deranking, BH purpose constructions will further be investigated in chapter 5.

[179] This is the most significant difference between the (positive) purpose construction and the avertive (negative purpose) construction (cf. §3.3.1.2.3).

[180] The notion of subject is defined functionally: it is the single participant of an intransitive verb and the agentive participant of a canonical transitive clause, viz., it is the subject of a transitive clause (non-passivized), as well as an agent of the clause. Put differently, the term 'subject' captures the typically instigating participant of a situation, no matter whether the subject and the agent behave the same way syntactically (e.g., by nominative-accusative coding) or are categorized into different sets (e.g., by ergative-absolutive coding) in individual languages.

[181] It includes the absence of full noun phrases or their pronominal counterparts, and a lack of indexical markers, such as agreement morphemes where we would usually expect them.

[Subject expression in dependent clauses (N=218)] (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:52)

Subject is left …	Absolute frequency	Aggregate relative frequencies (in %)
Explicit (attested pattern)	47	42.7
Explicit (obligatory rule)	**46**	
Implicit (attested pattern)	27	
Implicit (default)	4	45.9
Implicit (obligatory rule)	**69**	
Both possible	21	9.6
N/A	2	0.9
No illustration	2	0.9
Total	218	100.0

An important tendency identified in the statistics referred to above is not to express the subject in the dependent clauses of purpose constructions. This shows that participant-sharing between the dependent clause and the matrix is a significant feature of purpose constructions.[182]

In the purpose construction, the following participant sharing patterns were identified (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:53ff):

[co-reference relations of subjects of a dependent clause (N=218)]

(A=transitive agent; G=ditransitive recipient; P=transitive patient; S= intransitive subject)

Overtness of dependent clause subject (=purposive subject)	The dependent clause subject co-referential with matrix …								Total
	SA	SAP	SAPG	P	PG	Oblique	Mixed	Different	
Explicit (attested)	14	3	3	2	0	1	14	10	47
Explicit (obligatory)	9	3	1	1	0	0	22	7	43
Implicit (attested)	23	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	27
Implicit (default)	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Implicit (obligatory)	53	9	6	1	0	0	0	0	69
Both possible	3	1	1	0	0	0	13	1	10
TOTAL	105	17	11	4	1	1	52	18	209

The terms SA, SAP, SAPG, P and PG define the co-reference relation between the matrix and purpose clause. The key issue involves identifying which participants of the matrix clause are co-referential with the notional subject of the purpose clause.

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[182] The preference is harmonious with Cristofaro's (2003:171) finding that "there is a tendency for languages not to express arguments in purpose relations only." According to Cristofaro (2003:77), the inclination is due to one of the following factors: 1) the situations coded by the main and dependent clause share, respectively, a certain number of common participants; 2) the information pertaining to the missing argument is easily recoverable or irrelevant in the discourse context; 3) arguments that logically belong to the dependent clause are associated with the main clause, as in raising constructions, although they do not encode a participant common to both situations.

i)   SA refers to the single participant of an intransitive clause and the agentive participant of a canonical (i.e., non-passivized) transitive clause.

ii) SA refers to the co-reference relation in that the subject of the purposive clause enters into a co-reference relation with the SA of the matrix (see Turkish below).

iii) SAP (SAPG) refers to the co-reference relation in that the subject of the purpose clause enters into a co-reference relation with the SAP (SAPG) of the matrix (see Yimas below).

iv) PG refers to a co-reference relation in that the S of the purpose clause enters into a co-reference relation with the PG of the matrix (see the following example).

> Martuthunira (Pama-Nyungan: Western Australia; Dench 1995:252) (1/2SG=1st /2nd person singular; NOM=nominative; ACC=accusative; PROP=proprietive; FUT=future; PURP=purpose, purposive; S=intransitive subject; P=transitive patient)

Ngayu	**kartungu**	parla-marta	purra-minyji	[punga-**waa**-rru]
1SG.NOM	**2SG.ACC**	stone.PROP	hit-FUT	fall-**PURP.S =P**-now
	PG			S

> I'll hit you with a stone, so that you fall down.

The following participant sharing patterns are significant:

- The most significant pattern is when the purposive subject (the subject of the dependent clause) is obligatorily implicit (N=69), which is then invariably controlled by a matrix clause participant (the same subject purpose construction).

> Turkish (Turkic: Turkey; Kornfilt 1997:73) (ACC=accusative; DAT=dative; INF=infinitive; PST=past)

Hasan	kitab-t	ø *san-a*	*ver-mek*	*için*	*al-dl*.
Hasan	book-ACC	you-DAT	give-INF	for	buy-PST

> Hasan bought the book in order to give (it) to you.

- Less frequently, the co-reference relation defines the SAP or even SAPG as controllers of obligatorily implicit subjects. In Yimas, the matrix P argument controls the subject of the dependent clause.

> Yimas (Lower Sepik-Ramu: Papua New Guinea; Foley 1991:402) (I=morphological class; PL=plural; NR=near (future, past); DIST=distal, distance; 1SG=1st person singular; P=transitive patient; PRFV=perfective; 3PL=3rd person plural; VIS=visual (evidential); IRR=irrealis)

ŋaykum   m-**ŋa**-wampak-c-um   ø*kumpwi.*
woman.II.PL   NR:DIST-**1SG.P**-throw-PRFV-3PL   child.I.PL

taŋkway-cakal-k

VIS-grasp-IRR

It was the women who sent me to look after the children.

When subjects of dependent clauses are obligatorily explicit (N=43), they tend towards non-coreferentiality (7+22).

> Hixkaryana   (Carib: Brazil; Derbyshire 1979:30) (NOML=nominalizer; DENOML=denominalizer)
> Kosohtxemehe, *Rahohsira*   *Atunano* *yehtxoho*   *me*.
> lSG.treat.myself not.catch:NOML.me Ever   its.be:NOML   DENOML
> I treat myself with medicine so that the fever won't get me.

The reason for the overwhelming participant-sharing preference of purpose constructions is found in one crucial semantic component of purposive relations, i.e., a participant of the matrix is interested in the realization of the purposive situation. For this reason, there exists a mental-state relation between the agent of the matrix clause and the content of the dependent clause. In addition, one would expect that a participant has greater control over what he/she will do than over what someone else will do, with the result that having the same subject in the two clauses implies a greater degree of control (in general) than if the two clauses have different subjects (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:60).

Agent control is an important factor in retrieving the implicit subject of a dependent clause in a purpose construction. The implicit subject of purpose clauses are generally assumed to be that participant who is associated with a volitional, agentive and hence controlling semantic role (i.e. A and most S arguments of the matrix), or the one who is most likely to be available for such a role in the discourse-pragmatic context (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:61). Consider the following example:

> I bought you War and Peace ø to read to the children.

Of two the readings, the latter is certainly the more natural, due to the fact that *War and Peace* is available to the recipient and is more able to control the realization of the reading process than the main clause agent – who simply bought the book and then handed it over to the recipient. The recipient is in a position to exert control and bring about the intended situation.

3.3.1.2.4 Differences between infinitive purpose constructions and finite purpose constructions

Green (1992) and Jones (1991:95ff) describe the features of infinitive purpose constructions which distinguish them from finite purpose constructions:[183]

1. Purpose infinitives always exhibit at least one unexpressed argument. It may be in the non-subject position, as in (a), or in the subject position, as in (b), or in both, as in (c).

> a. Kim bought a book for Sandy to read Ø to the kids.
> b. Kim hired a student Ø to file the off-prints.
> c. Kim bought it Ø to read Ø to the children.
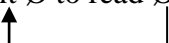
2. Binding and control

- When there is a non-subject gap, it is interpreted as co-referential with ('bound by') a preceding NP.

    Kim bought a book for Sandy to read Ø to the kids.

    Kim bought it Ø to read Ø to the children.

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[183] Green (1992:96) defines the notion of an infinitive purpose construction as "adjuncts, with a specific contribution of representing a purpose for the action named by the VP they modify, which must be stipulated." Green (1992:96) also makes a distinction between 'purpose infinitives,' 'rationale infinitives (=in order + infinitive),' and 'relative infinitives.'

A purpose infinitive refers to expressions of the form '(for NP) to VP.' In this case, the infinitive modifies the main predicate of the clause it is attached to in order to indicate a purpose which the main predicate's being true of its arguments enables the accomplishment of (e.g., *I bought it to give to the children*).

A rationale infinitive (in order + infinitive) has different syntactic properties. They may occur with no ga at all (e.g., Kim bought the book in order (for Jo) to distract the kids with it), and never allow non-subject ga (e.g., *Kim bought the book in order (for Sandy) to distract the kids with Ø). In addition, the subject gap in a rationale infinitive is always controlled by the (agentive) matrix subject (e.g., Sandy$_i$ hired a student in order Ø$_i$ to go over the accounts).

A relative infinitive is a relative-like nominal modifier (e.g., I saw a book to buy Ø for the children). First, like purpose infinitives, their interpretation necessarily involves a purposive agent possessing an object in the future as well as intention to use that object as an instrument in accomplishing some goal. Ordinary finite relative clauses are not limited in such ways. Second, relative purpose infinitives with relative pronouns only support PP 'topics' (e.g., *Kim knows a man (for) who to amuse Sandy). Thirdly, they do not permit overt subjects. Fourthly, relative infinitives do not co-occur with definite pronoun heads (e.g., *I saw it to read Ø to the children), while purpose infinitives occur comfortably with definite pronouns (e.g., I got it to read to the children). In addition, the matrix verbs are not restricted in terms of semantics.

- When the subject is unexpressed, the infinitive is necessarily understood as having the preceding (patient) NP as its subject (being controlled by).

    Kim hired a student Ø to file the off-prints.

- When both the subject and a non-subject are unexpressed, the interpretation of the missing subject is uncontrolled (i.e., pragmatically controlled or free): it may be Kim who is intended to read to the children, or it may be their mother, baby-sitter, or any other contextually salient or inferable agent.

    Kim bought it Ø to read Ø to the children.

3. Matrix verb restrictions: The verb of the matrix must be one which affirms (d) or entails (e) availability, possession or control of the entity corresponding to the gap in the purpose infinitive by the inferred controller of the infinitive verb. Purpose infinitives do not occur with verbs like 'fire,' which would deny this possibility (Green 1992:99).

    d. Jan has it on hand to distract young visitors with Ø.
    *Kim fired them$_i$ to talk to Ø$_i$.
    e. Kim used/keeps/bought/made/chose/needs it to distract young visitors with Ø.

Verbs that fail to even implicate physical possession or control do not support purpose infinitives.

    *I lost it to drive the teacher crazy with Ø.

This feature (i.e., matrix verb restrictions) cannot appear in finite clauses (Green 1992:104).

    Dana bought some wool to show her aunt that she could knit a sweater with Ø.
    Dana bought some wool to show me how to knit a sweater with Ø.

3.3.1.2.5 Positioning patterns of matrix and dependent clauses

As for the positioning pattern of purpose clauses, Greenberg (1963:84, 104) claims – through an investigation of purpose constructions in 30 languages – that iconicity determines the position of purpose clauses:

    In expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verbal form always follows
    the main verb as the normal order except in those languages in which the nominal
    object always precedes the verb. …The order of elements in language parallels
    that in physical experience or the order of knowledge.

Schmidtke-Bode (2009) also identified that the rigidly postposed position is the overwhelming type of positioning for purpose clauses. This result confirms Greenberg's claim.

[Preferred positioning patterns of purpose clauses (N=218 purpose constructions)]
(Schmidtke-Bode 2009:112)

Position type	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (%)
Flexible	31	14.2
Postposed preferred	136	62.4
Preposed preferred	49	22.5
Other	2	0.9
Total	218	100.0

[Preferred positioning patterns of purpose constructions in 80 languages] (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:112)
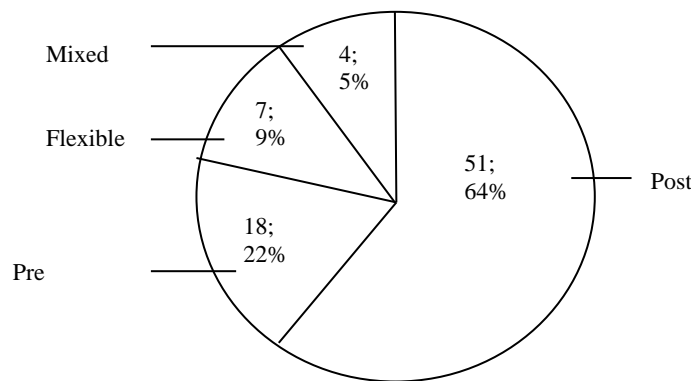
A more important factor of the positioning of purpose clauses is the significant correlation between the position of the subordinating element in adverbial clauses and the position of the entire adverbial clause vis-à-vis the main clause. Diessel (2001:447-448) identified that if a language employs clause-final adverbial subordinators, the adverbial clause precedes the main clause. If, by contrast, a language employs clause-initial subordinators, the position of adverbial clauses tends to be mixed: they occur before and after the main clause. [184] Schmidtke-Bode's (2009:122) finding is harmonious with Diessel (2001).

[Position of the purpose marker and the purpose clause] (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:122)
(SUB=subordinate, subordinator; S=intransitive subject)

Position of the subordinator	Position of Purpose clauses				
	Flexible	Mixed	Post preferred	Pre preferred	Total
No marker	1	13	2	1	17
SUB-S	7	65	0	0	71
S-SUB	17	48	47	0	112
Circum	0	2	0	0	2
Medial	4	2	0	0	6
Flexible or other	2	6	0	1	9
Total	31	136	49	2	218

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[184] Diessel (2001) investigated 40 languages in this regard.

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- If a language has no overt primary marker of subordination, it tends to place the purpose clause after the corresponding matrix clause.

- If a language has a clause-initial purpose marker (SUB-S), the purpose clause follows the associated matrix clause.

- If a language generally prefers preposed purpose clauses, the purpose marker almost always occurs in the clause-final position.

In terms of information structure, purpose clauses provide new information. Their discourse-pragmatic function, then, should favor purpose clauses in a rhematic (focus) position rather than thematic (topic), being frequently postposed.[185] Their rhematic function is reflected cross-linguistically by a strong association with the focal position in a sentence.

Schmidtke-Bode also identified the relationship between the positioning pattern of purpose clauses and word order. All VO languages in the sample postpose their purpose clauses, in keeping with the expected word-order correlations, but OV languages do not uniformly prepose their purpose clauses.

[Basic constituent order and the preferred position of purpose clauses (N=80)] (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:113)

Constituent-order type	Position of Purpose clauses				
	Flexible	Mixed	Post preferred	Pre preferred	Total
OV	2	4	15	18	39
VO	0	0	25	0	25
Other	5	0	11	0	16
Total	7	4	51	18	80

3.3.1.2.6 Negative purpose construction

Negative purpose constructions are also called 'avertive (or 'lest') constructions,' since the purpose of an action aims at preventing an undesirable event from happening. Typically, the matrix clause encodes the precautionary situation to avert the apprehension-causing situation in subordinate clauses (Lichtenberk 1995:298; López-Couso 2007:20; Schmidtke-Bode

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[185] In her study of the infinitival purpose clause in written English discourse, Thomon (1985) provides clear evidence for the rhematic function of purpose clauses. Canonical final purpose clauses are limited to the (narrow) function of modifying the proposition in the preceding matrix clause. They provide the very motive for the main clause action and as such, typically introduce new focal information into the ongoing discourse. When the purpose clause is moved to the beginning of the complex sentence however, it loses these rhematic characteristics and adopts the discourse-organizing function of other initial adverbial clauses: "The initial purpose clause help to *guide the attention* of the reader, by signaling, within the portion of text in which it occurs, how the reader is expected to associate the material following the purpose clause with the material preceding it. The final purpose clause does *not* play this role" (Thomon 1985: 61).

2009:129). A negative purpose is expressed by either a canonical purpose clause with a negative marker, or by a distinct grammatical marker or construction.[186]

(English)

We took an umbrella *so that* we would*n't* get wet on the way.

(To'aba'ita, an Austronesian language spoken in the Solomon Islands; Lichtenberk 1995:298) (FACT=factitive; SEQ=sequencer,sequential; INCL=inclusive)

Nau	ku	agwa	'i	buira	fau	*ada*	Wane	'eri	ka	riki	nau.
I	I:	hide	at	behind	rock	lest	Man	That	he:SEQ	see	me
	FACT										

I hid behind a rock so that the man would not see me/I hid behind a rock lest the man see me.

Avertive constructions across languages share morphosyntactic characteristics. In his typological investigation of purpose constructions, Schmidtke-Bode (2009) identified that 19 out of 80 languages (23.8%) have distinct avertive constructions, alongside at least one positive purpose clause and various other negative purpose markers.

- Negative purpose markers can be conjunctions, adverbial suffixes, postpositions, TAM (tense, aspect, and mood) markers, particles or auxiliaries.

Wardaman (Gunwinyguan: Northern Australia; Merlan 1994:295) (PTCL=particle; SUFFF=suffix; AUX=auxiliary; ABS=absolute)

Yirrb-a	me	yiwarlng	Bujun	warlad.
remove-PTCL.SUFF	AUX	clothes.ABS	Lest	sick

Take off your clothes lest you get sick.

- Sometimes an avertive marker is accompanied by an overt negative morpheme in the 'lest' clause, emphasizing the notion of negative purpose.

Slave (Athapaskan: Canada; Rice 1989:1262) (OPT=optative; NEG=negative, negation; 1SG=1st person singular)

Daniel	yegúh	ʔáZe	ch'á	goghádehk'a.
Daniel	3OPT.find	4.NEG	LEST	1SG.threw

I threw it so Daniel wouldn't find it.

Positive and negative purpose clauses are not different with regard to verbal deranking. However, negative purpose constructions are significantly different from their positive counterparts with respect to participant encoding and verbs in the matrix clause.

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[186] Schmidtke-Bode (2009:109) identified that in Huallaga Quechua (Quechuan:Peru), a negative purpose is inferred without any negative morpheme, i.e., the semantics of 'lest' are inferred from context.

(1) Avertive constructions more explicitly express subjects than positive purpose constructions. In addition, negative purpose constructions prefer entirely different subjects between the matrix and subordinate clauses.[187]

[Co-reference relations of the subject in positive and negative purpose clauses (in percent)] (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:133)

Construction Type	Purposive subject co-referential with matrix						Total (%)
	Different	Mixed	Subjects	Subjects and Objects	Objects	Obliques	
Positive PC	5.8	24.2	54.2	13.7	2.1	0	100.0
Negative PC	36.9	31.5	10.5	10.5	5.3	5.3	100.0

Negative purpose constructions encode the desired prevention of an unpleasant occurrence. The state of affairs associated with avertive constructions is that an agent performs an action (on some entity) in order to avert some undesired situation from happening to him/her or to a certain entity. Hence, two scenarios are possible: (i) the agent in the main clause is acting in order to prevent him/herself from getting into an unpleasant situation; this scenario can require the same subjects (e.g., Take off your clothes lest you get sick) or different subjects (e.g., Circle around so the moose won't smell you); (ii) the agent of the matrix performs an action on some entity in order to prevent that entity from being involved in an unwanted situation; this would demand a different subject preference (e.g., Put it down so that it won't fall). Schmidtke-Bode (2009:135) propose two complementary implicational universals with regard to participant encoding in avertive constructions:[188]

> If a language has a semantic agent as the subject in an avertive clause, then it is not a shared participant of both the main and avertive clause.

> If a language has a co-referential subject argument in an avertive clause, then it is a semantic patient in the avertive clause.

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[187] In the British National Corpus (=BNC) sample, Schmidtke-Bode (2009:137) identified that a simple two-way contrast between same-subject and different-subject patterns yielded a ratio of 37:63.

[188] In פֶּן avertive constructions, in 60 instances the semantic agent is the subject of the avertive clause. In 43 of these cases, the subject is not shared in the matrix or the avertive clause. Only in 17 cases is the subject shared in the matrix as well as the avertive clause. In our corpus, the semantic patient does not occur in the פֶּן avertive clause. Hence in פֶּן avertive constructions, two complementary implicational universals are identified in only a limited way (see §4.6.2.2.2).

However, in 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions, in only one instance is the semantic agent the subject of the avertive clause. In the rest of the cases the semantic experiencer is the subject of the avertive clause (12x). This finding does not accord with two complementary implicational universals proposed by Schmidtke-Bode (see §4.2.2.1.5).

(2) With regard to the matrix verb, many positive purpose clauses are typically associated with a matrix verb of motion because of an experiential correlation between purposes and destinations. However, in avertive constructions no similar restriction on the matrix verb is found. In the corpus sample analysis of BNC, Schmidtke-Bode (2009:139) identified that of the 259 avertive instances, 247 (95.4%) did not involve a motion context. Instead, verbs that most strongly attracted to the matrix of avertive constructions were 'beware,' 'guard,' 'chain,' 'add' and 'temper.'

3.3.1.3 Coordination and subordination

Coordination and subordination concerns whether two states of affairs are construed as conceptually symmetrical or asymmetrical. In purpose constructions, it is about whether the matrix and dependent clauses (purpose clauses) are symmetrical or asymmetrical.

Most grammars regard purpose constructions as belonging to a paradigm of 'subordinate' clauses.' And in order to identify purpose constructions, several different formal criteria for subordination are applied. There are, perhaps, five main types of criteria for subordination (Palmer 1987:95).[189]

- The main clause is not grammatically complete (without the subordinate clause).

- The subordinate clause is, grammatically speaking, not a "full" independent sentence.

- There are specific forms (conjunctions, etc.) that link main and subordinate clauses.

- There are features internal to the clauses that link them.

- The whole complex is marked as a single sentence.

However, this set of criteria is not universal.[190] Consider the following example from Lango. In example (a) there is a conjunction and verb form described as a subjunctive, while in example (b) there is no conjunction and the verb is in the indicative. Clearly, although there is considerable semantic and grammatical similarity between the two, one is obviously subordinate while there is no apparent evidence of subordination for the other.

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[189] The first two criteria are the grammatical counterparts of the two prototypical semantic features: completeness of the main clause and semantic independence of the subordinate clause. The remainder are devices used in languages to indicate subordination when the other two criteria are absent, or merely to provide extra signals of the subordination.

[190] Haiman & Thomon (1984:511ff) also revealed the limitation of applicability and language specific features of formal criteria. They tested seven formal criteria across languages and identified counter examples. Although there are semantic differences between subordination and coordination, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1985:919-920) revealed that subordination and coordination are not dichotomous, but gradient, through investigating the functions of coordinators and subordinators.

(Lango)(Noonan 1985:106) (COMP=complementizer; SUBJ=subjunctive)

(a) Dákó   òdrò   có   Nì   'kwál   gwènò
    woman   pressed (3SG)   man   COMP   steal (3SG SUBJ)   chicken
    The woman pressed the man to steal the chicken.

(b) Dákó   òdìò   ìcó   Òkwàlò   gwènò
    woman   pressed (3 SG)   man   stole (3SG)   chicken
    The woman forced the man to steal the chicken.
    (The woman pressed the man. He stole the chicken.)

The second clause of (b) can be treated either as an independent sentence or a subordinate clause. This kind of example is understood as an example of parataxis, viz., although one clause contains logical subordination, the two simple clauses are grammatically coordinated. There is a semantic link between the two clauses that would be appropriate to subordination, but the formal markers are absent (Noonan 1985:55; Palmer 1987:106-107).

The notion of subordination based on a set of morphosyntactic criteria is of limited applicability in identifying purpose constructions as demonstrated by cross-linguistic comparisons. Not all languages use the same morphosyntactic means to encode purpose relations between the matrix and dependent clause. In addition, not all purpose constructions encode purpose relations asymmetrically, viz., purpose relations are also encoded by syntactic coordination. For this reason, the notion of subordination should be defined in language-independent, i.e., cognitive, terms (Langacker 1991:464ff; Cristofaro 2003:29ff; Langacker 2008:406ff). In cognitive terms, subordination can be defined as a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events in such a way that one of them lacks an autonomous profile and is, consequently, construed through the perspective of the other main event. Significant is the notion that subordination is not defined by any particular type, but by cognitive relations between events. In addition, the definition of subordination – based on the cognitive relation between events – assumes an asymmetry of the cognitive relation (i.e., not a syntactic asymmetry) between two states of affairs, viz., only one of the two events has an autonomous profile.

Unlike subordination, coordination (or non-subordination) entails two or more conjoined clauses of coequal status (i.e. conjuncts). Similarly, in coordination, neither of the linked states of affairs imposes its profile over the other; the result being that the whole sentence designates two processes (Cristofaro 2003:30; Langacker 2008:407). Consider the following example, in that both clauses are reasons why the speaker is so tired in the evening. The cognitive relations of the two events are symmetrical, viz., the two states of affairs have their own autonomous profile.

    [I had three classes today] and [the faculty meeting was acrimonious].

The conceptual symmetry (i.e., coordination or non-subordination) and asymmetry correspond to the pragmatic or information-structural notion of assertion and non-assertion, respectively – as the following example illustrates.

> I finally met the woman who moved in downstairs (Lambrecht 1994:51).

The speaker assumes that the addressee already knows that someone moved in downstairs and wishes to inform the addressee that he/she finally met this person. Hence, the speaker's meeting the woman is the assertional part of the sentence, while the woman's moving in downstairs is the non-assertional part. The distinction between assertion and non-assertion assumes an asymmetrical communicative organization of the sentence, such that part of the sentence corresponds to what the speaker means to communicate, while the rest is introduced in the sentence for the other purposes (e.g., in order to help the addressee activate asserted information by relating it to something that is already known).

It seems reasonable to assume that the state of affairs imposing its profile over the whole sentence corresponds to what the sentence is meant to communicate, viz., the assertional part of the sentence. On the other hand, the state of affairs lacking an autonomous profile corresponds to the non-assertional part of the sentence, which is construed through the perspective of the assertional part (as should be clear from the discussion of Lambrecht's example above). Hence, a state of affairs having an autonomous profile is an asserted state of affairs, while a state of affairs lacking an autonomous profile is a non-asserted state of affairs. If all such states referred to in a sentence are asserted or profiled, that sentence is an instance of non-subordination. If just one of them is asserted or profiled, the sentence is an instance of subordination. Equating the lack of an autonomous profile and non-assertiveness provides us with some consistent criteria to identify subordination cross-linguistically (Cristofaro 2003:33; 2008:153).

When we assume that the syntactic status provides an indication of the cognitive status, purposive relations are preferably construed as conceptually asymmetrical. According to Schmidtke-Bode (2009), 197 of 218 purpose constructions (90.3%) were classified as syntactically 'subordinate' by the authors of the reference materials, viz., most purpose constructions encode purpose relations asymmetrically. As purpose constructions express a mental-state of relations between the matrix event and the dependent clause (purpose clause) – and the agent of the matrix makes them conceptually and tightly integrated (agent-binding) –, syntactic subordination (e.g., by deranking) is a linguistic response to this type of conceptualization (asymmetry). Nevertheless, Schmidtke-Bode identified purpose constructions in some languages to be classified as belonging to a set of coordinate clauses, viz., they encode purpose relations symmetrically.

Coordinating conjunction ngaba in Wambaya (West Barkly: Northern Australia; Nordlinger 1998:224) (TH=thematic vowel; FUT=future; DU=dual; IMP=imperative; DAT=dative; CO=coordination; S=intransitive subject)

Angbardi-j-ba		gurl	baba-wuIi-janka	**ngaba**	wurlu	gulug-ba.
build-TH-FUT	DU.IMP	IMP	elder.sibling-DU-DAT	**CO**	3DU.S	sleep-FUT

Build (a windbreak) for (your) brothers so they can sleep.

Schmidtke-Bode also identified other types of purpose constructions that cannot be categorized as subordination. That is, a serial verb construction that cannot readily be handled with a binary distinction (coordination and subordination).

The findings of several typological investigations of purpose constructions and the cognitive notion of subordination reveal the shortcoming of Muraoka's (1997) claim that BH *waw*-purpose constructions are not purpose constructions since they are not subordinated. However, as identified in the investigation of Schmidtke-Bode, purpose relations are not always encoded with syntactic subordination (asymmetry), but are also expressed by means of syntactic coordination. As Muraoka rightly pointed out, the purpose construction with a *waw* in BH is not a case of syntactic subordination but of coordination (or parataxis). As already mentioned in the discussion of the verb forms occurring in purpose constructions, the purpose construction with a *waw* in BH employs a balancing strategy in terms of the verbal forms found in the matrix and dependent clause. This is also evidence that the purpose construction with a *waw* in BH is close to syntactic coordination. However, syntactic coordination does not necessarily mean that it does not encode a purpose relation. As already shown in the cross-linguistic examples, purpose relations are also encoded through syntactic coordination. In this regard, Muraoka's claim fails to correctly identify a feature of purpose constructions in BH.

3.3.2 Result Construction

Result constructions often overlap with purpose constructions in both meaning and connectives. However, in terms of semantics, result constructions are factual while purpose constructions are presumed. "Both express result, but in the result clause the result is achieved, whereas in the purpose clause it is yet to be achieved – it is a desired or aimed-at result" (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1985:1108).

We paid him immediately, *so (that) he left contented*.   (result)
We paid him immediately *so (that) he would leave contented*.   (purpose)

The semantic difference between purpose and result clauses can be distinguished in terms of what they denote. In this regard, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1985:1070-1071) make a distinction between 'adjunct' and 'disjunct.' Adjuncts and disjuncts differ semantically in that adjuncts denote the circumstances of the situation in the matrix clause, whereas disjuncts comment on what is said in the matrix (content or attitudinal disjuncts). In

English, result clauses are disjuncts while purpose clauses are adjuncts. In addition, result clauses can only appear in the final position.

Purpose constructions often need to be marked for irrealis or hypothetical mood in order to be distinguished from result constructions, as in English *so that* clauses (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1985:1107; Schmidtke-Bode 2009:71ff). For example, Chalcatongo Mixtec has the same marker for purpose and result, i.e., the complementizing proclitic *xa=*. While result clauses tend to be marked by the realis inflection, purpose clauses commonly lack this inflection or are alternatively marked for potential mood.

> Chalcatongo Mixtec (Oto-Manguean: Mexico; Macaulay 1996:157)
> (COMPL=completive; PURP=purpose, purposive; RES=resultative; RL=realis)
> Ni-xàʔá=ri   *xa=ní-žee*   *seʔé=rí*
> COMPL-give=1   PURP/RES=COMPL-eat.RL   child=1
> I gave (food) so that my child could eat.   (purpose)
> (elicited: I gave food to my baby)
>
>
> Ni-xã=ri   žaʔa   *xa=sáʔa*   *náa=ri*   *molí*
> COMPL-buy=l   chile   PURP/RES=make   mother=1   mole
> I bought chillis so that my mother could make molé.   (result)

Intentionality is an important criterion for distinguishing between purpose and result clauses. In the purpose construction, the event of the dependent clause is intended by the agent of the main clause; while in the result construction there is no such relation of intention (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1224: Verstraete 2008:761).

> He left the back door open so that the plumber could get in.   (purpose)
> He left the back door open, so (that) the burglars had no difficulty getting in. (result)

In these examples, it is fairly obvious that the situation encoded by the purpose clause is not intended by the matrix agent.

Palmer (1987:99) makes a distinction between actual result and intended result. Purpose clauses express intended result; however, result clauses express actual result. He also calls result clauses consecutive clauses.

> He worked hard so that he became rich.   (actual result)
> He worked hard so that he might become rich.   (intended result)

The first example is taken to mean that he worked hard, with the actual result of becoming rich; the second example, that he worked hard with the potential or intended result of becoming rich.[191]

3.3.3 Cause Construction[192]

A cause is a situation that triggers another physical or psychological situation as its effect (Radden & Dirven 2007:327-328).

Event structure 'cause' also comprises two systems in the same way as event structure 'purpose:' location dual and object dual. Yu (1998:178-183, 219-221) identified that 'cause' is conceptualized based on two systems in Chinese.

1) The location-version: Causes are forces (controlling movement to or from locations)

Zhexie	zhizhu	chanye	de	xingcheng	dai-dong	le
there	prop	industries	MOD	formation	bring-move	PRT

Zhengti	jingji	de	fazhan.
overall	economy	MOD	develop.

(MOD=modality, PRT=participle)

The formation of these prop industries brought into motion (i.e., gave impetus to) the development of the overall economy.

The formation of 'prop industries' (the industries which support the economy like props) is attributed with a causal role in the development of the overall economy. The causal role is understood as the source of power that brings the economy into motion. Development is conceptualized in terms of motion in space, while causal factors are understood as forces that bring a patient into motion through space.

2) The object-version. Causes are forces (controlling the movement of possessions, namely giving or taking away)

Tamen	Xiang	zai	Qu	renmin	juan	kuan
they	To	disastrous	Area	people	donate	money

Juan	wu,	song	wennuan,	xian	an-xin.
donate	materials	deliver	Warmth	present	love-heart

They donated money and materials to the people in the disaster area, delivering warmth and presenting love to them.

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[191] Rijkhoek (1998:96-97) identified that result clauses usually occur at the end of a clause. However, purpose constructions are also identified as being postpreferred in the typological investigation (see §3.3.1.2.5).

[192] See §3.3.4 about the difference between cause and reason.

The cause – the force controlling the movement of possessions – is from a human subject. The act of giving changes the receiver's material and spiritual senses.

The difference between cause and reason is that cause triggers an effect, but reason expresses a speaker's justification (Lowe 1987:37-38).

> John got a bad shock because he touched the high tension wire.
>
> I take my daughter by car to music lessons because there are bad characters in that area who would harm her if she went alone.

The first is a clear case of a cause-effect relationship. The second is really quite different in that the because-clause gives the speaker's justification for his action in terms of his beliefs and values, and herein deliberation and decision are involved.

Lowe (1987:37-39) distinguishes different types of causality and proposes a scale of causality.[193]

> (1) If John touches the high tension wire, he will get a bad shock.   (law-like)
> (2) If John waters his plants, they will grow.   (quasi-law)
> (3) If John gets his visa, he will go to Brazil.   (enabling)
> (4) If the weather is fine, John will go for a walk.   (facilitating)

Differences in causality can be distinguished linguistically, for this scale of causality is corroborated by the different surface connectives that are permitted between the clauses for the different points along the scale (Lowe 1987).

(1) The strict law-like relationship as exemplified by sentence (1) permits 'so' and 'because' between the constituent clauses and also allows the content of the law-like condition to be expressed in the form of a "by-phrase."[194]

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[193] The sentences in the examples have the surface form of the conditional (if) clause followed by a main clause. However, there is a causal relationship between the constituents of each sentence.

[194] In general, a law-like condition must describe a direct cause-and-effect relation. It overlaps with a sufficient condition. A sufficient condition S is a condition that is of itself sufficient to realize its corresponding effect E.

(1) John got a bad shock because he touched the high tension wire.

(2) John is in hospital because he touched the high tension wire.

(3) The bridge collapsed because it had a faulty tension member.

The first sentence (1) illustrates a SUFFICIENT condition (or sufficient cause); touching the high tension wire was sufficient to give John a bad shock. In this case, a sufficient condition is the same as a law-like condition.

In the situation described in the second sentence (2), touching the high tension wire was enough to put John in the hospital, so it is a sufficient condition. However, here a sufficient condition is not the same

(1a) John touched the high tension wire so he got a bad shock.

(1b) John got a bad shock because he touched the high tension wire.

(1c) John got a bad shock by touching the high tension wire.

(2) The quasi-law relationship is causally weaker than the strict law-like relationship; it is a law with a loophole, as it were. Such a sentence will still permit 'so,' 'because' and the 'by-phrase' in just the same way as the strict law-like causal will. The weaker causality allows us to insert hedges like 'probably' or 'very likely' immediately after the verb of the main clause. Such hedges cannot be used in sentences with law-like conditions, thus the following sounds strange. As everyone realizes that the bad shock is inevitable once he has touched the wire, one would only use the sentence sarcastically.

   If John waters his plants, they will *probably/very likely* grow.

   *If John touches the high tension wire, he'll *probably* get a bad shock

(3) The enabling condition gives sentences which permit 'so' between constituent clauses as in (3a) below, and the if-then construction in this case also allows a 'be able to' before the verb of the main clause as in (3aa). However, in contrast to sentences expressing the law-like conditions, we cannot use 'because' as a connective or the 'by-phrase' (so 3b and 3c are both unacceptable):[195]

   (3a) John got his visa *so* he went to Brazil.

   (3aa) If John gets his visa he will *be able to* go to Brazil.

   *(3b) John went to Brazil *because* he got his visa.

   *(3c) John went to Brazil *by* getting his visa.

---

as a law-like condition, for not everyone who touches a high tension wire goes to the hospital. A sufficient condition can be direct as in the first example but it can also be indirect, as in the second. A sufficient condition is situation-bound, whereas a law-like condition is expected to be generally true in a large variety of different situations.

With respect to the third sentence (3), an engineer would understand that the faulty tension member is a sufficient and relevant cause for the collapse of the bridge, rather than the storm. Thus relevance and observer viewpoint also become factors to be considered as part of the parameter of sufficiency.

[195] The enabling condition overlaps with the necessary condition. A necessary condition N, if true, makes its corresponding effect E possible, and if N is not true then E is not possible. Thus, many enabling conditions are necessary conditions. Some enabling conditions, however, are not strong enough to be necessary conditions; they merely facilitate the effects.

(1) If I get my visa, I will go to Brazil.   (necessary)

(2) If John comes this afternoon, I'll get him to fix the car.   (necessary)

(3) If it is fine this afternoon, I'll go for a walk.   (facilitative)

(4) If I get that bonus on Friday, I'll take my girl out.   (facilitative)

3.3.4 Reason Construction

Reasons are situations that are adduced as an explanation or justification for the occurrence of a situation. The causal link between these situations only exists in the mind of the speaker and reflects his/her judgment, i.e. it does not need to be factual (Radden & Dirven 2007:327-328).

Cristofaro (2003:161) defines reason constructions in functional terms rather than morphosyntactic. A reason construction is regarded as one encoding a causal relation between two events, such that one of the two (the event coded by the reason clause, or the dependent event) represents the reason for the other event (the main event) to take place. The proposed functional definition of reason clauses encompasses both traditional cases of reason clauses (reason clauses introduced by conjunctions, or non-finite clauses) and clauses that might not count as such under traditional morphosyntactic criteria.

Canela-Krahô (Popjes and Popjes 1986:139)

wa	Ha	ma	ajcahu,	*i-mã*	*hũpati*
I	FUT	away	Run	I-TEMPRY	3.fear

I will run away because I am afraid of it.

In the example above, two clauses are juxtaposed without a grammatical marker signaling their linkage. The reason relation between the two events must be inferred on contextual grounds. However, the speaker's fear is regarded as a reason clause, for it expresses the same kind of conceptual situation associated with clauses that are explicitly marked as expressing a reason relation between events in other languages.

In terms of the semantics of reason relations, the dependent state of affairs is factual. Reason relations imply that the dependent state of affairs provide a motivation for the main one to occur. In fact, reason and purpose relations are often coded by means of the same morphology (Thompson & Longacre 1985:185). For example, the subordinating morpheme gáadà is employed for both purpose and reason clauses in Ngizim, a Chadic language.

Ata	abən	**gáadà**	aci	Ngaa	
Eat(PERF)	Food		he	well	(PERF=perfect)

He ate food because he was well.   (Reason)

Vəru	**gáadà**	dà	ši	səma	
go out (PERF)		SUBJ	drink	beer	(SUBJ=subjunctive)

He went out to drink beer.   (Purpose)

However, purpose and reason clauses differ in that purpose clauses express a motivating event that must be unrealized at the time of the main event,[196] while reason clauses express a

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[196] In the Ngizom sentences above, for this reason, the purpose clause shows the subjunctive morpheme *dà*, which signals that the proposition is unrealized.

motivating event that may be realized at the time of the main clause event (Thompson & Longacre 1985:185).

Reasons differ from causes in that they are concerned with real or conceived states of affairs adduced as an explanation for a given situation. Reasons may be based either on inferences drawn from perceptual information or on norms provided by culture (Radden & Dirven 2007:330). In the former case, reasons tend to be expressed by 'because,' as in *She must be at home, because her car is parked in front of the house*; in the latter case, reasons may be expressed by 'for.'

> The driver was arrested for he was drunk.

Causal relations involve the agent of the matrix. In the reason construction, the event in the dependent clause is not just a cause of the event in the matrix, but it represents the personal motivation of the agent of the matrix: it is the discovery of adultery that made the agent in the matrix decide to kill her husband. However, in the causal construction there is no such involvement of the matrix's agent (Lowe 1987:44; Verstraete 2008:761).

> Julia killed her husband because he cheated on her.   (reason)
> Julia arrived late because she was stuck in a traffic jam.   (cause)

Lowe (1987:43-45), Sweetser (1990:76-86) and Langacker (2008:484) distinguish three different types of reasons based on the levels that they operate (see §3.2.4).[197]

> (1) The power went out because Eskom cut the supply.
> (2) The power must be on again, because the lights are working.
> (3) Is the power on again, because I have washing to do.

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[197] Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1985:1103-1104) regard 'reason' as a superordinate term which subsumes other types of reasons, and distinguish four different types/grades/levels of reasons:

1. Cause and effect: the construction expresses the perception of an inherent objective connection in the real world (e.g., The flowers are growing so well *because I sprayed them*).

2. Reason and consequence: The construction expresses the speaker's inference of a connection (e.g., She watered the flowers *because they were dry*).

3. Motivation and result: the construction expresses the intention of an animate being that has a subsequent result. (Agency and intention are always involved in motivation, e.g., I watered the flowers *because my parents told me to do so*).

4. Circumstances and consequence: the circumstantial clause combines reason with a condition that is assumed to be fulfilled or about to be fulfilled, the construction expressing a relationship between a premise in the subordinate clause and the conclusion in the matrix (e.g., *Since the weather has improved*, the game will be held as planned).

However, the four different reasons can be categorized as three different reasons which effect on different levels [1):effective level; 2) and 4):epistemic level; 3):speech act level]. This distinction will play a pivotal role in our theoretical model.

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3.4 SUMMARY

Categorization reflects our ability to identify perceived similarities (and differences) between entities and thus group them together. Categorization both relies upon and gives rise to concepts. Thus categorization is central to the conceptual system. It accounts in part for the organization of concepts within the network of encyclopedic knowledge.

Meaning is equated with conceptualization. Frame semantics and domain theory established that the content of meaning is encyclopedic, and that the dichotomy between semantic knowledge and pragmatic knowledge is not feasible.

The meaning of a linguistic expression is defined in terms of its profile and base. The profile/base relation is applicable to all linguistic items. For example, a noun profiles things while a preposition profiles a relation.

Metaphor, metonymy, generalization, specialization and image schema transformation are cognitive principles by which categories are extended. The principles also apply to the meaning extension of linguistic expressions.

Different meanings/senses with a family relationship form a radial network of polysemous related meanings/senses. In radial networks, there are more prototypical senses and less-prototypical senses.

The linguistic realization of the concepts purpose, result, cause and reason are purpose, result, cause and reason constructions. They are related to one another semantically and form polysemy patterns. Often, one lexical item specifies all four relations; however, they are distinguishable from one another.

A prototypical purpose construction encodes two states of affairs, one of which (the matrix) is performed with the intention of bringing about the other (purpose clause). A subcategory of purpose constructions is the intended result construction. The common feature of both is that they are putative or hypothetical, not achieved.

As for the distinction between result cause, reason and purpose constructions, the following were established

- result constructions express factual and achieved results. Result clauses are disjuncts, whereas purpose clauses are adjuncts.

- Cause constructions encode two events, one of which triggers another physical or psychological situation as its effect. The difference between cause and reason is that a cause triggers an effect, while reason expresses a speaker's judgment.

- Reason constructions encode two states of affairs, one of which represents the reason of the other state of affairs. The causal link between the two states of affairs only exists in the mind of the speaker. It does not need to be factual.

- Purpose clauses express a motivating event that must be unrealized at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event that may be realized at the time of the main clause event.

Purpose constructions across languages show a variety of morphosyntactic features.

- Primary and secondary purposive markers are employed to guide the audience's categorization processes. Among various primary purposive markers, adverbial conjunctions are the most common primary markers. However, purpose constructions with no markers are also possible, e.g., serial verb constructions.

- Deranked purpose constructions outweigh balanced purpose constructions in terms of the verbal forms in both the matrix and dependent clauses (purpose clauses). However, some purpose constructions to which the notion deranking and balancing cannot be applied were identified.

- Various participant encoding strategies have been identified. Positive purpose constructions favor participant-sharing between the matrix and purpose clause, while avertive constructions favor different participants between the matrix and purpose clause. In addition, purpose constructions often employ verbs of motion in the matrix clause, while avertive constructions do not.

- Postpreferred purpose clauses are identified as the preferred position of purpose constructions. The positions of purpose clauses are related to the basic word order of a language. All VO languages in the sample of Schmidtke-Bode (2009) postpose, while OV languages do not uniformly prepose purpose clauses.

Lastly, but of crucial for this study, is the fact connectives are identified to operate at three different levels: effective, epistemic, and speech act level.

CHAPTER 4

AN EMPIRICAL DESCRIPTION OF PURPOSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this study is to offer a more adequate description of the constructions that are typically associated with expressions of purpose and result in BH. Three lexical items and two grammatical constructions have been identified that signal these relations. For this purpose, an empirical investigation of בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן has been conducted. In addition, we have also examined a substantial amount of purpose constructions with a *waw* and לְ + infinitive purpose constructions in order to compare them with לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions.

Having determined in chapter 2 that the inadequacies of existing descriptions are mainly due to the lack of a well-grounded theoretical framework, chapter 3 focused on establishing such a framework. We commence this chapter now with a brief formulation of the theoretical considerations (i.e. the working-hypothesis) that underpins our investigation. In order to explain the structure of the rest of the chapter, the way in which the working-hypothesis has systematically been applied (our method), is then described next. Attention will also be given to the implications of the corpus we investigated.

4.1.1 Working-Hypothesis

We have learned in chapter 2 that a mere taxonomy of translation values is an inadequate method to fully explicate purpose and result constructions in BH. Our in-depth discussion in chapter 3 helped us to better understand how linguistic meaning works, e.g., grammatical and lexical meaning are two poles on a continuum of meaning, so the sense distinctions between grammatical constructions should be explicable in terms of the same principles as those of lexical items. In other words, it could be hypothesized as follows:

1. Grammatical constructions and function words (e.g., connectives)[198] have a semantic potential;[199]

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[198] We define connectives as words or morphemes whose function is primarily to link linguistic units at any level. Conjunctions are, then, a type of connectives.

[199] Words and grammatical constructions do not have various meanings permanently assigned to them; rather, meanings emerge in actual use as a result of various construal processes. What every word *does* have as a permanent property is a mapping onto a body of conceptual content, which is an essential part of the raw material for the construal processes. This body of conceptual content is called the meaning potential of a word or construction (see also §3.2.3.2.3.1).

When a particular linguistic expression is employed, its meaning potential is activated. The context-free meaning of a linguistic expression is seen as an activation potential, i.e., as a potential to activate (parts of) the meaning potential associated with a particular expression. In other words, actual

2. The meaning of grammatical constructions (i.e. their senses) can be analyzed in terms of the concepts "landmark" and "trajector" (see, §3.2.3.2.3.2);

3. Meaning extensions can be explained in terms of moving from concrete to more abstract meanings, as well as through metaphor, metonymy, generalization, specialization and schema transformations (see, §3.2.3.2.4.1);

4. The different senses of a grammatical construction form a radial network (see, §3.2.3.2.4.2);

5. A distinction must be made between the prototypical and less prototypical uses of categories (see, §3.2.2 and 3.2.3.2.4.2).

However, it has to be acknowledged that the meaning of grammatical constructions are more schematic than those of lexical items, e.g., the purpose sense of constructions across languages do not have a range of finer nuances. In English its translation equivalent is more or less restricted to "so that, in order to."

Another way in which the senses of grammatical constructions and function words (like connectives) differ from those of full content verbs and nouns is that they may operate at different levels, viz., an effective (real world), an epistemic, and a discursive (speech act) level (see §3.2.4). Similar to the sense extensions of content words, it could be argued that the usage at different levels range from concrete (real world) to abstract (epistemic and discursive).

In chapter 3 (see §3.3.1. and 3.3.2), we also considered how purpose and result constructions work across languages. This investigation from a perspective of linguistic typology established the following:

1. A linguistic realization of the concepts purpose, result, cause, and reason are purpose, result, cause, and reason constructions (See §3.3). These constructions are related to one another semantically, and form polysemy patterns, e.g., one connective could be used in purpose, result, cause and/or reason constructions (See §3.3).

2. These constructions show a variety of morphosyntactic features in terms of lexical markers, verbal forms, participant encoding, and position of the purpose, result and causal clause (See §3.3).

3. It is crucial to distinguish what speakers do with these constructions – in other words, at which level they operate (see §3.2.4 and the reference in the previous paragraph) and what a particular construction's scope is.

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determinate meanings of linguistic expressions result from partial activations of the meaning potentials of the expressions. The systematic description of lexical items and grammatical constructions implies the identification and description of their meaning potential in terms of a set of semantic categories.

4.1.2 Method and Outline of Chapter

In the light of the working-hypothesis above we will proceed in this chapter as follows:

- In §4.2-§4.6 we systematically treat each of the five constructions that are typically associated with purpose constructions;

- Since the linguistic data in the Hebrew data is distributed along a diachronic cline, the distribution of member categories according to the books of the Bible is recorded. One has to leave room that the sense of a construction in Classical Hebrew (=Early Hebrew) is different from its sense in Late Biblical Hebrew.

- With each of the lexical items, first the frequency and distribution of a construction, e.g., לְמַעַן (§4.2.1) and then the semantic potential of the construction (e.g., in §4.2.2) are described. The sense of each construction, e.g., the positive purpose construction (§4.2.2.1) and result construction (§4.2.2.2), is described in terms of the following parameters: scope, linguistic typological features and sense categories.

- A distinction is made between the phrase, clause and the text level scope of a construction. This is a significant parameter since it is hypothesized that constructions that have the same translation value may differ only as far as their scope is concerned.

- A similar consideration is behind the fairly exhaustive analyses of the linguistic typological feature of each construction. In each case, for example, the purpose, result or causal clause and matrix clause is described in terms of their relative linear position to one another, their participant coding, the verb forms used in each, as well as the semantics of the verbs of the matrix clauses.

- It has been indicated that the semantic classes of connectors are typically schematic, and that the main senses of the lexical items (e.g., purpose, result, etc.) were a point of departure for our analysis. However, lastly, each sense category is investigated for finer distinctions in terms of, firstly, the notions "trajector" and "landmark," and secondly, the levels at which a sense is typically employed. The question whether the senses extend according to cognitive principles is also addressed.

- At the end of each section, the most significant features of each category is summarized so that in the conclusion the question could be answered, "What are the most significant differences between those connectives and grammatical constructions that display a similar range of relationships?"

Before proceeding with our data-analysis, we will briefly describe our corpus and the tools employed in this investigation.

4.1.3 Corpus

The semantic potential – i.e., the connective relationship displayed by לְמַעַן ,בַּעֲבוּר and פֶּן – of the entire corpus will be analyzed. In addition, in order to compare לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions, a substantial sample of instances of purpose constructions with a *waw* and לְ + infinitive will be examined as they are found in the Pentateuch. The latter is by far the most

frequent purpose construction in BH. In the Pentateuch alone, there are substantially more occurrences than that of any of the three lexical items in the entire corpus. We are fully aware of the fact that the construction's use in the Pentateuch is not fully reflective of its use in the entire corpus. We restrict ourselves to the Pentateuch for practical purposes. We hypothesized that a detailed analysis of a limited corpus may limit the claims that could be made on the basis of our analysis, but it at least provides a solid platform for a more exhaustive analysis of the construction in the selected corpus. Furthermore, it could be argued that a purpose interpretation of many of the cases of the constructions with a *waw* could be contested. The results of our analysis of this category are therefore also tentative. For the purposes of this study we focus on an exhaustive analysis of the lexical items. Our tentative corpora of grammatical constructions will nevertheless be useful for illustrating the different range of uses of the various constructions.

For the investigation of the patterns used in association with the various constructions, the *Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible* was used. This hierarchically structured linguistic database makes the search of sophisticated syntactic patterns at the word, phrase, constituent, and clause level possible. An electronic template that has been developed for preparing the *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (a major dictionary project of the United Bible Societies), *Source Language Tools*, will be used to store, compare and manipulate the insights concerning provisional patterns of use so that prototypical patterns might be identified.

4.2 לְמַעַן

4.2.1 Frequency

לְמַעַן occurs 272x. This includes 8 instances of the form לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר, 5 instances of the form לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא, and 8 instances of the form לְמַעַן לֹא.

לְמַעַן occurs 66x as a preposition and 189x as a conjunction.[200] Two cases are uncertain due to text critical considerations.[201]

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[200] In chapter 2, we have identified that BH scholars differ as to how they label the lexemes we are investigating. The word class that they distinguished are not consistently based on explicitly formulated morphological or syntactic criteria. We would like to use the following morpho-syntactic definition of Crystal (2008:101, 383) to classify the lexemes we are investigating:

"A preposition is a set of items which typically precede a NP(s) to form a single constituent of the clause. A conjunction is a non-inflecting word that joins words, phrases, clauses or sentences in such a way that they form a unit. Conjunctions operate on the syntactic level. They are distinguished from a discourse marker by the restricted local, propositional role they play in the discourse."

[201] BHS suggests that we should read לְמַעַן in Ezek 21:33; 23:21 as לְמַעֵךְ (to press, squeeze) or לִמְעֹךְ, viz., to press/squeeze your young breasts.

As for its semantic potential, it has been established that לְמַעַן displays a positive purpose (209x), negative purpose (13x),[202] result (27x), and reason relationship (21x).

In chapter 3, we identified that purpose and cause comprise two systems, i.e., location dual and object dual (§3.3.1.1 and 3.3.3). Many scholars and BH lexica studies in chapter 2 roughly agree that לְמַעַן is composed of a preposition לְ and מַעַן, even though they disagree about the detail of the lexeme מַעַן's origin and meaning (§2.2.1.2.1 and 2.2.1.2.2). The preposition לְ may be related to the conceptualization of purpose as a goal or location. However, no investigation has been done in these regards, thus future studies are needed to resolve these uncertainties.

4.2.2. Semantic Potential
As far as the semantic potential is concerned, לְמַעַן shows three different relationships, i.e., purpose, reason and result. לְמַעַן also governs a variety of scopes and operates on different levels.

In order to systematically describe the lexical items, the notion of a landmark and a trajector will be employed (§3.2.3.2.3.2).

A purpose construction, result construction and reason construction are subordinate constructions. Hence, the matrix is characterized as being of primary prominence, while the dependent clause is secondarily prominent. Furthermore, among the two constructions, there can be some element that specifies the nature of the relationship between the main clause and the dependent clause – connectives. Connectives are similar to prepositions by virtue of profiling non-processual relationships with both a tr and a lm. It is through this relationship that the connection between the two clauses is established (§3.3.1.2.1).[203]

As a connective, לְמַעַן profiles the relationship between two events. One event is the tr, and the other is the lm. In לְמַעַן constructions, the matrix (the recipient of primary prominence) is the tr, and the לְמַעַן clause (the recipient of secondary prominence) is the lm. Whether a לְמַעַן construction signals purpose, result, reason or cause, this is determined based on the relationship between the tr and the lm.

4.2.2.1 Positive purpose construction (209x)
The prototypical use of לְמַעַן is for it to function as a purposive connective in a purpose construction. Positive purpose constructions with לְמַעַן occur 206x according to the

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[202] 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions (or negative constructions) occur 13x. As avertive constructions are different from לְמַעַן (positive) purpose constructions, they cannot be included in the analysis of לְמַעַן (positive) purpose constructions. However, we treated 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions, in 4.2.2.1.5, separately.

[203] The typological investigation in chapter 3 identified that various connectives are employed to profile purpose relations: e.g., conjunctions, affixes, adpositions, or masdar (gerunds).

functional/semantic definition (see §3.3.1.2): 48x with 'לְמַעַן + NP,' 47x with 'לְמַעַן + infinite,' 111x with 'לְמַעַן + finite verb (*yiqtol*).'[204]

The schematic meaning of a purposive לְמַעַן based on the relationship between the tr and the lm can be drawn as follows (DC = dependent clause):

Tr	Lm
The matrix	DC : aimed/desired result
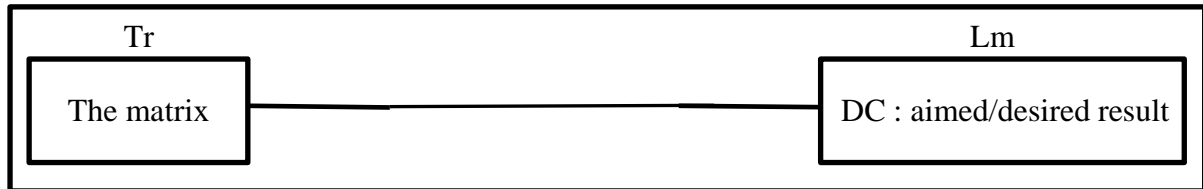
One event (the matrix = tr) is performed with an intention to bring about another event (dependent clause = lm). Crucial is that the matrix event is performed with an intention. As the matrix event (tr) is performed with an intention to bring about a dependent event (lm), the dependent clause, which consists of the aimed/desired result, is called purpose clause. Furthermore, the construction is called a purpose construction.

In purpose constructions, when לְמַעַן operates on an effective as well as epistemic level, the purpose clause is intended by the agent of the main clause. However, when לְמַעַן operates on a discursive level, the purpose clause is intended by the speaker.

In purpose לְמַעַן constructions, the intention of the matrix's agent and speaker are often encoded with mood in the purpose clause.[205] In many cases, a *yiqtol* – which expresses the intentions of either the matrix's agent or speakers – is employed in purpose clauses (see §4.2.2.1.1.1).

The purposive לְמַעַן is distributed as follows: Gen (7x); Exod (15x); Lev (2x); Num (2x); Deut (45x); Josh (8x); Jdgs (2x); 1 Sam (2x); 2 Sam (1x); 1 Kgs (15x); 2 Kgs (7x); 1 Chron (1x); 2 Chron (7x); Ezra (1x); Neh (2x); Job (3x); Ps (19x); Prov (2x); Isa (20x); Jer (14x); Ezek (24x); Dan (2x); Amos (3x); Hab (2x); Zech (1x).[206] לְמַעַן is most prevalent in the books

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[204] In our corpus, 'לְמַעַן + *qatal* (Josh 4:24), 'לְמַעַן + a participal clause (Neh 6:13),' 'לְמַעַן + an imperative (Ezek 21:15)' appear, however, those cases are textually uncertain.

As for the qatal (יְרָאתֶם) in Josh 4:24, BHS suggests that we should read it as יְרָאתָם (inf. construct with suffix). The Lxx reads לְמַעַן שָׂכוּר הוּא (in Neh 6:13) ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ὄχλον ([Tobias and Sanballat had hired] against me multitude). BHS suggests that we should read הֱיֵה־לָהּ (an imperative + an preposition) in Ezek 21:15 as הֱיֹת לְ (an infinitive construct + an preposition). Therefore, these three cases were excluded from our analysis.

[205] Mood markers can be defined as any type of linguistic element that marks an evaluation of the plausibility of a particular proposition (epistemic), or the desirability of a particular course of action (deontic).

[206] Gen 12:13; 18:19 (2x), 24; 27:25; 37:22; 50:20; Exod 1:11; 4:5; 8:6, 18; 9:16, 29; 10:1, 2; 11:7; 13:9; 16:4, 32; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 17:5; 23:43; Num 27:20; 36:8; Deut 2:30; 4:1, 40; 5:14, 16

of Deut, 1 Kgs, Ps, Isa and Ezek. For the remaining cases, it is spread out fairly evenly throughout the entire HB.

4.2.2.1.1 Scope and levels

Positive purpose לְמַעַן governs various scopes and operates on multiple levels.

4.2.2.1.1.1 Scope
1. Phrase level (לְמַעַן + NP) (48x)

אוּלַי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר הַאַף תִּסְפֶּה וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא לַמָּקוֹם לְמַעַן חֲמִשִּׁים הַצַּדִּיקִם אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבָּהּ׃	Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city; will you then destroy the place and not spare it for the sake of fifty righteous who are in it? (Gen 18:24) (YCK)[207]

When the NP is in the form of a pronominal suffix, all pronominal suffixes are 2nd person singular/plural and refer to people, with the exception of Dan 9:19.[208] When the pronominal suffix is a first person, the suffix is the same person as the agent of the verb in the matrix clause.[209] The referent of the suffix is also a beneficiary of the action performed by the agent of the matrix (e.g., Job 18:4).

טֹרֵף נַפְשׁוֹ בְּאַפּוֹ הַלְמַעַנְךָ תֵּעָזַב אָרֶץ וְיֶעְתַּק־צוּר מִמְּקֹמוֹ׃	You who tear yourself in your anger! Shall the earth be forsaken for the sake of you, or the rock be removed out of its place?

(2x), 29, 33; 6:2 (2x), 18, 23; 8:1, 2, 3, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 11:8, 9, 21; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 14:23, 29; 16:3, 20; 17:16, 19, 20; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 25:15; 27:3; 29:5, 8, 12; 30:6, 19; 31:12 (2x), 19; Josh 1:7, 8; 3:4; 4:6, 24; 11:20 (2x); Jdgs 2:22; 3:2; 1 Sam 15:15; 17:28; 2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 2:3, 4; 8:40, 41, 43, 60; 11:12, 13 (2x), 32 (2x), 34, 36; 12:15; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19; 10:19; 19:34 (2x); 20:6 (2x); 23:24; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chron 6:31, 32, 33; 10:15; 25:20; 31:4, 32:18; Ezra 9:12; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 18:4; 19:29; 40:8; Pss 9:15; 23:3; 25:11; 30:13; 31:4; 48:14; 60:7; 68:24; 78:6; 79:9; 106:8; 108:7; 109:21; 119:71, 101; 122:8, 9; 130:4; 143:11; Prov 15:24; 19:20; Isa 5:19; 23:16; 28:13; 37:35 (2x); 41:20; 43:10, 14, 25, 26; 45:3, 4; 6; 48:9, 11 (2x); 62:1 (2x); 63:17; 65:8; Jer 4:14; 7:10, 23; 10:18; 11:5; 14:7, 21; 32:14; 35:7; 36:3; 42:6; 44:29; 50:34; 51:39; Ezek 6:6; 11:20; 12:16; 14:5; 16:54, 63; 20:9, 14, 22, 26 (2x), 44; 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 24:11; 36:5, 22, 32; 38:16; 39:12; 40:4; Dan 9:17, 19; Amos 1:13, 5:14; 9:12; Hab 2:2, 15; Zech 13:4.

[207] See also, Deut 30:6; 1 Kgs 8:41; 11:12, 13 (2x), 32 (2x), 34, 39; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34 (2x); 20:6 (2x); 2 Chron 6:32; Job 18:4; Pss 23:3; 25:11; 31:4; 79:9; 106:8; 109:21; 122:8, 9; 143:11; Isa 37:35 (2x); 43:14, 25; 45:4; 48:9, 11 (2x); 62:1 (2x); 63:17; 65:8; Jer 14:7, 21; Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44; 36:22, 32; Dan 9:17, 19. Among these instances, in Job 18:4; Pss 25:11; 31:4; 122:8, 9; Isa 43:14; 45:4; 48:11 (2x); Ezek 36:22, 32, a 'לְמַעַן + NP' is preposed before the matrix.

[208] The 2nd person suffix in Dan 9:19 refers to the Lord.

[209] 2 Kgs 19:34; 20:6; Isa 37:35; 43:25; 48:12 (2x).

(Job 18:4)[210]

When שֵׁם occurs in the construction לְמַעַן + NP, it always refers to the LORD (see 1 Kgs 8:41).

| וְגַם אֶל־הַנָּכְרִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־מֵעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא וּבָא מֵאֶרֶץ רְחוֹקָה לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ: | [Listen] also to a foreigner who does not belong to your people Israel, when he shall come out of a far country for the sake of your name. (1 Kgs 8:41) (YCK)[211] |

2. Clause level

1) לְמַעַן + infinitive clause (47x)

| וְאַתֶּם חֲשַׁבְתֶּם עָלַי רָעָה אֱלֹהִים חֲשָׁבָהּ לְטֹבָה לְמַעַן עֲשֹׂה כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְהַחֲיֹת עַם־רָב: | You meant evil against me, but God meant it for good to do (it) as today, to preserve many people. (Gen 50:20) (YCK)[212] |

2) לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause (111x)

| אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ: | Say you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that my life may be spared on your account." (Gen 12:13)[213] |

The syntactic distribution of the purposive לְמַעַן does not demonstrate any patterns according to diachronic clines. The לְמַעַן + NP, לְמַעַן + infinitive and לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions appear in the books from Classical Biblical Hebrew (=CBH) to late Biblical Hebrew (=LBH), and through the so-called transitional Biblical Hebrew (=TBH) books.[214]

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[210] See also, 2 Kgs 19:34; 20:6; Job 18: 43:14, 25; 48:11 (2x); Ezek 36:22, 32.

[211] See also, 2 Chron 6:32; Pss 23:3; 25:11; 31:4; 79:9; 106:8; 109:21; 143:11; Isa 48:9; Jer 14: 7, 21; Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44.

[212] See also, Gen 18:19; 37:22; Exod 1:11; 9:16; 10:1; Deut 2:30; 6:23; 8:2, 3, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:16; 29:12; Josh 4:24; 11:20 (2x); Jdgs 2:22; 3:2; 1 Sam 15:15; 17:28; 1 Kgs 8:60; 11:36; 12:15; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; 2 Chron 10:15; 25:20; Prov 15:24; Jer 7:10; 11:5; 50:34; Ezek 14:5; 21:15, 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 36:5; 38:16; 39:12; 40:4; Amos 1:13; Hab 2:15; Zech 13:4.

[213] See also, Gen 18:19; 27:25; Exod 4:5; 8:6, 18; 9:29; 10:2; 11:7; 13:9; 16:4, 32; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 17:5; 23:43; Num 27:20; 36:8; Deut 4:1, 40; 5:14, 16 (2x), 29, 33; 6:2 (2x), 18; 8:1; 11:8, 9, 21; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 14:23, 29; 16:3, 20; 17:19, 20; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 25:15; 27:3; 29:5, 8; 30:19; 31:12 (2x), 19; Josh 1:7, 8; 3:4; 4:6; 2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 2:3, 4; 8:40, 43; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chron 6:31, 33; 31:4, 32:18; Ezra 9:12; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 19:29; 40:8; Pss 9:15 (cohortative); 30:13; 48:14; 60:7; 68:24; 78:6; 108:7; 119:71, 101; 130:4; Prov 19:20; Isa 5:19; 23:16; 28:13; 41:20; 43:10, 26; 45:3, 6; Jer 4:14; 7:23; 10:18; 32:14; 35:7; 36:3; 42:6; 44:29; 51:39; Ezek 6:6; 11:20; 12:16; 16:54, 63; 20:26 (2x); 24:11; Amos 5:14; 9:12; Hab 2:2. Among these cases, in Gen 18:19; Lev 17:5; Deut 27:3; 2 Sam 13:5; Ezek 20:26, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר + yiqtol appears. In 9:15, a לְמַעַן + a cohortative occurs.

[214] As for the books that are mostly undisputed with respect to their date of origin, we use the following demarcation (Kutscher 1982; Saenz Badillos 1993; Young and Rezetko 2008):

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- לְמַעַן + NP: Gen (1x), Deut (1x); 1 Kgs (8x); 2 Kgs (5x); *Jer (2x); Ezek (6x); Dan (2x)*; <u>2 Chron (1x)</u>.

- לְמַעַן + infinitive: Gen (3x); Exod (3x); Deut (10x); Josh (3x); Jdgs (2x); 1 Sam (2x); 1 Kgs (3x); 2 Kgs (2x); Amos (1x); Micah (1x); Hab (1x); *Jer (3x); Ezek (10x)*; <u>2 Chron (2x)</u>.

- לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*: Gen (3x); Exod (12x); Lev (2x); Num (2x); Deut (34x); Josh (5x); 2 Sam (1x); 1 Kgs (4x); Amos (2x); Hab (1x); *Jer (9x); Ezek (8x)*; <u>1 Chron (1x); 2 Chron (3x); Ezra (1x); Neh (2x)</u>.

4.2.2.1.1.2 Levels

When לְמַעַן functions as a positive purpose connective, it operates on three levels.

1. Effective level (100x)[215]

<table>
<tr><td>

¹²הָפַ֥כְתָּ מִסְפְּדִי֮ לְמָח֪וֹל לִ֥י פִּתַּ֥חְתָּ שַׂקִּ֑י וַֽתְּאַזְּרֵ֥נִי שִׂמְחָֽה: ¹³לְמַ֤עַן ׀ יְזַמֶּרְךָ֣ כָ֭בוֹד וְלֹ֣א יִדֹּ֑ם יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהַ֗י לְעוֹלָ֥ם אוֹדֶֽךָּ:

</td><td>

¹²You have turned for me my mourning into dancing; you have loosed my sackcloth and girded me with gladness, ¹³that my soul may praise you and not be silent. O LORD my God, I will give thanks to you forever.

(Ps 30:12-13)[216] (YCK)

</td></tr>
</table>

The matrix clause refers to a real world event. The relation between the event of the matrix clause and the event of the purpose clause is a real world relation.

2. Epistemic level (28x)

<table>
<tr><td>

וְהִפְלֵיתִי֩ בַיֹּ֨ום הַה֜וּא אֶת־אֶ֣רֶץ גֹּ֗שֶׁן אֲשֶׁ֤ר עַמִּי֙ עֹמֵ֣ד עָלֶ֔יהָ לְבִלְתִּ֥י הֱיֹֽות־שָׁ֖ם עָרֹ֑ב לְמַ֣עַן תֵּדַ֔ע כִּ֛י אֲנִ֥י יְהוָ֖ה בְּקֶ֥רֶב הָאָֽרֶץ:

</td><td>

But on that day I will set apart the land of Goshen, where my people dwell, so that no swarms of flies shall be there; that you may

</td></tr>
</table>

CBH: Gen-Num, Deut, 2 Kgs 23, Hosea, Amos, Obad, Micah-Zeph

TBH: 2 Kgs 24-25; Jer, Ezek, Lam

LBH: Hag, Zech, Mal, Ester, Dan, Ezra, Neh, Chron

As our aim is not an investigation to determine the chronology of the books in the HB, we excluded controversial books in our analysis. We italicized the transitional books, and underlined LBH books.

[215] An effective level of interpretation is reserved for conjunctions that refer to a real world relation between two constructs.

[216] See also, Gen 50:20; Exod 1:11; 9:16; 10:1, 2; 13:9; 16:4, Num 36:8; Deut 2:30; 6:2, 23; 8:2, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:20; 30:6, 19; Josh 11:20 (2x); Jdgs 2:22; 1 Sam 15:15; 17:28; 1 Kgs 8:41; 11:12, 13 (2x), 32 (2x), 34, 36; 12:15; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19; 10:19; 19:34 (2x); 20:6 (2x); 23:24; 2 Chron 6:32; 25:20; 31:4; 32:18; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 18:4; Pss 23:3; 68:24; 106:8; 119:101; 122:8, 9; Prov 15:24; Isa 28:13; 37:35 (2x); 41:20; 43:14, 25; 45:4; 48:9, 11 (2x); 62:1 (2x); 65:8; Jer 7:10; 10:18; 11:5; 36:3; 42:6; 50:34; 51:39; Ezek 6:6; 11:20; 12:16; 14:5; 16:54, 63; 20:9, 14, 22, 26, 44; 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 36:5, 22, 32; 39:12; 40:4; Dan 9:19; Amos 1:13; 9:12.

know that I am the LORD in the midst of the
earth.   (Exod 8:18)[217]

The action referred to in the matrix clause is performed in order to establish an epistemic goal.

3. Discursive level (83x)

A speech act is performed by a character in order to achieve his goal. When לְמַעַן operates at a discursive level, it refers in most cases to the purpose of the speech act performed by a character (79x).

אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי בַעֲבוּרֵךְ   Say you are my sister, that it may go well
וְחָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי בִּגְלָלֵךְ:   with me because of you, and that my life may
be spared on your account.   (Gen 12:13)[218]

לְמַעַן introduces the narrator's comment. The comment stands outside the story line and is directed to the reader. The LORD is referred to in the 3rd person whereas the subject of the matrix is in the 1st person, viz., there is a change from direct speech in the matrix to narrative in the purpose clause. When לְמַעַן introduces the narrator's comment, the purpose of the speech act is provided by the narrator (4x).

כִּי יְדַעְתִּיו לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּה אֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ   No, for I have chosen him, that he may
אַחֲרָיו וְשָׁמְרוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט   charge his children and his household after
לְמַעַן הָבִיא יְהוָה עַל־אַבְרָהָם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר   him to keep the way of the LORD by doing
עָלָיו: righteousness and justice." It was so that the
LORD may bring to Abraham what he has
promised him.   (Gen 18:19) (YCK)[219]

4.2.2.1.2. Typological features of לְמַעַן purpose constructions

4.2.2.1.2.1 Position of the purpose clause
In a לְמַעַן positive purpose clause, the purpose marker לְמַעַן occupies a clause initial position. Hence, the purpose clause follows the associated matrix clause in most cases. In only 13 of

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[217] Exod 4:5; 8:6, 9:29; 11:7; Lev 23:43; Deut 6:2; 8:3; 16:3; Josh 3:4; 4:24 (2x); Jdgs 3:2; 1Kgs 8:43, 60; 2 Chron 6:31, Job 19:29; Pss 78:6; 119:71; 130:4; Prov 19:20; Isa 43:10; 45:3, 6; Jer 44:29; Ezek 20:26, 38:16; Zech 13:4. Among these cases, in Josh 3:4 and Ezek 20:26, the construction לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר + yiqtol appears.

[218] See also, Gen 18: 24; 27:25; Exod 16;32; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 17:5; Num 27:20; Deut 4:1, 40; 5:14, 16 (2x), 29, 33; 6:18; 8:1; 11:8, 9, 21; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 14:23, 29; 16:3, 20; 17:16, 19; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 25:15; 27:3; 29:5, 8, 12; 31:12 (2x), 19; Josh 1:7, 8; 3:4; 4:6; 2 Sam 13:5; 1Kgs 2:3, 4; 8:40; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chron 6:33; Ezra 9:12; Job 40:8; Pss 9:15; 25:11; 31:4; 48:14; 60:7; 79:9; 108:7; 109:21; 143:11; Isa 5:19; 23:16; 43:26; 63:17; Jer 4:14; 7:23; 14:7, 21; 32:14; 35:7; Ezek 24:11; Dan 9:17; Amos 5:14; Hab 2:2, 15. In Deut 16:3, 29:5, Josh 3:4, and Isa 23:16, לְמַעַן operates at a discursive level as well as an epistemic level, i.e., the epistemic level is provided from a discursive perspective.

[219] See also, Gen 37:22 (לְמַעַן + infinitive); Exod 11:7 (לְמַעַן + yiqtol) 2 Chron 10:15 (לְמַעַן + infinitive).

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the 208 instances is a לְמַעַן purpose clause preposed before the matrix. The following examples are instances of such preposed purpose clauses.

1. לְמַעַן + NP (including לְמַעַן with suffix) (8x)

לְמַעַן־שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה וְסָלַחְתָּ לַעֲוֺנִי כִּי רַב־הוּא׃ — For your name's sake, O LORD, pardon my guilt, for it is great. (Ps 25:11)[220]

When לְמַעַן + NP is preposed before the matrix, this particular constituent is the focus of the utterance.

2. לְמַעַן + Infinitive (3x)

וַיְדַבֵּר אֵלַי הָאִישׁ בֶּן־אָדָם רְאֵה בְעֵינֶיךָ וּבְאָזְנֶיךָ שְׁמָע וְשִׂים לִבְּךָ לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי מַרְאֶה אוֹתָךְ כִּי לְמַעַן הַרְאוֹתְכָה הֻבָאתָה הֵנָּה הַגֵּד אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה רֹאֶה לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ — And the man said to me, "Son of man, look with your eyes, and hear with your ears, and set your mind upon all that I shall show you, for in order that I might show it to you, you were brought here; declare all that you see to the house of Israel." (Ezek 40:4) (YCK)[221]

All preposed לְמַעַן + infinitive constructions are the foci of the utterances.

3. לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* (2x)

לְמַעַן יֵחָלְצוּן יְדִידֶיךָ הוֹשִׁיעָה יְמִינְךָ וַעֲנֵנוּ׃ — That your beloved may be delivered, save with your right hand and answer us! (Ps 60:7) (YCK)[222]

Two preposed לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clauses introduce new paragraphs.

Our corpus shows that לְמַעַן positive purpose clauses prefer the postposed position (194/208 cases). This accords with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) findings (§3.3.1.2.2).

4.2.2.1.2.2 Participant encoding
Purpose constructions with 'לְמַעַן + infinite' purpose clauses and 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose clauses are different in terms of participant encoding. The following differences were identified.

1. לְמַעַן + infinitive
'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions occur 47 times.[223] As far as the subjects of the purpose clauses are concerned, in 7 cases the purpose clauses have unexpressed subjects that are not coreferential with the subject of the matrix.[224] In 31 instances, the purpose clauses

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[220] See also, Job 18:4; Pss 31:4; 122:8, 9; Isa 43:14; Ezek 36:22, 32.

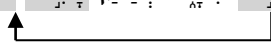[221] See also, 1 Sam 17:28; Ezek 21:15.

[222] See also, Ps 108:7.

[223] Out of a total of 47 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' constructions, 3 cases are excluded in our analysis in terms of participant encoding, for they refer to the narrator's comment (Gen 18:19; 37:22; 2 Chron 10:15).

[224] Exod 9:16; Josh 11:20 (2x); 1Kgs 12:15; 2 Chron 25:20; Prov 15:24; Ezek 40:4.

have unexpressed subjects that are coreferential with the subject of the matrix.[225] In 6 cases, there is no unexpressed argument in the subject position of the purpose clauses.[226]
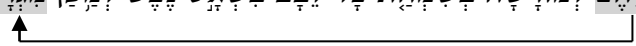
In our corpus, two kinds of participant sharing patterns are identified: SA and SAP (§3.3.1.2.3). When the subjects of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose clauses are coreferential with subjects of the matrix, all of the subjects of the purpose clauses are implicit (i.e., unexpressed). Exod 10:1 is an exception. In addition, every case of coreferential subjects of purpose clauses are SA (the subject of the matrix controls the missing subject of the purpose clauses; see Deut 6:23 below) – with one exception in Ezek 36:5 (SAP). This demonstrates that 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions tend to show participant-sharing between the matrix and the purpose clause. This finding resonates with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) conclusions (§3.3.1.2.3).

וְאוֹתָ֥נוּ הוֹצִ֖יא מִשָּׁ֑ם לְמַ֙עַן֙ הָבִ֣יא Ø אֹתָ֔נוּ לָ֤תֶת לָ֙נוּ֙ אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁ֥ר נִשְׁבַּ֖ע לַאֲבֹתֵֽינוּ׃

And *he*_i brought us out from there, that (Ø=*he*_i) might bring us in and give us the land which he swore to give to our fathers.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Deut 6:23)

לָכֵ֗ן כֹּֽה־אָמַר֮ אֲדֹנָ֣י יְהוִה֒ אִם־לֹ֠א בְּאֵ֨שׁ קִנְאָתִ֥י דִבַּ֛רְתִּי עַל־שְׁאֵרִ֥ית הַגּוֹיִ֖ם וְעַל־אֱד֣וֹם כֻּלָּ֑א אֲשֶׁ֣ר נָתְנֽוּ־אֶת־אַרְצִ֣י׀ לָ֠הֶם לְמֽוֹרָשָׁ֞ה בְּשִׂמְחַ֤ת כָּל־לֵבָב֙ בִּשְׁאָ֣ט נֶ֔פֶשׁ לְמַ֥עַן מִגְרָשָׁ֖הּ לָבַֽז׃

Therefore thus says the Lord God: I speak in my hot jealousy against the rest of the nations, and against all Edom, who gave my land to *themselves*_i as a possession with wholehearted joy and utter contempt, that *they*_i might possess it and plunder it.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ezek 36:5).

Among 31 cases in which the unexpressed subjects of purpose clauses are coreferential with the subject of the matrix, 1st person subjects occur 3x[227] while 2nd person subjects occur twice[228] and 3rd person subjects occur 26x[229] in terms of the matrix-subject.

Among 7 cases in which the matrix and purpose clause do not show participant-sharing, 1st person subjects occur once,[230] 2nd person subjects occur once[231] and 3rd person subjects occur 5x[232] in terms of the matrix-subject.

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[225] Gen 50:20; Exod 1:11; Deut 2:30; 6:23; 8:2, 3, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:16; 29:12; Jdgs 2:22; 1 Sam 15:15; 17:28; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; Jer 7:10; 11:5; 50:34; Ezek 14:5; 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 36:5; 39:12; Amos 1:13; Hab 2:15; Zech 13:4.

[226] Exod 10:1; Josh 4:24; Jdgs 3:2; 1 Kgs 8:60; 11:36; Ezek 38:16.

[227] Jdgs 2:22; Jer 11:5; Ezek 14:5.

[228] 1 Sam 17:28; Jer 7:10.

[229] Gen 50:20; Exod 1:11; Deut 2:30; 6:23; 8:2, 3, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:16; 29:12; 1 Sam 15:15; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; Jer 50:34; Ezek 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 36:5; 39:12; Amos 1:13; Hab 2:15; Zech 13:4.

[The Unexpressed Subject of the Matrix of "לְמַעַן + infinitive" purpose constructions]

The unexpressed subject of the matrix (Total= 38x)			
When the subjects of purpose clauses are coreferential with the subject of the matrix		When the subjects of purpose clauses are not coreferential with the subject of the matrix	
1ˢᵗ person subject	3	1ˢᵗ person subject	1
2ⁿᵈ person subject	2	2ⁿᵈ person subject	1
3ʳᵈ person subject	26	3ʳᵈ person subject	5
Total	31	Total	7

As shown in the table above, participant sharing between the matrix and purpose clause are a significant feature in 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions. In addition, 3ʳᵈ person subjects are preferred in the matrix of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions (1ˢᵗ person subjects occur 4x,[233] 2ⁿᵈ person subjects occur 3x[234] and 3ʳᵈ person subjects occur 31x[235]). This accords with Payle's (2000) finding that 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions realize a final relation in narrative (§2.2.1.2.1.6).

When the subjects of purpose clauses are not coreferential with the subjects of the matrix, two strategies are employed: 1) when the subjects of purpose clauses are recoverable in the context, the subject is implicit (9x) (see Prov 15:24); and 2) when the subjects of purpose clauses are not recoverable in the context, it is explicit (5x) (see 1 Kgs 8:59-60).

אֹרַח חַיִּים לְמַעְלָה לְמַשְׂכִּיל לְמַעַן סוּר Ø מִשְׁאוֹל מָטָּה:

The path of life is upward for the *wise person$_i$*, that (*he$_i$*) may avoid Sheol beneath.

(Prov 15:24) (YCK)

⁵⁹וְיִהְיוּ דְבָרַי אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר הִתְחַנַּנְתִּי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה קְרֹבִים אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה| מִשְׁפַּט עַבְדּוֹ וּמִשְׁפַּט עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ: ⁶⁰לְמַעַן דַּעַת כָּל־עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כִּי יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים אֵין עוֹד:

⁵⁹Let *these words of mine, wherewith I have made supplication before the L*ORD, be near to the L*ORD our God day and night to maintain the cause of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel, as each day requires; ⁶⁰that *all the peoples of the earth* may know that the L*ORD is God; there is no other.   (1 Kgs 8:59-60) (YCK)

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[230] Exod 9:16.

[231] Ezek 40:4.

[232] Josh 11:20 (2x); 1 Kgs 12:15; 2 Chron 25:20; Prov 15:24.

[233] Exod 9:16; Jdgs 2:22; Jer 11:5; Ezek 14:5.

[234] 1 Sam 17:28; Jer 7:10; Ezek 40:4.

[235] Gen 50:20; Exod 1:11; Deut 2:30; 6:23; 8:2, 3, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:16; 29:12; Josh 11:20 (2x); 1 Sam 15:15; 1 Kgs 12:15; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; 2 Chron 25:20; Prov 15:24; Jer 50:34; Ezek 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 36:5; 39:12; Amos 1:13; Hab 2:15; Zech 13:4.

2. לְמַעַן + finite verb (=*yiqtol*)[236]

The 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose construction occurs 112x.[237] This construction is different from a 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose construction in terms of participant encoding. In 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose constructions, explicit subjects are employed in both the matrix and purpose clause, whether those subjects of the purpose clause are coreferential with those of the matrix, or not. A significant feature of 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose constructions in relation to participant encoding is that the matrix and purpose clause do not share a participant in the majority of cases (78/105).

[The Subject of the Matrix of 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose constructions]

The subject of the matrix (Total = 105x)[238]			
When the subjects of purpose clauses are coreferential with the subject of the matrix		When the subjects of purpose clauses are not coreferential with the subject of the matrix	
1st person subject	3[239]	1st person subject	18[240]
2nd person subject	22[241]	2nd person subject	38[242]
3rd person subject	2[243]	3rd person subject	22[244]
Total	27	Total	78

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[236] In 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose clauses, all verbs are *yiqtol*s.

[237] Gen 12:13; 18:19; 27:25; Exod 4:5; 8:6, 18; 9:29; 10:2; 11:7; 13:9; 16:4, 32; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 17:5; 23:43; Num 27:20; 36:8; Deut 4:1, 40; 5:14, 16 (2x), 29, 33; 6:2 (2x), 18; 8:1; 11:8, 9, 21; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 14:23, 29; 16:3, 20; 17:19, 20; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 25:15; 27:3; 29:5, 8; 30:19; 31:12 (2x), 19; Josh 1:7, 8; 3:4; 4:6, 24; 2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 2:3, 4; 8:40, 43; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chron 6:31, 33; 31:4, 32:18; Ezra 9:12; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 19:29; 40:8; Pss 9:15 (cohortative); 30:13; 48:14; 60:7; 68:24; 78:6; 108:7; 119:71, 101; 130:4; Prov 19:20; Isa 5:19; 23:16; 28:13; 41:20; 43:10, 26; 45:3, 6; Jer 4:14; 7:23; 10:18; 32:14; 35:7; 36:3; 42:6; 44:29; 51:39; Ezek 6:6; 11:20; 12:16; 16:54, 63; 20:26 (2x); 24:11; Amos 5:14; 9:12; Hab 2:2.

[238] 7 inapplicable לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clauses were excluded (Exod 11:7; 16:32; Lev 17:5; Deut 29:5; Josh 1:8; 3:4; Isa 43:26). These cases include לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*(s) of which the function is a narrator's comment and in which the matrix is composed of verbal chains governed by different subjects. Exod 16:32 is different: here, the matrix is a verbless clause.

[239] Ps 119:101; Ezek 20:26 (2x).

[240] Gen 18:19; Exod 8:18; 10:2; Pss 68:24; 119:71; Isa 41:20; 43:10; 45:3, 6; Jer 10:18; 42:6; 44:29; 51:39; Ezek 11:20; 12:16; 16:54, 63; Amos 9:12.

[241] Deut 4:1, 40; 5:33; 8:1; 11:8, 9; 14:23; 16:3, 20; 27:3; 29:8; Josh 1:7; 1 Kgs 2:3; 1 Chron 28:8; Ezra 9:12; Job 40:8; Ps 48:14; Prov 19:20; Isa 23:16; Jer 4:14; 35:7; Amos 5:14.

[242] Gen 12:13; 27:25; Exod 4:5; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 23:43; Num 27:20; 36:8; Deut 5:14, 16 (2x); 6:18; 11:21; 12:25; 12:28; 14:29; 17:20; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 30:19; 31:12 (2x), 19; 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:40, 43; 2 Chron 6:31, 33; Pss 9:15; 30:13; 60:7; 108:7; Jer 7:23; 32:14; Ezek 24:11; Hab 2:2.

[243] 2 Chron 32:18; Jer 36:3.

[244] Exod 8:6; 9:29; 13:9; 16:4; Deut 5:29; 6:2 (2x); 13:18; 17:19; 25:15; Josh 4:6, 24; 2 Sam 13:5; 2 Chron 31:4; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 19:29; Pss 78:6; 130:4; Isa 5:19; 28:13; Ezek 6:6.

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As shown in the table above, the matrix and purpose clause do not tend to share subjects. In addition, 2nd person subjects are preferred in the matrix in 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose constructions. This is in agreement with Payle's (2000) finding that 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose constructions realize final relations in discourse (§2.2.1.2.1.6). These two features of participant encoding are different from those of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions.

4.2.2.1.2.3 Verb forms

1. 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose construction

In 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions, two linked states of affairs are expressed by means of deranking, viz., only one of the predicates in the temporal chain retains its finite verbal form. The predicate of the matrix retains the finite verbal form, while the predicate of the 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose clause (i.e., the dependent clause) maintains a non-finite verbal construct, whether it has an explicit subject, or not (see 1 Kgs 8:59-60, below). Hence, there is no tense-aspect-mood marking in the 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose clause.

⁵⁹וְיִהְי֨וּ דְבָרַ֜י אֵ֗לֶּה אֲשֶׁ֤ר הִתְחַנַּ֙נְתִּי֙ לִפְנֵ֣י יְהוָ֔ה קְרֹבִ֛ים אֶל־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֵ֖ינוּ יוֹמָ֣ם וָלָ֑יְלָה‍ לַעֲשׂ֣וֹת ׀ מִשְׁפַּ֣ט עַבְדּ֗וֹ וּמִשְׁפַּ֛ט עַמּ֥וֹ יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל דְּבַר־י֥וֹם בְּיוֹמֽוֹ׃ ⁶⁰לְמַ֗עַן דַּ֚עַת כָּל־עַמֵּ֣י הָאָ֔רֶץ כִּ֥י יְהוָ֖ה ה֣וּא הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים אֵ֖ין עֽוֹד׃	⁵⁹Let *these words of mine, wherewith I have made supplication before the* LORD *(S$_i$)*, be near to the LORD our God day and night to maintain the cause of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel, as each day requires; ⁶⁰that *all the peoples of the earth (S$_j$)* may know *that the* LORD *is God; there is no other (O)*. (1 Kgs 8:59-60) (YCK) ²⁴⁵

The 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose construction employs an absolute deranking strategy, since the predicate of a purpose clause employs a non-finite verbal construct whether the predicates in the temporal chain have identical or different subjects.

The deranking in 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose construction is posterior. The event of the purpose clause is a desired event and its realization lies in the future (viz., a later event than the event of the matrix). This accords with the findings of Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) that VSO-languages have a clear preference for posterior deranking (§3.3.1.2.2).

The deranking is absolute. The predicate of the purpose clause is deranked regardless of whether or not the subject of the purpose clause is identical or non-identical with that of the matrix (see Deut 2:30 and Prov 15:24).

וְלֹ֣א אָבָ֗ה סִיחֹן֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ חֶשְׁבּ֔וֹן הַעֲבִרֵ֖נוּ בּ֑וֹ כִּֽי־ הִקְשָׁה֩ יְהוָ֨ה אֱלֹהֶ֜יךָ אֶת־רוּח֗וֹ וְאִמֵּץ֙ אֶת־לְבָב֔וֹ לְמַ֛עַן תִּתּ֥וֹ Ø בְיָדְךָ֖ כַּיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּֽה׃ ס	But Sihon the king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him; for the LORD your *God$_i$* hardened his spirit and made his heart

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²⁴⁵ See also, Exod 10:1; Josh 4:24; 2 Chron 10:15; Ezek 21:20; 38:16.

obstinate, that $\emptyset_i$ (=he) might give him into your hand, as at this day.. (Deut 2:30)

אֹרַח חַיִּים לְמַעְלָה לְמַשְׂכִּיל לְמַעַן סוּר מִשְּׁאוֹל מָטָּה:

The path*ᵢ* of life is upward for *the wise person*ⱼ, $\emptyset_j$ to avoid Sheol below.

(Prov 15:24)

2. 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose construction

In 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' purpose constructions, two independent clauses are employed to relate two temporal events, i.e., an event in the matrix and an event in the purpose clause. The two predicates remain structurally of the same rank by a balancing strategy. In all instances of the construction, finite verbal constructs are employed both in the matrix and purpose clauses (with one exception: Jer 32:14).[246]

וְכָל־בַּ֣ת יֹרֶ֩שֶׁת֩ נַחֲלָ֨ה מִמַּטּוֹת֜ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל לְאֶחָ֞ד מִמִּשְׁפַּ֤חַת מַטֵּ֣ה אָבִ֨יהָ֙ תִּהְיֶ֣ה לְאִשָּׁ֔ה לְמַ֗עַן יִֽירְשׁוּ֙ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל אִ֖ישׁ נַחֲלַ֥ת אֲבֹתָֽיו:

And every daughter who possesses an inheritance in any tribe of the people of Israel shall be a wife to one of the family of the tribe of her father, so that every one of the people of Israel may possess the inheritance of his father. (Num 36:8)

When we consider the semantics of the verbs in the matrix clauses of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions and 'לְמַעַן + finite' purpose constructions, verbs of motion are not often employed. In 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions, verbs of motion occur 11 out of a total of 47 purpose constructions.[247] In 'לְמַעַן + finite' purpose constructions, verbs of motion occur 12 out of 112 purpose construction occurrences.[248]

When we investigate the telicity of the matrix's verb, 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions and 'לְמַעַן + finite' purpose constructions prefer atelic verbs in the matrix.[249]

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[246] Two verbs occur in the matrix in Jer 32:14, (while the predicate of the purpose clause retains a finite verb [*yiqtol*]). One of the verbs in the matrix maintains an infinitive absolute.

[247] Exod 1:11; Deut 6:23; 9:5; 17:16; 29:18; Jdgs 2:22; 1 Sam 17:28; Ezek 22:12; 38:16; 40:4; Zech 13:4; (verb of state [10x]): Josh 11:20 (2x); 1 Kgs 8:60; 12:15; 2 Chron 10:15; Jer 11:5; Ezek 22:6, 9; 21:15; a verb of perception (1x): Gen 50:2.

[248] Deut 16:20; 22:7; 31:12 (2x); 31:19; Josh 3:4; 4:6; s 30:13; 68:24; Isa 45:3; Jer 7:23; 32:14 (a verb of state [17x]: Exod 13:9; 20:12; Num 36:8; Deut 5:16 (2x); 16:3; 17:9; 25:15; Josh 3:4; 1 Kgs 2:4 (3x); 9:15; Isa 28:13; Jer 35:7; Ezek 6:6 (2x); a verb of causation [8x]: Exod 8:18; 10:2; 33:13; Num 27:20; Jer 10:18; 51:39; Ezek 24:11; 16:63; a verb of perception [15x]: Gen 18:19; Deut 4:1; 12:18; 1 Kgs 8:40, 43; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chron 6:31, 33; Ezra 9:12; Neh 6:13; 9:15; Prov 19:20; Jer 36:3; 42:6; Amos 5:14).

[249] The term telicity is used in the grammatical analysis of aspect to refer to whether an event is viewed as complete. When a verb has the property of 'telicity,' it is said to be telic, while a verb that does not have the property is said to be atelic (Crystal 2008; Dahl 1981). Three methods for testing telicity are commonly used, and can be described as follows:

Atelic verbs were employed in 31 out of a total 47 infinitive purpose constructions (see Exod 11:9). Ninety out of a total 112 לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions have atelic verbs in the matrix (see Gen 18:19).

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה֙ אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֔ה לֹא־יִשְׁמַ֥ע אֲלֵיכֶ֖ם פַּרְעֹ֑ה לְמַ֛עַן רְבֹ֥ות מֹופְתַ֖י בְּאֶ֥רֶץ מִצְרָֽיִם׃	The LORD said to Moses, "Pharaoh will not listen to you so that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt." (Exod 11:9)[250] (YCK)
כָּל־הַמִּצְוָ֗ה אֲשֶׁ֨ר אָנֹכִ֧י מְצַוְּךָ֛ הַיֹּ֖ום תִּשְׁמְר֣וּן לַעֲשֹׂ֑ות לְמַ֨עַן תִּֽחְי֜וּן וּרְבִיתֶ֗ם וּבָאתֶם֙ וִירִשְׁתֶּ֣ם אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּ֥ע יְהוָ֖ה לַאֲבֹֽתֵיכֶֽם׃	Every commandment which I command you this day you shall keep by doing (them) so that you may live and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the LORD swore to give to your fathers. (Deut 8:1)[251] (YCK)

When an event that a verb refers to has a terminal point/endpoint, the verb is telic. However, the verb is atelic, when the event that the verb refers to does not have a terminal point.

When a verb is used with an 'in' adverbial phrase (e.g., *in an hour* with the sense of 'within an hour'), the verb is telic. However, when a verb is used with a 'for' adverbial phrase (e.g., *for an hour*), the verb is atelic.

> John sang for two hours/*in two hours.

> John wrote a letter *for two hours/in two hours.

A telic verb can be understood as one that is quantisized. Atelic verbs can be defined in terms of a cumulative reference. In linguistics, a quantisized expression is such that, whenever it is true of some entity, it is not true of any proper subparts of that entity. Example: If something is an 'apple,' then no proper subpart of that thing is an 'apple.' If something is 'water,' then many of its subparts will also be 'water.' Hence, 'apple' is quantized, while 'water' is not. In the same manner, 'walk around aimlessly' is atelic, since many proper parts of it can be regarded as 'walk around aimlessly,' even though John walked around aimlessly for two hours. It is similar to mass nouns. However, 'built' in 'John built a house' is telic, for the subparts of building a house, e.g., making a door is not described as building a house (rather the sum of all its subparts is regarded as building a house). It is similar to count nouns.

[250] See also, Gen 50:50; Deut 8:2, 3, 16 (2x); 29:12; Josh 11:20 (2x); 1 Sam 15:15; 1 Kgs 8:50; 12:15; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; 2 Chron 25:20; Prov 15:24; Jer 7:10; 11:5; 43:3; 50:34; Ezek 14:5; 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; Micah 6:5.

[251] See also, Gen 12:13; 27:25; Exod 4:5; 8, 18; 9:29; 11:7; 13:9; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 17:5; 23:43; Num 15:40; 27:20; 36:8; Deut 4:1, 40; 5:14, 16 (2x), 29; 6:2 (2x), 18; 8:1; 11:8, 9, 21; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 14:23, 29; 16:3; 17:19, 20; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 25:15; 27:3; 29:5, 8; Josh 1:8; 2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 2:3, 4; 8:40, 43; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chon 6:31, 33; 31:4; 32:18; Ezra 9:12; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 19:29; 40:8; Pss 9:15; 48:14; 60:7; 78:6; 108:7; 119:71, 101; 130:4; Prov 19:20; Isa 5:19; 23:16; 28:13; 43:26; Jer 4:14; 7:23; 10:18; 35:7; 36:3; 42:6; 44:29; Ezek 6:6; 12:16; 16:54, 63; 20:26 (2x); 24:11; Amos 5:14; Ezek 9:12; Hab 2:2.

4.2.2.1.2.4 Differences between 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions and 'לְמַעַן + yiqtol' purpose constructions

In §4.2.2.1.2.2, we identified two features of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions which distinguish the construction from 'לְמַעַן + finite (*yiqtol*)' purpose constructions. In this section, we further investigate three distinguishing features of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions: an unexpressed argument, binding and control, and matrix verb restrictions. These three features are generally accepted as distinguishing features of infinitive purpose constructions from finite purpose constructions.

1. Unexpressed argument

'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions tend to exhibit at least one unexpressed argument, even though the construction does not show in an absolute manner the distinguishing feature that Green (1992) and Jones (1991) identified (§3.3.1.2.4).

In 39 of 47 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' clauses, there is one unexpressed argument in the subject position (see Exod 1:11).[252] In 3 out of 39 cases in which the subject was not expressed, the object also remained unexpressed (see Gen 50:20).[253]

וַיָּשִׂימוּ עָלָיו שָׂרֵי מִסִּים לְמַעַן עַנֹּתוֹ Ø בְּסִבְלֹתָם	Therefore *they*$_i$ set taskmasters over him Ø$_i$ to afflict him with heavy burdens. (Exod 1:11)(YCK)
וְאַתֶּם חֲשַׁבְתֶּם עָלַי רָעָה אֱלֹהִים חֲשָׁבָהּ לְטֹבָה לְמַעַן עֲשֹׂה Ø$_o$ Ø$_s$ כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְהַחֲיֹת עַם־רָב:[254]	You meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, Ø$_s$ to bring (*it*) about as today, to preserve many people. (Gen 50:20)(YCK)

However, in 6 of 47 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' clauses, no missing arguments are identified (see 1 Kgs 8:60).[255]

[59]וִיהְיוּ דְבָרַי אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר הִתְחַנַּנְתִּי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה קְרֹבִים אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה לַעֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפַּט עַבְדּוֹ וּמִשְׁפַּט עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ: [60]לְמַעַן דַּעַת כָּל־עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כִּי יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים אֵין עוֹד:	[59]Let *these words of mine, wherewith I have made supplication before the LORD (S$_i$)*, be near to the LORD our God day and night to maintain the cause of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel, as each day requires; [60]that *all the peoples of the earth (S$_j$)* may know *that the LORD is God; there is*

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[252] Gen 50:20; Exod 1:11; 9:16; Deut 2:30; 6:23; 8:2, 3; 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:16; Josh 11:20 (2x); 2:22; Jdgs 2:22; 1 Sam 15:15; 17:28; 1 Kgs 12:15; 10:19; 2 Kgs 10:29; 23:24; 2 Chron 25:20; Prov 15:24; Jer 7:10; 11:5; 43:3; 53:34; Ezek 14:5; 21:15; 22:6, 9; 12, 27; 36:5; 39:12; 4:40; Amos 1:13; Hab 2:15; Zech 13:4.

[253] Gen 50:20; 1 Sam 15:15; Zech 13:4.

[254] Ø$_s$ and Ø$_o$ refer to the 'unexpressed subject' and 'unexpressed object,' respectively.

[255] Exod 10:1; Josh 4:24; Jdgs 3:2; 1 Kgs 8:60; 11:36; Ezek 38:16.

no other (O).

(1 Kgs 8:59-60) (YCK) [256]

2. Binding and control

In most cases (30/39), when an unexpressed argument occupies the subject position, the subject of the matrix clause controls the unexpressed subject of the purpose clause. [257]

וְלֹא־יָשֵׁיב אֶת־הָעָם֙ מִצְרַ֔יְמָה לְמַ֖עַן הַרְבּ֣וֹת Ø סֽוּס | *He*$_i$ must not cause the people to return to Egypt $Ø_i$ in order to multiply horses.

(Deut 17:16)

In 2 out of 30 instances, the agent of the matrix controls the unexpressed subject of the purpose clause (2 Chron 25:20). [258] In one case, the goal of the matrix clause controls the missing subject of the purpose clause (Prov 15:24). In three instances, the unexpressed subject of the purpose clause does not show participant-sharing with any argument of the matrix. The unexpressed subjects are controlled pragmatically (Exod 9:16). [259]

וְלֹא־שָׁמַ֣ע אֲמַצְיָ֔הוּ כִּ֤י מֵהָאֱלֹהִים֙ הִ֔יא לְמַ֖עַן תִּתָּ֣ם Ø בְּיָ֑ד כִּ֣י דָֽרְשׁ֔וּ אֵ֖ת אֱלֹהֵ֥י אֱדֽוֹם׃ | But Amaziah would not listen; for it was of *God*$_i$, in order that *He*$_i$ might give them into the hand [of their enemies], because they had sought the gods of Edom. (2 Chron 25:20)

אֹ֣רַח חַיִּים֮ לְמַ֪עְלָ֫ה לְמַשְׂכִּ֥יל לְמַ֥עַן ס֗וּר Ø מִשְּׁא֥וֹל מָֽטָּה׃ | The path of life is upward for *the wise person*$_i$ $Ø_i$ to avoid Sheol beneath.

(Prov 15:24)(YCK)

וְאוּלָ֗ם בַּעֲב֥וּר זֹאת֙ הֶעֱמַדְתִּ֔יךָ בַּעֲב֖וּר הַרְאֹתְךָ֣ אֶת־כֹּחִ֑י וּלְמַ֛עַן סַפֵּ֥ר Ø שְׁמִ֖י בְּכָל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃ | But for this purpose I have caused you to stand, to show you my power, so that *people* recount my name throughout all the earth.

(Exod 9:16)(YCK)

Three instances in which the objects are not expressed are identified in our corpus. In two cases, the unexpressed objects of purpose clauses are controlled by the preceding NP. [260] However, in one instance, the unexpressed object is controlled pragmatically, viz., it does not show participant-sharing with any arguments from the matrix. [261]

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[256] See also, Exod 10:1; Josh 4:24; 2 Chron 10:15; Ezek 21:20; 38:16.

[257] Gen 50:20; Exod 1:11; Deut 2:30; 6:23; 8:2; 8:16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 17:16; Jdgs 2:22; 1 Sam 15:15; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; Jer 7:10; 11:5; 43:3; 53:34; Ezek 14:5; 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 36:5; 39:12; 40:4; Amos 1:13; Hab 2:15; Zech 13:4.

[258] 2 Kgs 12:15; 2 Chron 25:20.

[259] Exod 9:16; Josh 11:20 (2x).

[260] Gen 50:20; 1 Sam 15:15.

[261] Zech 13:4.

3. Matrix verb restriction

In order to identify matrix verb restriction, two unexpressed arguments should occur in the purpose clause, viz., an unexpressed subject (the inferred controller of the infinitive verb) and an unexpressed object that corresponds to the object of the matrix's verb. We identify only two instances that satisfy this condition (Gen 50:20 and 1 Sam 15:15). This implies that matrix verb restriction is not a distinguishing feature of 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions.

וְאַתֶּם חֲשַׁבְתֶּם עָלַי רָעָה אֱלֹהִים חֲשָׁבָהּ לְטֹבָ֔ה לְמַעַן עֲשֹׂה ∅ כַּיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּ֖ה לְהַחֲיֹ֥ת עַם־רָֽב׃

You meant evil against me; but God*i* meant *it*j for good, to ∅*i* bring ∅*j* about as today, to preserve many people.   (Gen 50:20)(YCK)

וַיֹּ֤אמֶר שָׁאוּל֙ מֵעֲמָלֵקִ֣י הֱבִיא֔וּם אֲשֶׁ֣ר חָמַ֣ל הָעָ֗ם עַל־מֵיטַ֤ב הַצֹּאן֙ וְהַבָּקָ֔ר לְמַ֥עַן זְבֹ֖חַ ∅ לַיהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ וְאֶת־הַיּוֹתֵ֖ר הֶחֱרַֽמְנוּ׃ ס

Saul said, "From the Amalekites they*i* have brought *them which the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen*j*, to ∅*i* sacrifice ∅*j* to the LORD your God; and the rest we have utterly destroyed. (1 Sam 15:15)

The verbs חָשַׁב (Gen 50:20) and הֵבִיא (1 Sam 15:15) entail a control of the entity (*it*j, *them which the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen*j) corresponding to the gap (∅*j*, ∅*j*) in the 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose clause by the intended controller of the infinitive (∅*i* = God*i*, ∅*i* = they*i*).

The aforementioned three features of purpose infinitives (viz., the occurrence of at least one unexpressed argument, binding and control and matrix verb restrictions) do not seem to give insights for distinguishing 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions from 'לְמַעַן + finite' purpose constructions.

4.2.2.1.3 Sense distinctions

Two different senses of the purposive לְמַעַן are distinguished according to the cognitive principles identified in chapter 3 (§3.2.3.2.4.1).

1. The agent of event A (tr) performs an action with the intention of bringing about event B (lm). Event B is a goal and the desired result of the action performed by the agent of the event A. In such cases, the goal neither has a beneficial or maleficent effect. The translation value could be '(so) that' (160x).[262]

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[262] Gen 12:13; 18:19 (2x), 27:25; 37:22; 50:20; Exod 1:11; 4:5; 8:6; 9:16, 29; 10:1, 2; 11:7; 13:9; 16:4, 32; 20:12; 23:12; 33:13; Lev 23:43; Lev 17:5; Num 27:20; 36:8; Deut 2:30; 4:1, 40; 5:14, 16 (2x), 29, 33; 6:2 (2x), 18; 8:1, 2, 3, 16 (2x), 18; 9:5; 11:8, 9, 21; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 14:23, 29; 16:3, 20; 17:16, 19, 20; 22:7; 23:21; 24:19; 25:15; 27:3; 29:5, 8, 12; 30:6, 19; 31:12 (2x), 19; Josh 1:7, 8; 3:4; 4:6, 24 (2x); 11:20 (2x); Jdgs 2:22; 3:2; 1 Sam 15:15; 17:28; 2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 2:3, 4; 8:40, 43, 60; 11:36; 12:15; 2 Kgs 10:19; 23:24; 1 Chron 28:8; 2 Chron 6:31, 33; 10:15; 25:20; 31:4; 32:18; Ezra 9:12; Neh 6:13 (2x); Job 19:29; 40:8; Pss 9:15; 30:13; 48:14; 60:7; 68:24; 78:6; 108:7; 119:71, 101; 130:4; Prov 15:24; 19:20; Isa 5:19; 23:16; 28:13; 41:20; 43:10, 26; 45:3, 6; Jer 4:14; 7:10, 23; 10:18; 11:5; 32:14;

The notion of 'purpose' is conceptualized by means of the underlying conceptual metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION. From here, the goal of the agent's implied behavior within the matrix clause is also conceptualized through the conceptual metaphor THE GOAL IS A DESTINATION.

וְהִפְלֵיתִי֩ בַיּ֨וֹם הַה֜וּא אֶת־אֶ֣רֶץ גֹּ֗שֶׁן אֲשֶׁ֤ר עַמִּי֙ עֹמֵ֣ד עָלֶ֔יהָ לְבִלְתִּ֥י הֱיֽוֹת־שָׁ֖ם עָרֹ֑ב לְמַ֣עַן תֵּדַ֔ע כִּ֛י אֲנִ֥י יְהוָ֖ה בְּקֶ֥רֶב הָאָֽרֶץ׃

But on that day I will set apart the land of Goshen, where my people dwell, so that no swarms of flies shall be there; that you may know that I am the LORD in the midst of the earth. (Exod 8:18)

וְאוֹתָ֖נוּ הוֹצִ֣יא מִשָּׁ֑ם לְמַ֙עַן֙ הָבִ֣יא אֹתָ֔נוּ לָ֤תֶת לָ֙נוּ֙ אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁ֥ר נִשְׁבַּ֖ע לַאֲבֹתֵֽינוּ׃

Us he brought from there, that he might bring us in and give us the land which he swore to give to our fathers. (Deut 6:23)

2. The event of the matrix (tr) is performed in order to bring about a benefit for the lm, which is the goal of the action of the agent of the matrix. In this case, the lm is benefactive, i.e., a beneficiary of the result of the action performed by the matrix's agent. In this case, לְמַעַן functions as a benefactive marker. לְמַעַן may be translated 'for the sake of x' or 'for x's sake' (47x).

Animate things are prototypical lms, since normally, animate participants are capable of making use of the benefit bestowed upon them.

אוּלַ֥י יֵ֛שׁ חֲמִשִּׁ֥ים צַדִּיקִ֖ם בְּת֣וֹךְ הָעִ֑יר הַאַ֤ף תִּסְפֶּה֙ וְלֹא־תִשָּׂ֣א לַמָּק֔וֹם לְמַ֛עַן חֲמִשִּׁ֥ים הַצַּדִּיקִ֖ם אֲשֶׁ֥ר בְּקִרְבָּֽהּ׃

Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city; wilt thou then destroy the place and not spare it for the sake of fifty righteous who are in it? (Gen 18:24) (YCK)[263]

When the lm is a thing, the lm is a destination where a beneficial effect is directed. Hence, the conceptual metaphor THE GOAL IS A DESTINATION is involved.

35:7; 36:3; 42:6; 44:29; 50:34; 51:39; Ezek 6:6; 11:20; 12:16; 14:5; 16:54, 63; 20:26 (2x), 44; 21:15; 22:6, 9, 12, 27; 24:11; 36:5; 38:16; 39:12; 40:4; Amos 1:13; 5:14; 9:12; Hab 2:2, 15; Zech 13:4.

[263] See also, 1 Kgs 8:41; 11:12, 13 (2x), 32 (2x), 34; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34 (2x); 20:6 (2x); 2 Chron 6:32; Job 18:4; Pss 23:3; 25:11; 31:4; 79:9; 106:8; 109:21; 122:8, 9; 143:11; Isa 37:35 (2x); 43:14, 25; 45:4; 48:9, 11 (2x); 62:1 (2x); 63:17; 65:8; Jer 14:7, 21; Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44; 36:22, 32; Dan 9:17, 19.

In 1 Kgs 11:13, 32; Isa 62:1 (2x), the lm is a place (an inanimate thing); however, a place implies the people who live there, i.e., a place is used metonymically. An absolute noun (an inanimate thing) also occurs as the lm in Deut 30:6; 1Kgs 8:41; 2 Chron 6:32; Pss 23:3; 25:11; 31:4; 79:9; 106:8; 109:21; 143:11; Isa 48:9; Jer 14: 7, 21; Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44. In these cases, the abstract noun is שֵׁם, with the exception of Deut 30:6 (life). However, in the ancient world, a personal name stands for people, i.e., a personal name is used metonymically.

When the lm is a thing, metonymy is also involved. A benefactive act is an economical shortcut for the expression of purposive relations. Hence, benefactives are metonymic devices for the expression of a purpose, since a goal-directed activity is expressed by simply mentioning the goal participant, i.e., without spelling out the verbal part of the underlying purpose clause. Given that an argument represents the whole semantic structure of which it is a part of, one may best to characterize this morphosyntactic construction in terms of metonymy.

Metonymic mapping is economical to the extent that the entity or category explicitly mentioned in a discourse can activate another category in the same overall cognitive domain or model. Thus, by simply adding a goal NP to a verb denoting directed action, a whole purpose situation – or more precisely, the cognitive model or frame of that situation – can be evoked.

When we investigate the distribution of the purposive לְמַעַן in the HB, no difference in the semantics of the construction could be identified along the diachronic cline. The purpose לְמַעַן occurs in all the books of the HB.

- Sense 1: Gen (7x); Exod (14x); Lev (1x); Num (3x); Deut (47x); 2 Kgs 23 (1x); Amos (3x); Hab (3x); *Jer (13x); Ezek (18x)*; Zech (1x); Dan (1x); Ezra (1x); Neh (3x); 1 Chron (1x); 2 Chron (5x).

- Sense 2: Deut (1x); 1 Kgs (6x); 2 Kgs (3x); *Jer (2x); Ezek (6x)*; 2 Chron (1x); Dan (2x).

4.2.2.1.5. 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions (13x)

In avertive constructions, an action is performed in order to prevent an undesirable event from happening. In 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions, the matrix's verb or the whole matrix clause never encodes a precautionary situation, but a positive effort. In these cases, the agent of the matrix or speaker tries to prevent something undesirable from happening by making a positive effort. This is a feature that distinguishes 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' from 'פֶּן' avertive constructions. 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions are in this regard similar to the 'לְבִלְתִּי' avertive construction identified by Mitchell (1915) (see footnote 75).

'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions (or negative constructions) occur 13 times. In every case, 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' is followed by a finite verb (*yiqtol*). The following constructions are identified.

1. לְמַעַן לֹא + *yiqtol* (8x)

בְּלִבִּי צָפַנְתִּי אִמְרָתֶךָ לְמַעַן לֹא אֶחֱטָא־לָךְ׃   In my heart I have laid up your word, so that I might not sin against you.

(Ps 119:11)[264] (YCK)

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[264] See also, Pss 119:80; 125:3; Ezek 14:11; 19:9; 25:10; 26:20; Zech 12:7.

2. ‫לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא‬ + *yiqtol* (5x)

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‫וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֶת־פְּרִי הָעֵץ וּתְנוּבַת הַשָּׂדֶה לְמַעַן‬
‫אֲשֶׁר לֹא תִקְחוּ עוֹד חֶרְפַּת רָעָב בַּגּוֹיִם:‬

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I will make the fruit of the tree and the increase of the field abundant, that you may never again suffer the disgrace of famine among the nations.   (Ezek 36:30)[265]

As far as the verbal ranking strategy is concerned, the '‫לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא‬' avertive construction is not different from the '‫לְמַעַן‬ + finite verb (*yiqtol*)' purpose construction, i.e., 'balancing.' In all instances (10x), two events in the matrix and purpose clause are encoded by means of two independent clauses, viz., the two predicates remain of the same rank structurally.

As far as participant encoding is concerned, '‫לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא‬' avertive constructions explicitly express subjects. In addition, the construction prefers different subjects between the matrix and purpose clause. All instances show different subjects between the matrix and purpose clause (see Deut 20:17-18 below). This is in agreement with the findings of Schmidtke-Bode (2009) (§3.3.1.2.6).

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‫¹⁷ כִּי־הַחֲרֵם תַּחֲרִימֵם הַחִתִּי וְהָאֱמֹרִי הַכְּנַעֲנִי‬
‫וְהַפְּרִזִּי הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ:‬
‫¹⁸ לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יְלַמְּדוּ אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכֹל‬
‫תּוֹעֲבֹתָם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לֵאלֹהֵיהֶם וַחֲטָאתֶם לַיהוָה‬
‫אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: ס‬

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¹⁷ But you shall utterly destroy them, the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, as the LORD your God has commanded; ¹⁸ that they may not teach you to do according to all their abominable things which they have done for their gods, and so to sin against the LORD your God.   (Deut 20:17-18)

As for the person of the subject of the matrix, '‫לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא‬' avertive constructions prefer the 3ʳᵈ person subject. In our corpus, the 1ˢᵗ person subject occurs 4x while 2ⁿᵈ person subjects occur once and the 3ʳᵈ person subjects occur 8x.[266] The preference of the 3ʳᵈ person subject implies that '‫לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא‬' avertive constructions are more utilized within the narrative genre.

As far as thematic roles are concerned, in '‫לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא‬' avertive constructions, all the subjects of avertive clauses are 'experiencer' with the exception of Deut 20:18, in which the subject is an 'agent.' This result does not accord with the two complementary implicational universals proposed by Schmidtke-Bode (2009) (§3.3.1.2.6). Nevertheless, the matrix and avertive clause do not share the subject (see the earlier paragraph about participant encoding).

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[265] Num 17:5; Deut 20:18; Ezek 31:14; 46:18.

[266] The subjects of the matrix are as follows: 1ˢᵗ person subject (Ps 119:11; Ezek 25:10; 26:10; 36:30); 2nd person subject (Deut 20:18); 3rd person subject (Num 17:5; Pss 119:80; 125:3; Ezek 14:11; 19:9; 31:14; 46:3).

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'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' occurs in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH. It does not show any diachronic changes: Num (1x), Deut (1x); *Ezek (7x)*; <u>Zech (1x)</u>.

4.2.2.2 Result (27x)

The schematic meaning of the resultative לְמַעַן based on the relationship between the tr and the lm can be described as follows.

Tr		Lm
The matrix		DC : consequence

One event (the matrix = tr) is performed. As a consequence/result, another event (dependent clause = lm) occurs. It is crucial that the action performed by the matrix's agent or speaker does not have any intention to bring about the event of the dependent clause. Since the dependent clause (lm) is a consequence/result of the matrix's event (tr), the former is called a result clause. Similarly, the construction is called a result construction.

In most cases, infinitive occurs in the result clause, viz., verbs in the result clause do not express mood. Although *yiqtol*s are employed in result clauses in some cases, they do not express mood, i.e., intentions of matrix's agent and speakers.

לְמַעַן is utilized to indicate a result relation between two events in 27 instances. The lm is an event which points out the result of the preceding event. לְמַעַן can be translated "so" or "thus."

¹⁶ כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנְנִי מֵבִיא רָעָה אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל־יֹשְׁבָיו אֵת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַסֵּפֶר אֲשֶׁר קָרָא מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה: ¹⁷תַּחַת‌ אֲשֶׁר עֲזָבוּנִי וַיְקַטְּרוּ לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְמַעַן הַכְעִיסֵנִי בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם וְנִצְּתָה חֲמָתִי בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְלֹא תִכְבֶּה:

¹⁶ Thus says the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place and upon its inhabitants, all the words of the book which the king of Judah has read. ¹⁷Because they have forsaken me and have burned incense to other gods, so they provoked me to anger with all the work of their hands, therefore my wrath will be kindled against this place, and it will not be quenched.   (2 Kgs 22:17)²⁶⁷ (YCK)

The resultative meaning does not show any diachronic change as this particular meaning is attested to in CBH, TBH and LBH: Exod (1x), Lev (1x); Num (1x); Deut (1x); 2 Kgs (1x); Hosea (1x); Amos (1x); Obad (1x); Micah (1x); *Jer (11x); Ezek (1x)*; <u>2 Chron (1x).</u>

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²⁶⁷ See also, Exod 11:9; Lev 20:3; Num 15:40; Deut 29:18; 2 Chron 34:25; Ps 51:6; Prov 2:20; Isa 30:1; 44:9; Jer 7:18, 19; 25:7; 27:10, 15; 32:29, 35; 43:3; 44:8 (2x); Ezek 21:20 (לְמַעַן + לְ infinitive); Hosea 8:4; Joel 4:6; Amos 2:7; Obad 1:9; Micah 6:5, 16.

4.2.2.2.1 Distinguishing result from purpose

In the preceding chapter we established several criteria for distinguishing a result clause from a purpose clause.

- The result in a result clause is an achieved result while the result in a purpose clause is yet to be achieved (i.e., an aimed result).

- Intentionality is another criterion. In purpose constructions, the agent of the main clause intends to bring about the event in the dependent clause, while there is no such relation of intention in the result construction.

- In addition, the content of the result clause comments on what is said in the matrix, while the content of the purpose clause denotes the circumstances of the matrix's situation (§3.3.2).

These criteria are aids in distinguishing a result clause from a purpose clause. Consider the following examples:

תַּחַת׀ אֲשֶׁר עֲזָב֜וּנִי וַֽיְקַטְּרוּ֙ לֵֽאלֹהִ֣ים אֲחֵרִ֔ים לְמַ֙עַן֙ הַכְעִיסֵ֔נִי בְּכֹ֖ל מַעֲשֵׂ֣ה יְדֵיהֶ֑ם וְנִצְּתָ֧ה חֲמָתִ֛י בַּמָּק֥וֹם הַזֶּ֖ה וְלֹ֥א תִכְבֶּֽה׃	Because they have forsaken me and have burned incense to other gods, *so it has provoked me to anger* with all the work of their hands, therefore my wrath will be kindled against this place, and it will not be quenched. (2 Kgs 22:17)(YCK)[268]

It is unreasonable to think that the agent of the matrix (Israelites) performs an action (forsaking the LORD and burning incense to other gods) intentionally in order to instigate the LORD's anger. Rather, provoking the LORD's anger is a result of the preceding action. The content of the result clause comments on the content of the matrix. When we consider all the examples, the comment is negative in the overwhelming majority of cases (22x out of a total 27x).[269]

4.2.2.2.2 Scope and level

The לְמַעַן result clause occurs 27x, and in 20 out of 27 result clauses, לְמַעַן connects a number of clauses to its result, viz. the matrix is often larger than a clause. Hence, it may be argued that the resultative לְמַעַן functions as a connective which links linguistic units at any level (see Jer 7:18).

הַבָּנִ֞ים מְלַקְּטִ֣ים עֵצִ֗ים וְהָֽאָבוֹת֙ מְבַעֲרִ֣ים אֶת־הָאֵ֔שׁ וְהַנָּשִׁ֕ים לָשׁ֖וֹת בָּצֵ֑ק לַעֲשׂ֨וֹת כַּוָּנִ֜ים לִמְלֶ֣כֶת הַשָּׁמַ֗יִם	The children gather wood, the fathers kindle fire, and the women knead dough, to make

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[268] Gehman and Montgomery (1951:320) understand לְמַ֙עַן֙ הַכְעִיסֵ֔נִי as indicating a result. Hobbs (1985:327) also regards it as indicating an impending judgment, viz., he regards it as indicating a result.

[269] Lev 20:3; Deut 29:18; 2 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chron 34:25; Prov 2:20; Isa 30:1; Jer 7:18, 19; 25:7; 27:10, 15; 32:29, 35; 43:3; 44:8 (2x), 9; Ezek 21:20; Hosea 8:4; Joel 4:6; Amos 2:7; Obad 1:9; Micah 6:16.

וְהַסֵּ֤ךְ נְסָכִים֙ לֵאלֹהִ֣ים אֲחֵרִ֔ים לְמַ֖עַן הַכְעִסֵֽנִי׃	cakes for the queen of heaven; and they pour out drink offerings to other gods, to provoke me to anger. (Jer 7:18)[270]

4.2.2.2.2.1 Scope

When לְמַעַן is employed to express a result relation, it governs a NP (once), an infinitive clause (20x) and a finite (*yiqtol*) clause (6x).

1. Clause level

1) לְמַעַן + NP (1x)

הַאֹתִ֥י הֵ֛ם מַכְעִסִ֖ים נְאֻם־יְהוָ֑ה הֲל֣וֹא אֹתָ֔ם לְמַ֖עַן בֹּ֥שֶׁת פְּנֵיהֶֽם׃ ס	"Is it I whom they provoke?" declares the LORD. "Is it not themselves, to their own shame?" (Jer 7:19)

2) לְמַעַן + infinitive clause (20x)

וַאֲנִ֞י אֶתֵּ֤ן אֶת־פָּנַי֙ בָּאִ֣ישׁ הַה֔וּא וְהִכְרַתִּ֥י אֹת֖וֹ מִקֶּ֣רֶב עַמּ֑וֹ כִּ֤י מִזַּרְעוֹ֙ נָתַ֣ן לַמֹּ֔לֶךְ לְמַ֛עַן טַמֵּא֙ אֶת־מִקְדָּשִׁ֔י וּלְחַלֵּ֖ל אֶת־שֵׁ֥ם קָדְשִֽׁי׃	I myself will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people, because one of his children he has given to Molech, so has he defiled my sanctuary and profaned my holy name. (Lev 20:3)[271]

3) לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause (6x)

לְךָ֤ לְבַדְּךָ֨׀ חָטָ֗אתִי֙ וְהָרַ֥ע בְּעֵינֶ֖יךָ עָשִׂ֑יתִי לְמַ֗עַן תִּצְדַּ֥ק בְּדָבְרֶ֗ךָ תִּזְכֶּ֥ה בְשָׁפְטֶֽךָ׃	Against you, you only, I have sinned, and what is evil in your sight I have done. So you are just in your sentence. You are blameless in your judgment. (Ps 51:6)[272] (YCK)

Here, לְמַעַן introduces a result. If לְמַעַן was to be regarded as an indicating purpose, it would yield a preposterous idea – "the psalmist purposely sinned so that God's justice might be vindicated!" (NET).

Resultative לְמַעַן + infinitive clauses occur in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH. However, resultative לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clauses only occur in the books of CBH – though, statistically speaking, it is difficult to conclude that this is symbolic of a diachronic change of syntax, viz., resultative לְמַעַן + infinitive appears to phase out resultative לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clauses in LBH, as the resultative לְמַעַן + infinitive only appears once in LBH.

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[270] See also, Num 15:40; 2 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chron 34:25; Ps 51:6; Prov 2:20; Isa 30:1; Jer 25:7; 27:15; 32:29, 35, 44:8 (2x), 9; Ezek 21:20; Hosea 8:4; Amos 2:7; Micah 6:5, 16.

[271] See also, Exod 11:9; Deut 29:18; 2 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chron 34:25; Isa 30:1; Jer 7:18; 25:7; 27:10, 15; 32:29, 35; 43:3, 44:8 (2x); Ezek 21:20; Joel 4:6; Amos 2:7; Micah 6:5, 16. In Ezek 21:20, לְ + לְמַעַן infinitive occurs.

[272] See also, Num 15:40; Prov 2:20; Isa 44:9; Hosea 8:4; Obad 1:9.

- לְמַעַן + infinitive clause: Exod (1); Lev (1x); Deut (1x); 2 Kgs (1x); Amos (1x); Micah (2x); *Jer (9x)*; 2 Chron (1x).

- לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause: Num (1x); Hosea (1x); Obad (1x); Ø; Ø.

4.2.2.2.2.2 Level

לְמַעַן operates on three different levels.

1. Effective level (22x)

תַּחַת׀ אֲשֶׁר עֲזָב֔וּנִי וַֽיְקַטְּרוּ֙ לֵֽאלֹהִ֣ים אֲחֵרִ֔ים לְמַ֙עַן֙ הַכְעִיסֵ֔נִי בְּכֹ֖ל מַעֲשֵׂ֣ה יְדֵיהֶ֑ם וְנִצְּתָ֧ה חֲמָתִ֛י בַּמָּק֥וֹם הַזֶּ֖ה וְלֹ֥א תִכְבֶּֽה:	Because they have forsaken me and have burned incense to other gods. So they provoked me to anger with all the work of their hands and my wrath will be kindled against this place and it will not be quenched. (2 Kgs 22:17)[273]

The sin of the Israelites caused the LORD's anger and wrath. The causal relation lies in a real-world relation.

2. Epistemic level (2x)

20לְמַ֗עַן תֵּ֭לֵךְ בְּדֶ֣רֶךְ טוֹבִ֑ים וְאָרְח֖וֹת צַדִּיקִ֣ים תִּשְׁמֹֽר:	20So you will walk in the way of good men and keep to the paths of the righteous. (Prov 2:19-20)[274]

The causal relation lies in the epistemic world, viz., "לְמַעַן introduces the concluding result after admonishing to attain wisdom (2:1-11) and to avoid evil men and women and their destructive ways (2:12-19)" (NET).

3. Discursive level (3x)

39וְהָיָ֣ה לָכֶם֮ לְצִיצִת֒ וּרְאִיתֶ֣ם אֹת֗וֹ וּזְכַרְתֶּם֙ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹ֣ת יְהוָ֔ה וַעֲשִׂיתֶ֖ם אֹתָ֑ם וְלֹֽא־תָת֜וּרוּ אַחֲרֵ֤י לְבַבְכֶם֙ וְאַחֲרֵ֣י עֵֽינֵיכֶ֔ם אֲשֶׁר־אַתֶּ֥ם זֹנִ֖ים אַחֲרֵיהֶֽם: 40לְמַ֣עַן תִּזְכְּר֔וּ וַעֲשִׂיתֶ֖ם אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֺתָ֑י וִהְיִיתֶ֥ם קְדֹשִׁ֖ים לֵֽאלֹהֵיכֶֽם:	39And it shall be to you a tassel so that you may look upon it and remember all the commandments of the LORD and do them and so that you do not follow after your own heart and your own eyes, which you are inclined to go after wantonly. 40Then you will remember and do all my commandments, and be holy to your God. (Num 15:39-40)[275] (YCK)

A speech act (directive, i.e., "make a tassel") must prompt the remembrance that an Israelite should be faithful to God's instructions. When the resultative לְמַעַן in Num 15:40 and Micah

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[273] See also, Exod 11:9; Lev 20:3; Deut 29:18; 2 Chron 34:25; Isa 30:1; 44:9; Jer 7:18, 19; 25:7; 27:10, 15; 32:29, 35; 43:3; 44:8 (2x); Ezek 21:20; Hosea 8:4; Joel 4:6; Amos 2:7; Obad 1:9; Micah 6:16.

[274] See also, Ps 51:6.

[275] See also, Jer 7:19; Micah 6:5.

6:5 operates at the discursive level, it operates at an epistemic level from a discursive perspective.

4.2.2.3 Reason (21x)

This category of meaning is generally categorized as cause (e.g., §2.2.1.2). Both reason and cause display a causal relationship between events. In both reason and cause constructions, the dependent clause is the ground/motivation for the matrix's event. However, in linguistic circles, reason is distinguished from cause. When the ground/motivation represents the personal motivation of the matrix's agent or speaker's justification, it is categorized as reason. When the ground/motivation triggers an effect and there is no involvement of the matrix's agent, it is regarded as cause (§ 3.3.3 and 3.3.4). Hence, we argue that לְמַעַן prompts the conceptualization of a reason relationship between the matrix and the dependent clause. Hence distinguishing reason from cause in a causal meaning/relationship is a more nuanced categorization of לְמַעַן.

The schematic meaning of the לְמַעַן of reason – based upon the relationship between the tr and the lm – can be described as follows.
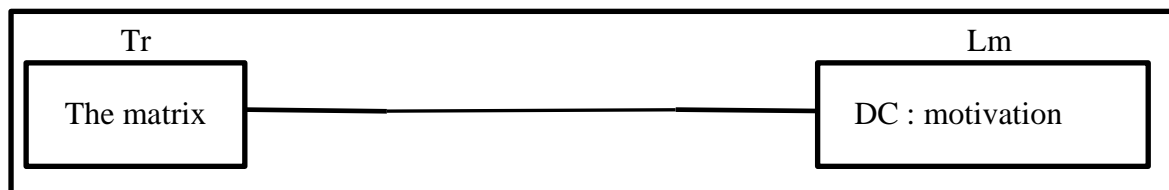
One event (the matrix = tr) is performed taking another event (dependent clause = lm) as a motivation.

In לְמַעַן reason constructions, the matrix is the tr while the reason clause is the lm. The lm adduces a ground/motivation for the event of the matrix. The motivations can be 1) a personal motivation of the matrix's agent (10x), or 2) the motivation of a speaker's entreaty (11x).

וַיָּ֣חָן יְהוָ֣ה אֹתָם֩ וַֽיְרַחֲמֵ֨ם וַיִּ֤פֶן אֲלֵיהֶם֙ לְמַ֣עַן בְּרִית֔וֹ אֶת־אַבְרָהָ֥ם יִצְחָ֖ק וְיַעֲקֹ֑ב	But the LORD was gracious to them and had compassion on them, and he turned toward them, because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (2 Kgs 13:23)[276]
יְהוָ֤ה׀ נְחֵ֬נִי בְצִדְקָתֶ֗ךָ לְמַ֥עַן שׁוֹרְרָ֑י הַיְשַׁ֖ר לְפָנַ֣י דַּרְכֶּֽךָ׃	LORD! Lead me in your righteousness because of my enemies; make your way straight before me. (Ps 5:9)[277]

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[276] See also, Deut 3:26; 1 Kgs 11:39; 2 Chron 21:7; Isa 42:21; 49:7; 55:5; 66:5; Ezek 4:17; 12:19.

[277] Pss 6:5; 8:3; 25:7; 27:11; 44:27; 48:12; 69:19; 97:8; Isa 66:11 (2x).

The לְמַעַן of reason does not show any difference in the semantics of the construction along the diachronic cline. The same meaning can be identified in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH: Deut (1x); 2 Kgs (1x); Ezek (2x); 2 Chron (1x).

4.2.2.3.1 Scope and level

A reason relationship is different from a causative relationship, even though both constructions express a causal relation. In a causative relationship, when one situation triggers another, the causal link between the two situations is factual, i.e., physical or psychological. However, in a reason relationship, the causal link does not need to be factual, viz., the causal link exists in the mind of the speaker/agent and reflects his/her judgment. Causal relations involve the agent of the matrix. In a reason construction, the event in the dependent clause is not just a cause of the event in the matrix, but it represents the personal motivation of the matrix-agent (§3.3.4):

When לְמַעַן is employed in reason constructions, its scope varies and it operates on multiple levels.

4.2.2.3.1.1 Scope

1. Phrase level (לְמַעַן + NP) (17x)

שָׁמְעָה וַתִּשְׂמַח ׀ צִיּוֹן וַתָּגֵלְנָה בְּנוֹת יְהוּדָה לְמַעַן מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ יְהוָה׃

Zion hears and is glad, and the daughters of Judah rejoice, because of your judgments, O Yahweh.

(Ps 97:8)[278] (YCK)

2. Clause level (לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause) (4x)

לַחְמָם בִּדְאָגָה יֹאכֵלוּ וּמֵימֵיהֶם בְּשִׁמָּמוֹן יִשְׁתּוּ לְמַעַן תֵּשַׁם אַרְצָהּ מִמְּלֹאָהּ מֵחֲמַס כָּל־הַיֹּשְׁבִים בָּהּ׃

They shall eat their bread with fearfulness, and drink their water in dismay, because their land will be stripped of all it contains, on account of the violence of all those who dwell in it.

(Ezek 12:19)[279] (YCK)

A reason construction, consisting of לְמַעַן + NP, does not occur in the books of TBH. Similarly, a 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*' clause of reason does not occur in the books of CBH or LBH.

- לְמַעַן + NP: Deut (1x); 1 Kgs (1x), 2 Kgs (1x); Ø; 2 Chron (1x).

- לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* clause: Ø; *Ezek (2x)*; Ø.

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[278] See also, Deut 3:26; 1 Kgs 11:39; 2 Kgs 13:23; 2 Chron 21:7; Pss 5:9; 6:5; 8:3; 25:7; 27:11; 44:27; 48:12; 69:19; Isa 42:21; 49:7; 55:5; 66:5. In Isa 42:21, the vebal idea of יַגְדִּיל is subordinated to חָפֵץ. It is usually rendered by 'to,' 'in order to,' or 'that' (GKC § 120c). 'לְמַעַן צִדְקוֹ' comes between חָפֵץ and יַגְדִּיל.

[279] See also, Isa 66:11 (2x); Ezek 4:17.

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This result, however, does not imply any diachronic changes of syntax, for ten cases of a לְמַעַן of reason + NP occur in Ps and two cases of a לְמַעַן of reason + *yiqtol* clause occur in Isa. Further investigation is needed in order to conclude whether or not this is constitutive of a diachronic change.

4.2.2.3.1.2 Levels[280]

1. Effective level (13x)

וַיִּתְעַבֵּר יְהוָה בִּי לְמַעַנְכֶם וְלֹא שָׁמַע אֵלַי וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי רַב־לָךְ אַל־תּוֹסֶף דַּבֵּר אֵלַי עוֹד בַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה:	But the LORD was angry with me on your account, and would not hearken to me; and the LORD said to me, 'Let it suffice you; speak no more to me of this matter. (Deut 3:26)[281]

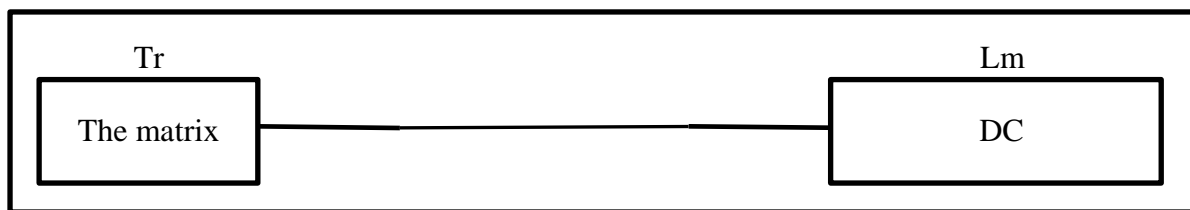The example shows that the causal relation between two events lies in real world relations.

2. Discursive level (8x)

קָרְבָה אֶל־נַפְשִׁי גְאָלָהּ לְמַעַן אֹיְבַי פְּדֵנִי:	Draw near to me, redeem me, set me free because of my enemies! (Ps 69:19)[282] (YCK)

Here, לְמַעַן introduces the motivation of a speech act.

4.2.3 Summary

We analyzed the meaning of לְמַעַן in terms of the concept landmark and trajector.

The meaning of לְמַעַן is distinguished by means of lm specifications. When the lm is an aimed/desired result, the prototypical meaning of לְמַעַן is purpose. When the lm is a consequence/result, לְמַעַן communicates a result relation. When the lm is a motivation for the matrix's agent, לְמַעַן prompts the conceptualization of a reason relation.

The most significant finding of this study is that לְמַעַן prompts the conceptualization of three different relationships, i.e., purpose, result and reason relationships between the matrix and dependent clauses. Among them, the purpose relationship is the most prototypical relationship that לְמַעַן displays. לְמַעַן predominantly profiles a goal relation between the event referred to in the matrix and that of the purpose clause. In this case, the goal is either the

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[280] When לְמַעַן is employed in reason constructions, no instances are identified on the epistemic level.

[281] See also, 1 Kgs 13:23; 2 Kgs 13:23; 2 Chron 21:7; Ps 8:3; Isa 42:21; 49:7; 55:5; 66:5, 11 (2x); Ezek 4:17; 12:19.

[282] See also, Pss 5:9; 6:5; 25:7; 27:11; 44:27; 48:12; 97:8.

matrix-agent's or the speaker's. All the while, result and reason are less prototypical relationships that לְמַעַן can indicate.

The polysemy relationship of purpose, result and reason is related to one another based on the cognitive principles. All three meanings conceptualize a causal relationship between the events of the matrix and the events of the dependent clauses. In the reason sense, a causal relationship between the events exists in the speaker's mind, viz., the causal link exists abstractly or metaphorically. The meaning 'reason' is a specialization of the more prototypical meaning of 'purpose.' When intentionality lacks in the behavior/deed of the agent of the matrix, the outcome of the dependent clause is result. However, when intentionality is involved in the deed of the agent of the matrix, the outcome of the dependent clause is purpose (i.e., aimed result) (see §.3.3). Under these three different meanings (purpose, result, reason), different senses are distinguished among the purposive meaning. The different purposive senses are extended by a cognitive principle – metonymy. The three meanings and two purposive senses form a radial network as follows.
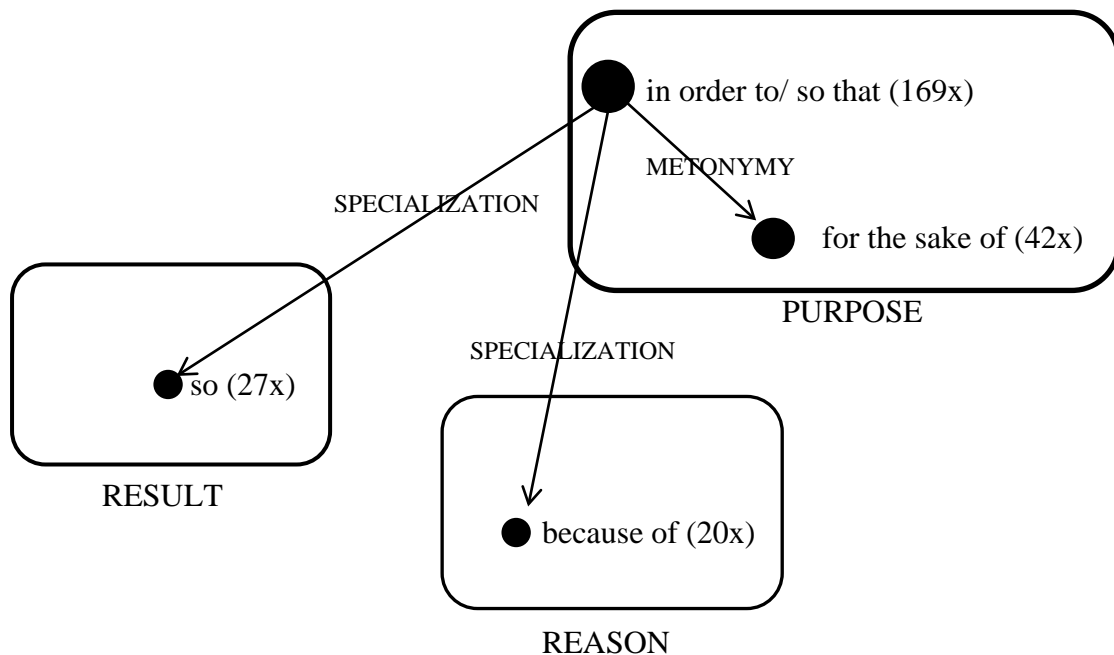
We used typological parameters in order to describe purpose constructions, i.e., position of the purpose clause, participant encoding and the matrix's verb forms (including the semantics of the matrix's verbs). It was identified that both 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose constructions and 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions prefer the postposed position in terms of the position of the purpose clause. Both constructions rarely employ motion verbs in the matrix. Furthermore, they prefer atelic verbs in the matrix. When telic verbs occupy the matrix, they tend to be motion verbs. However, regardless of these similarities, the two constructions differ in some respects.

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- 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose constructions employ a balancing strategy in order to express two linked states of affairs, i.e., the matrix and purpose clause. On the contrary, 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions use a deranking strategy.

- 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose constructions always employ explicit subjects in both the matrix and purpose clause, while 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions have unexpressed subjects in the purpose clause in most cases. Furthermore, 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose constructions prefer different subjects between the matrix and purpose clause, while 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions show participant-sharing between the matrix and purpose clause.

- 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose constructions are mainly used in discourse, while 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions realize a final relation in narrative material.

Although these typological parameters confirmed the results established by BH scholars as well as the typological features of לְמַעַן purpose constructions, our theoretical frame of reference failed to help us to identify any semantic distinction between 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions and 'לְמַעַן + finite verb' purpose constructions. In this regard, further investigation needs to be done.

The syntactic scope that לְמַעַן governs varies: NP, infinitive and a clause. לְמַעַן also operates on different levels.

We could not identify any syntactic or semantic patterns that correlate with a diachronic cline of BH.

4.3 בַּעֲבוּר

4.3.1 Frequency

בַּעֲבוּר occurs 49x: this includes one instance of the form בַּעֲבֻר אֲשֶׁר (Gen 27:10), one instance of the form בַּעֲבוּר זֶה (Exod 13:8) and 3 instances of the form לְבַעֲבוּר (Exod 20:20; 2 Sam 14:20; 17:14). בַּעֲבוּר is employed 29x as a preposition and 19x as a conjunction (two cases are uncertain).[283] בַּעֲבוּר can display both purpose (33x) and reason relationships (14x).

בַּעֲבוּר is a compound of the preposition בְּ and עֲבוּר (§2.2.1.1). The preposition בְּ may play a role in the conceptualization that purpose is depicted as a goal or location. In this regard, further investigation is needed.

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[283] The text is not certain in 2 Sam 12:21. BHS suggests that we should read בַּעֲבוּר as בְּעוֹד in 2 Sam 12:21. In Micah 2:10, בַּעֲבוּר + qatal appear once; however, the text is corrupt. BHS also suggests that we should read מְעַט מְאוּמָה, as מְאוּמָה.

4.3.2 Semantic Potential

4.3.2.1 Positive purpose (32x)[284]

The prototypical use of בַּעֲבוּר is a purposive connective in a purpose construction.[285] The schematic meaning of a purposive בַּעֲבוּר is similar to that of a purposive לְמַעַן: the matrix is the tr and dependent clause is the lm. The lm is an aimed/desired result. However, בַּעֲבוּר differs from לְמַעַן in some respects (see §4.3.2.1.2).

Purpose constructions with בַּעֲבוּר occur 33x (15x with בַּעֲבוּר + NP; 10x with בַּעֲבוּר + finite verb [*yiqtol*],[286] 8x with בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive).

As for the distribution of purpose constructions, the following picture emerged: Gen (11x); Exod (6x); 1 Sam (2x); 2 Sam (7x); 1 Chron (3x); Ps (2x); Amos (2x).[287]

As far as distribution is concerned, בַּעֲבוּר is distributed less evenly than לְמַעַן. בַּעֲבוּר occurs in only seven books of the HB, while לְמַעַן occurs in twenty-three. בַּעֲבוּר does not feature at all in the books where לְמַעַן is extremely common, i.e., Deut (23x), 1 Kgs (13x), Isa (18x), and Ezek (24x). This account accords with Payle's (2000) findings (§2.2.1.1.1.4).[288]

4.3.2.1.1 Scope and levels
4.3.2.1.1.1 Scope

1. Phrase level

בַּעֲבוּר + NP (15x)

וַיֹּסֶף עוֹד לְדַבֵּר אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמַר אוּלַי יִמָּצְאוּן שָׁם אַרְבָּעִים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה בַּעֲבוּר הָאַרְבָּעִים:	Again he spoke to him, and said, "Suppose forty are found there." He answered, "For the sake of forty I will not do it."
	(Gen 18:29)[289]

2. Clause level

'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' clause (8x)

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[284] בַּעֲבוּר avertive constructions do not occur while לְמַעַן avertive constructions occur 13x.

[285] In Gen 27:4, 19; 27:31; 46:34; Exod 9:14 (5x) out of 32 בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions, the matrix is bigger than a clause, viz., בַּעֲבוּר links a number of clauses to a purpose clause.

[286] בַּעֲבֵר אֲשֶׁר + *yiqtol* occurs once in Gen 27:10.

[287] Gen 18:26, 29, 31, 32, 21:30; 26:24; 27:4, 10, 19, 31, 46:34; Exod 9:14, 16; 19:9; 20:20 (2x); 1 Sam 1:6; 12:22; 2 Sam 5:12; 9:1, 7; 10:3; 14:20; 17:14; 18:18; 1 Chron 14:2; 17:19; 19:3; Pss 105:45; 132:10; Amos 2:6; 8:6.

[288] Payle (2000) does not include the constructions לְמַעַן + NP and בַּעֲבוּר + NP in his investigation.

[289] See also, Gen 18:26, 31, 32; 26:24; Exod 9:16; 1 Sam 12:22; 2 Sam 5:12; 9:1, 7; 1 Chron 14:2; 17:19; Ps 132:10; Amos 2:6; 8:6. In Exod 9:16; 1 Chron 17:19; Ps 132:10, 'בַּעֲבוּר + NP' is preposed before the matrix (constituent focus).

כִּי אָמַר אֵין־לִי בֵן בַּעֲבוּר הַזְכִּיר שְׁמִי	For he said, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance. (2 Sam 18:18)[290]

'בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol*' clause (10x)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי בָּא אֵלֶיךָ בְּעַב הֶעָנָן בַּעֲבוּר יִשְׁמַע הָעָם בְּדַבְּרִי עִמָּךְ	And the LORD said to Moses, "Look! I am about to come to you in a thick cloud so that the people may hear when I speak with you." (Exod 19:9)[291]

בַּעֲבוּר + NP and בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive occur in the books of CBH and LBH. They do not occur in the books of TBH. בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol* clauses do not appear in the books of TBH and LBH.[292] This may be due to the diachronic change of syntax. The purposive בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive construction may have replaced the purposive בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol* construction in TBH and LBH.

- בַּעֲבוּר + NP: Gen (5x); Exod (1x); 1 Sam (1x); 2 Sam (3x); Ø; 1 <u>Chron (2x)</u>.
- 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' clause: Exod (2x); 1 Sam (1x); 2 Sam (4x); Ø; <u>1 Chron (1x)</u>.
- 'בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol*' clause: Gen (6x); Exod (3x); Ø; <u>Ø</u>.

4.3.2.1.1.2 Levels

1. Effective level (21x)

וַיֵּדַע דָּוִד כִּי־הֱכִינוֹ יְהוָה לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכִי נִשֵּׂא מַמְלַכְתּוֹ בַּעֲבוּר עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל: ס	And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for the sake of his people Israel. (2 Sam 5:12)[293]

2. Epistemic level (2x)

כִּי בַּפַּעַם הַזֹּאת אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ אֶת־כָּל־מַגֵּפֹתַי אֶל־לִבְּךָ וּבַעֲבָדֶיךָ וּבְעַמֶּךָ בַּעֲבוּר תֵּדַע כִּי אֵין כָּמֹנִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:	For this time I will send all my plagues upon your heart, and upon your servants, and your people, that you may know that there is none like me in all the earth. (Exod 9:14)[294]

The event of the matrix is performed in order to bring about an epistemic result. The goal of the action of the agent in the matrix is epistemic result.

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[290] See also, Exod 9:16; 20:20 (לְבַעֲבוּר + infinitive is fronted); 1 Sam 1:6; 2 Sam 10:3 (בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive is fronted); 14:20 (לְבַעֲבוּר + infinitive is fronted); 17:14; 1 Chron 19:3 (לְ + בַּעֲבוּר infinitive is fronted).

[291] See also, Gen 21:30; 27:4, 10 (בַּעֲבֻר אֲשֶׁר + yiqtol), 19, 31; 46:34; Exod 9:14; 20:20; Ps 105:45.

[292] The only other example we did not include in our analysis is Ps 105:45.

[293] See also, Gen 18:26, 29, 31, 32; 26:24; Exod 9:16; 19:9; 20:20 (2x); 1 Sam 1:6; 12:22; 2 Sam 9:1, 7; 14:20; 1 Chron 14:2; 17:19; Ps 105:45; Amos 2:6; 8:6.

[294] See also, 2 Sam 18:18.

3. Discursive level (10x)

When בַּעֲבוּר operates at a discursive level, a character (i.e., speaker) performs in most cases a speech act (9x).

וַאֲמַרְתֶּ֞ם אַנְשֵׁ֤י מִקְנֶה֙ הָי֣וּ עֲבָדֶ֔יךָ מִנְּעוּרֵ֖ינוּ וְעַד־
עַ֔תָּה גַּם־אֲנַ֖חְנוּ גַּם־אֲבֹתֵ֑ינוּ בַּעֲב֗וּר תֵּשְׁבוּ֙ בְּאֶ֣רֶץ
גֹּ֔שֶׁן כִּֽי־תוֹעֲבַ֥ת מִצְרַ֖יִם כָּל־רֹ֥עֵה צֹֽאן׃

you shall say, 'Your servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers,' in order that you may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.   (Gen 46:34)[295]

In one example, the purpose of a speech act is provided by a narrator. The LORD is mentioned in the matrix as well as in the purpose clause. The second "LORD" is redundant, for it occupies the narrator's comment. In this case, בַּעֲבוּר connects the text world to the outside world as a *part* of a narrator's comment. This feature differs from לְמַ֫עַן in that purposive בַּעֲבוּר never introduces a narrator's comment. In 2 Sam 17:14, the purposive בַּעֲבוּר is employed as a *part* of a narrator's comment.

וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אַבְשָׁלוֹם֙ וְכָל־אִ֣ישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל טוֹבָ֕ה עֲצַ֖ת
חוּשַׁ֣י הָאַרְכִּ֑י מֵעֲצַ֖ת אֲחִיתֹ֑פֶל וַֽיהוָ֣ה צִוָּ֗ה לְהָפֵ֞ר
אֶת־עֲצַ֤ת אֲחִיתֹ֨פֶל֙ הַטּוֹבָ֔ה לְבַעֲב֗וּר הָבִ֤יא יְהוָה֙
אֶל־אַבְשָׁל֖וֹם אֶת־הָרָעָֽה׃

And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, "The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithopel" For the LORD had ordained to defeat the good counsel of Ahithopel, so that the LORD might bring evil upon Absalom.   (2 Sam 17:14)

4.3.2.1.2. Features of בַּעֲבוּר purpose construction

4.3.2.1.2.1 Position of purpose clause

A בַּעֲבוּר purpose clause tends to follow its matrix clause. In other words, it has a preference for the postposed position (see Exod 19:9). This accords with a typological feature of purpose clauses in VSO languages (§3.3.1.2.2).

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוָ֜ה אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֗ה הִנֵּ֨ה אָנֹכִ֜י בָּ֣א אֵלֶיךָ֮ בְּעַ֣ב
הֶֽעָנָן֒ בַּעֲב֞וּר יִשְׁמַ֤ע הָעָם֙ בְּדַבְּרִ֣י עִמָּ֔ךְ

And the LORD said to Moses, "Look! I am about to come to you in a thick cloud so that the people may hear when I speak with you.
(Exod 19:9)[296]

Among 32 purpose constructions, preposed purpose clauses occur in only six instances. When a (לְ)בַעֲבוּר + (לְ) infinitive construction is preposed, in every case it is the foci of the

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[295] See also, Gen 21:30; 27:4, 10 (בַּעֲבֻ֖ר אֲשֶׁ֑ר), 19, 31; 2 Sam 10:3; 1 Chron 19:3; Ps 132:10.

[296] See also, Gen 21:30; 27:4, 10 (בַּעֲבֻ֖ר אֲשֶׁ֑ר + yiqtol); 19, 31; 46:34; Exod 9:14; 20:20; Ps 105:45.
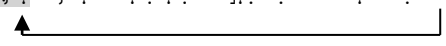
utterances (Exod 20:20; 2 Sam 10:3; 14:20; 1 Chron 19:3). However, when 'בַּעֲבוּר + NP' is preposed, its pragmatic functions vary.[297]

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן אֶל־חָנוּן אֲדֹנֵיהֶם הַמְכַבֵּד דָּוִד אֶת־אָבִיךָ בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־שָׁלַח לְךָ מְנַחֲמִים הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר חֲקוֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וּלְהָפְכָהּ שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ:	But the princes of the Ammonites said to Hanun their lord, "Is David honoring your father in your eyes because David has sent comforters to you? Has not David sent his servants to you to search the city, and to spy it out, and to overthrow it?"

(2 Sam 10:3)

4.3.2.1.2.2 Participant encoding

1. 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive'

The 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose construction occurs 8 times. In 7 instances, the subjects of the purpose clauses are unexpressed, viz., the 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose clause prefers an implicit subject. The unexpressed (implicit) subject of the 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose clause is coreferential with that of the matrix in all its occurrences (see 2 Sam 10:3). In every instance, SA (§3.3.1.2.3) participant-sharing patterns are identified, viz., the subject of the matrix controls the implicit subject of the purpose clause. This subject sharing between the matrix and purpose clause is in accordance with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) findings (§3.3.1.2.3).

הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר חֲקוֹר Ø אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וּלְהָפְכָהּ שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ:

Has not *David*$_i$ sent his servants to you $Ø_i$ to search the city, and to spy it out, and to overthrow it? (2 Sam 10:3)

Furthermore, the matrix of a 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose construction typically has a 3rd person subject (see the table below).

[The subject of the matrix of 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose construction]

The subject of the matrix (total = 8)			
When the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix		When the subject of the purpose clause is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix	
1st person subject	1[298]	1st person subject	1[299]
2nd person subject	0	2nd person subject	0
3rd person subject	6[300]	3rd person subject	0

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[297] There are several pragmatic functions of preposed 'בַּעֲבוּר + NP' constructions: to indicate contrast as a sub-category of constituent focus (Exod 9:16); to mark the focus of an utterance (1 Chron 17:19); to signal the onset of a new paragraph (i.e., a topic shift) (Ps 132:10).

[298] Exod 9:16.

[299] 2 Sam 18:18.

Total	7	Total	1

2. 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite'

'בַּעֲבוּר + finite' purpose constructions occur 10 times. All of these purpose constructions have explicit subjects in the matrix and purpose clauses whether subjects are included in the finite verbal forms or lexicalized.[301] 9 of the 10 purpose clauses do not have coreferential subjects with the matrix.[302]

Also, in the 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite' purpose construction, the subject of the matrix prefers the 2nd person subject in terms of person.

[The subject of the matrix of 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' purpose construction]

The subject of the matrix			
When the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix		When the subject of the purpose clause is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix	
1st person subject	0	1st person subject	2[303]
2nd person subject	1[304]	2nd person subject	4[305]
3rd person subject	0	3rd person subject	3[306]
Total	1	Total	9

As far as participant encoding is concerned, בַּעֲבוּר/לְמַעַן + infinitive and בַּעֲבוּר/לְמַעַן + finite purpose constructions show the same preferences, respectively, for the 3rd and 2nd person subject in the matrix. However, positive purpose constructions with בַּעֲבוּר differ from

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[300] Exod 20:20; 1 Sam 1:6; 2 Sam 10:3;14:20; 17:14; 1 Chron 19:3.

[301] The infinitve in BH does not express person, number, and gender. When it is employed in purpose constructions, it typically does not have an explicit subject. However, our investigation of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions in the Pentateuch identified that in Gen 28:4; Num 35:6; Deut 4:42, לְ + infinitive purpose clauses have an expressed subject, either suffixed (Gen 28:4) or lexicalized (Num 35:6; 4:42) (§4.5.2). In 2 Sam 17:14, the explicit subject of the purpose clause is also employed to signal that the בַּעֲבוּר purpose clause introduces the narrator's comment. However, a finite verb in BH expresses person, number, and gender. When it is used in purpose constructions, it always has the subject, regardless of whether the subject is lexicalized or not. Hence using the term 'explicit subject' for the finite purpose constructions may sound strange. However, we use the term 'explicit' to refer to subjects in finite purpose constructions in order to compare it with infinitive purpose construction in terms of participant encoding.

[302] Gen 21:30; 27:4, 10, 19, 31; 46:34; Exod 9:14, 19:9; 20:20; Ps 105:45. In the case of Gen 46:34, the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix.

[303] Exod 9:14, 19.

[304] Gen 46:34.

[305]Gen 21:30; 27:4, 10, 19; 46:34.

[306] Gen 27:31; Exod 20:20; Ps 105:45.

purpose constructions with בַּעֲבוּר לְמַעַן. purpose constructions do not share participants between the matrix and purpose clauses (with one exception).

4.3.2.1.2.3 Verb form

1. 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose construction

In 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose constructions, two linked states of affairs are encoded by a deranking strategy in terms of the presently employed verbal forms, viz., the verb of a purpose clause is deranked. The deranking is absolute deranking in that the verb of a purpose clause is deranked regardless of whether the subject of the purpose clause is identical with that of the matrix or not (see 2 Sam 10:3 and 28:18). Even when the matrix has a nominal predicate, the predicate of the purpose clause employs a deranked verb that cannot occur in the finite clause.[307] The deranking is posterior deranking, viz., the predicate referring to the later event is deranked. This is in agreement with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) finding that VSO languages prefer posterior deranking (§3.3.1.2.2).

הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר חֲקֹור אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וּלְהָפְכָהּ שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ׃	Has not *he*$_i$ sent his servants to you $\emptyset_i$ to explore the city and spy it out and overthrow it? (2 Sam 10:3)
וְאַבְשָׁלֹם לָקַח וַיַּצֶּב־לֹו בְחַיָּו אֶת־מַצֶּבֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵמֶק־הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי אָמַר אֵין־לִי בֵן בַּעֲבוּר הַזְכִּיר שְׁמִי וַיִּקְרָא לַמַּצֶּבֶת עַל־שְׁמֹו וַיִּקָּרֵא לָהּ יַד אַבְשָׁלֹם עַד הַיֹּום הַזֶּה׃ ס	Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and set up for himself the pillar which is in the King's Valley, for he said, "*I*$_i$ have no son$_j$ $\emptyset_j$ to keep my name in remembrance"; he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called Absalom's monument to this day. (2 Sam 18:18)

As far as the semantics of the matrix's verbs are concerned, verbs of motion are often employed (4/8): בָּא (to come),[308] הִצִּיב (to set up)[309] and שָׁלַח (to send).[310]

In terms of telicity, בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions prefer atelic verbs in the matrix. Out of a total of 8 בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions, atelic verbs occur 7x in the matrix (see 1 Chron 19:3). In one instance, a telic (motion) verb is found in the matrix (see 2 Sam 10:3) (see §4.2.2.1.2.3).[311]

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[307] 2 Sam 18:18.

[308] Exod 20:20; 1 Chron 19:3.

[309] 2 Sam 18:18.

[310] 2 Sam 10:3.

[311] This does not imply that every motion verb in the matrix is telic. For instance, in Exod 20:20, 2 Sam 14:20 and 1 Chron 19:3, though the verbs in the matrix are motion verbs, they are not telic but atelic.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן לְחָנוּן הַמְכַבֵּד דָּוִיד אֶת־אָבִיךָ בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־שָׁלַח לְךָ מְנַחֲמִים הֲלֹא בַּעֲבוּר לַחְקֹר וְלַהֲפֹךְ וּלְרַגֵּל הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ: פ	But the princes of the Ammonites said to Hanun, "Do you think, because David has sent comforters to you, that he is honoring your father? Have not his servants come to you to search and to overthrow and to spy out the land?" (1 Chron 19:3)
וַיֹּאמְרוּ שָׂרֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן אֶל־חָנוּן אֲדֹנֵיהֶם הַמְכַבֵּד דָּוִד אֶת־אָבִיךָ בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־שָׁלַח לְךָ מְנַחֲמִים הֲלוֹא בַּעֲבוּר חֲקוֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וּלְהָפְכָהּ שָׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלֶיךָ:	But the princes of the Ammonites said to Hanun their lord, "Do you think, because David has sent comforters to you, that he is honoring your father? Has not David sent his servants to you to search the city, and to spy it out, and to overthrow it?" (2 Sam 10:3)

2. 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' purpose construction

In a 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' purpose construction, a balancing strategy is enacted in which the two predicates expressing the two relevant actions remain structurally of the same rank.

וַאֲמַרְתֶּם אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה הָיוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מִנְּעוּרֵינוּ וְעַד־עַתָּה גַּם־אֲנַחְנוּ גַּם־אֲבֹתֵינוּ בַּעֲבוּר תֵּשְׁבוּ בְּאֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן כִּי־תוֹעֲבַת מִצְרַיִם כָּל־רֹעֵה צֹאן:	You shall say, "Your servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers," in order that you may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians. (Gen 46:34)

As far as the verb-encoding strategy is concerned, בַּעֲבוּר positive purpose constructions do not differ from לְמַעַן positive purpose constructions. Both constructions employ the balancing strategy between the matrix and the purpose clause when the purpose clauses are finite. However, when the purpose clauses are infinitive clauses, both constructions employ the absolute deranking strategy.

As for the semantics of the verbs in the matrix, verbs of motion are always employed, with the exception of Gen 46:34 (9/10). The motion verbs include: קָם (to arise),[312] בָּא (to come),[313] יָשַׁב (to sit),[314] הֵבִיא (to bring),[315] שָׁלַח (to send),[316] לָקַח (to take)[317] and יָרַשׁ (to take possession of).[318]

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[312] Gen 27:31.

[313] Exod 19:9; 20:20.

[314] Gen 27:19.

[315] Gen 27:4, 10.

[316] Exod 9:14.

בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol* purpose constructions prefer atelic verbs in the matrix. Atelic verbs occur 9 out of a total ten בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol* purpose constructions (see Gen 46:34). In one instance, a telic verb occurs in the matrix, in which case it happens to be a motion verb (see Exod 9:14).[319]

וַאֲמַרְתֶּ֗ם אַנְשֵׁ֤י מִקְנֶה֙ הָי֣וּ עֲבָדֶ֔יךָ מִנְּעוּרֵ֖ינוּ וְעַד־עַ֔תָּה גַּם־אֲנַ֖חְנוּ גַּם־אֲבֹתֵ֑ינוּ בַּעֲב֗וּר תֵּֽשְׁבוּ֙ בְּאֶ֣רֶץ גֹּ֔שֶׁן כִּֽי־תוֹעֲבַ֥ת מִצְרַ֖יִם כָּל־רֹ֥עֵה צֹֽאן׃	You shall say, "Your servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers," in order that you may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.　　　　　(Gen 46:34)[320]
כִּ֣י׀ בַּפַּ֣עַם הַזֹּ֗את אֲנִ֨י שֹׁלֵ֜חַ אֶת־כָּל־מַגֵּפֹתַי֙ אֶֽל־לִבְּךָ֔ וּבַעֲבָדֶ֖יךָ וּבְעַמֶּ֑ךָ בַּעֲב֣וּר תֵּדַ֔ע כִּ֛י אֵ֥ין כָּמֹ֖נִי בְּכָל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃	For this time I will send all my plagues upon your heart, and upon your servants and your people so that you may know that there is none like me in all the earth.　　　　　(Exod 9:14) (YCK)

4.3.2.1.2.4 Differences between the 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' and 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (yiqtol) verb' construction

'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' constructions differ in only two regards from בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' constructions.[321]

1. Unexpressed argument

Among eight 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose constructions, seven purpose clauses exhibit an unexpressed subject.

לְבַעֲב֗וּר סַבֵּב֙ Ø אֶת־פְּנֵ֣י הַדָּבָ֔ר עָשָׂ֖ה עַבְדְּךָ֣ יוֹאָ֑ב אֶת־הַדָּבָ֥ר הַזֶּֽה

In order to change the course of affairs your servant Joab did this. (2 Sam 14:20a)

In 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' construction, purpose clauses always have the subject. The subject is never omitted in 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' constructions.

2. Binding and Control

When the subject is unexpressed, the infinitive is, in general, understood as having as its subject (controlled by) the subject of the matrix.[322]

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[317] Gen 21:30.

[318] Ps 105:44.

[319] This does not mean that all motion verbs in the matrix are telic; for example, consider the atelic matrix-verbs of motion in Gen 21:30, Exod 19:9 and 20:20.

[320] See also, Gen 21:30; 27:4; 27:10, 19, 31; Exod 19:9; 20:20; Ps 105:45.

[321] Our corpus does not include any instance that can be regarded as matrix verb restriction.

וְאוּלָם בַּעֲבוּר זֹאת הֶעֱמַדְתִּ֫יךָ בַּעֲבוּר הַרְאֹתְךָ Ø אֶת־כֹּחִי וּלְמַעַן סַפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:

For this reason, I$_i$ have made you stand to show Ø$_i$ you my strength.

(Exod 9:16) (YCK)

When the subject is not expressed in the בַּעֲבוּר infinitive purpose clause, the infinitive is understood as having the subject of the matrix as its subject.

Because the purpose clause of a 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' construction does not elide the subject, binding and control is not a feature of the 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) verb' construction.

4.3.2.1.2. Sense distinctions

1. The agent of the matrix (tr) performs an action with the intention of bringing about a dependent clause event (lm). The dependent clause event is a goal and the desired result of the action performed by the agent of the matrix. In such cases, the goal has neither a beneficial or maleficent effect. The translation value for בַּעֲבוּר could be 'so that' or 'in order to' (18x).

כִּי| בַּפַּעַם הַזֹּאת אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ אֶת־כָּל־מַגֵּפֹתַי אֶל־לִבְּךָ וּבַעֲבָדֶיךָ וּבְעַמֶּךָ בַּעֲבוּר תֵּדַע כִּי אֵין כָּמֹנִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:

For this time I will send all my plagues upon your heart, and upon your servants and your people so that you may know there is none like me in all the earth.

(Exod 9:14)[323] (YCK)

2. The agent of the matrix (tr) performs an action with the intention of bringing about a dependent clause event (lm). The lm is a benefactive of the outcome of the action of the matrix's agent (12x). In this case, בַּעֲבוּר is a benefactive marker. The translation value of בַּעֲבוּר could be 'for the sake of x' or 'for x's sake.' This sense is extended from the previous sense by means of metonymy. The benefactive בַּעֲבוּר is a metonymic device within the expression of a purpose (see § 4.2.2.1.3).

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהֹוָה אִם־אֶמְצָא בִסְדֹם חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר וְנָשָׂאתִי לְכָל־הַמָּקוֹם בַּעֲבוּרָם:

And the LORD said, "If I find at Sodom fifty righteous in the city, I will spare the whole place for their sake.   (Gen 18:26)[324]

3. The agent of the matrix (tr) performs an action with the intention of bringing about a dependent clause event (lm). The lm is a thing to obtain in exchange (2x). The translation value of בַּעֲבוּר could be 'for the price of.'

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[322] One exception is 2 Sam 18:18. Here the unexpressed subject of the purpose clause is not controlled by the preceding subject; neither are the two subjects coreferential to each other.

[323] See also, Gen 21:30; 27:4, 10, 19, 31; 46:34; Exod 9:16; 19:9; 20:20 (2x); 1 Sam 1:6; 2 Sam 10:3; 14:20; 18:18; 1 Chron 19:3; Pss 105:45; 132:10.

[324] See also, Gen 18:29, 31, 32; 26:24; 1 Sam 12:22; 2 Sam 5:12; 9:1, 7; 17:14; 1 Chron 14:2; 17:19.

<table>
<tr>
<td>בֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה עַל־שְׁלֹשָׁה פִּשְׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל־
אַרְבָּעָה לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ עַל־מִכְרָם בַּכֶּסֶף צַדִּיק וְאֶבְיוֹן
בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם:</td>
<td>Thus said the LORD; for three sins of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away from him, for they sold the righteous for silver, and the needy for the price of shoes.   (Amos 2:6)[325]</td>
</tr>
</table>

This sense is extended by means of a conceptual metaphor from sense 1: that metaphor being THE GOAL IS A THING TO OBTAIN IN EXCHANGE.[326]

We could not identify any sense changes that correlate with a diachronic cline of BH. Sense 1 and 2 are attested to in the books of both CBH and LBH, while sense 3 is identified in the books of CBH.

- Sense 1: Gen (6x), Exod (5); 1 Sam (1x); 2 Sam (3x); ∅; 1 Chron (1x).

- Sense 2: Gen (5x); 1 Sam (1x); 2 Sam (4x); ∅; 1 Chron (2x).

- Sense 3: Amos (2x): ∅: ∅.

4.3.2.2 Reason (15x)

בַּעֲבוּר also prompts the conceptualization of a reason relation. The schematic meaning of a בַּעֲבוּר of reason is similar to that of the reason לְמַעַן. The matrix is the tr of בַּעֲבוּר and the dependent clause is the lm of בַּעֲבוּר. The lm is a motivation/ground of the event expressed by the tr (14x). In this case, the ground/motivation is a personal motivation of the matrix's agent. A distinguishing feature of a בַּעֲבוּר of reason construction from a לְמַעַן of reason construction is that the motivation/ground of a speaker's entreaty does not occur in the former, unlike a לְמַעַן of reason constructions (see §4.2.2.3), viz., בַּעֲבוּר of reason constructions do not operate at a discursive level (see §4.3.2.2.1.2). The translation value of בַּעֲבוּר could be 'because of.'

<table>
<tr>
<td>כִּי־הִכְנִיעַ יְהֹוָה אֶת־יְהוּדָה בַּעֲבוּר אָחָז מֶלֶךְ־
יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הִפְרִיעַ בִּיהוּדָה וּמָעוֹל מַעַל בַּיהֹוָה:</td>
<td>For the LORD humiliated Judah because of King Ahaz of Israel, for he showed a lack of restraint in Judah and acted treacherously against the LORD.   (2 Chron 28:19)[327] (YCK)</td>
</tr>
</table>

The בַּעֲבוּר of reason does not feature at all in the books where the לְמַעַן of reason occurs, with the exception of Ps 106:32. It occurs in Gen (4x), Exod (2x), 1 Sam (1x), 2 Sam (4x), 2 Chron (1x), Job (1x), Ps (1x), and Jer (1x), while the לְמַעַן of reason appears in Deut, 2 Kgs, 2 Chron, Isa, Ezek, and Ps (9x).

The meaning of a בַּעֲבוּר of reason does not show any difference in the semantics of the construction along the diachronic cline. The same meaning is attested to in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH: Gen (4x); Exod (1x); 1 Sam (1x); 2 Sam (4x); *Jer (1x)*; 2 Chron (1x).

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[325] See also, Amos 8:6.

[326] בַּעֲבוּר here is used as a synonym for בְּ in בַּכֶּסֶף.

[327] See also, Gen 3:17; 8:21; 12:13, 16; Exod 9:16; 13:8; 1 Sam 23:10; 2 Sam 6:12; 7:21; 12:25; 13:2; Job 20:2; Ps 106:32; Jer 14:4.

4.3.2.2.1 Scope and level

4.3.2.2.1.1 Scope

1. Phrase level

בַּעֲבוּר + NP (14x)

וַיָּ֣רַח יְהוָה֮ אֶת־רֵ֣יחַ הַנִּיחֹחַ֒ וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוָ֜ה אֶל־לִבּ֗וֹ לֹֽא־אֹ֠סִף לְקַלֵּ֨ל ע֤וֹד אֶת־הָֽאֲדָמָה֙ בַּֽעֲב֣וּר הָֽאָדָ֔ם כִּ֠י יֵ֣צֶר לֵ֧ב הָאָדָ֛ם רַ֖ע מִנְּעֻרָ֑יו וְלֹֽא־אֹסִ֥ף ע֛וֹד לְהַכּ֥וֹת אֶת־כָּל־חַ֖י כַּֽאֲשֶׁ֥ר עָשִֽׂיתִי׃	And when the LORD smelled the pleasing odor, the LORD said in his heart, "I will never again curse the ground because of man, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I ever again destroy every living creature as I have done. (Gen 8:21) [328]

2. Clause level

'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' clause (1x)

לָ֭כֵן שְׂעִפַּ֣י יְשִׁיב֑וּנִי וּ֝בַעֲב֗וּר ח֣וּשִׁי בִֽי׃	Therefore my thoughts answer me, because of my haste within me. (Job 20:2)

A בַּעֲבוּר + NP of reason occurs in the books of CBH and LBH. This implies that the בַּעֲבוּר of reason does not show any diachronic syntactic change.

- בַּעֲבוּר + NP: Gen (4x); Exod (2x); 1 Sam (1x); 2 Sam (4x); Ø; 2 Chron (1x).
- בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive clause: Job (1x).

4.3.2.2.1.2 Levels [329]

Effective level (13x)

וּלְאָדָ֣ם אָמַ֗ר כִּֽי־שָׁמַעְתָּ֮ לְק֣וֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ֒ וַתֹּ֙אכַל֙ מִן־הָעֵ֔ץ אֲשֶׁ֤ר צִוִּיתִ֙יךָ֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר לֹ֥א תֹאכַ֖ל מִמֶּ֑נּוּ אֲרוּרָ֤ה הָֽאֲדָמָה֙ בַּֽעֲבוּרֶ֔ךָ בְּעִצָּבוֹן֙ תֹּֽאכֲלֶ֔נָּה כֹּ֖ל יְמֵ֥י חַיֶּֽיךָ׃	And to Adam he said, "Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree, of which I commanded you, 'you shall not eat of it,' cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life. (Gen 3:17) [330]

The causal link between the event of the matrix and the one of the purpose clause lie in the real world.

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[328] See also, Gen 3:17; 12:13, 16; Exod 9:16; 13:8; 1 Sam 23:10; 2 Sam 6:12; 7:21; 12:25; 13:2; 2 Chron 28:19; Ps 106:32; Jer 14:4 (an asyndetic relative clause' is involved).

[329] No instance in which בַּעֲבוּר operates on discursive level is identified.

[330] See also, Gen 8:21; 12:13; Exod 9:16 (בַּעֲבוּר + NP is fronted in order to indicate contrast as a sub-category of a constituent focus); 13:8; 1 Sam 23:10; 2 Sam 6:12; 7:21; 13:2; 2 Chron 28:19; Job 20:2; Ps 106:32; Jer 14:4.

Epistemic level (1x)

וַיִּשְׁלַ֞ח בְּיַ֨ד נָתָ֤ן הַנָּבִיא֙ וַיִּקְרָ֣א אֶת־שְׁמ֔וֹ יְדִ֣ידְיָ֑הּ And sent a message by Nathan the prophet;
בַּעֲב֖וּר יְהוָֽה׃ פ so he called his name Jedidiah, because of the
Lᴏʀᴅ. (2 Sam 12:25)

The causal link between the two events lie in the epistemic world, viz., calling a baby's name
Jedidiah is based on the knowledge that the Lᴏʀᴅ loves him.

4.3.3 Summary

We described the meaning of בַּעֲבוּר in terms of the concept "landmark" and "trajector." Two
meanings are distinguished by means of lm specifications: purpose and reason. It was
determined that the prototypical meaning of בַּעֲבוּר is purpose. Furthermore, בַּעֲבוּר does not
display a relationship 'result' like לְמַעַן. Three purposive senses are distinguished using
cognitive principles. The two meanings and three senses, mentioned above, form a radial
network that can be represented as follows.
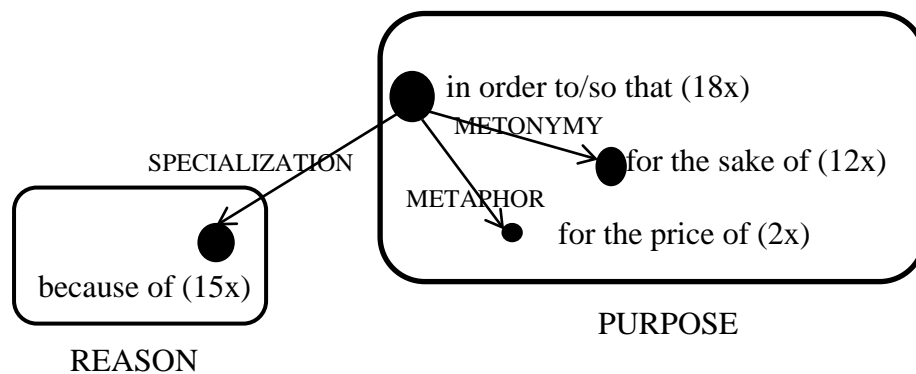
Typological parameters were employed to describe בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions, which
yielded the following insights. It was identified that both בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) purpose
constructions and בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions have common features. In both
constructions, purpose clauses tend to follow their corresponding matrix. In addition, both
constructions often employ motion verbs in the matrix. Furthermore, both constructions
prefer atelic verbs in the matrix, though when telic verbs are employed in the matrix of both
constructions, they are motion verbs. However, the two constructions differ in some respects.

- בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) purpose constructions utilize a balancing strategy to encode two
linked states of affairs, while בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions employ a
deranking strategy.

- בַּעֲבוּר + finite (*yiqtol*) purpose constructions always have explicit subjects in the matrix
and purpose clauses, while בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions have implicit
subjects in the purpose clause with one exception. Furthermore, 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite verb'
purpose constructions prefer different subjects between the matrix and purpose clause,
while 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose constructions show subject-sharing between the
matrix and purpose clause.

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- 'בַּעֲבוּר + finite verb' purpose constructions are mainly used in discourse, while 'בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive' purpose constructions realize a final relation in narrative.

The typological parameters, thus, confirmed the results established by BH scholars, and did not reveal any significant new insights.

Several differences, however, were identified between בַּעֲבוּר constructions and לְמַעַן constructions.

- The purposive בַּעֲבוּר differs from purpose constructions with לְמַעַן in that the former do not tend to share participants between the matrix or purpose clauses. In addition, the purposive בַּעֲבוּר is never used with לֹא. When we consider the semantics of the verbs in the matrix clauses of purpose constructions, 'לְמַעַן purpose constructions' rarely employ verbs of motion in the matrix, while 'בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions' often do.

- The בַּעֲבוּר of reason never operates on discursive level unlike לְמַעַן of reason.

Our theoretical frame of reference fails to describe any semantic distinction between בַּעֲבוּר infinitive purpose constructions and בַּעֲבוּר finite purpose constructions; nor does it describe any semantic differences between בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions and לְמַעַן purpose constructions. In these regards, further investigation needs to be done.

We identified that diachronic changes of meanings/senses did not occur in the use of בַּעֲבוּר purpose and reason constructions. Purposive and reason meanings/senses of בַּעֲבוּר were identified in the books in CBH, TBH and LBH. However, a diachronic syntactic change was identified. When בַּעֲבוּר displays a purpose relationship, a purposive בַּעֲבוּר + an infinitive occurs only in the books of CBH and LBH. However, the purposive בַּעֲבוּר + a *yiqtol* clause does not appear in the books of TBH or LBH. This may be due to a diachronic change of syntax. A purposive בַּעֲבוּר + an infinitive may be replaced by a purposive בַּעֲבוּר + a *yiqtol* in TBH and LBH. This is a very tentative speculation, for example, we have not investigated whether other related Semitic languages also show this tendency.

Although the purposive בַּעֲבוּר and purposive לְמַעַן differ in distributional density, they both occur in the books of CBH and LBH. This implies that we cannot argue that לְמַעַן replaced בַּעֲבוּר in the books of LBH, as Payle (2000) argues. Although the purposive בַּעֲבוּר does not feature at all in the books where a purposive לְמַעַן is extremely common, this need not necessarily be regarded as a diachronic change. In fact, all the books where a purposive לְמַעַן is extremely common are not LBH books. Furthermore, the purposive בַּעֲבוּר also occurs in a LBH book that the purposive לְמַעַן, similarly, occurs in. Hence, the reason behind the different distributional density of the purposive בַּעֲבוּר and purposive לְמַעַן may be due to stylistic or other preferences of the different writers. Although we can say that the purposive (not reason) בַּעֲבוּר and purposive (not reason) לְמַעַן are interchangeable, it is not necessarily because one replaced the other, as Payle (2000) argues.

4.4 PURPOSE CONSTRUCTION WITH A *WAW*

Purpose constructions with a *waw* were investigated in the Pentateuch in order to compare them with other types of purpose constructions. This particular type of purpose construction occurs 82 times in the Pentateuch. These constructions are selected from examples illustrated in BH literature and BH grammars that were studied in chapter 2.[331]

4.4.1 Verb Forms

Purpose constructions with a *waw* express two events by means of two independent clauses. The two predicates that express the relevant actions remain, structurally, of the same rank. In other words, the purpose construction maintains the finite verbal constructs both in the matrix and purpose clause (see Gen 23:4 below).[332]

גֵּר־וְתוֹשָׁב אָנֹכִי עִמָּכֶם תְּנוּ לִי אֲחֻזַּת־קֶבֶר עִמָּכֶם וְאֶקְבְּרָה מֵתִי מִלְּפָנָי׃	I am a stranger and a sojourner among you; give me property among you for a burying place, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. (Gen 23:4)

4.4.2 Position of the Purpose Clause

Purpose clauses with *a waw* prefer a postposed position in the purpose construction. In our corpus, no instances in which a purpose clause with *a waw* preposes before the matrix was identified (see Gen 23:4 above). This is different from לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions. In addition, this feature accords with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) finding that the purpose clause tends to be placed after the matrix if a language has no overt marker of subordination (§3.3.1.2.5).

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[331] The literature and BH grammars consulted are as follows: Driver (1892), GKC, Mitchell (1915), Meek (1945; 1955), Waltke & O'Connor (1990), Joüon-Muraoka, BHRG, Payle (2000) and Barden (2008). We compared the collected examples with five translations (RSV, NET, Tanakh, ESV, NIV) and selected examples that at least one of the five translations interprets the construction with a *waw* as a purpose construction.

[332] The following verbal forms are identified in the matrix and the purpose clause: juss (matrix) *waw*-juss (purpose clause) (Gen 1:6); juss *waw*-impf (Gen 1:9); Juss *waw*-coh (Gen 18:30, 32); coh *waw*-coh (Gen 17:1-2; 19:32; Exod 3:3, 18; 4:18; 5:3); coh *waw*-impf (Gen 1:26; 34:23; Exod 8:4); coh *waw*-impv (Deut 1:22); coh *waw*-juss (Gen 19:20; coh *waw*-impv (Gen 12:2); impv *waw*-coh (Gen 19:5, 34; 23:3, 4, 14, 49; 26:28; 27:4, 9, 25; 29:21; 30:25, 26; 42:2, 34; 44:21; 47:19; 48:9; 49:1; Exod 33:5, 13; Num 9:8; 11:13; 21:16; 22:19; Deut 4:10; 5:31; 31:28); impv *waw*-impf (Gen 20:7; 30:3; 42:16; Exod 2:20; 4:23; 5:1; 6:11; 7:16, 19, 26; 8:16; 9:1, 13, 22; 10:3, 7; 14:2, 26; 23:12; 25:2; 27:20; Lev 9:2; 22:2; Num 18:2; Deut 10:1; 30:12, 13; in Exod 23:12, 27:20 and Lev 9:2, impfs in the matrix are a directive); impv *waw*-juss (Gen 24:51, 56; Exod 10:12, 21; 32:10; Num 21:7; 25:4); impf *waw*-impf (Exod 2:7; 5:9); impf *waw*-juss (Lev 26:43); **(coh = cohortative; impf = imperfective; impv = imperative; juss = jussive)**

4.4.3 Semantics of the Matrix's Verbs

The predicates of the matrix of purpose constructions with a *waw* are often verbs of motion. In the purpose constructions, verbs of motion occur 48 times out of 82 purpose constructions (see Exod 4:23, below). The most frequently occurring verbs of motion in the matrix are as follows: הִקְהִיל (to assemble)[333]; הֵבִיא (to bring)[334]; נָתַן (to give)[335]; הָלַךְ (to go)[336]; שָׁלַח (to send away)[337]; נָטָה (to stretch out)[338]; לָקַח (to take).[339]

וָאֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ שַׁלַּח אֶת־בְּנִי וְיַעַבְדֵנִי וַתְּמָאֵן לְשַׁלְּחוֹ הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי הֹרֵג אֶת־בִּנְךָ בְּכֹרֶךָ:	I said to you, "Let my son go that he may serve me"; but you have refused to let him go. Look, I am about to slay your first-born son.'" (Exod 4:23) (YCK)

As far as telicity is concerned, purpose constructions with a *waw* do not show whether they prefer telic or atelic verbs in the matrix. 41 purpose constructions with a *waw* have atelic verbs in the matrix (see Gen 1:26). Telic verbs also occur in the matrix of 41 purpose constructions with a *waw*. All the telic verbs of the matrix are motion verbs, with an exception of Gen 17:2 (see Gen 29:21).

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ:	Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness so that they may have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth." (Gen 1:26)[340] (YCK)
וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל־לָבָן הָבָה אֶת־אִשְׁתִּי כִּי מָלְאוּ יָמָי וְאָבוֹאָה אֵלֶיהָ:	Then Jacob said to Laban, "Give me my wife, for my time is fulfilled, that I may cohabit with her." (Gen 29:21[341]) (YCK)

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[333] Num 21:16; Det 4:10; 31:28.

[334] Gen 27:4; 44:21.

[335] Gen 29:21; 30:26; 47:19; Num 11:13.

[336] Gen 30:3; Exod 2:7; 3:18; 4:18; 5:3; Deut 10:11.

[337] Exod 4:23; 5:1; 7:16, 26; 8:4, 16; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 7.

[338] Exod 7:19; 9:22; 10:12, 21; 14:26.

[339] Gen 24:51; 27:9; 48:9.

[340] See also, Gen 1:6; 12:2; 18:30, 32; 19:32, 34; 24:49, 51; 26:28; 27:7, 9; 30:3; 34:23; 42:2, 16; 48:9; Exod 2:7, 20; 3:18; 4:18; 5:3, 9; 6:11; 14:2; 23:12; 25:2; 27:20; 32:10; 33:13; Lev 9:6; 22:2; 26:43; Num 9:8; 21:7; 22:19; 25:4; Deut 5:31; 10:11; 30:12, 13. Among these, in Gen 1:26, 24:51, 27:7, 9, 30:3, 48:9, Exod 2:7, 3:18; 4:18, 5:3 and Lev 9:6, verbs of motion occur in the matrix.

4.4.4 Participant Encoding

A significant feature of purpose constructions with a *waw* in relation to participant encoding is that the purpose construction prefers different subjects between the matrix and the purpose clause (see table below). This is aberrant from a distinguishing feature of (positive) purpose constructions, i.e., participant-sharing between the matrix and dependent clause (§3.3.1.2.3).

[The subject of the matrix of purpose constructions with *a waw*]

The subject of the matrix (Total= 82)			
When the subjects of purpose clauses are the same as the ones of the matrix		When the subjects of purpose clauses are not the same as the ones of the matrix	
1st person subject	6[342]	1st person subject	7[343]
2nd person subject	0	2nd person subject	61[344]
3rd person subject	4[345]	3rd person subject	4[346]
Total	10	Total	72

Another feature of purpose constructions with a *waw* in relation to participant encoding is that the constructions prefer either the 1st person subject or the 3rd person subject in the matrix when the subject of the purpose clause and matrix is the same. This is different from בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן purpose constructions. בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן infinitive purpose constructions prefer the 3rd person subject in the matrix when the subject of the matrix is coreferential with the subject of the purpose clause. בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן finite positive purpose constructions prefer the 2nd person subject in the matrix when the subject of the matrix is coreferential with the subject of the purpose clause (see §4.2.1.2.2 and §4.3.2.1.2.2).

However, purpose constructions with a *waw* prefer the 2nd person subject in the matrix when the subjects of the purpose clause and the matrix are different (see the table above).

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[341] See also, Gen 1:9; 17:1-2; 19:5, 20; 20:7; 24:2-3, 14, 56; 27:4, 25; 30:25, 26; 44:21; 47:19-20; 49:1; Exod 3:3; 4:23; 5:1; 7:16, 19, 26; 8:4, 16; 9:1, 14, 22; 10:3, 7, 12, 21; 14:26; 33:5; 11:13; 18:2; 21:16; Deut 1:22; 4:10; 31:28.

[342] Gen 17:2; 19:32; Exod 3:3, 18; 4:18; 5:3.

[343] Gen 1:26; 12:2; 19:20; 34:23; Exod 2:7; 8:4; Deut 1:22.

[344] Gen 19:5, 34; 20:7; 23:4; 24:3, 14, 49, 51, 56; 26:28; 27:4, 7, 9, 25; 29:21; 30:3, 25, 26; 42:2, 16, 34; 44:21; 47:20; 48:9; 49:1; Exod 2:20; 4:23; 5:1,9; 6:11; 7:16, 19, 26; 8:16; 9:1, 13, 22; 10:3, 7, 12, 21; 14:2, 26; 23:12; 25:2; 27:20; 32:10; 33:5, 13; Lev 9:6; 22:2; Num 9:8; 11:13; 18:2; 21:7, 16, 19; 25:4; Deut 4:10; 5:31; 10:1; 31:28.

[345] Gen 1:6, 9; Lev 26:43; Deut 30:12.

[346] Gen 18:30, 32; 26:28; Deut 30:13.

The preference of the 1st and 2nd person subject in the matrix of purpose constructions with a *waw* is in agreement with Payle's (2000) finding that purpose constructions with a *waw* realize final relations mainly in discourse (§2.2.2.1.9).

4.5 לְ + INFINITIVE PURPOSE/ RESULT CONSTRUCTION

4.5.1 לְ + Infinitive Purpose Construction

The 'לְ + infinitive purpose construction' occurs 411 times in the Pentateuch. It is never employed for the purpose of expressing a narrator's comment. This is a distinguishing feature of the 'לְ + infinitive purpose construction' from בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן infinitive purpose constructions.

4.5.1 1 Position of the purpose clause

In our corpus, לְ + infinitive purpose clauses show a strong preference for the postposed position (409 cases out of a total of 411) (see Num 4:20). In only three instances is the purpose clause preposed before the matrix (see Gen 42:9).[347]

וְלֹא־יָבֹאוּ לִרְאוֹת כְּבַלַּע אֶת־הַקֹּדֶשׁ וָמֵתוּ׃ פ	But they shall not go in to look upon the holy things even for a moment, lest they die. (Num 4:20)
וַיִּזְכֹּר יוֹסֵף אֵת הַחֲלֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר חָלַם לָהֶם וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם לִרְאוֹת אֶת־עֶרְוַת הָאָרֶץ בָּאתֶם׃	And Joseph remembered the dreams which he had dreamed of them; and he said to them, "You are spies, to see the weakness of the land you have come." (Gen 42:9) (YCK)

4.5.1.2 Participant encoding

4.5.1.2.1 Unexpressed argument

In our corpus, it was identified that לְ + infinitive purpose constructions tend to exhibit at least one unexpressed argument in the לְ + infinitive purpose clause: it may be in the subject position (see Gen 8:8), or in both the subject and non-subject position[348] (see Gen 6:19).[349] 407 out of 411 cases exhibit at least one unexpressed argument in the purpose clause.[350]

וַיְשַׁלַּח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה מֵאִתּוֹ לִרְאוֹת Ø הֲקַלּוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה׃	Then *Noah*ᵢ sent out a dove from him Øᵢ to see if the waters had receded from the surface

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[347] See also, Gen 47:4 and Num 23:11. In all instances, the preposed לְ + infinitive purpose clauses are instances of constituent focus.

[348] This case is extremely rare (only four instances).

[349] No instance of an unexpressed argument in a non-subject position was identified. When an unexpressed argument occupies a non-subject position, it always occurs with an unexpressed argument in the subject position.

[350] In three instances, no unexpressed argument was identified (Gen 28:4; Num 35:6; Deut 4:42).

of the ground.

(Gen 8:8) (YCK)

וּמִכָּל־הָחַי מִכָּל־בָּשָׂר שְׁנַיִם מִכֹּל תָּבִיא אֶל־
הַתֵּבָה לְהַחֲיֹת Ø Ø אִתָּךְ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה יִהְיֽוּ׃

From all the living from all flesh, *you*$_i$ must bring *two*$_j$ *of every kind* into the ark $\emptyset_i$ to preserve $\emptyset_j$(*them*) alive with you. Male and female they should be.   (Gen 6:19) (YCK)

4.5.1.2.2 Participant sharing pattern

A significant feature of the לְ + infinitive purpose construction in relation to participant encoding is that, in the majority of cases (270/411), both the matrix and purpose clause tend to share a participant.

In our corpus, the most frequently occurring participant sharing pattern is SA (§3.3.1.2.3). In 264 cases out of 411 purpose clauses, the subject of the לְ + infinitive purpose clause is coreferential with the SA of the matrix.[351]

וַיֵּרֶד יְהֹוָה לִרְאֹת Ø אֶת־הָעִיר וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר
בָּנוּ בְּנֵי הָאָדָֽם׃

And the LORD$_i$ (S) came down ($\emptyset_i$=S) to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men had built.   (Gen 11:5)

וַיְשַׁלַּח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה מֵאִתּוֹ לִרְאוֹת Ø הֲקַלּוּ הַמַּיִם
מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָֽה׃

Then *he*$_i$ (A) sent forth a dove from him, ($\emptyset_i$=A) to see if the waters had subsided from the face of the ground.   (Gen 8:8)

The second pattern occurring with the most frequency is PG (§3.3.1.2.3) (see Gen 1:17; Exod 22:9).[352]

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[351] The subject of the לְ + infinitive purpose clause is coreferential with that of the matrix S (171x): Gen 1:14, 15; 2:10; 9:11, 15; 11:5, 31; 12:5, 10, 11; 14:17; 18:2, 7, 16; 19:9; 23:2 (2x); 24:13, 17, 20, 43, 63, 65; 25:22; 27:5, 42; 29:13; 30:16, 38 (2x); 31:19; 32:6 (2x), 7; 33:4; 34:1, 6, 22; 37:10, 12, 25 (2x), 35; 38:13; 41:32, 57; 42:3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 27; 43:20; 46:29; 47:4; 50:7, 20; Exod 2:5; 3:4, 8; 4:14, 27; 5:12, 20, 23; 7:15, 18; 8:14; 12:23; 13:21 (2x); 16:27; 18:7, 13; 19:24; 21:14; 23:2; 26:13; 28:43; 29:1, 30, 33; 32:6 (2x); 34:24, 34, 35; Lev 1:4; 14:36 (2x); 16:17; 18:19, 23 (2x); 20:6, 16; 21:17, 21 (2x); Num 4:3, 15, 20, 23, 30, 47; 5:22; 7:89; 8:7; 8:11, 15, 21, 24; 14:38; 17:5; 20:18, 20; 21:4, 31, 23; 22:34, 36; 23:3; 31:3 (2x); Deut 1:33 (3x), 44; 2:32; 3:1; 4:5; 5:5; 9:1 (2x), 5, 9, 19; 11:8, 10, 11, 29, 31 (2x); 12:28; 19:15, 16; 20:4 (2x), 10, 19 (2x); 23:15 (2x); 24:10; 25:11; 27:12; 28:21, 63; 29:6, 17 (2x); 30:16; 31:, 11, 12; 32:47.

The לְ + infinitive purpose clause shares the subject with A of the matrix (93x): Gen 2:19; 4:11; 6:19; 7:3; 8:8; 9:16; 15:7; 17:7; 22:10; 24:21; 27:5; 31:18; 33:8; 37:18, 22; 38:20; 41:15; 42:27; 43:22; 45:7 (2x); 48:17; 49:15; Exod 2:16; 6:4; 7:24; 8:25; 10:26; 16:3; 17:3; 29:33, 36; 32:12 (2x); 36:3; 39:3, Lev 8:11, 12, 15; 9:4; 10:15; 11:45; 14:29; 17:4, 9, 11; 18:17, 21; 20:22; 21:10; 22:33; 24:2; 25:38 (2x); 26:1, 45; Num 6:2; 13:32; 14:7; 15:3 (2x), 8, 13, 28, 41; 16:13; 20:12; 22:18; 24:13; 30:3; 31:50; Deut 1:27 (2x); 4:38 (2x); 6:23, 24; 30:18 (2x); 12:5, 11 (2x), 21 (2x); 13:4; 14:23, 24; 16:2, 6, 11; 19:5; 26:2; 27:25; 28:1, 12 (2x), 15; 30:18 (2x).

וַיִּתֵּ֥ן אֹתָ֛ם אֱלֹהִ֖ים בִּרְקִ֣יעַ הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם לְהָאִ֖יר Ø עַל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃	And God set *them*$_i$ (P) in the firmament of the heavens (Ø$_i$=P) to give light upon the earth.· (Gen 1:17)
כִּֽי־יִתֵּן֩ אִ֨ישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵ֜הוּ חֲמ֨וֹר אוֹ־שׁ֥וֹר אֽוֹ־שֶׂ֛ה וְכָל־בְּהֵמָ֖ה לִשְׁמֹ֑ר Ø וּמֵ֛ת אֽוֹ־נִשְׁבַּ֥ר אֽוֹ־נִשְׁבָּ֖ה אֵ֥ין רֹאֶֽה׃	If a man delivers *to his neighbor (G)* an ass or an ox or a sheep or any beast (Ø=G) to keep, and it dies or is hurt or is driven away, without any one seeing it. (Exod 22:9)

When subjects of the purpose clause are not coreferential with those of the matrix, two strategies are employed:

1) The subject of the purpose clause is explicitly expressed (4x).[353]

^{41}אָ֣ז יַבְדִּ֤יל מֹשֶׁה֙ שָׁלֹ֣שׁ עָרִ֔ים בְּעֵ֖בֶר הַיַּרְדֵּ֑ן מִזְרְחָ֖ה שָֽׁמֶשׁ׃ ^{42}לָנֻ֨ס שָׁ֜מָּה רוֹצֵ֗חַ אֲשֶׁ֨ר יִרְצַ֤ח אֶת־רֵעֵ֙הוּ֙ בִּבְלִי־דַ֔עַת וְה֛וּא לֹא־שֹׂנֵ֥א ל֖וֹ מִתְּמֹ֣ל שִׁלְשֹׁ֑ם וְנָ֗ס אֶל־אַחַ֛ת מִן־הֶעָרִ֥ים הָאֵ֖ל וָחָֽי׃	^{41}Then Moses set apart three cities in the east beyond the Jordan, ^{42}that the manslayer might flee there, who kills his neighbor unintentionally, without being at enmity with him in time past, and that by fleeing to one of these cities he might save his life. (Deut 4:40)

2) The subject of the purpose clause is not explicitly expressed; however, it is recoverable from context. The recoverable subject occurs 36x in our corpus (see Exod 27:20).[354]

מֵהָע֣וֹף לְמִינֵ֗הוּ וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה֙ לְמִינָ֔הּ מִכֹּ֛ל רֶ֥מֶשׂ הָֽאֲדָמָ֖ה לְמִינֵ֑הוּ שְׁנַ֧יִם מִכֹּ֛ל יָבֹ֥אוּ אֵלֶ֖יךָ לְהַחֲי֥וֹת Ø׃	Of the birds according to their kinds, and of the animals according to their kinds, of every creeping thing of the ground according to its kind, two of every sort shall come in to you$_i$, (*you*$_i$) to keep them alive. (Gen 6:20) (YCK)

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[352] The subject of the ל + infinitive purpose clause is coreferential with that of the matrix P (88x): Gen 1:18 (2x); 2:15 (2x); 3:24; 6:17; 15:7, 10; 19:13, 19; 24:33, 48; 28:6; 45:27; 46:5, 28; Exod 14:11; 19:17; 21:14; 23:20 (2x); 25:14; 28:1, 28; 29:1, 44; 31:4 (2x); 35:19, 32 (2x), 34; 36:2 (2x), 18, 33; 39:21; Lev 7:35; 8:34; 19:25; 20:24; 20:26; Num 3:3; 8:19 (2x), 26; 13:16, 17; 14:36; 16:9 (3x), 12, 28; 18:6; 20:4; 21:32; 22:5, 37; 23:11; 32:8; 34:18; Deut 4:14 (2x), 20, 26, 38; 6:1 (2x); 7:6; 8:2; 10:8 (4x); 13:10; 14:2; 17:7; 18:5; 21:5 (2x); 23:5; 24:4; 26:2; 30:6.

The subject of the ל + infinitive purpose clause is coreferential with that of the matrix G (22x): Exod 32:29; 36:1; Lev 10:17; 16:32; 25:46; 31:13; Num 33:53; Deut 3:18; 5:29, 31; 8:18; 9:6; 12:1; 15:4; 19:2, 14; 21:1; 25:19; 29:28; 30:14.

[353] See also, Gen 28:4; Exod 28:3; Num 35:6.

[354] Gen 43:18 (3x); Exod 25:27; 27:20; 28:3; 35:19; 37:5, 14, 15, 27; 38:7; 39:1, 41 (2x); Lev 7:30; 10:10, 11; 11:47; 14:21, 49, 57; 16:27, 30, 34; 23:28; 24:12; Num 8:12; 10:33; 28:22, 30; 29:5; 35:32; Deut 6:24; 8:16.

4.5.1.2.3 The subject of the matrix

The preference of 3rd person subjects in the matrix is another significant feature of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions (284/407).[355] This feature distinguishes it from purpose constructions with a *waw* (see §4.4.4).

[The subject of the matrix of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions]

The subject of the matrix (Total=407)			
When the subjects of purpose clauses are coreferential with the subject of the matrix		When the subjects of purpose clauses are not coreferential with the subject of the matrix	
1st person subject	28[356]	1st person subject	26[357]
2nd person subject	53[358]	2nd person subject	16[359]
3rd person subject	184[360]	3rd person subject	100[361]
Total	265	Total	142

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[355] Four instances, in which no unexpressed argument was identified, are excluded in our analysis (Gen 28:4; Exod 28:3; Num 35:6; Deut 4:42).

[356] Gen 9:16; 17:7; 32:6 (2x); 33:8; 37:10; 42:7; 43:20, 22; Exod 3:8 (2x); 5:23; 6:4; 10:26; 26:13; Lev 17:11; 21:21; 22:33; 25:38 (2x); 26:45; Num 15:41; 20:18; 22:18; 24:13; 31:50; Deut 5:5; 9:9.

[357] Gen 6:17; 15:7; 43:18 (3x); Exod 23:20 (2x); 29:44; 31:4 (2x); Lev 16:27; 20:22, 24, 26; Num 8:19 (2x); 10:33; 14:7; 22:37; 23:11; 32:8; 33:53; Deut 4:14; 5:31; 6:1 (2x).

[358] Gen 6:19; 7:3; 41:15; 42:9, 12; Exod 2:16; 4:27; 7:15; 16:3; 17:3; 23:2; 25:14; 29:36; 34:24; Lev 6:23; 9:4; 18:17, 19, 21; 26:1; Num 8:7; 15:3 (2x), 8; 16:13; 20:12; 22:34; Deut 4:5; 7:1; 9:1 (2x), 5; 11:8, 10, 11, 29, 31 (2x); 12:29; 19:5; 20:10, 19 (2x); 24:10; 28:1, 15, 21, 63; 30:16, 18 (2x); 31:13; 32:47.

[359] Exod 14:11; 21:14; 28:1, 42; 29:1; 37:27; Lev 19:25; 25:46; Num 8:12; 28:22, 30; 29:5; 34:18; 35:32; Deut 4:14, 26.

[360] Gen 1:14, 15; 2:10, 19; 8:8; 9:11, 15; 11:5, 31; 12:5, 10, 11; 14:17; 15:7; 18:2, 16; 19:9; 22:10; 23:2 (2x); 24:13, 17, 20, 21, 43, 63, 65; 25:22; 27:5 (2x), 42; 29:13; 30:16, 38 (2x); 31:18, 19; 32:7; 33:4; 34:1, 6, 22; 37:12, 18, 22, 25 (2x), 35; 38:13, 20; 41:32, 57; 42:3, 5, 10, 27; 45:7 (2x); 46:29; 47:4; 48:17; 49:15; 50:7, 20; Exod 2:5; 3:4; 4:14; 5:12, 20; 7:18, 24; 8:14, 25; 12:23 (2x); 13:21 (2x); 16:27; 18:7, 13; 19:24; 21:14; 25:27; 28:43; 29:1, 30, 33 (2x); 32:6 (2x), 12 (2x); 34:34, 35; 36:3; 39:3, 31; Lev 1:4; 8:11, 12, 15; 10:15, 17; 11:45; 14:29, 36 (2x); 16:10, 17; 17:4, 9; 18:23 (2x); 20:6, 16; 21:10, 17, 21; 24:2, 12; Num 4:3, 15, 20, 23, 30, 47; 5:22 (2x); 6:2; 7:89; 8:11, 15, 21, 24; 14:38; 15:13, 28; 17:5; 18:6; 20:20; 21:4, 23; 22:36; 23:3; 30:3; 31:3, 13; Deut 1:27 (2x), 33(3x), 44; 2:32; 3:1; 4:38 (2x); 6:23; 8:16; 9:19; 12:5, 11, 21; 13:4; 14:23, 24; 16:2, 6, 11; 19:5 (2x), 16; 20:4 (2x); 23:15 (2x); 25:11; 27:12, 25; 28:12 (2x); 29:6, 17; 31:11.

[361] Gen 1:17, 18 (2x); 2:15 (2x); 3:24; 4:11; 6:20; 15:10; 19:13; 24:33, 48; 28:6; 45:27; 46:5, 28; Exod 19:17; 22:6, 9; 27:20; 28:3, 28; 31:13; 32:29; 35:19 (2x), 32 (2x), 34; 36:1, 2 (2x), 18 (2x); 37:5, 14, 15; 38:7; 39:21, 41; Lev 7:30, 35; 8:34; 10:10, 11, 17; 11:47; 14:21, 49, 57; 16:30, 32, 34; 23:28; Num 3:3; 8:26; 13:16, 17; 14:36; 16:9 (4x), 12, 28; 21:32; 22:5; Deut 3:18; 4:20, 38; 5:29 (2x); 6:24 (2x); 7:6; 8:2; 9:4, 6; 10:8 (4x); 12:1; 13:10; 14:2; 15:4; 19:2, 14; 18:5 (2x); 19:2, 14; 21:1, 5 (3x);23:5; 24:4; 25:19; 26:2; 29:28; 30:6, 14.

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As shown in the above table, the matrix prefers the 3rd person subject whether the subject is coreferential with that of the purpose clause, or not. This implies that לְ + infinitive purpose constructions occur more frequently in narrative material.

4.5.1.3 Verbal forms

4.5.1.3.1 Balancing or deranking

The לְ + infinitive purpose construction prefers to represent two predicates in a consecutive chain by reducing one of the predicates in rank (i.e., the deranking strategy).[362] In 324 out of 404 cases of this construction, one of the predicates in the chain retains its finite verbal form, while the other predicate is represented as a non-finite verbal construct.[363]

The predicate of the לְ + infinitive purpose clause is deranked regardless of whether the predicate in the chain has an identical or non-identical subject with the matrix. In this sense, the deranking is absolute. In addition, the deranking is posterior deranking, viz., the predicate referring to the later event of the temporal sequence is deranked.

וַיִּשְׁלַח אַבְרָהָם אֶת־יָד֖וֹ וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הַמַּאֲכֶ֑לֶת Then Abraham$_i$ put forth his hand, and
לִשְׁחֹ֖ט Ø אֶת־בְּנֽוֹ: (he$_i$=Abraham$_i$) took the knife Ø$_i$ to slay his

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[362] The balancing or deranking criteria are not applicable in some cases (7x). Verbless clauses occupy the matrix in these cases (Exod 31:13; Lev 11:47; 14:57; 23:28; Num 18:6; Deut 29:28; 30:14).

[363] Gen 1:15, 17, 18 (2x); 2:15 (2x), 19; 3:24; 4:11; 6:19, 20; 7:3; 8:8; 9:11, 15, 16; 11:5, 31; 12:5, 10, 11; 14:17; 15:7 (2x), 10; 17:7; 18:2; 19:9, 13, 19; 22:10; 23:2 (2x); 24:17, 20, 33, 48, 63; 25:22; 27:5 (2x); 28:4, 6; 29:13; 30:16, 38; 31:18, 19; 32:6 (2x); 33:4, 8; 34:1, 6, 22 (2x); 37:10, 12, 18, 22, 25, 35; 38:20; 41:15, 57; 42:3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 27; 43:20, 22; 45:7 (2x), 27; 46:5, 28, 29; 48:17; 49:15; 50:7, 20; Exod 2:5, 16; 3:4, 8 (2x); 5:12, 20, 23; 6:4; 7:15, 18, 24; 8:4, 25; 10:26; 12:23 (2x); 13:21 (2x); 14:11; 16:3, 27; 17:3; 18:7; 18:13; 19:17, 24; 21:14 (2x); 22:6, 9; 23:2; 25:14, 27; 26:13; 27:20; 28:1, 3 (2x), 28, 42; 29:1 (2x), 30, 33, 36, 44; 31:4 (2x), 32:6 (2x), 12 (2x), 29; 34:35; 35:19 (2x), 32 (2x), 34; 36:1, 2 (2x), 3, 18; 37:5, 14, 15, 27; 38:7; 39:3, 21, 26, 31, 41; Lev 1:4, 6:23; 7:30, 35; 8:11, 12, 15, 34; 10:10, 11, 15, 17; 14:21, 29, 36 (2x), 49; 16:10, 27, 30, 32, 34; 17:4, 9, 11; 18:17, 19, 21, 23; 19:25; 20:6, 16, 24, 26; 21:10, 17, 21 (2x); 22:33 (2x); 24:2, 12; 25:38 (2x), 46; 26:1, 45; Num 3:3; 4:15, 20; 5:22 (2x); 6:2; 8:7, 11, 12, 15, 19 (2x), 21, 24, 26; 13:16, 17; 14:7, 36; 15:3 (2x), 8, 13, 28, 41; 16:9 (4x), 12, 13, 28; 17:5; 20:12, 18, 20; 21:4, 23, 32; 22:5, 18, 34, 36, 37; 23:3, 11; 24:13; 28:22, 30; 29:5; 31:3, 13, 50; 33:53; 34:18; 35:6, 32; Deut 1:27 (2x), 44; 2:32; 3:1, 18; 4: 20, 38 (3x), 42; 5:29 (2x); 6: 23, 24 (2x); 7: 6; 8:2; 9: 4, 9, 19; 10:8 (4x); 12:1, 5, 11, 21; 13:10; 14:2, 23, 24; 16:2, 6, 11; 18:5 (2x); 19:5 (2x), 16; 20: 10, 19 (2x); 21:5 (2x); 23:5, 15 (2x); 24:4, 10; 25:11; 26:2; 27:12; 28:1, 12 (2x), 15, 21, 63, 29:6, 17; 30:6.

Eighty-seven לְ + infinitive purpose constructions employ a balancing strategy (Gen 1:14; 2:10; 6:17; 18:16; 24:13, 21, 43, 65; 27:42; 30:38; 32:7; 37:25; 38:13; 43:18 (3x); Exod 4:14, 27; 23 20 (2x); 28:43; 29:33; 34:24, 34; 36:18; Lev 9:4; 10:17; 11:45; 16:17; 20:22; 22:23 (2x); Num 4:3, 23, 30, 47; 7:89; 10:33; 14:38; 30:3; 32:8; Deut 1:33 (3x); 4:5, 14 (2x), 26; 5:5, 31; 6:1 (2x); 7:1; 8:16; 9:1 (2x), 5, 6; 11:8, 10, 11, 29, 31 (2x); 12:29; 13:4; 15:4; 19:2, 14; 20:4 (2x); 21:1; 25:19; 27:25; 28:21 (2x); 30:16, 18 (2x), 11, 13, 47).

son.   (Gen 22:10)

וַיַּ֣רְא עֵשָׂ֗ו כִּֽי־בֵרַ֣ךְ יִצְחָק֮ אֶֽת־יַעֲקֹב֒ וְשִׁלַּ֤ח אֹתוֹ֙ פַּדֶּ֣נָֽה אֲרָ֔ם לָקַֽחַת־ Ø ל֥וֹ מִשָּׁ֖ם אִשָּׁ֑ה בְּבָרֲכ֣וֹ אֹת֔וֹ וַיְצַ֤ו עָלָיו֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר לֹֽא־תִקַּ֥ח אִשָּׁ֖ה מִבְּנ֥וֹת כְּנָֽעַן׃

Now Esau saw that *Isaac*$_i$ had blessed *Jacob*$_j$ and (*he*$_i$=*Issac*$_i$) sent *him*$_j$ away to Paddan-aram Ø$_j$ to take a wife from there, and that as he blessed him he charged him, "You shall not marry one of the Canaanite women."

(Gen 28:6)

In the examples above, the predicate of the לְ + infinitive purpose clause – which is a later event than that of the matrix – is deranked whether the subject is identical or non-identical to that of the matrix.

4.5.1.3.2 Semantics of the matrix's verbs

As far as the semantics of the matrix's verbs are concerned, verbs of motion were employed in the matrix in 228 cases out of a total of 411 לְ + infinitive purpose constructions. Verbs referring to a state of affairs occur 47x,[364] and verbless clauses occur 7x[365] in the matrix.

Among the verbs of motion employed in the matrix, the most frequent are הֵבִיא (to bring),[366] הוֹצִיא (to bring out),[367] בָּא (to come),[368] יָצָא (to come out),[369] קָרַב (to draw near),[370] הָלַךְ (to go)[371], יָרַד (to go down),[372] עָלָה (to go up),[373] עָבַר (to pass over),[374] רָץ (to run),[375] שָׁלַח (to send),[376] and לָקַח (to take).[377]

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[364] Gen 1:14, 15; 9:11, 15, 16; 24:21, 33; 27:42; 34:22 (2x); 37:18; 41:15; 43:18 (3x); 50:20; Exod 7:18; 25:27; 26:13; 37:14; Lev 1:4; 16:34; 25:46; Num 8:11; 20:12; 30:3; 31:3; Deut 5:29 (2x); 7:6; 9:19; 12:5; 12:11 (2x); 13:10; 14:2, 23, 24; 16:2, 6, 11; 18:5; 21:5 (2x); 26:2; 28:1, 15.

[365] Exod 31:13; Lev 11:47; 14:57; 23:28; Num 18:6; Deut 29:28; 30:14.

[366] Gen 2:19; 6:16, 19; Exod 25:14; 39:41; Lev 7:30; 10:15; 17:4; 20:20; Deut 9:4.

[367] Gen 15:7; Exod 16:3; 32:12 (2x); Lev 22:33; 25:38 (2x); 26:45; Num 15:41; Deut 1:27 (2x); 4:20, 38 (2x);

[368] Gen 6:20; 7:3; 23:2 (2x); 30:38 (2x); 37:10; 41:57; 42:5, 7, 9, 10, 12; 47:4; Exod 5:23; 29:30; 34:34, 35; 37:5; 38:7; Lev 14:36 (2x); 16:17; Num 4:3, 15, 20, 23, 30, 47; 5:22 (2x); 7:89; 8:15, 24; Deut 4:5; 7:1; 11:10, 29; 12:29; 19:5; 24:10; 28:21, 63; 30:16; 31:11.

[369] Gen 2:10; 11:31; 12:5; 14:17; 24:13, 43, 63; 30:16; 34:1, 6; Exod 4:14; 16:27; 18:7; Num 20:18, 20; 21:4, 23, 33; 22:36; 31:13; Deut 1:44; 2:32; 3:1; 29:6.

[370] Lev 18:19; 20:6; 21:17, 21 (2x); Num 17:5; 18:22 (2x); 31:50; Deut 20:10.

[371] Gen 18:16; 24:65; 25:22; 27:5; 31:19; 32:7; 37:12; Exod 4:27; 12:23; 13:21, 31; Num 14:38; 21:1; Deut 1:33 (3x); 20:4 (2x).

[372] Gen 12:10; 42:3; 43:20; Exod 2:5; 3:8 (2x).

[373] Gen 38:13; 46:29; 50:7; Exod 34:24; Deut 9:9.

[374] Exod 12:23; Num 13:32; 14:7; 22:18; 24:13; Deut 4:14, 26; 6:1; 9:1 (2x), 15; 11:31 (2x); 30:18 (2x).

As far as the telicity of the matrix's verb is concerned, לְ + infinitive purpose constructions prefer telic verbs in the matrix. In 250 of a total 411 לְ + infinitive purpose constructions, the matrix has telic verbs (see Gen 1:17). In 161 instances, the matrix has atelic verbs. When this is the case, most of the atelic verbs are motion verbs (85/161) (see Gen 31:19). The preference of telic verbs in the matrix is a distinguishing feature of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions from 'לְמַעַן + *yiqtol*/infinitive' purpose constructions and בַּעֲבוּר + *yiqtol*/infinitive' purpose constructions (see §4.2.2.1.2.3 and 4.3.2.1.2.3). Furthermore, the use of atelic verbs in the matrix and its category (i.e., motion verbs) are also a distinguishing feature of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions from other purpose constructions.

וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים בִּרְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמָיִם לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ:	And God set them in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth (Gen 1:17)[378]
וְלָבָן הָלַךְ לִגְזֹז אֶת־צֹאנוֹ וַתִּגְנֹב רָחֵל אֶת־הַתְּרָפִים אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ:	Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and Rachel stole her father's household gods. (Gen 31:19)[379]

[375] Gen 18:2; 24:17, 20; 29:13; 33:4.

[376] Exod 5:20; 7:15; Lev 18:23; Num 22:34; Deut 5:5; 11:8, 11; 27:12; 31:13; 32:47.

[377] Gen 22:10; 22:10; Exod 10:26; 14:11; 21:14; 27:20; 36:3; Lev 9:4; 14:21, 49; 18:17; Lev 24:2; Num 18:6; 23:11; 34:18; 35:32; Deut 24:4; 27:25.

[378] See also, Gen 1:18 (2x); 2:15 (2x), 19; 3:24; 4:11; 6:17, 19, 20; 8:8; 11:5, 31; 12:5, 10, 11; 14:17; 15:7; 15:10; 19:13; 24:13, 33, 43, 63; 28:4, 6; 30:16; 32:6 (2x); 33:8; 34:1, 6; 37:18, 35; 38:13, 20; 42:3, 27; 43:18 (3x); 43:20, 22; 45:7 (2x); 45:27; 46:5, 28, 29; 49:15; 50:7; Exod 2:5, 16; 3:4, 8 (2x); 4:14, 27; 5:12; 7:24; 8:25; 12:23; 16:3, 27; 17:3; 18:7, 13; 19:17; 21:14; 22:6, 9; 23:20 (2x); 25:14; 27:20; 28:1, 28, 43; 29:33, 36, 44; 31:4 (2x); 32:6 (2x), 12 (2x), 29; 34:24, 34; 35:32 (2x), 34; 36:1, 2 (2x), 3, 18; 37:5; 38:7; 39:3, 21, 31, 41; Lev 6:23; 7:30, 35; 8:11, 12, 15; 10:15, 17; 11:45; 14:29; 16:32; 17:4, 9, 11; 18:19, 21, 23; 20:6, 16, 22, 24, 26; 21:10, 17, 21 (2x); 22:23 (2x); 24:2, 12; 25:38; 26:1, 45; Num 3:3; 4:3; 6:2; 8:19 (2x), 21; 13:16, 17; 14:7, 36; 15:3 (2x), 8, 28, 41; 16:9 (4x), 12, 13, 28; 17:5; 20:18, 20; 21:23, 32; 22:5, 18, 36, 37; 23:3; 24:13; 28:22, 30; 29:5; 30:3; 31:13, 50; 32:8; 33:53; 35:6; Deut 1:27 (2x), 44; 2:32; 3:1, 18; 4:14, 20, 26, 38 (3x); 4:42; 5:5, 31; 6:1, 23; 7:1, 6; 8:16; 9:1 (2x), 4, 9; 10:8 (4x); 11:8, 11, 31 (2x); 12:1, 5, 11, 21; 14:2, 23, 24; 15:4; 16:2, 6, 11; 18:5 (2x); 19:2, 14; 20:10, 19 (2x); 21:1, 5 (3x); 25:11, 19; 26:2; 27:12; 28:12 (2x); 29:6, 17; 30:6, 18 (2x); 32:47.

[379] Atelic verbs occur in the matrix of the following instances: Gen 1:14, 15; 7:3; 9:11, 15, 16; 17:7; 18:2, 16; 19:9, 19; 20:20; 23:2 (2x); 24:17, 20, 21, 48, 65; 25:22; 27:5 (2x), 42; 30:38; 29:18; 31:18; 32:7; 33:4; 34:22 (2x); 37:10, 12, 22, 25 (2x); 41:15, 57; 42:5, 7, 9, 10, 12; 47:4; 48:17; 50:20; Exod 5:20, 23; 6:4; 7:15, 18,; 8:14; 10:26; 13:21 (2x); 14:11; 19:24; 21:14; 23: 2; 25:27; 26:13; 28:3 (2x), 42; 29:1 (2x), 30, 33; 31:13; 34:34, 35; 35:19 (2x); 36:18; 37:14, 15, 27; Lev 1:4; 8:34; 9:4; 10:10, 11, 17; 11:47; 14:21, 36 (2x), 49; 16:10, 17, 27, 30, 34; 18:17, 23; 19:25; 23:28; 25:46; Num 4:15, 20, 23, 30, 47; 5:22 (2x); 7:89; 8:7, 11, 12, 15, 24, 26; 10:33; 14:38; 15:13; 18:6; 20:12; 21:4; 22:34; 23:11; 31:3; 34:18; 35:32; Deut 1:33 (3c); 4:5; 5:29 (2x); 6:1, 24 (2x); 7:1; 8:2; 9:5, 19; 11:10, 29; 12:29; 13:4, 10; 19:5 (2x); 20:4 (2x); 23:15 (2x); 24:4, 10; 27:25; 28:1, 15, 21, 63; 29:28; 30:16; 31:11, 13.

4.5.1.3.3 Matrix verb restriction

Our corpus identifies only three instances of matrix verb restriction, in which two unexpressed arguments "occupying" the purpose clause are identified. In these instances, the verb of the matrix entails availability, possession or control of the entity corresponding to the gap found in the purpose clause by the intended controller of the infinitive (see Gen 6:19).

וּמִכָּל־הָחַי מִכָּל־בָּשָׂר *שְׁנַיִם* מִכָּל תָּבִיא אֶל־הַתֵּבָה לְהַחֲיֹת Ø Ø אִתֵּךְ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה יִהְיֽוּ׃

> From all the living, from all flesh, *you$_i$* must bring *two$_j$* of every kind into the ark Ø$_i$ to preserve Ø$_j$ alive with you. Male and female they should be.   (Gen 6:19)[380] (YCK)

In Gen 6:19, the verb תָּבִיא implicates the control of the entity *two$_j$* corresponding to Ø$_j$ in the purpose infinitive by the inferred controller (Ø$_{i=}$ *you$_i$*) of the infinitive verb.

Three instances are not enough to be a distinguishing feature of לְ + infinitive purpose constructions from other purpose constructions.

4.5.2. לְ + Infinitive Result Construction

The 'לְ + infinitive' construction is also employed to express a result relation between two events. According to our definition of result (§3.3.2 and 4.2.2.2.1), the 'לְ + infinitive result construction' occurs 14 times in the Pentateuch.

וָאֶתְנַפַּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כָּרִאשֹׁנָה אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַלְתִּי וּמַיִם לֹא שָׁתִיתִי עַל כָּל־חַטֹּאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר חֲטָאתֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיסֽוֹ׃

Then I lay prostrate before the Lord as before, forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water, because of all the sin which you had committed, in doing what was evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger.   (Deut 9:18)[381]

It is not reasonable to think that the Israelites intentionally committed sin in order to instigate the LORD's anger. Rather, provoking the LORD's anger is a result of the preceding action.

In many cases, verbs employed in 'לְ + infinitive' result clauses denote a negative connotation: טָמֵא (to become unclean; Lev 15:32; 18:20, 23; 19:31; 20:3; 22:8), הִכְעִיס (to provoke anger;

Among these atelic verbs, 85 instances are motion verbs: Gen 7:3; 18:2, 16; 19:9; 22:10; 23:2 (2x); 24:17, 20; 24:65; 25:22; 27:5 (2x); 29:13; 30:38 (2x); 31:19; 32:7; 33:4; 37:10; 37:12; 41:57; 42:5, 7, 9, 10, 12; 47:4; Exod 5:23; 10:26; 13:21 (2x); 14:11; 19:24; 29: 30; 34:34, 35; Lev 9:4; 10:17; 14:21, 36, 49; 16: 17, 27, 30; Num 4:15, 20, 23, 30, 47; 5:22 (2x); 7:89; 8:12, 15; 10:33; 14:38; 21:4; 35:32; Deut 1:33 (3x); 4:5; 7:1; 9:5; 11:10, 29; 12:29; 19:5 (2x); 20:4 (2x); 24:4, 10; 27:25; 28:21, 63; 30:16; 31:11, 13.

[380] See also, Exod 22:6, 9; Lev17:4 (הֵבִיא); 8:21 (לֹא־תִתֵּן).

[381] See also, Gen 3:6, 22; Exod 5:21; Lev 15:32; 18:20, 23; 19:31; 20:3; 22:8; Num 32:14; Deut 4:25; 19:3; 31:29.

Deut 4:25; 9:18; 31:29), יָסַף (to increase [obj. anger]; Num 32:14). This feature of 'לְ +
infinitive' is similar to that of the resultative לְמַעַן (see §4.2.2.2).

When 'לְ + infinitive' displays a result relationship it operates at three levels: the effective
level (Exod 5:21; Lev 15:32; 20:3; 22:8; Num 32:14; Deut 4:25; 9:18; 19:3; 31:29); the
epistemic level (Gen 3:6, 22); the discursive level (speech act) (Lev 18:20, 23; 19:31).

As we only investigated the 'לְ + infinitive result construction' in the Pentateuch, it is not
possible to compare it with the resultative לְמַעַן + infinitive/yiqtol constructions in order to
identify any developments along the diachronic cline of BH.

4.6 פֶּן

4.6.1 Frequency

פֶּן occurs 133 times, and in every case, is found with a maqef (except for Gen 44:34; Deut
7:25; 11;6; 1 Sam 4:9; 13:9; 17:16; Isa 27:3; Prov 25:8; 30:9). פֶּן typically functions as an
avertive conjunction.

BH scholars and BH lexica provide some etymological information of פֶּן; however, they do
not agree with one another regarding the original form and meaning of פֶּן. As we have
discussed in chapter 2, Mitchell (1915:138-139) claims that פֶּן is closely related to the noun
פנים "face" derived from the intransitive פנה "turn one's self," "turn one's self toward a
person or object." However, Joüon-Muraoka (1991:347) maintain that פֶּן is a shortened form
of פְּנֵי, and that its meaning is 'as regards, in relation to.' BDB argue that that פֶּן is derived
from פָּנָה and that its original meaning is "for the aversion of." However, none of the studies
provide how such etymological information can make a contribution to distinguishing
between the different senses. In this regard further investigation needs to be done.

4.6.2 Semantic Potential

4.6.2.1 Scope and level

4.6.2.1.1 Scope

פֶּן does not govern a NP; instead, פֶּן always governs a clause as a conjunction.

1. פֶּן + *yiqtol* (130x)

וּמִפְּרִי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגָּן אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ וְלֹא תִגְּעוּ בּוֹ פֶּן־תְּמֻתוּן:	Of the fruit of the tree, which is in the midst of the garden God said you must not eat it, and you must not touch it, lest you die.
	(Gen 3:3)[382]

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[382] See also, Gen 3:22; 11:4; 19:15; 19:17, 19; 24:6; 26:7; 26:9; 31:24, 31; 32:12; 38:11; 38:23; 42:4;
44:34; 45:11; Exod 1:10; 5:3; 13:17; 19:21, 22, 24; 20:19; 23:29, 33; 33:3; 34:12 (2x); 34:15; Lev
10:7; Num 16:26; 16:34; 20:18; Deut 4:9 (2x), 16, 19, 23; 6:12, 15; 7:22, 25; 8:11, 12; 9:28; 11:16;
12:13, 19, 30 (2x); 15:9; 19:6; 20:5, 6, 7, 22:9; 25:3; 29:17 (2x); 32:27 (2x); Josh 2:16; 6:18; 24:27;
Jdgs 7:2; 9:54; 14:15; 15:12; 18:25; Ruth 4:6; 1 Sam 4:9; 9:5; 13:19; 15:6; 20:3; 27:11; 31:4; 2 Sam

2. פֶּן + *qatal* (2x)

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וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו הִנֵּה־נָא יֵשׁ־אֶת־עֲבָדֶיךָ חֲמִשִּׁים אֲנָשִׁים בְּנֵי־חַיִל יֵלְכוּ נָא וִיבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־אֲדֹנֶיךָ פֶּן־ נְשָׂאוֹ רוּחַ יְהוָה וַיַּשְׁלִכֵהוּ בְּאַחַד הֶהָרִים אוֹ בְּאַחַת הַגֵּיאוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא תִשְׁלָחוּ:

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And they said to him, "Behold now, there are with your servants fifty strong men; pray, let them go, and seek your master; it may be that the Spirit of the LORD has caught him up and cast him upon some mountain or into some valley." And he said, "You shall not send." (2 Kgs 2:16)[383]

3. פֶּן + Interrogative clause (1x)

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אַל־תֵּצֵא לָרִב מַהֵר פֶּן מַה־תַּעֲשֶׂה בְּאַחֲרִיתָהּ בְּהַכְלִים אֹתְךָ רֵעֶךָ:

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Do not hastily bring into court; otherwise what will you do in the end, when your neighbor puts you to shame? (Prov 25:8)

פֶּן + *yiqtol* occurs in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH. It does not show any diachronic changes. However, פֶּן + *qatal* occur only in the books of CBH. The data is not sufficient (only two instances of פֶּן + *qatal*) to infer any shifts of use along the diachronic cline.

- פֶּן + *yiqtol*: Gen (17x); Exod (13x); Lev (1x); Num (3x); Deut (28x); Josh (3x); Jdgs (5x); 1 Sam (7x); 2 Sam (5x); 2 Kgs (1x); Hosea (1x); Amos (1x); *Jer (8x)*; <u>1 Chron (1x); Mal (1x)</u>.

- פֶּן + *qatal*: 2 Sam (1x); 2 Kgs (1x); ∅; <u>∅</u>.

- פֶּן + interrogative: Prov (1x).

4.6.2.1.2 Level

1. Effective level (22x)

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הִנֵּה־נָא מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וַתַּגְדֵּל חַסְדְּךָ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי לְהַחֲיוֹת אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאָנֹכִי לֹא אוּכַל לְהִמָּלֵט הָהָרָה פֶּן־תִּדְבָּקַנִי הָרָעָה וָמַתִּי:

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Behold, your servant has found favor in your sight, and you have shown me great kindness in saving my life; but I cannot flee to the hills, lest the disaster overtake me, and I die. (Gen 19:19)[384]

Fleeing from disaster prevents the disaster from overtaking Lot. The relationship between the avertive action and preventing the undesired result from happening lies in the real world.

1:20 (2x); 12:28; 15:14; 17:16; 2 Kgs 10:23; 1 Chron 10:4; Job 32:13; 36:18; Pss 2:12; 7:3; 13:4, 5; 28:1; 38:17; 50:22; 59:12; 91:12; Prov 5:6, 9, 10; 9:8; 20:13; 22:25; 24:18; 25:10, 16, 17; 26:4, 5; 30:6, 9 (2x), 10; 31:5; Isa 6:10; 27:3; 28:22; 36:18; 48:5, 7; Jer 1:17; 4:4; 6:8 (2x); 10:24; 21:12; 38:19; 51:46; Hosea 2:5; Amos 5:6; Mal 3:24.

[383] פֶּן + qatal (פֶּן־מָצָא) also occurs in 2 Kgs 2:16, however, this case is textually uncertain. Mss reads מָצָא as impf. יִמְצָא.

[384] See also, Gen 31:12; 45:11; Exod 23:29; 33:3; 34:12; Deut 7:22; 19:6; 20:5, 6, 7; 25:3; 32:27; Jdgs 7:2; Ruth 4:6; Ps 91:12; Isa 27:3; 48:5, 7; Jer 38:19; Hosea. 2:5; Mal 3:24.

2. Epistemic level (16x)

וַיִּקְרָ֨א אֲבִימֶ֜לֶךְ לְיִצְחָ֗ק וַיֹּ֨אמֶר֙ אַ֣ךְ הִנֵּ֤ה אִשְׁתְּךָ֣ הִ֔וא וְאֵ֥יךְ אָמַ֖רְתָּ אֲחֹ֣תִי הִ֑וא וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אֵלָיו֙ יִצְחָ֔ק כִּ֣י אָמַ֔רְתִּי פֶּן־אָמ֖וּת עָלֶֽיהָ׃

So Abimelech called Isaac and said, "Behold, she is your wife; how then could you say, 'She is my sister'?" Isaac said to him, "Because I thought (I have to say) lest I should die because of her."

(Gen 26:9) (YCK)[385]

An avertive action based on epistemic reasoning is performed in order to prevent an undesired event (i.e., dying) from happening.

3. Discursive level (95x)
A speaker performs a speech act.[386]

וַיֹּאמְר֞וּ הָ֣בָה׀ נִבְנֶה־לָּ֣נוּ עִ֗יר וּמִגְדָּל֙ וְרֹאשׁ֣וֹ בַשָּׁמַ֔יִם וְנַֽעֲשֶׂה־לָּ֖נוּ שֵׁ֑ם פֶּן־נָפ֖וּץ עַל־פְּנֵ֥י כָל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃

Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." (Gen 11:4)[387]

A speech act (a suggestion) is performed by a speaker in order to prevent undesired events from happening.

4.6.2.2 Typological features

4.6.2.2.1 Position of avertive clause
As for the positioning pattern, the פֶּן avertive clause prefers the postposed position. In all instances, the avertive clause postposes the matrix.

In many cases, the matrix is elided.

וַיִּקְרָ֨א אֲבִימֶ֜לֶךְ לְיִצְחָ֗ק וַיֹּ֨אמֶר֙ אַ֣ךְ הִנֵּ֤ה אִשְׁתְּךָ֣ הִ֔וא וְאֵ֥יךְ אָמַ֖רְתָּ אֲחֹ֣תִי הִ֑וא וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אֵלָיו֙ יִצְחָ֔ק כִּ֣י אָמַ֔רְתִּי פֶּן־אָמ֖וּת עָלֶֽיהָ׃

So Abimelech called Isaac, and said, "Behold, she is your wife; how then could you say, 'She is my sister'?" Isaac said to him, "Because I thought (I have to say so)

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[385] See also, Gen 26:7; 31:31; 38:11; 42:4; Exod 13:17; Num 16:34; Deut 4:16, 19; 32:27; Josh 24:27; 1 Sam 13:19; 27:11; Pss 28:1; 38:17; Prov 5:6;

[386] In פֶּן avertive constructions, פֶּן is not employed to express a narrator's comment.

[387] Gen 3:3, 22, 19:15, 17; 24:6; 31:24, 38:23; 44:34; Exod 1:10; 5:3; 19:21, 22, 24; 20:19; 23:33; 34:12, 15; Lev 10:7; Num 16:26; 20:18; Deut 4:9 (2x), 23; 6:12, 15; 7:25; 8:11, 12; 9:28; 11:16; 12:13, 19, 30 (2x); 15:9; 22:9; 29:17 (2x); Josh 2:16; 6:18; Jdgs 9:54; 14:15; 15:12; 18:25; 1 Sam 4:9; 9:5; 15:6; 20:3; 31:4; 2 Sam 1:20 (2x); 12:28; 15:14; 17:16; 20:6; 2 Kgs 2:16; 10:23; 1 Chron 10:4; Job 32:13; 36:18; Pss 2:12; 7:3; 13:4, 5; 50:22; 59:12; Prov 5:9, 10; 9:8; 20:13; 22:25; 24:18; 25:8, 10, 16, 17; 26:4, 5; 30:6, 9 (2x), 10; 31:5; Isa 6:10; 28:22; 36:18; Jer 1:17; 4:4; 6:8 (2x); 10:24; 21:12; Amos 5:6.

lest I should die because of her."

(Gen 26:9)[388](YCK)

In some cases, a כִּי clause occurs between the matrix and the פֶּן avertive clause by introducing the reason for the matrix event.

| וְכִלְכַּלְתִּי אֹתְךָ֙ שָׁ֔ם כִּי־ע֛וֹד חָמֵ֥שׁ שָׁנִ֖ים רָעָ֑ב פֶּן־תִּוָּרֵ֛שׁ אַתָּ֥ה וּבֵֽיתְךָ֖ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לָֽךְ׃ | And there I will provide for you, for there are yet five years of famine to come; lest you and your household, and all that you have, come to poverty. (Gen 45:11)[389] |

4.6.2.2.2 Participant encoding

פֶּן avertive constructions express the subjects of the matrix and purpose clause (dependent clause) explicitly. In addition, the constructions prefer different subjects in the matrix and negative purpose clauses (subordinate clauses).[390] Different subjects in the matrix and negative purpose clauses occur 82x (see Exod 19:22).[391] The same subjects in the matrix and subordinate clauses occur 47x (see Gen 24:6).[392] This is in agreement with the findings of Schmidtke-Bode (2009), which state that avertive constructions more explicitly express subjects than positive purpose constructions, and prefer entirely different subjects between the matrix and subordinate clause (§3.3.1.2.6).

| וְגַ֧ם הַכֹּהֲנִ֛ים הַנִּגָּשִׁ֥ים אֶל־יְהוָ֖ה יִתְקַדָּ֑שׁוּ פֶּן־יִפְרֹ֥ץ בָּהֶ֖ם יְהוָֽה׃ | And also let *the priests* who come near to the LORD consecrate themselves, lest *the LORD* break out upon them. (Exod 19:22) |

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[388] See also Gen 3:22, 26:7; 31:31; 32:12; 38:11; 42:4; Exod 13:17; Num 16:34; Deut 29:17 (2x); 32:27 (2x); Jdgs 7:2; 1 Sam 13:19; 27:11.

[389] See also, Gen 32:12; Exod 33:3; 34:15; Deut 4:16; 6:15; Isa 36:18.

[390] Four instances out of a total of 133 are excluded in our analysis, for פֶּן does not function as an avertive conjunction in these places (Ps 28:1; Prov 5:6; 25:8; Jer 51:46).

[391] Gen 19:19; 26:7 (matrix is elliptical); 31:31 (matrix is elliptical); 32:12; 38:11 (matrix is elliptical), 23; 42:4 (matrix is elliptical); 45:11; Exod 1:10; 5:3; 13:17 (matrix is elliptical); 19:21, 24; 20:19; 23:29; 34:12; Num 16:34 (matrix is elliptical); 20:18; Deut 6:15; 7:22; 9:28; 11:16; 19:6; 29:17 (2x) (matrix is elliptical); 32:27 (2x) (matrix is elliptical); Josh 2:16; 24:27; Jdgs 7:2 (matrix is implied); 9:54; 14:15; 18:25; 1 Sam 9:5; 13:19 (matrix is elliptical); 15:6; 27:11 (matrix is elliptical); 31:4; 2 Sam 1:20 (2x); 12:28; 15:14; 17:16; 20:6; 1 Kgs 2:16; 10:23; Job 32:13; 36:18; 1 Chron 10:4; Job 32:13; 36:18; Pss 2:12; 7:3; 13:4, 5; 38:17; 50:22; 59:12; 91:12; Prov 5:10; 9:8; 24:18; 25:10; 25:10, 17; 26:5; 30:6, 9 (2x), 10; Isa 6:10; 27:3; 28:22; 36:18; 48:5, 7; Jer 1:17; 4:4; 6:8 (2x); 21:12; 51:46; Hosea 2:5; Amos 5:6; Mal 3:24.

[392] Gen 3:3, 22 (matrix is elliptical); 11:4; 19:15, 17; 26:9 (matrix is elliptical); 31:24; 44:34; Exod 23:33; 33:3; 34:12, 15; Lev 10:7; Num 16:26; Deut 4:9 (2x), 16, 19, 23; 6:12; 7:25; 8:11, 12; 12:13, 19, 30 (2x); 15:9; 20:5, 6, 7; 22:9; 25:3; Josh 6:18; Jdgs 15:12; Ruth 4:6; 1 Sam 4:9; 20:3; Prov 5:9; 20:13; 22:25; 25:16; 26:4; 31:5; Jer 10:24; 38:19.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תָּשִׁיב אֶת־בְּנִי שָׁמָּה: — Abraham said to him, "Ø*i Be careful* lest *you*i should take my son back there."

(Gen 24:6) (YCK)

As far as the matrix subjects of פֶּן avertive constructions are concerned, the constructions show a preference for 2nd person subjects, regardless of whether the matrix shares that subject with the purpose clause or not (see the box below). This implies that פֶּן avertive constructions are mainly employed in the discourse.

[The subject of the matrix of פֶּן avertive constructions]

The subject of the matrix (Total=130x)			
When the subjects of purpose clauses are coreferential with the subject of the matrix		When the subjects of purpose clauses are not coreferential with the subject of the matrix	
1st person subject	5[393]	1st person subject	19[394]
2nd person subject	33[395]	2nd person subject	51[396]
3rd person subject	8[397]	3rd person subject	13[398]
Total	46	Total	83

The preference of the 2nd person subject in the matrix is a distinguishing feature of פֶּן avertive constructions from 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions, which happen to prefer the 3rd person subject (see §4.2.2.1.4).

As far as thematic roles are concerned, when they share the subject with that of the matrix, a semantic agent and experiencer occur 17x[399] and 29x[400] respectively in an

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[393] Gen 11:4; 26:9 (matrix is elliptical); 44:34; Exod 33:3; Ruth 4:6.

[394] Gen 19:19; 26:7 (matrix is elliptical); 31:31 (matrix is elliptical); 32:12; 38:11 (matrix is elliptical); 42:4 (matrix is elliptical); 45:11; Exod 1:10; 5:3; 13:17 (matrix is elliptical); 23:29; Num 16:34 (matrix is elliptical); Deut 32:27 (2x); Jdgs 7:2 (matrix is implied); 1 Sam 9:5; 13:19 (matrix is elliptical); Ps 38:17; Isa 27:3; 48:5.

[395] Gen 3:3; 19:15, 17, 19; 24:6; 31:24; Exod 34:12, 15; Lev 10:7; Num 16:26; Deut 4:9 (2x), 16, 19, 23; 6:12; 8:11, 12; 12:13, 19, 30 (2x); 15:9; 22:9; Josh 6:18; Jdgs 15:12; 1 Sam 4:9; Prov 5:9; 20:13; 22:25; 25:16; 26:4; Jer 10:24.

[396] Exod 19:21; 34:12; Num 20:18; Deut 6:15; 7:22, 25; 9:28; 11:16; 29:17 (2x); Josh 2:16; Jdgs 9:54; 14:15; 1 Sam 15:6; 2 Sam 1:20 (2x); 12:28; 15:14; 17:16; 20:6; 2 Kgs 10:23; 1 Chron 10:4; Job 36:18; Pss 2:12; 7:3; 13:4, 5; 50:22; 59:12; Prov 5:10; 9:8; 24:18; 25:10, 17; 26:5; 30:6, 9 (2x), 10; Isa 6:10; 28:22; 36:18; 48:7; Jer 1:17; 4:4; 6:8 (2x); 21:12; Hosea 2:5; Amos 5:6.

[397] Exod 23:33; Deut 20:5, 6, 7; 25:3; 1 Sam 20:3; Prov 31:5; Jer 38:19.

[398] Gen 38:23; Exod 19:22, 24; 20:19; Deut 19:6; Josh 24:27; Jdgs 18:25; 1 Sam 27:11; 31:4; 2 Kgs 2:16; Job 32:13; Ps 91:12; Mal 3:24.

[399] Gen 19:19; 24:6; 31:24; Exod 33:3; 34:12, 15; Deut 4:16; 12:13, 19; 25:3; Josh 6:18; Jdgs 15:12; Ruth 4:6; 1 Sam 4:9; Prov 5:9; Jer 10:24; 38:19.

avertive clause. However, a semantic patient does not occur in an avertive clause. This result does not accord with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) findings (see §3.3.1.2.6). When the matrix and an avertive clause do not share the subject, various thematic roles are possible: agent (43x),[401] experiencer (30x),[402] theme (1x),[403] instrument (2x),[404] and force (7x).[405] The 43x occurrences of a semantic 'agent' in an avertive clause is partially in agreement with Schmidtke-Bode's (2009) two complementary implicational universals (§3.3.1.2.6).

4.6.2.2.3 Verb forms

פֶּן avertive constructions express two consecutive events by means of a balancing strategy. Structurally, the two relevant actions (i.e., verbs) in the matrix and avertive clause remain of the same rank (§3.3.1.2.2).

וּכְמוֹ הַשַּׁחַר עָלָה וַיָּאִיצוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים בְּלוֹט לֵאמֹר קוּם קַח אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי בְנֹתֶיךָ הַנִּמְצָאֹת פֶּן־תִּסָּפֶה בַּעֲוֹן הָעִיר׃	When morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying, "Arise, take your wife and your two daughters who are here, lest you be consumed in the punishment of the city.

(Gen 19:15)

As far as the semantics of the matrix's verb is concerned, verbs that are often identified are those which encode a precautionary situation (הִשָּׁמֶר,[406] נִשְׁמַרְתֶּם[407] and שִׁמְרוּ[408]) (see Gen 24:6). In such cases, the agent of the matrix attempts to prevent something undesirable from

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[400] Gen 3:3; 11:4; 19:15, 17; 26:9; 44:34; Exod 23:33; Lev 10:7; Num 16:26; Deut 4:9 (2x), 19, 23; 6:12; 8:11, 12, 30 (2x); 15:9; 20:5, 6, 7; 22:9; 1 Sam 20:3; Prov 20:13; 22:25; 25:16; 26:4; 31:5.

[401] Gen 26:7; 1:31; 32:12; Exod 5:3; 19:21, 22, 24; Num 20:18; Deut 9:28; 19:6; 32:27; Josh 2:16; 24:27; Jdgs 9:54; 14:15; 18:25; 1 Sam 9:5; 13:19; 15:6; 27:11; 31:4; 2 Sam 12:28; 15:14; 20:6; 2 Kgs 10:23; 1 Chron 10:4; Job 32:13; Pss 7:3; 13:5; 50:22; Prov 25:10; 30:6, 10; Isa 27:3; 36:18; 48:5, 7; Jer 1:17; 4:4; 6:8; Hosea 2:5; Amos 5:6; Mal 3:24.

[402] Gen 38:11, 23; 45:11; Exod 1:10; 13:17; 20:19; Deut 7:22, 25; 11:16; 29:17 (2x); 32:27; Jdgs 7:2; 2 Sam 1:20 (2x); 17:16; Pss 2:12; 13:4; 38:17; 59:12; 91:12; Prov 5:10; 9:8; 24:18; 25:17; 26:5; 30:9 (2x); Isa 6:10; Jer 6:8.

[403] Exod 23:29. Theme is an entity which is moved by an action, or whose location is described. E.g., the ball and the book in 'Roberto passed *the ball* wide.' '*The book* is in the library.'

[404] Exod 34:12; Isa 28:22.

[405] Gen 19:19; 42:4; Num 16:34; Deut 6:15; 2 Kgs 2:16; Job 36:18; 21:12. Force is an inanimate doer, such as the wind in '*the wind* blew the door shut.'

[406] Gen 24:6; 31:24; Exod 34:12 (2x); Deut 4:9 (2x), 19 (marix is elliptical), 23; 6:12; 8:11; 11:16; 12:13, 19, 30 (2x); 15:9; 29:17 (2x) (matrix is elliptical).

[407] Deut 4:16, 19 (matrix is elliptical).

[408] Josh 6:18.

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happening by issuing a cautionary statement. This accords with a typological feature of avertive clauses identified by Schmidtke-Bode (2009) (§3.3.1.2.6).

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תָּשִׁיב אֶת־בְּנִי שָׁמָּה: He (Abraham) said to him, "Be careful lest you should take my son back there.

(Gen 24:6) (YCK)

However, when the main verb of the matrix does not encode a precautionary situation, the whole matrix clauses encode the precautionary situation. In these cases, the agent of the matrix tries to prevent something undesirable from happening by refraining from doing something.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה לֶךְ־רֵד וְעָלִיתָ אַתָּה וְאַהֲרֹן עִמָּךְ וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהָעָם אַל־יֶהֶרְסוּ לַעֲלֹת אֶל־יְהוָה פֶּן־יִפְרָץ־בָּם: And the LORD said to him, "Go down, and come up bringing Aaron with you; but do not let the priests and the people break through to come up to the LORD, lest he break out against them." (Exod 19:24)[409]

The matrix-verbal phrase of פֶּן avertive constructions also expresses a positive effort to prevent or avoid something unwanted from happening.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָבָה נִבְנֶה־לָּנוּ עִיר וּמִגְדָּל וְרֹאשׁוֹ בַשָּׁמַיִם וְנַעֲשֶׂה־לָּנוּ שֵׁם פֶּן־נָפוּץ עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ: Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." (Gen 11:4)[410]

Mitchell's (1915:139) argument that פֶּן is used "when the subject acts, or refrains from acting, to prevent or avoid one of an indefinite number of possible occurrences" is partly correct. פֶּן is also employed, however, when there is a positive effort to prevent or avoid a single definite event.

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[409] See also, Gen 3:3, 22 (elliptical); 19:17; 42:4; Exod 13:17; 20:19; 23:29; 23:33; 33:3; 34:15; Lev 10:7; Num 16:26; 20:18; Deut 6:15; 7:22, 25; 22:9; 25:3; Jdgs 7:2 (implied); Jdgs 18:25; 1 Sam 20:3; 27:11; 2 Sam 1:20 (2x); Job 36:18 (כִּי־חֵמָה verbless clause; כִּי־חֵמָה is an idiomatic expression implying "beware."); Ps 59:12; Prov 9:8; 20:13; 22:25; 24:18; 25:10; 26:4; 30:6, 10; 31:5; Isa 36:18; 48:7; Jer 1:17.

[410] See also, Gen 19:15, 19; 26:7, 9 (elliptical); 31:31 (elliptical); 38:11, 23; 44:34; 45:11; Exod 1:10; 5:3; 19:21, 22; Num 16:34; Deut 9:28; 19:6; 20:5, 6, 7; 32:27 (2x) (elliptical); Josh 2:16; 24:27; Jdgs 9:54; 14:15; 15:12; Ruth 4:6; 1 Sam 4:9; 9:5; 13:19; 15:6; 31:4; 2 Sam 12:28; 15:14; 17:16; 20:6; 2 Kgs 2:16; 10:23; 1 Chron 10:4; Pss 2:12; 7:3; 13:4, 5; 38:17; 50:22; 91:12; Prov 5:9, 10; 25:16, 17; 26:5; 30:9 (2x); Isa 6:10; 27:3; 28:22; 48:5; Jer 4:4; 6:8 (2x); 10:24; 21:12; 38:19; 51:46; Hosea 2:5; Amos 5:6; Mal 3:24.

4.6.2.3 Sense distinctions

1. The matrix clause is considered to be the tr while the clause introduced by פֶּן is the lm. The tr is an event, performed positively or negatively, in order that something undesirable might be prevented from happening. In such cases, the lm is an unwanted event. Here, פֶּן is serves as an avertive conjunction (128x), with a translation value of 'lest.'[411]

Hebrew	English
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תָּשִׁיב אֶת־בְּנִי שָׁמָּה:	Abraham said to him, "Beware, lest you should take my son back there. (Gen 24:6) (YCK)
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה לֶךְ־רֵד וְעָלִיתָ אַתָּה וְאַהֲרֹן עִמָּךְ וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהָעָם אַל־יֶהֶרְסוּ לַעֲלֹת אֶל־יְהוָה פֶּן־יִפְרָץ־בָּם:	And the LORD said to him, "Go down, and come up bringing Aaron with you; but do not let the priests and the people break through to come up to the LORD, lest he break out against them. (Exod 19:24)
וּכְמוֹ הַשַּׁחַר עָלָה וַיָּאִיצוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים בְּלוֹט לֵאמֹר קוּם קַח אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי בְנֹתֶיךָ הַנִּמְצָאֹת פֶּן־תִּסָּפֶה בַּעֲוֹן הָעִיר:	When morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying "Arise, take your wife and your two daughters who are here, lest you be consumed in the punishment of the city." (Gen 19:15)

פֶּן avertive constructions often elide the matrix (15x).[412] In these cases, כִּי clauses often introduce the reason for the ellipsed event of the matrix like in Gen 26:9 (9x).

Hebrew	English
וַיִּקְרָא אֲבִימֶלֶךְ לְיִצְחָק וַיֹּאמֶר אַךְ הִנֵּה אִשְׁתְּךָ הִוא וְאֵיךְ אָמַרְתָּ אֲחֹתִי הִוא וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יִצְחָק כִּי אָמַרְתִּי פֶּן־אָמוּת עָלֶיהָ:	So Abimelech called Isaac, and said, "Behold, she is your wife; how then could you say, 'She is my sister'?" Isaac said to him, "Because I thought (I have to say) lest I should die because of her." (Gen 26:9)[413] (YCK)

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[411] Gen 3:3, 22 (the matrix is elliptical); 11:4; 19:5, 17, 19; 24:6; 26:7 (the matrix is elliptical), 9 (the matrix is elliptical); 31:24, 31 (the matrix is elliptical); 32:12 (the matrix is elliptical); 38:11 (the matrix is elliptical), 23, 24; 42:4 (the matrix is elliptical); 44:34; 45:11; Exod 1:10; 5:3; 13:17 (the matrix is elliptical); 19:21, 22, 24 (2x); 20:19; 23:29, 33; 33:3; 34:12 (2x), 15; Lev 10:7; 16:26, 34 (the matrix is elliptical);; 20:18; Deut 4:9 (2x); 4:16, 19, 23; 6:12, 15; 7:22, 25; 8:11, 12; 9:28; 11:16; 12:13, 19, 30 (2x); 15:9; 19:6; 20:5, 6, 7; 22:9; 25:3; 29:17 (2x) (the matrix is elliptical); 32:27 (2x) (the matrix is elliptical); Josh 2:16; 6:18; 24:27; Jdgs 7:2 (the matrix is implied); 9:54; 14:15; 15:12; 18:25; Ruth 4:6; 1 Sam 4:9; 9:5; 13:19 (the matrix is elliptical); 15:6; 20:3; 27:11 (the matrix is elliptical); 31:4; 1:20 (2x); 2 Sam 12:28; 15:14; 17:16; 20:6; 2 Kgs 10:23; 1 Chron 10:4; Job 32:13; 36:18; Pss 2:12; 7:3; 13:4, 5; 38:17; 50:22; 59:12; 91:12; Prov 5:9, 10; 9:8; 20:13; 22:25; 24:18; 25:10, 16, 17; 26:4, 5; 30:6, 9 (2x), 10; 31:5; Isa 6:0; 27:3; 28:22; 36:18; 48:5, 7; Jer 1:17; 4:4; 6:8 (2x); 10:24; 21:12; 38:19; Hosea 2:5; Amos 5:6; Mal 3:24.

[412] Gen 3:22; 26:7, 9; 31:31; 38:11; 42:4; Exod 13:17; Num 16:34; Deut 29:17 (2x); 32:27 (2x); Jdgs 7:2; 1 Sam 13:19; 27:11.

2. Negative particle (2x). The translation value could be 'not.'

אֹרַח חַיִּים פֶּן־תְּפַלֵּס נָעוּ מַעְגְּלֹתֶיהָ לֹא תֵדָע׃ פ

She *does not* take heed to the path of life; her ways wander, and she does not know it.

(Prov 5:6)[414]

3. The lm is a contrasting event with the tr (1x). The translation value could be 'otherwise.'

אַל־תֵּצֵא לָרִב מַהֵר פֶּן מַה־תַּעֲשֶׂה בְּאַחֲרִיתָהּ בְּהַכְלִים אֹתְךָ רֵעֶךָ׃

Do not hastily bring into court otherwise what will you do in the end, when your neighbor puts you to shame? (Prov 25:8)

4. The lm is the protasis of a conditional clause (1x). The translation value could be 'if.'[415]

אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה׀ אֶקְרָא צוּרִי אַל־תֶּחֱרַשׁ מִמֶּנִּי פֶּן־תֶּחֱשֶׁה מִמֶּנִּי וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי עִם־יוֹרְדֵי בוֹר׃

To you, O LORD, I call; my rock, be not deaf to me; *if* you are silent to me, I will be like those who go down to the pit.

(Ps 28:1) (YCK)

5. Difficult case

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו הִנֵּה־נָא יֵשׁ־אֶת־עֲבָדֶיךָ חֲמִשִּׁים אֲנָשִׁים בְּנֵי־חַיִל יֵלְכוּ נָא וִיבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־אֲדֹנֶיךָ פֶּן־נְשָׂאוֹ רוּחַ יְהוָה וַיַּשְׁלִכֵהוּ בְּאַחַד הֶהָרִים אוֹ בְּאַחַת הַגֵּיאוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא תִשְׁלָחוּ׃

And they said to him, "Behold now, there are with your servants fifty strong men; pray, let them go, and seek your master; it may be that the Spirit of the LORD has caught him up and cast him upon some mountain or into some valley." And he said, "You shall not send." (2 Kgs 2:16)

In this example, פֶּן cannot be glossed in terms of "lest," but there is no reason to say that פֶּן has a different sense than sense 1-4. פֶּן here may be regarded as a complementizer. And its translation value could be "zero" or "that."[416]

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[413] See also Gen 31:31; 38:11; 42:4; Exod 13:17; Num 16:34; Deut 29:17 (2x); 1 Sam 13:19.

[414] See also, Jer 51:46.

[415] This is a problematic case. פֶּן־תֶּחֱשֶׁה מִמֶּנִּי is omitted in a few manuscripts and a Latin translation (vetus versio Latina).

[416] Huddlestone & Pullum (2002: 730) and López-Couso (2007:14) also identified that "lest" in English is used as a complementizer.

He trembled *lest* they should see through his disguise (Huddlestone & Pullum 2002: 730).

Perhaps, too, there was in her mind some latent dread *lest* an easy temper like Mark's might not hold frimly fixed a severe resolution not immediately put into execution (López-Couso 2007:14).

Although we distinguished different senses, senses 2, 3, 4 and 5 are rare. Furthermore, it is not clear what cognitive principles are involved between the different senses. In this regard, further investigation needs to be done.

The prototypical sense of פֶּן (i.e. sense 1) does not show any changes in its patterns of use that correspond with stages along the diachronic cline. It is attested to in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH. However, as for senses 2, 3, 4 and 5, it is difficult to say if there is any diachronic change between these senses because of a lack of sufficient data.

- Sense 1: Gen (17x); Exod (13x); Lev (3x); Num (1x); Deut (28x); Josh (3x); Jdgs (5x); 1 Sam (4x); 2 Kgs (1x); Hosea (1x); Amos (1x); *Jer (6x)*; <u>Mal (1x)</u>.
- Sense 2: Ø; *Jer (1x)*; <u>Ø</u>.
- Sense 3: Prov (1x).
- Sense 4: Ps (1x).
- Sense 5: 2 Kgs (1x)

4.6.3 Summary

The prototypical meaning of פֶּן is to indicate a negative purpose (avertive meaning). Hence, פֶּן typically functions as an avertive conjunction. As for the different sense distinctions of פֶּן, we were not able to distinguish between them by lm specifications. Furthermore, although we distinguished different senses of פֶּן, we failed to demonstrate how these senses are related to one another.

פֶּן governs a clause (*yiqtol*, *qatal*, or interrogative clause) and operates on three levels. As far as operational level is concerned, it predominantly operates on discursive level. This is a distinguishing feature from positive purpose connectives.

The following features of פֶּן avertive constructions were identified:

- פֶּן avertive clauses prefer the postposed position in terms of position patterning.
- פֶּן avertive constructions prefer different subjects between the matrix and dependent clause.
- פֶּן avertive constructions show a preference for 2nd person subjects in the matrix.
- Two consecutive events are encoded by balancing.
- Verbs/phrases encoding precautionary situations or phrases expressing a positive effort to prevent something unwanted from happening are employed in the matrix.

Diachronic changes of meaning do not occur. פֶּן + *yiqtol* occurs in the books of CBH, TBH and LBH. On the contrary, פֶּן + *qatal* was identified only in the books of CBH (two cases).

4.7 FINDINGS

We have described the semantic potential of the following connectives: לְמַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר and פֶּן. We also described לְ + infinitive purpose constructions and purpose constructions with a *waw* in order to compare them with the לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions. We identified the following as far as these constructions are concerned:

1. לְמַעַן

לְמַעַן has the semantic potential to prompt the conceptualization of purpose, result and reason relationships with various scopes and at different levels. Among these, purpose is the prototypical relationship. The polysemy relationship of purpose, result and reason is related to one another in terms of cognitive principles.

The scope and level which לְמַעַן operates on varies according to the relations that it displays.

(1) The scope of the purposive לְמַעַן is both a NP as well as a clause (infinitive and *yiqtol* clause). It also operates on three different levels: effective, epistemic, and discursive. However, לְמַעַן predominantly operates at the effective level.

(2) The scope of the resultative לְמַעַן is an infinitive clause as well as a finite clause (*yiqtol* clause). A NP is never the scope of the resultative לְמַעַן. The resultative לְמַעַן also operates at three levels (predominantly at the effective level).

(3) The scope of the reason לְמַעַן is a NP as well as a clause. When the lexeme displays this sense, it operates at only two levels: the effective and discursive level.

The typological description of לְמַעַן purpose constructions revealed the following:

(1) The לְמַעַן positive purpose clause follows in most cases the associated matrix clause.

(2) As far as the participant sharing pattern is concerned, in a majority of cases, לְמַעַן + infinitive purpose constructions prefer subject sharing between the matrix and purpose clause, while לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions do not share a subject between the matrix and purpose clause.

(3) לְמַעַן + infinitive purpose constructions prefer a 3rd person subject for its matrix, while the matrix of לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions prefer 2nd person subjects.

(4) As for the verb forms, the לְמַעַן + infinitive purpose construction employs a deranking strategy in order to express two linked states of affairs. However, לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions utilize a balancing strategy to relate two temporal events.

(5) As far as the semantics of the matrix verb is concerned, לְמַעַן + infinitive purpose constructions and לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions prefer atelic verbs in the matrix. When telic verbs occupy the matrix, they are usually motion verbs.

We attempted to distinguish between the different senses of לְמַעַן according to cognitive principles. Two different senses of the purposive לְמַעַן were distinguished: (1) *so that* or *in*

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order to, and (2) *for the sake of*. However, different senses of the resultative and reason לְמַעַן were not identified. The three different meanings of לְמַעַן and different senses were shown to form a radial category.

Any diachronic changes of syntax and meaning of לְמַעַן were not identified.

2. בַּעֲבוּר

בַּעֲבוּר has a semantic potential that is similar to, but somewhat more restricted than that of לְמַעַן. בַּעֲבוּר prompts the conceptualization of both a purpose and a reason relationship. Of the two, the purpose relationship is the most typical. However, unlike לְמַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר does not prompt the conceptualization of a result relation. Furthermore, בַּעֲבוּר is never employed in an avertive construction, i.e., בַּעֲבוּר לֹא never occurs.

As far as typological features are concerned, the following of בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions are significant:

(1) A בַּעֲבוּר purpose clause tends to follow its corresponding matrix clause(s), viz., it prefers the postposed position.

(2) As far as verbal forms are concerned, between the matrix and purpose clause, the בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose construction employs a deranking strategy, whereas in a בַּעֲבוּר + finite purpose construction, the two predicates expressing the two relevant actions remain structurally of the same rank, i.e., balancing.

(3) Concerning participant encoding, בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose clauses display a preference for an unexpressed subject, i.e., an implicit subject. In addition, בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose clauses tend to share the unexpressed subject with that of the matrix, viz., the subject of the matrix controls the implicit subject of the purpose clause. However, בַּעֲבוּר + finite purpose clauses have explicit subjects and do not share subjects with those of the matrix.

(4) The matrix of בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions typically has a 3rd person subject. This positively supports the claim that בַּעֲבוּר + infinitive purpose constructions are typically employed in narrative material. However, in בַּעֲבוּר + finite purpose constructions, the subject of the matrix displays a preference for the 2nd person subject. This confirms Payle's (2000) finding that בַּעֲבוּר + finite purpose constructions are mainly utilized in the discourse.

These typological descriptions point out a number of differences between בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן constructions. Unlike לְמַעַן, 1) the purposive בַּעֲבוּר is never used with לֹא; 2) בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions often use motion verbs in the matrix; 3) the בַּעֲבוּר of reason never operates on a discursive level; and 4) the בַּעֲבוּר of reason is sometimes followed by a *qatal*.

The scope and level בַּעֲבוּר operates on varies according to the relations that it displays.

(1) The scope of the purposive בַּעֲבוּר is both a NP as well as that of a clause (infinitive and *yiqtol* clause). It also operates on three different levels: effective (predominantly), epistemic and discursive.

(2) The scope of the בַּעֲבוּר of reason is both a NP and a clause (infinitive and *qatal*). It is significant to note that a בַּעֲבוּר + *qatal* clause can occur in בַּעֲבוּר reason constructions. This is a distinguishing feature of a בַּעֲבוּר of reason from a לְמַעַן of reason. For this reason, בַּעֲבוּר predominantly operates on an effective level. The בַּעֲבוּר of reason does not operate at a discursive level unlike לְמַעַן of reason.

The senses of בַּעֲבוּר also vary according to the relations that בַּעֲבוּר displays.

(1) Three different senses of the purposive בַּעֲבוּר were distinguished according to cognitive principles: (1) in order to/so that (most typical member); (2) for the sake of; (3) for the price of. These senses were understood as being extended by means of metaphor and metonymy.

(2) One category of a reason בַּעֲבוּר was identified.

The senses of בַּעֲבוּר form a radial category.

Any diachronic changes of senses were not identified. However, a possible diachronic development is identified as far as the syntax is concerned.

We also investigated purpose constructions with a *waw* along with לְ + infinitive purpose constructions occurring in the Pentateuch in order to compare them with both לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions.

3. Purpose constructions with a *waw*

(1) Purpose clauses with a *waw* strongly prefer a postposed position amidst the purpose construction. Purpose clauses never prepose the matrix; this is a distinguishing feature from לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions.

(2) Purpose constructions headed by a *waw* employ a balancing strategy in order to express the two relevant actions, viz., the purpose constructions maintain the finite verbal constructs both in the matrix and the purpose clause.

(3) As for the semantics of the verb in the matrix, purpose constructions with a *waw* do not show whether they prefer telic or atelic verbs in the matrix. However, when telic verbs are used in the matrix, they are motion verbs.

(4) Purpose constructions with a *waw* show aberrance from a distinguishing feature of purpose constructions by preferring different subjects between the matrix and purpose clause. Furthermore, purpose constructions are different from לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions in terms of participant encoding. Purpose constructions with *a waw* prefer the 1st person subject in the matrix when the subject of the purpose clause and the matrix is the same. However, when the subjects of the purpose and matrix clause are different,

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purpose constructions with a *waw* tend to prefer the 2nd person subject of the matrix. The preference of 1st and 2nd person subjects confirms that purpose constructions with a *waw* are mainly employed within a discourse.

4. לְ + infinitive purpose/result constructions

לְ + infinitive purpose constructions show the following features:

(1) They strongly prefer the postposed position.
(2) They prefer a deranking strategy in order to represent the two predicates in a consecutive chain, viz., the predicate of a לְ + infinitive purpose clause is deranked.
(3) As for the semantics of the verbs in the matrix, לְ + infinitive purpose constructions prefer telic verbs in the matrix. When atelic verbs appear in the matrix, most of the atelic verbs are motion verbs.
(4) They tend to exhibit at least one unexpressed argument in the לְ + infinitive purpose clause. However, in a number of cases the matrix and purpose clause do share a participant.
(5) They prefer 3rd person subjects in the matrix regardless of whether the matrix shares the subject with the purpose clause, or not. This implies that לְ + infinitive purpose constructions are mainly employed within a narrative.

לְ + infinitive result constructions occurring in the Pentateuch exhibits the following features:

(1) Verbs employed in the matrix often denote a negative connotation (e.g., הִכְעִיס to provoke anger). This feature is similar to a לְמַעַן of result.
(2) Resultative לְ + infinitives operate on three levels.

[A comparison of purpose constructions]

Features / Constructions	Scope	Levels	Position of PC	Verbs forms between PC and MC	Semantics of the matrix's verbs (telicity)	Participant encoding				Narrative or discourse
						The subject of the matrix		The subject of PC	Subject sharing between the MC and PC	
						The MC and PC are coreferential	the MC and PC are not coreferential			
לְמַעַן purpose constructions	NP, infinitive, *yiqtol*	Effective Epistemic Discursive								
לְמַעַן — infinitive purpose construction			Postposed	Deranking	Atelic Telic=motion verbs	3rd person	3rd person	Unexpressed	Sharing	Narrative
לְמַעַן — finite. purpose construction			Postposed	Balancing	Atelic Telic=motion verbs	2nd person	2nd person	Explicit	No sharing	Discourse
בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions	NP, infinitive, *yiqtol*	Effective Epistemic Discursive								
בַּעֲבוּר — infinitive purpose construction			Postposed	Deranking	Atelic Telic=motion verbs	3rd person	1st person	Unexpressed	Sharing	Narrative Discourse
בַּעֲבוּר — finite. purpose construction			Postposed	Balancing	Atelic Telic=motion verbs	2nd person	2nd person	Explicit	Sharing (only once)	Discourse
לְ + infinitive purpose constructions			Postposed	Deranking	Telic Atelic=motion verbs	3rd person	3rd person	Unexpressed	Sharing	Narrative
Purpose constructions with a *waw*			Postposed strictly	Balancing	Not clear preference	1st person	2nd person	Explicit	No sharing	Discourse

MC=the matric clause/ PC=purpose clause

5. פֶּן

פֶּן prompts the conceptualization of a negative purpose relation, i.e., an avertive relation. The scope of פֶּן is a clause (*yiqtol*, *qatal*, and interrogative clause). Contrary to other lexemes, a NP is never the scope of פֶּן. פֶּן predominantly operates on a discursive level.

פֶּן avertive clauses prefer the postposed position in terms of position patterning. פֶּן avertive constructions explicitly express the subjects of the matrix and purpose clause. In addition, the construction prefers different subjects in the matrix and negative purpose clauses. Furthermore, the matrix of the construction prefers 2nd person subjects. This is a distinguishing feature from לֹא (אֲשֶׁר) לְמַעַן avertive constructions, which prefer 3rd person subjects. פֶּן avertive constructions express two consecutive events by means of a balancing strategy. As far as the semantics of the matrix verb are concerned, verbs encoding a precautionary situation are often used.

Four different senses of פֶּן were distinguished according to a cognitive principle: (1) lest; (2) not; (3) otherwise; 4) if; 5) that. It is not clear how these senses are extended in terms of cognitive principles. However, sense (2), (3), (4), and (5) are extremely rare.

פֶּן avertive constructions do not show any diachronic changes in either meaning or syntax.

6. לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא

The scope of לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא is a clause (*yiqtol*). לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא constructions utilize a balancing strategy, viz., the two predicates remain structurally of the same rank. As far as participant encoding is concerned, לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא avertive constructions explicitly express subjects and prefer different subjects between the matrix and avertive purpose clause. Furthermore, the construction prefers 3rd person subjects in the matrix.

לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא avertive constructions differ from פֶּן avertive constructions in that the verbs of the matrix or the situations referred to in the matrix do not encode precautionary situations. Rather, they convey positive efforts to prevent something unwanted from happening in the avertive clauses.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this project was to establish certain data types that are relevant for determining the various meanings and/or senses that בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן may be used to indicate. In step with these goals, we provided multiple criteria for distinguishing the meanings and/or senses of these connectives, as well as a description of them in light of the proposed criteria.

In chapter 2, we identified the shortcomings of the current linguistic description of the lexical items בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן, as well as other grammatical constructions in the field of BH linguistics and BH lexica. Firstly, it was noted that the semantic models underlying such resources are etymologically or comparative-philologically oriented. Although they provide comparative-philological information, they do not explain how this information can help one to understand the meaning of the lexical items surveyed, and they do not define the meanings and senses of the lexical items themselves. Due to the heavily oriented etymological semantic models, they come short in describing the paradigmatic relation between the different types of purpose constructions. For the same reason, they also fail to describe the scope and levels on which the lexemes operate and govern. Secondly, the word classes of the lexemes were not based on any sort of explicit criteria. Thirdly, due to a negligence of defining the notions of purpose, result, reason, and cause, scholars were of different opinions when it came to distinguishing the different types of relationships the lexical items could display. Because of this, they also fail to describe the relations between the different relationships as well as making a distinction between them.

In order to overcome the shortcomings identified in chapter 2 and to better describe the lexical items, in chapter 3 we hypothesized that a more adequate theoretical and methodological framework would help to address the problem. In chapter 4 we launched an empirical investigation in order to test our model.

We employed perspectives of cognitive linguistics towards the meaning of an expression to describe more adequately the meaning and polysemic relationships of the lexemes and constructions investigated.

- Meaning is conceptualization, viz., word meanings are represented by concepts that are mental representations of categories.

- People categorize not by means of necessary and sufficient conditions but with reference to a prototype.

- Word meaning is encyclopedic in scope.

- Semantic potential is a useful concept for capturing the meaning and senses of an expression.

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- The meaning of a word can be defined by what it profiles. When an expression profiles a relationship, the relational profile is defined by the relation between the prominent participant (tr) and the secondary participant (lm).

- The meaning extension of linguistic expressions is motivated in terms of cognitive principles.

Our empirical research established that לְמַעַן ,בַּעֲבוּר, and פֶּן have a semantic potential that prompts the conceptualization of multiple relationships (e.g., לְמַעַן: purpose, result, and reason relationship) with varying scopes, among different levels.

We identified the prototypical and less prototypical uses of the lexemes according to prototype theory. For instance, a purpose relation is the prototypical meaning of לְמַעַן, while result and reason relations are less prototypical meaning of it. The prototypical meaning of בַּעֲבוּר is also a purpose relation, with the reason relation being a less prototypical meaning. Uniquely, פֶּן typically indicates an avertive relation.

We were able to distinguish between the different relationships that the lexemes בַּעֲבוּר ,לְמַעַן, and פֶּן display by relying on the notions of purpose, result, cause, and reason, as defined in cognitive linguistic circles. These criteria also made it possible to better distinguish the relation of cause and reason from causal relations or ground (motivation). We distinguished three different constructions to be part of the semantic potential of לְמַעַן: purpose, result, and reason. We also established that בַּעֲבוּר has the semantic potential to prompt the conceptualization of both purpose and reason relationships. This might be one of the most significant findings of this study.

A typological investigation of purpose constructions revealed that coordination and subordination cannot be a criterion for determining whether or not a construction should be considered a purpose construction. Hence, in order to provide more criteria for distinguishing between purpose and result, we used the cognitive functional notion of a purpose construction.

In order to analyze the meaning of purpose constructions, we used the concepts tr and lm. Utilizing these concepts, we were able to identify the schematic meaning of purpose, result, and reason as signified by לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר (only purpose and reason). We also tried to distinguish different senses using these concepts, however, failed to do so in some cases (e.g., the resultative לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר of reason). This shortcoming may be due to the application of the concepts of tr and lm for distinguishing different senses. These theoretical notions appear to be not appropriate for these purposes.

We also considered cognitive principles of meaning extensions of linguistic expressions in order to distinguish different senses of the lexemes and to investigate how meanings are extended. We identified that different senses of grammatical constructions form a radial categories according to cognitive principles. As far as לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר are concerned, we identified that the different relationships they display (e.g., purpose, result, reason in case of

לְמַעַן) are extended on the basis of several cognitive principles (specialization, metaphor, metonymy). Also different senses are extended on the basis of these cognitive principles. However, we were unable to explain how the different senses of פֶּן are extended on the basis of such cognitive principles.

Our investigation established that, in general, the connectives operate on three different levels. We also noticed that the scope of בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן, and פֶּן varied.

We employed typological parameters in order to describe and provide the paradigmatic relationships between the lexemes. For these purposes, we also investigated purpose constructions with and without explicit lexemes that prompt the purpose relationship. We applied typological parameters to all of these purpose constructions. The parameters employed included: position of the purpose clause, participant encoding, the deranking and balancing of verbs between the matrix and purpose clauses, and the semantics of the matrix's verb. It was identified that purpose constructions exhibited typological features in general. For instance, פֶּן avertive constructions revealed the typological features in terms of the semantics of the verbs or situations of the matrix, viz., it encodes a precautionary situation. Participant encoding also partially accorded with implication universals in terms of thematic roles. However, 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) לֹא' avertive constructions were identified to be different from פֶּן avertive constructions in that the matrix encodes positive efforts.

Apart from possible inappropriateness of the notions lm and tr for the distinguishing sense referred to above, our investigation revealed that our theoretical model has some other limitations too.

In order to describe different purpose constructions, we employed several typological parameters. However, while the typological parameters did not render significant insights, they did confirm results established by other BH scholars (e.g., participant encoding). On the other hand, an investigation of the differences between 'לְמַעַן + infinitive' purpose constructions and 'לְמַעַן + yiqtol' purpose constructions on the basis of an unexpressed argument (binding and control), and matrix verb restriction, did not yield any significant insight. In addition, our model was unable to describe any semantic difference between the different types of purpose clauses, e.g., the semantic difference between לְמַעַן + *yiqtol* purpose constructions and לְמַעַן + infinitive purpose constructions remains obscure. In this regard, further investigation is required.

We tried to distinguish between the different senses of בַּעֲבוּר, לְמַעַן and פֶּן based on cognitive principles. However, we were unable to identify any of the cognitive principles underlying the different senses of פֶּן. In this regard, further investigation is necessary.

We also investigated לְ + infinitive purpose constructions as well as purpose constructions with a *waw* in order to compare them with לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר purpose constructions. However, because the data came from only the Pentateuch, the features identified are tentative. More

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extensive investigation is required to determine whether the entire corpus confirms the results obtained.

It was noted that the concept of purpose is metaphorically conceptualized according to both a location and an object. Furthermore, we pointed out that לְמַעַן and בַּעֲבוּר are each comprised, respectively, of two separate lexemes. Though scholars do not agree as to what the latter half of the two lexemes are, there is a consensus regarding the first: namely, the prepositions לְ and בְּ are identified as being part of the composite forms. Both of these prepositions may be relevant to the conceptualization of the concept of purpose in a dual system, i.e., location and object. Yet, still, in this regard, further investigation is required.

As far as negative purpose constructions are concerned, we have only investigated פֶּן and לֹא 'לְמַעַן (אֲשֶׁר) avertive constructions. We did not investigate negative purpose constructions with מִן or בִּלְתִּי. In order to fully describe an avertive connective, further investigation including מִן and בִּלְתִּי should be undertaken.

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