

„ICH WERDE MEINEN BUND
MIT EUCH NIEMALS
BRECHEN!“
(RI 2,1)

Festschrift für Walter Groß
zum 70. Geburtstag

Herausgegeben von
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HERDERS BIBLISCHE STUDIEN 62

Druckvorlage durch die Herausgeber
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www.herder.de

Umschlaggestaltung: Neil McBeath, Stuttgart
Herstellung: fgb freiburger graphische betriebe
www.fgb.de

Gedruckt auf umweltfreundlichem, chlorfrei gebleichtem Papier
Printed in Germany
ISBN 978-3-451-34115-1



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The Difference between הֵן, הִנֵּה and רָאָה¹

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Abstract

The present work investigates the differences between three apparent near-synonyms הֵן, הִנֵּה and רָאָה. Their semantic potential is established on the basis of exhaustive studies of the occurrences of each form in the Hebrew Bible. We conclude that the most prototypical sense of רָאָה overlaps with one of the less typical (i.e. secondary developments) of הִנֵּה but that רָאָה and הֵן cannot be used interchangeably.

1. Introduction

According to BROWN, DRIVER and BRIGGS (1907: 908) and HALOT (2000: 1159), רָאָה sometimes functions as an exclamation and thus may be considered as a near-synonym of הִנֵּה. HALOT also refers to the fact that the parallel text of (#1) in (#2) uses הִנֵּה instead of רָאָה.²

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־נָתָן הַנְּבִיא
רָאָה נָא אֲנִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּבַיִת אֲרָזִים
וְאָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁב בְּתוֹךְ הַיְרִיעָה: | The king said to the prophet Nathan,
“ <i>See</i> , I am living in a house of cedar,
but the ark of God stays between tent
curtains” (2 Sam 7,2). |
| 2 | וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־נָתָן הַנְּבִיא
הִנֵּה אֲנִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּבַיִת הָאֲרָזִים
וְאָרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה תַּחַת יְרִיעוֹת: | David said to the prophet Nathan,
“ <i>Look</i> , I am living in a house of cedar,
but the ark of the covenant of the Lord
is under tent curtains” (1 Chron 17,1). |

If one further considers Jer 1,9–10 (#3), it indeed appears as if these two lexemes are interchangeable.

¹ The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) of South Africa towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this publication and the conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

² For heuristic purposes, I translate רָאָה as “see.” Where relevant, an interpretative translation is provided in brackets.

The question then arises, what is the difference, if any, between these three lexemes? In recent times, exhaustive studies of הַן³ and הִנֵּה⁴ have been undertaken. Except for one (i.e. GARR 2004), all these studies were conducted in terms of a cognitive semantic approach to lexical semantics.⁵ This implies, amongst other things, that (1) the semantic potential of each lexeme was formulated, (2) the polysemic senses of each lexeme were described in terms of family relationships that developed through radial shifts derived from a core semantic value, (3) each sense distinction has a prototypical meaning which often coincides with particular syntactic constructions and/or contexts of use and (4) the borders between these various sense distinctions are sometimes fuzzy. It is therefore hypothesized in this study that the most justifiable way to ascertain the differences between these three lexemes is to first determine the semantic potential of רְאֵה and then to compare the semantic profile of each lexeme with one another.

This study is therefore structured as follows: in section 2, the semantic potential of רְאֵה, as an imperative form of the root רָאָה, is established; in section 3, the semantic profile of its apparent near-synonyms is described; in conclusion, it will be indicated that the most prototypical sense of רְאֵה overlaps with one of the less typical (i.e. secondary developments) of הִנֵּה, but that רְאֵה and הַן cannot be used interchangeably in the same way as רְאֵה and הִנֵּה.

2. The Semantic Potential of רְאֵה

Assuming that any specialized use of the imperative form of a lexeme represents a development of the normal uses of that lexeme, we commence with a brief overview of all the Qal senses of the root רָאָה. Next, we consider the senses and distribution of all the imperative forms of the root. Finally, we establish those cases that appear to overlap with הַן and הִנֵּה.

2.1 The root רָאָה

According to H.F. FUHS (2004: 210), the root רָאָה is “attested most widely in the South Semitic languages.” Among the Canaanite languages it is attested

³ W.R. GARR 2004 and C.H.J. VAN DER MERWE – J.A. NAUDÉ forthcoming.

⁴ C.H.J. VAN DER MERWE 2007 and C.L. MILLER-NAUDÉ – C.H.J. VAN DER MERWE forthcoming.

⁵ For an excellent overview in this regard, cf. D. GEEREARTS 2010, 182-287.

only in Moabite. Outside the Hebrew Bible it is attested three times in the Lachish letters. The equivalent of **ראה** in Akkadian is *amaru*.

The root **ראה** occurs 1303 times in the Hebrew Bible. Of these, 1291 are in the Qal. As far as its distribution is concerned, FUHS (2004: 213) points out its concentration in the books of Genesis (141 out of 328 times in the Pentateuch) and Psalms (100 times). Also significant is “the paucity of occurrences in the Chronicle’s history (55 times) in comparison to the Dtr History” (225 times) (*ibid.*).

As far as the semantics of the lexeme are concerned, the most exhaustive treatments are to be found in D. VETTER (1997: 1176–1183) and FUHS (2004: 208–242). For the purposes of this study, a brief summary of each will suffice.

VETTER (1997: 1178) states that the chief meaning of **ראה** is “to see” and that sensory perception precedes all other semantic developments. He distinguishes the following senses:

First, concretely: (1) simple seeing with the eyes and (2) seeing and hearing in the sense of becoming aware.

Second, figuratively: (1) intellectual apprehension in the sense of “to determine, observe, note,” “to perceive, understand,” “to take note of, perceive and understand,” “to distinguish,” “to consider,” including the interjection “Behold”; (2) general expressions of life in the sense of “to live” from the construction “to see light” or “to see the sun,” “to experience, adapt to something,” “to have confident relations with somebody” (from the construction “to see the countenance of”); (3) “to inspect, to see about something” (in the sense of taking care of), “to visit,” “to select, choose,” “to uncover.”

FUHS (2004: 216) establishes that a “Global classification into two semantic groups is justifiable in that, besides the sensory visual aspect common to both, one group places more emphasis on the noetic aspect, the other on the emotional.” Typical of the former would be (#7) and for the latter (#8).

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 7 | וַתֵּצֵא דִינָה בַת־לֵאָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְיַעֲקֹב
לְרִאוֹת בְּבָנוֹת הָאָרֶץ | Now Dinah the daughter of Leah,
whom she had borne to Jacob, went out
<i>to visit</i> the women of the region
(Gen 34,1). |
| 8 | וְהוּא יָצָא וַעֲבָדָיו בָּאוּ וַיִּרְאוּ
וְהִנֵּה דִלְתוֹת הַעֲלִיָּה נִעְלוֹת | After he had gone, the servants came
and <i>saw</i> , to their surprise, that the
doors of the roof chamber were locked!
(Judg 3,24). |

Apart from “the everyday uses of the lexeme” (2004: 214–222), FUHS also distinguishes a range of (a) specialized (223–228) and (b) theological uses (229–239). Relevant to this study is the specialized use that he calls (225) “a formulaic expression conveying ownership of things and persons or appointment to office,” e.g. Deut. 1.8 (#9). The formulaic expression he refers to is listed as one of the idiomatic expressions of רָאָה, viz. רָאָה נְתַתִּי (214).

9	רָאָה נְתַתִּי לְפָנֶיכֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ וְרָשׁוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְתֵּיכֶם	See, I am giving the land before you; go in and take possession of the land that THE LORD swore to your ancestors (Deut 1,8).
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It is beyond the scope of this study to critically analyze the lexical description of VETTER (1997) or that of FUHS (2004); however, from the above-mentioned depictions of these two major BH resources, it is evident that VETTER (1997: 1178) limits the construction investigated here to the notion of “to consider”,⁶ while FUHS (2004: 214) focuses on the “idiomatic expression” רָאָה נְתַתִּי. The findings of this study will in a sense confirm the views of these scholars and complement them by means of a more nuanced profile of the imperative use of רָאָה. We now turn to the Qal imperative use of רָאָה in the Hebrew Bible.

2.2 The Qal imperative uses of רָאָה: a general profile

The Qal imperative form of the root רָאָה appears 143 times in the Hebrew Bible. The majority, i.e. 84, are 3rd person singular. Of the rest, 47 are masculine plural, 11 feminine singular and one a feminine plural. If one considers the semantics of these forms, the following picture emerges: for 41 of the 47 instances (i.e. 87%) of the plural forms, and 9 of the 11 instances (i.e. 81%) of the singular feminine forms, the semantic values of the imperative uses are similar to the typical uses of the root in the other Qal conjugations. In these instances it is not possible to postulate near-synonymy with הֵן and/or הִנֵּה. In the case of the 3rd person singular, the situation is different: only 56 of the 84 (i.e. about 66%) are not potential near-synonyms of הֵן and/or הִנֵּה. It is significant that of the remaining 26 instances, 16 are of the construction רָאָה

⁶ However, according to VETTER (1997: 379) “The (asyndetic) impv. of *r’h* “to see” can assume a similar function [i.e. as הֵן and הִנֵּה CHJvdM] as a call for attention and a demonstrative in that it loses its proper verbal significance (in approximately 1/3 of all cases).” According to our analysis, this shift in meaning occurs in only 25% of the instances, cf. section 2.3.

+ *qatal*. Of these 16, 9 are what FUHS (2004: 214) calls the idiomatic expression רָאָה נְתַתִּי.

From this statistical profile of the imperative uses of רָאָה, it is evident that the instances where the imperative form of the root appears to be a synonym of הִנֵּה and/or הִן are relatively few in number. It is also reasonable to expect that these uses typically have an identifiable family relationship with the general range of uses of the Qal form of the root רָאָה. We will now consider the data and illustrate that this is indeed the case.

The sense of seeing with one's eyes or observing something in person, e.g. (#10),⁷ and seeing in the sense of observing and becoming aware of (or realizing) something, e.g. (#11) and (#12),⁸ is by far in the majority. Although not as frequent, but also relatively pervasive, are instances where “the act of seeing” no longer primarily involves physical entities, events or states of affairs, but the intellectual apprehension of a situation. This may be described as considering a situation and/or having insight into it, e.g. (#13).⁹

10	שָׂא נָא עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵה מִזֶּה־מִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה שָׁם צָפֹנָה וְנֹגְבָה וְקִדְמָה וְיָמָה:	Raise your eyes now, and <i>look</i> from the place where you are, northward and southward and eastward and westward (Gen 13,14).
11	חַנּוּנִי יְהוָה רְאֵה עֲנִי מִשׂוֹנְאֵי	Be gracious to me, O LORD. <i>See</i> what I suffer from those who hate me (Ps 9,14).
12	זָכֵר יְהוָה מִהֲהָיָה לָנוּ הַבֵּיט וּרְאֵה אֶת־חַרְפֹּתֵינוּ:	Remember, O LORD, what has befallen us; look, and <i>see</i> our disgrace (Lam 5,1).
13	וְעַתָּה אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת־דַּרְכֶּךָ וְאִדְעֶךָ	Now then, if I have found favor in your sight, please show me your ways, so that I may know you and find favor in

⁷ See also Gen 31,12; Num 27,12; Deut 3,27; 32,49; 1 Sam 24,12; 26,16; 2 Kgs 10,16; Job 22,12; 35,5; Prov 6,6; Eccl 7,13; Ezek 8,9; Zech 5,5. In the *feminine singular*: Isa 49,18; 60,4; Jer 13,20. In the *masculine plural*: Exod 14,13; 1 Sam 12,16; 14,29; Josh 2,1; 22,28; 2 Chron 20,17; Isa 40,26; Jer 7,12; Lam 1,12; Amos 3,9; 6,2; and in the *feminine plural*: Song 3,11.

⁸ 2 Kgs 19,16; Job 40,10-11; Pss 25,18; 25,19; 37,37; 59,5; 80,15; 84,10; 119,153; 142,5; Isa 63,15; Lam 1,9; 1,11; 1,20; 2,20; 5,1; Dan 9,18; Isa 37,17; Ezek 40,4; 44,5. In the *feminine singular*: Ps 45,11; Jer 2,23; 3,2. In the *masculine plural*: Ps 66,5; Isa 6,9; Jer 2,31; Lam 1,18; Hab 1,5.

⁹ In the *masculine plural*: Exod 10,10; 16,29.

לְמַעַן אֲמַצְאֶחֶן בְּעֵינַיִךְ
וּרְאָה כִּי עַמֶּךָ הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה:
your sight. Consider too that this nation
is your people (Exod 33,13).¹⁰

In some cases, primarily the *outcome* of an observation *and* consideration of a situation¹¹ is profiled, e.g. “find out” (#14),¹² (#15)¹³ or “establish, decide” (#16).¹⁴

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| 14 | וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ לְךָ-נָא
רְאֵה אֶת-שְׁלוֹם אַחֶיךָ | So he said to him, “Go now, find out if you brother are well (lit. <i>find out</i> the peace of your brothers)” (Gen 37,14). |
| 15 | וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוֹל לְעַם אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ פְּקֹדוֹ-נָא
וּרְאוּ מִי הִלָּךְ מֵעִמָּנוּ | Then Saul said to the troops that were with him, “Call the roll and <i>find out</i> who has gone from us” (1 Sam 14,17). |
| 16 | וְעַתָּה רְאֵה מָה-אֶשְׁיב אֶת-שְׁלֹחֵי דְבָרִי: | So now, <i>decide</i> what answer I shall return to the one who sent me (1 Chron 21,12). |

In a number of cases, רָאָה is used in fixed expressions with יָדַע. In these cases, רָאָה appears to contribute a sense of precision,¹⁵ i.e. “know for certain” (e.g. #17), “determine precisely” (e.g. #18) or “make a firm decision, consider well” (e.g. #19).

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| 17 | דַּע וּרְאֵה כִּי אֵין בְּיָדֵי רַעַה וּפְשַׁע
וְלֹא-חָטָאתִי לָךְ | You <i>may know for certain</i> that there is no wrong or treason in my hands. I have not sinned against you (1 Sam 24,12). ¹⁶ |
|----|---|---|

¹⁰ Ps 119,159; Eccl 7,14; 1 Chron 28,10; in the *masculine plural*: 1 Sam 12,24; Deut 32,39; Ps 34,9; 2 Chron 19,6.

¹¹ In the case 1 Sam 16,17, a person with certain qualities has “to be found.”

¹² In the *feminine singular*: Judg 16,5. In the case 1 Sam 16,17, a person with certain qualities has “to be found”.

¹³ Also in the *masculine plural*: 2 Kgs 7,14; Jer 2,10; 6,16 (dubious example); 30,6.

¹⁴ Ps 139,24.

¹⁵ This sense is also detected in Exod 25,40; 2 Sam 13,28; 2 Kgs 10,23.

¹⁶ In the *masculine plural*: 1 Sam 12,17; 14,38; 1 Kgs 20,7; 2 Kgs 5,7. In *feminine singular*: Jer 2,19.

- 18 לְכוּ-נָא הִכִּינוּ עוֹד וּדְעוּ וְרֵאוּ
 אֶת-מְקוֹמוֹ אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה רִגְלוֹ מִי רָאָהוּ
 שָׁם
 Go and make sure once more;
determine exactly where he is, and who
 has seen him there (1 Sam 23,22).¹⁷
- 19 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ לָךְ הַתְחִזֵּק וְדַע וְרֵאָה
 אֶת אֲשֶׁר-תַּעֲשֶׂה בִּי לְתִשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה
 מִלְּךָ אָרַם עָלֶיךָ
 He said to him, “Come, strengthen
 yourself, and *consider well* what you
 have to do; for in the spring the king of
 Aram will come up against you”
 (1 Kgs 20,22).¹⁸

From the profile of the semantic values of Qal imperative forms that we do not consider as possible near-synonyms of הִן and הִנֵּה, three related senses of the lexeme stand out: first, instances of acts of physical seeing and observing; second, acts of mental awareness and consideration; and third, acts where the outcome of a physical act of seeing and/or mental consideration are involved.¹⁹ We hypothesize that those 36 instances that are potential near-synonyms of הִן and הִנֵּה will be related to at least one of the above-mentioned senses.

2.3 Potential near-synonyms of הִן and הִנֵּה

If we disregard for a moment number and gender, we have 36 instances of רָאָה to consider. We will commence with a statistical overview of their syntax and semantic scope.

2.3.1 The syntax and semantic scope of רָאָה

(i) רָאָה + noun phrase (3x)

A feature of each of these cases is that רָאָה + noun phrase provides the ground of another speech act, either a preceding (#20) or subsequent directive (#21), or a subsequent assertion (#22).

- 20 יִקַּח וַיַּעַל אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינָיו
 רֵאָה הַבָּקָר לְעֹלָה וְהַמְרָגְמִים
 וְכָלֵי הַבָּקָר לְעֵצִים:
 Let my lord the king take and offer up
 what seems good to him; *see (i.e. here
 are)* the oxen for the burnt offering, and
 the threshing sledges and the yokes of
 the oxen for the wood (2 Sam 24,22).

¹⁷ In the *masculine plural*: 1 Sam 23,23.

¹⁸ 2 Sam 24,13.

¹⁹ Two less typical uses of רָאָה are (1) instances where the lexeme has the sense of “enjoy” (Ps 128,5–6; Eccl 2,1; 9,9) and (2) instances where it has the sense of “take care of” (1 Kgs 12,16 and 2 Chron 10,16). In each case it is possible to postulate an extension from this third sense of רָאָה.

- 21 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה
בְּלִכְתּוֹךָ לָשׁוּב מִצְרָיִם
רָאָה כָּל־הַמִּפְתִּיחַ אֲשֶׁר־שָׂמַתִּי בְיָדְךָ
וַעֲשִׂיתָם לִפְנֵי פַרְעֹה וְאֲנִי אֶתְחַזַּק
אֶת־לְבָבוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁלַח אֶת־הָעָם:
And the LORD said to Moses, “When you go back to Egypt, *see (i.e. consider)* all the wonders that I have put in your power, and do them before Pharaoh; but I will harden his heart, so that he will not let the people go” (Exod 4,21).
- 22 יֵשׁ דָּבָר שִׁיאָמַר רְאֵה־זֶה חֲדָשׁ הוּא
Is there a thing of which it is said, “*See, this is new*”? (Eccl 1,10).

(ii) רָאָה + nominal clause(s) (6x)

Here, רָאָה + nominal clause (or clauses, e.g. #25 and #26) also often provides the grounds of a subsequent speech act, e.g. a directive (#24–25). In one case, the semantic scope includes a statement and a countering assertion (#26). In another case, רָאָה introduces the apodosis of a conditional (#27). In only one instance, the semantic content of a clause introduced by רָאָה cannot be directly related to that of another clause (#28).

- 23 וַיֹּאמֶר רְאֵה רֵיחַ בְּנֵי כְרִיחַ שָׂדֵה
אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכְוּ יְהוָה:
וַיִּתֵּן־לְךָ הָאֱלֹהִים מִטֵּל הַשָּׁמַיִם
וּמִשְׁמַנֵּי הָאָרֶץ וְרֹב דָּגָן וְתִירֹשׁ:
And he said, “*See, the smell of my son is like the smell of a field that the LORD has blessed.*
May God give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine” (Gen 27,27–28).
- 24 רְאֵה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ לְפָנֶיךָ
אֶל־טוֹב וְאֶל־הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֶיךָ לָלֶכֶת
שָׁמָּה לָךְ:
See, the whole land is before you;
Go wherever you think it good and right to go (Jer 40,4).
- 25 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־עֲבָדָיו
רְאוּ חֶלְקֵת יוֹאָב אֶל־יָדִי
וְלֹ־שָׁם שְׁעָרִים
לָכוּ וְהוֹצַתֶּיהָ בָּאֵשׁ
Then he said to his servants,
“*See, Joab’s field is next to mine, and he has barley there;*
go and set it on fire ” (2 Sam 14,30).

- 26 רָאָה דְּבָרְךָ טוֹבִים וְנֹכְחִים
 וְשִׁמְעֵ אִין־לְךָ מֵאֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ:
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִשְׁלוֹם מִי־יִשְׁמְנֵי שֹׁפֵט
 בְּאֶרֶץ
- 27 אִם־תַּעֲנֶה אֶת־בְּנֹתַי וְאִם־תִּקַּח נָשִׁים
 עַל־בְּנֹתַי אִין אִישׁ עִמָּנוּ
 רָאָה אֱלֹהִים עַד בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ:
- 28 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵיהֶוּ רְאֵי חַי בְּנִיךָ
- “See, your claims are good and right;
 but there is no one deputed by the king
 to listen to you,”
 Absalom would say, “If only I were
 judge in the land” (2 Sam 15,3).
 If you ill-treat my daughters, or if you
 take wives in addition to my daughters,
 though no one else is with us, *see (i.e.
 remember)* God is witness between you
 and me (Gen 31,50).
 Then Elijah said, “See, your son is
 alive!” (1 Kgs 17,23).

(iii) רָאָה + verbal clause(s) (27x)

When the imperative of רָאָה introduces a verbal clause, the construction often (about 75% of the cases) provides the grounds of another speech act. The latter may be a subsequent (#29–33) or preceding directive (#34–35). In a few instances, the semantic scope includes two clauses (#33 and 36). In some other instances, the semantic content of the clause introduced by רָאָה is further elaborated on (#37–38). In five instances, the semantic content of a clause introduced by רָאָה cannot be directly related to that of another clause (#39–43).

- 29²⁰ רָאָה נָתַתִּי לְפָנֶיכֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ
 בָּאוּ וּרְשׁוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ
 אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְתָּיִכֶם
- 30²² רָאָה נָתַתִּי בְיָדְךָ אֶת־יְרִיחוֹ
 וְאֶת־מַלְכָּהּ גְּבוּרֵי הָחַיִל:
 וְסָבַתֶּם אֶת־הָעִיר
 כָּל אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה
- See, I am giving the land before you;
 go in and take possession of the land
 that the lord swore to your ancestors
 (Deut 1,8).²¹
 See, I am handing Jericho over to you,
 along with its king and soldiers.
 You shall march around the city, all the
 warriors circling the city once
 (Josh 6,2–3).²³

²⁰ This is #9 repeated as #29.

²¹ Deut 1,21; 2,24.

²² This is #5 repeated as #30.

- 31 רָאָה הַחֲלִיתִי תַתּוֹת לְפָנָיִךָ אֶת־סִיחֹן
וְאֶת־אֲרָצוֹ
הַחֵל רֹשׁ לְרִשֵׁת אֶת־אֲרָצוֹ:
See, I have begun to give Sihon and his land over to you. Begin now to take possession of his land (Deut 2,31).²⁴
- 32 רָאוּ הַפְּלִתִי לְכֶם אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם
הַנִּשְׁאָרִים הָאֵלֶּה בְּנִחְלָה לְשִׁבְטֵיכֶם
וַיְהוֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא יִהְדָּפֶם מִפְּנֵיכֶם
וְהוֹרִישׁ אֹתָם מִלְּפָנֵיכֶם
וְחִזְקֶתֶם מְאֹד לְשָׁמֵר וְלַעֲשׂוֹת אֵת
כָּל־הַכְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה
See, I have allotted to you as an inheritance for your tribes those nations that remain, ... The Lord your God will push them back before you, and drive them out of your sight, ... Therefore be very steadfast to observe and do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses (Josh 23,4–6).
- 33 רָאָה נָתַתִּיךָ אֱלֹהִים לְפָרְעֹה
וְאַהֲרֹן אָחִיךָ יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֲךָ:
אֲתָה תְדַבֵּר אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר אֶצְוֶךָ
See, I have made you like God to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron shall be your prophet. You must say everything I command you (Exod 7,1).
- 34 עָלִי לְשָׁלוֹם לְבֵיתֶךָ
רָאִי שָׁמַעְתִּי בְּקוֹלֶךָ וְאֲשֶׁא פְּנֵיךָ:
Go up to your house in peace; see, I have heard what you said, and I have granted your request (1 Sam 25,35).²⁵
- 35 קַח־לְךָ וַיַּעַשׂ אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַטּוֹב
בְּעֵינָיו
רָאָה נָתַתִּי הַבְּקָר לְעֹלוֹת וְהַמּוֹרְגִים
לְעֵצִים וְהַחֲטָיִם לַמִּנְחָה
הַכֹּל נָתַתִּי:
Take it; and let my lord the king do what seems good to him; see, I am giving the oxen for burnt offerings, and the threshing sledges for the wood, and the wheat for a grain offering. All of it I give (1 Chron 21,23).²⁶

²³ Josh 8,1-2; also Ezek 4,15.

²⁴ Deut 4,5.

²⁵ Also Josh 8,8 and 2 Sam 15,28 (with participle).

²⁶ Gen 39,14 (plur).

- 36 רְאֵה אֶתְּהָ אָמַר אֵלַי הֲעַל אֶת־הָעַם
הַזֶּה וְאֶתְּהָ לֹא הוֹדַעְתָּנִי
אֶת אֲשֶׁר־תִּשְׁלַח עִמִּי
וְעַתָּה אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ
הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת־דְּרָכֶיךָ
- See, you say to me, “Bring up this people,” but you have not let me know whom you will send with me ...*
- Now therefore, if I have found favour in your sight, please show me now your ways (Exod 33,12–13).²⁷
- 37 רְאֵה נָתַתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ הַיּוֹם אֶת־הַחַיִּים
וְאֶת־הַטּוֹב וְאֶת־הַמָּוֶת וְאֶת־הָרָע:
אֲשֶׁר אֶנְכִּי מְצַוֶּה הַיּוֹם ...
- See, I have set before you today life and prosperity, death and adversity.*
- What I am commanding you today is ... (Deut 30,15).²⁸
- 38 רְאֵה זֶה מָצָאתִי אֶמְרָה קִהַלְתָּ
אֶתְּ לְאַחַת לְמִצְאָ חֻשְׁבוֹן:
- “See, this is what I found,” says the Teacher, “adding one thing to another to find the sum” (Eccl 7,27).²⁹*
- 39 וַיֹּאמֶר פַּרְעֹה אֶל־יֹסֵף
רְאֵה נָתַתִּי אֶתְּךָ עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:
- And Pharaoh said to Joseph, “See, I have set you over all the land of Egypt” (Gen 41,41).*
- 40 רְאֵה קָרָאתִי בְשֵׁם בְּצַלְאֵל בֶּן־אוּרִי
בֶּן־חֹר לְמַטֵּה יְהוּדָה
- See, I have called by name Bezalel son of Uri son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah (Exod 31,2).³⁰*
- 41³¹ רְאֵה הַפְּקֹדֶתֶיךָ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַל־הַגּוֹיִם
וְעַל־הַמַּמְלָכוֹת לְנָתוּשׁ וּלְנָתוּץ
וְלִהְיוֹת לְבָנוֹת וּלְנִטּוּעַ:
- See, today I appoint you over nations and over kingdoms, to pluck up and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant (Jer 1,10).*
- 42 רְאֵה הִעֲבַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֶיךָ עֹנֶךָ
וְהִלְבַּשׁ אֶתְּךָ מִחֻלְצוֹת:
- See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel (Zech 3,4).*
- 43 רְאֵה הַיּוֹצְאִים אֶל־אֶרֶץ צָפוֹן
הִנִּיחוּ אֶת־רוּחִי בְּאֶרֶץ צָפוֹן:
- See, those who go toward the north country have set my spirit at rest in the north country (Zech 6,8).*

²⁷ Cf. also 2 Sam 7,2. In contrast to Exod 33,12, the clauses introduced by רְאֵה provide only the grounds of an implied directive, i.e. a request of permission to build a temple for the Lord.

²⁸ See also Deut 11,26 (with participle).

²⁹ Eccl 7,29.

³⁰ Exod 35,30 (plur).

³¹ This is #3 repeated as #41.

In this section we established a statistical profile of the syntax and semantic scope of רָאָה. It turned out that in six cases רָאָה introduces a nominal clause (or clauses). In only three instances it governs a noun phrase. It is therefore evident that רָאָה predominantly introduces verbal clauses, i.e. 27 times.

2.3.2 The semantics and pragmatics of רָאָה

It was hypothesized earlier that the apparent specialized uses of the imperative form of רָאָה would be related to at least one of the more typical uses of the lexeme. The analysis of the data demonstrated the veracity of this hypothesis. Namely, that the constructions are typically used to point out a state of affairs or event(s), which an addressee wants his/her audience to apprehend intellectually – in most cases (i.e. more than two-thirds of the instances), because it provides the grounds of another speech act, but also, often “for its own sake.”

We will first consider those instances where what must be considered could be related to the content of another speech act. A speaker typically appeals to his/her addressees to look at and consider something that provides the grounds of a directive. The “something” may be a situation that is created by the presence of physical entities (#20).³² In most cases though, an addressee is called upon to observe and consider a very specific situation at hand (e.g. #21, 24 and 25). This situation is often due to something the speaker is doing or has done (#29–35). In not one of the cases can it be argued that what the addressee had to consider was something that they were totally unprepared for. In most cases, they are called to fully appreciate the opportunity that a situation provides and to react upon it with confidence (#21, 24–25, 29–33).³³ Sometimes, what must be considered, serves as encouragement for a preceding directive (#20, 34–35). Sometimes, a speaker uses רָאָה in an appeal to his audience to consider the discrepancy of a situation (#26 and #36) or to choose between two radically opposing options (#37). In each of these cases, either an explicit (#26 and #36) or an implicit directive (#37 and 2 Sam 2,7) could be inferred from context.

In one case (#27), a speaker uses רָאָה to remind his audience that, if they do x, they have to consider the reality of y, i.e. the content of the clause introduced by רָאָה. In Ecclesiastes, a speaker appeals to his audience to consider “this” (#22) and “this I have found” (#38), and then explains what was cataphorically referred to and in need of consideration.

³² Cf. also the Chronicler’s version of this text (#35).

³³ Gen 27,27 (#23) is exceptional. Here a speaker uses רָאָה to express an observation (by means of smelling) which provides the grounds of a wish he expresses.

If we now turn to those instances where the clause(s) introduced by **ראה** could not be linked in the above-mentioned way with another speech act in its immediate context, the following picture emerges: a significant feature of #39–40 is that in each case a speaker points to the fact that he is appointing the addressee or that he has called and equipped somebody to fulfill a special role. In none of these instances could it be argued that what the addressees must intellectually apprehend (i.e. realize) they were unprepared for, or that it came to them as a surprise. In the case of #39, the fact that Joseph will be appointed over Egypt is already discourse active. The same applies to Jeremiah's appointment over the nations in #41 (See Jer. 1.5). In the case of #40, the addressee points out that a particular person has been called and equipped for a special role. In each case, what is pointed out should encourage the addressee to fully appreciate the authority and implications of the appointment.

In only three instances, a speaker uses **ראה** to point to a state of affairs (#28) or a happening (#42–43) that one could argue the addressee was unprepared for. In other words, the addressee would have been surprised by it.

According to our analysis of the cases of **ראה** that appear to be near-synonyms of **הִנֵּה** and **הִנֵּן**, the semantic potential of this category could be described as follows: the construction typically denotes appeals to addressees to intellectually apprehend a situation or happening in order to fully realize and appreciate its relevance. In most cases (26/36), this apprehension is intended as an encouragement and/or grounds for a subsequent, preceding or implied directive speech act. Sometimes (4/36) the apprehension entails the recognition of the divine authority of an appointment. Rare (and restricted to three cases in Ecclesiastes) are instances where **ראה** primarily has a “pure” deictic function. Equally rare (also 3/36), are instances where **ראה** is used to appeal to addressees to consider something that they might have found surprising.

3. The Semantic Potential of **הִנֵּן** and **הִנֵּה**

3.1 *The semantic potential of הִנֵּה*

Three major categories of use of **הִנֵּה** are distinguished:

1) when **הִנֵּה** points out an entity (#44–48, 83/1060), location (#49, 29/1060), or event to an addressee (#50–52, 308/1060);

44 וַיִּגִּדּוּ לְמֶלֶךְ לְאֹמֶר הִנֵּה נָתַן הַנְּבִיא

And they told the king,
“Look! Nathan the prophet”
(1 Kgs 1,23).

45	הנה האבן הזאת תהיה-בנו לעדה	Consider this stone, it will be a witness against us ... (Josh 24,27).
46	ועתה הנה אשתך קח ולך:	Now then, <i>here is</i> your wife, take her and go (Gen 12,19).
47	ואשמע את-קול אדני אמר את-מי אשלח ומי ולך-לנו ואמר הנני שלחני:	Then I heard the voice of My Lord saying: “Who shall I send and who shall go for us?” And I said: “ <i>Here am</i> I, send me” (Isa 6,8).
48	ויאמר יצחק אל-אברהם אביו ויאמר אבי ויאמר הנני בני	Then Isaac said to Abraham his father: “My father” and he replied “ <i>Yes</i> , my son” (Gen 22,7).
49	ויאמרו אליו איה שרה אשתך ויאמר הנה באהל:	They asked him, “Where is Sarah you wife?” and he answered: “ <i>There</i> in the tent!” (Gen 18,9).
50	הנני מביא רעה על-המקום הזה	<i>Look</i> , I am about to bring a disaster over this place (Jer 19,3).
51	ויאמר אלהים הנה נתתי לכם את-כל-עשב זרע זרע	God said: “ <i>Look</i> , I hereby give to you all the seed-bearing plants ...” (Gen 1,29).
52	ויאמר המלך אל-יואב הנה-נא עשיתי את-הדבר הזה ולך השב את-הנער את-אבשלום:	Then the king said to Joab, “ <i>Very well</i> , I grant this. Go and return the young man Absalom” (2 Sam 14,21).

2) when a narrator (and less often a speaker) uses הנה to point to the cognitive effects of an observation or mental consideration upon another character (or, less often, upon the speaker him-/herself) (#53–54, 265/1060);

53	וישב ראובן אל-הבור והנה איזוסף בבור	Ruben returned to the pit, <i>and to his surprise</i> , Joseph was not in the pit (Gen 37,29).
54	ואקם בבקר להיניק את-בני והנה-מת ואתבונן אליו בבקר והנה לא-היה בני אשר ילדתי:	When I rose in the morning to nurse my son, he was dead! However, when I looked at him closely in the morning, <i>to my surprise</i> , it was not my son whom I gave birth to (1 Kgs 3,21).

and 3) when הִנֵּה points to a proposition which needs to be related to another proposition or speech act (#55–57, 271/1060).

55	הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יִשְׁׁבֵר בְּמִצְרַיִם רְדוֹ-שָׁמָּה וְשִׁבְרוּ-לָנוּ מִשֶּׁם	<i>Look</i> , I have heard that there is grain in Egypt, go down and buy grain for us there (Gen 42,2).
56	הִנֵּה הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא יִכְלְבוּךָ אֲףִי כִּי-הִבֵּיתִי הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי:	<i>Look</i> , the heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain you, how much less this house which I have built (1 Kgs 8,27).
57	אֹדְדֶךָ יְהוָה כִּי אֲנַפְתָּ בִּי יֵשֶׁב אַפְּךָ וְתַנְחֵמְנִי: הִנֵּה אֵל יְשׁוּעָתִי אֶבְטַח וְלֹא אֶפְחַד	I praise you Lord, for [though] you were angry with me your anger subsided and you comforted me. <i>Yes</i> , God is my deliverer. I will trust and not be afraid (Isa 12,2).

In each of the three categories, הִנֵּה has a deictic function, which could be regarded as its semantic core. However, since in more than two-thirds of the occurrences in the corpus it is unambiguously clear that הִנֵּה is used to point to something for which either addressees or characters were not prepared, it is postulated that the most typical and central use of הִנֵּה is to mark mirativity. This happens most predominantly in instances where addressees are pointed to events that are about to happen (referred to by means of a participle), like #50 and in instances like #53–54. However, some secondary shifts away from this core mirative sense have been identified in the corpus, e.g. instances where the construction functions as a presentative (#46–48), and cases where הִנֵּה has also lost its typical mirative function, and only points to a proposition that needs to be related to another proposition or speech act (#55–57). The latter instances are classified as category 3) above. A subcategory of the latter are represented by instances where הִנֵּה does not point out something “newsworthy,” but only something “noteworthy.”³⁴ This shift of meaning can be detected in 166 of its 1060 occurrences, i.e. about 16%.³⁵

³⁴ We make a distinction between the notions “newsworthy” and “noteworthy.” By “newsworthy” we mean that the information has communicative value for the addressee; it modifies the content or implicatures of statements in the preceding co-text. Information with a communicative value is defined in relevance theoretical circles as information that “yields contextual effects” (BLAKEMORE 1992: 30). The contextual effects may be something the addressees did not know, something they were unprepared for (e.g. something surprising or the denial of an expectation) or it may be confirming something they already

If one now compares the semantic potential of הִנֵּה and רָאָה, it is evident that the former is primarily a marker of mirativity. Only secondarily it points to something “noteworthy” that needs to be considered since it provides the ground of another speech act. הִנֵּה only rarely points to something “noteworthy” for its own sake in a context where it is difficult to postulate some dimension of mirativity. In contrast, רָאָה primarily points to something “noteworthy.” What must be taken note of and intellectually apprehended often provides the grounds of a directive speech act, but should also sometimes be considered for its own sake. However, in these instances, רָאָה rarely points out information which might have been surprising to the addressees.

3.2 The semantic potential of הִן

Speakers or narrators use הִן exclusively³⁶ in reported speech to draw the attention of hearers to the propositional content of typically more than one clause, but also to that of a clause or a phrase. A speaker nearly always affirms with the use of הִן the factuality or truth of the utterance.³⁷ Mostly, what is affirmed modifies the content or implications of (mainly) preceding utter-

knew. By “noteworthy” we mean something a speaker wants his/her addressee to take note of since it establishes a common ground for another speech act. Something “noteworthy,” could be “newsworthy,” but need not be so.

³⁵ It must be noted that instances where הִנֵּה has a presentative function – and the presentation provides the grounds of another speech act (predominantly a directive) – are excluded from these statistics, e.g. #46. Also excluded are a few instances where what is pointed out is both “newsworthy” (i.e. has a mirative sense) and provides the grounds of another speech act, e.g. Gen. 6,13; 27,42; 37,19; Judg 7,17; 9,31 (2x); 1 Kgs 14,5; 2 Chron 20,11. Another few instances that are excluded here are those where an addressee is pointed, by means of הִנֵּה, to the appointment of somebody by the speaker, e.g. Num 3,12; 18,6; 18,8. In none of the latter instances does הִנֵּה mark information with a mirative sense. They are clearly similar to #39–41 above. In these cases, הִנֵּה and the imperative of רָאָה are without doubt interchangeable. The last group of instances that are excluded from the above-mentioned statistics are those listed in #45; they also represent an untypical use of הִנֵּה where an entity to be considered is pointed out, and then something is said about it. This rare use of הִנֵּה might also overlap with the use of the imperative of רָאָה listed in #21.

³⁶ הִן occurs 100 times in the Hebrew Bible, but has a very uneven distribution. Not one instance of הִן is attested in Josh–2 Kgs, while it occurs 32 times in Job and 24 times in Isaiah 40–66. Two instances are attested in Jeremiah, one in Ezekiel and one in the minor prophets.

³⁷ Exceptions are Isa 23,13; 40,15 (2x); 42,1 and Job 31,35 where הִן is used to present an entity about which something is said. Problematic to interpret are the following cases: Isa 64,4; Jer 2,10; Ps 139,4; Job 21,16; 24,5. In 2 Chron 7,13 (2x), הִן appears to be a near-synonym of רָאָה; GARR (2004: 337) argues against such an interpretation.

ances. The modification as a rule further confirms (#58), but may sometimes contradict (#59), discourse active propositions (53/100, i.e. 53%). Except for Exod 4,1 (#59), Lev 10,19 and perhaps Gen 15,3, all instances of this use of הן are from the books of Job, Psalms and Isaiah.

- 58 וְאַרְאֵה וְאִין אִישׁ וּמַאֲלָה וְאִין יוֹעֵץ
 וְאִשְׁאֲלֵם וְיִשְׁיבוּ דְבָרִי:
 הֵן כֻּלָּם אֲנֹן אֶפֶס מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם
 רוּחַ וְתֵהוּ נִסְפֵיָהֶם:
- I looked, but there was nobody, and among them, there is no counselor so that I may ask them and they answer me.
 After all, all of them are nothing, their works are nothing, there metal images are empty wind (Isa 41,28–29).
- 59 וַיַּעַן מֹשֶׁה וַיֹּאמֶר
 וְהֵן לֹא־יֵאֱמִינוּ לִי וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ בְקוֹלִי
 כִּי יֹאמְרוּ לֹא־נִרְאָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ יְהוָה:
- Moses answered and said, “But *look*, they will not believe me and will not pay attention to my voice, but say, ‘Yahweh did not appear to you.’” (Exod 4,1).

What is affirmed by means of הן may (35/100 times) also establish the ground for assertions (#60, 22/35) or directives (#61, 10/35) that are the logical consequence or implication thereof. In a few rare instances, the grounds of questions are affirmed (#62, 3/35).

- 60 הֵן הִרְאָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ
 וְאֶת־גְּדֻלוֹ וְאֶת־קוֹלוֹ שָׁמַעְנוּ מִתּוֹךְ
 הָאֵשׁ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה רָאִינוּ כִּי־יְדַבֵּר
 אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם וְחַי:
- Look*, Yahweh our God has shown us his glory and his greatness, and we heard his voice from the fire. Today we have seen that God may speak to a human and he/she may live (Deut 5,24).
- 61³⁸ הֵן־שָׁכַבְתִּי אִמְשׁ אֶת־אָבִי וְנִשְׁקַנּוּ יַיִן
 גַּם־הִלַּלְתָּהּ וּבֵאֵל שְׁכַבְתִּי עִמּוֹ
 וַיִּנְחַתֶּה מֵאָבִינוּ זֶרַע:
- Look*, I lay last night with my father; let us make him drink wine tonight also; then you go in and lie with him, so that we may preserve offspring through our father (Gen 19,34).
- 62 וְכִי תֹאמְרוּ מִה־נֹּאכֵל בַּשָּׁנָה
 הַשְּׁבִיעִת הֵן לֹא נִזְרַע וְלֹא נֶאֱסָף
 אֶת־תְּבוּאָתֵנוּ:
- If you would asked, “What shall we eat in the seventh year *since* we shall not sow or we shall not gather our crop?” (Lev 25,20).

³⁸ This is #6 repeated as #61.

If one compares הֵן and רָאָה, it is evident that they differ as far as distribution is concerned. The former occurs frequently in the books of Job and Isaiah (i.e. 56/100), while the latter is absent from these books. In turn, הֵן is absent in Josh–2Kgs. On account of their distribution, one might hypothesize that they are perhaps stylistic, dialectic or even diachronic variations. This, however, does not appear to be the case.

In comparing the semantic potential of הֵן and רָאָה, the former tends to be assertive, while the latter is typically used to appeal to an addressee to intellectually appreciate a state of affairs or a happening. However, neither of the expressions typically has a mirative sense. They are also similar in the sense that both of them are used to point to information that provides the grounds of another speech act. In the case of רָאָה, the other speech act is nearly always a directive. In the case of הֵן, it is only sometimes a directive (e.g. #61).³⁹ In the latter cases it is difficult to argue that an appeal is made to an addressee to intellectually apprehend (e.g. realize) a state of affairs or a happening — a fact is merely pointed to (#61).

4. Conclusions

This investigation has shown the following:

1. In only 25% of the imperative forms of רָאָה, the meaning of the lexeme has shifted from the sense of seeing with one's eyes or observing something in person or seeing in the sense of observing and becoming aware of (or realizing) something, to that of a construction denoting appeals to addressees to intellectually apprehend a situation or happening in order to fully realize and appreciate its relevance. They are “noteworthy,” in that they typically provide the grounds of another speech act, e.g. a directive. In most cases, this apprehension is intended as an encouragement and/or grounds of a subsequent, preceding or implied directive speech act. Sometimes the apprehension entails the recognition of the divine authority of an appointment. Rare are instances where רָאָה primarily has a “pure” deictic function. Equally rare are cases where רָאָה is used to appeal to information that an addressee might have found surprising (i.e. with a mirative sense).

2. The most typical function of הִנֵּה is to point to mirative “newsworthy” information, that is, information an addressee, speaker or character was not

³⁹ Gen 3,22; 11,6; 29,7; Exod 8,22; Deut 10,14; 31,14. In the case of Isa 33,7; 41,11 and 50,11, הֵן points to the content of a number of clauses. רָאָה never has such a broad semantic (or discourse) scope.

prepared for. In about 16% of its uses the mirative sense of the lexeme is underplayed, and its potential to point to information that is relevant for an addressee is profiled. Moreover, the information that is pointed out is “noteworthy.” This relatively atypical use of הִנֵּה, is the one that overlaps with the typical use of רָאָה.

3. The most typical function of הִנֵּה is to point to information of which the factuality or truth is affirmed. In only a few instances, what is affirmed provides the grounds of a directive. These are the cases where it appears as if the meaning of הִנֵּה and רָאָה overlap. These two lexemes, however, are not interchangeable. As evinced by the data, speakers do different things with them.

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