Modality, Reference
and Speech Acts
in the Psalms

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

It is not substantially the same as any dissertation that I have submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at any other University. No part of my dissertation has already been or is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification.

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MODALITY, REFERENCE AND SPEECH ACTS IN THE PSALMS

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This study, based on earlier work in Psalmic language and forms, comparative semantics and Biblical Hebrew syntax, examines reference and modality in the Psalms, focussing particularly on Interrogative, Negative and Imperative sentence-types.

The *Introduction* (ch. 1) surveys previous work on the distinctive language of the Psalter (Tsevat, Sappan, Dahood), as well as in sociolinguistics (Finley, Wilt), formulaic language (Culley) and form-criticism (Gunkel, Westermann, Aejmelaeus). Studies in comparative linguistic semantics and pragmatics are presented (Lyons, Levinson), especially speech-act theory (Austin) and modality (Palmer). Structuralist method (Collins, Prinsloo) and Biblical Hebrew Narrative syntax studies (Richter, Talstra; Schneider, Niccacci; Andersen, Longacre) are also surveyed.

Reference (ch. 2) considers the pragmatic function of exophoric 'Reference', particularly in terms of participant reference, and the syntactic function of endophoric 'Relation', especially pronoun topicalisation. Metonymy and discongruence are characteristic of reference in the Psalms.

Modality (ch. 3) argues for the existence of three modally-distinct verbal systems: a Deontic system [+MOD, +VOL] based on short-form *yiqṭōl*, an Epistemic system [+MOD, -VOL] based on long-form *yiqṭōl*, and an Indicative system [-MOD] based on *qāṭal* and the predicative participle (developing Joosten, Niccacci). Vocative function is closely related to modality.

Interrogative (ch. 4) looks at the various basic morphemes involved in clausal, nominal and adverbial Interrogation. A range of modal, Negative and Exclamative functions are identified.

Negative (ch. 5) considers briefly the relationship between modally-distinct sentence types and the various forms for argumental and clausal Negation.

Imperative (ch. 6) considers the morphological 'imperative' as well as the D-system ('jussive' and 'cohortative'); also the Affirmative Deontic particle *-nā'* and Deontic use of nominal clauses.

The *Conclusion* (ch. 7) surveys the most significant results and offers some suggestions for further implications of this work.

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48:9   כאשר שמענו כן ראינו בעיר־יהוה צבאות בעיר אלהינו

May the Lord, of whom academic language often speaks so lightly, bear with the inadequacy o my words.

DEDICATION

The years of this thesis have seen
a death and a birth.

It is therefore dedicated to
my Father (d. 22-07-97) and Marcus (b. 28-10-96)

… and to the work of the Gospel among the Birifor people in northwest Ghana

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ATAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BI	*Biblical Interpretation*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FS	Festschrift
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JoP	*Journal of Pragmatics*
JOTT	*Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LA	*Liber Annuus*
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NMES	Near and Middle East Series
NOT	*Notes on Translation*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OPTAT	*Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics*
Or	*Orientalia*
OS	*Orientalia Suecana*
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RdQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SSU	Studia Semitica Upsaliensia
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TB-NBZJ	Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UBS	United Bible Societies
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Actant	participant in the speech situation: Psalmist, God, Enemy/-ies; also community.
AdvP	Adverb Phrase.
Affirmative	opposite polarity to Negative.
Agent	thematic role.
Anterior	the *function* [-MOD, +PAST] and the corresponding *form qāṭal*.
Aspect	the grammatical reflex of internal temporal constituency, in particular [±PROGRESSIVE].
Assertive	type of illocutionary force.
asyndetic	without conjunction.
Beneficiary	thematic role.
Commissive	type of illocutionary force.
Constative	non-performative.
Contemporaneous Constative	the *function* [-MOD, -PAST, -PROG] and the corresponding *form qōṭēl hû'*.
Contemporaneous Cursive	the *function* [-MOD, -PAST, +PROG] and the corresponding *form hû' qōṭēl*.
Contemporaneous	the *function* [-MOD, -PAST] and the corresponding *form qōṭēl*.
D-system	the class of *forms* (analogous to English imperative) centred on short-form *yiqṭōl* ('jussive'), and also including: *'æqṭəlâ* ('cohortative'), Negative *'al-tiqṭōl* ('vetitive') and 'vocative intensifier' *-nā'*; supplemented by the person-unmarked form *qəṭōl* ('imperative') and *qåṭlâ* ('adhortative').
D-system *yiqṭōl*	(also 'short-form *yiqṭōl*', '*yiqṭōl*-x', 'jussive') PRE2 (DeCaen), PK (KF) (Richter), YIQTOL-x (Niccacci).
Declarative	sentence-type paradigmatic with Interrogative and Imperative.
	type of illocutionary force.
declarative praise	praise of God focussing on what God has *done*—form-critically, the 'Song of Thanksgiving' (also 'confessional praise').
Deontic	the *function* [+MOD, +VOL] (from Greek δεῖ, 'there is need');
	the modal system concerned with volition, *e.g.* English imperative.
descriptive praise	praise of God focussing on who God *is*—form-critically, the 'Hymn'.
desiderative	sub-type of Deontic–Expressive modal force.
Directive	type of illocutionary force.
directive	sub-type of Deontic–Directive modal force.
E-system	the class of *forms* (analogous to English subjunctive) centred on long-form *yiqṭōl* (optionally with *nun paragogicum*), and also including: Negative *lō' tiqṭōl* ('prohibitive' when used Deontically) and continuation form *wəqāṭal*; supplemented by the person-unmarked form *qāṭōl* ('infinitive absolute').
E-system *yiqṭōl*	(also 'long-form *yiqṭōl*', 'x-*yiqṭōl*') imperfect(ive), prefix conjugation (PC), PRE1 (DeCaen), PK (LF) (Richter), x-YIQTOL (Niccacci).
Epistemic	the *function* [+MOD, -VOL] (from Greek ἐπιστήμη, 'knowledge');
	the modal system concerned with opinions, *e.g.* English subjunctive.
Experiencer	thematic role.
Expressive	type of illocutionary force.
hortative	sub-type of Deontic–Directive modal force.
hû' qōṭēl	(also 'Contemporaneous Cursive') identifying nominal clause

I-system	the class of *forms* (analogous to English indicative) centred on *qātal* ('perfective') and also including: continuation form *wayyiqtōl*. Supplemented by the person-unmarked form *qōtēl* ('predicative participle').
Illocutionary force	Constative, Assertive, Declarative, Directive, Commissive, Expressive.
Imperative	Deontic *function* , and the corresponding D-system forms; sentence-type paradigmatic with Interrogative and Declarative; treated here alongside Interrogative and Negative.
imperative	the verbal form *qətōl*, the morphological imperative (from Latin *impero*, 'to command').
Indicative	the *function* [-MOD].
Interrogative	sentence-type paradigmatic with Imperative and Declarative; treated here alongside Negative and Imperative.
Linguistic Attitude	Discourse *vs.* Narrative.
main/subordinate clause	also independent/dependent clause.
Modality	the grammatical reflex of assertivity or reality, in particular, [±MODAL, ±VOLITIONAL].
Mood	the formal realisation of modality in the D- or E-systems of Biblical Hebrew.
MTA	Mood-Tense-Aspect.
Negative	opposite polarity to Affirmative; sentence-type treated here alongside Interrogative and Imperative.
NP	Noun Phrase.
obligative	sub-type of Deontic–Directive modal force.
optative	sub-type of Deontic–Expressive modal force.
Patient	thematic role.
performative	a speech act.
permissive	sub-type of Deontic–Directive modal force.
polarity	Negative *vs.* Affirmative.
precative	sub-type of Deontic–Directive modal force.
prohibitive	sub-type of Deontic–Directive modal force.
Ps(s)	Psalms, Psalter.
ps(s)	other psalmic Old Testament texts.
qətōl	(also 'imperative').
qōtēl	(also 'Contemporaneous') participle.
qōtēl hû'	(also 'Contemporaneous Constative') classifying nominal clause.
qātal	(also 'Anterior') perfect(ive), suffix conjugation (SC), SUFF (DeCaen), SK (Richter), QATAL (Niccacci).
Referential	exophoric reference to real-world context.
Relational	endophoric reference to linguistic cotext.
Speaker/Addressee	situationally-dependent referential terms indicating hypothetical 'players' in a communicative event.
S'	Clause.
Tense	the grammatical reflex of time, in particular, [±PAST].
Thematic role	syntactic function, *e.g.* Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Beneficiary.
volitional	a less technical equivalent to Deontic (from Latin *volo*, 'to want').
VP	Verb Phrase.

wayyiqtōl	*imperfectum consecutivum*, wayyPRE2 (DeCaen), *wa*=PK (KF) (Richter), WAYYIQTOL (Niccacci).
wəqātal	consecutive perfect.
'æqtəlâ	(also 'cohortative').
*	ungrammatical (in examples from modern languages); unattested (in Biblical Hebrew examples).
≈	'is pragmatically equivalent to'.

Capitalisation is used in the text for certain technical terms including the two types of deixis (Referential, Relational), the three primary actants (Psalmist, God, Enemy), the two types of Psalmic discourse (Praise and Lament), the various thematic roles, the three types of modality (Indicative, Epistemic, Deontic), the three sentence types (Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative), the two types of polarity (Negative and, when marked, Affirmative) and the six types of illocutionary force (Constative, Assertive, Declarative, Directive, Commissive, Expressive). Common Negative, Interrogative and Imperative particles are transliterated.

All biblical references are to the Psalter unless otherwise stated, and only Psalm citations are vocalised. Translated are marked as my own (ALW) or from the NRSV.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

An overview is attempted here of previous treatments of Psalmic language. Then work from several fields in comparative linguistic semantics and pragmatics, and from Hebrew Narrative syntax research, is introduced as the basis for the ensuing treatment of Biblical Hebrew.

1. Language of the Psalter

The language of the Biblical book of Psalms has often been looked at in rhetorical terms, ranging from popular appreciation of its deep expressiveness and vitality to more technical descriptions by linguists. A characterisation of the latter type is given by Collins:

> ... variation of the modes of discourse is an observable feature in the language of the psalms. The most striking quality of this variation, however, is its abruptness. The readiness to permit abrupt changes in modes is a distinctive characteristic of psalm composition .... Besides being frequent and abrupt the variation is also quite arbitrary. There appears to be considerable freedom of choice in the selection of the mode of discourse from one verse to the next. ... there are no rules of the grammar of psalm composition which restrict the use of the options available. ... linguistic environment does not appear to be a governing factor ....[1]

It is this 'variation of the modes of discourse' which underlies the present work. Collins uses the term to refer to the rhetorical or text-type features, 'narration, reflection, direct address, invocation, interrogation, petition *etc.*', explaining that

> each mode of discourse is characterized by observable linguistic features: e.g. the grammatical person selected for the verbs and pronouns, the tense and mood of the verbs, the use of vocative interjections etc.

It is these *linguistic* features which are investigated here. The two most significant of Collins's 'observable linguistic features', reference (pronominal and morphological) and mood (whether marked in the verb or the clause), are systematised, and the latter classified in terms of typological modalities. I contend that the 'dynamic of faith and crisis in prayer',[2] so integral to the rhetorical dynamic of the Psalms, lies in pronominal and modal shifts, together with the fore- and backgrounding of actants and actions which this effects. The power of these prayers lies in the very fact that

> There is no fixed syntagmatic relationship between the units, no prescribed order in which they must occur[3]

In other words, the Psalms thrive on the rhetorical figure of *oratio variata*.[4]

[1] Collins, T., 'Decoding the Psalms: A Structural Approach to the Psalter', *JSOT* 37 (1987) 41-60 (43).
[2] Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 46.
[3] Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 45.
[4] Waltke, B.K. and O'Connor, M., *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 570.

The following section reviews some of the existing literature on the language of the biblical Psalms, attempting to characterise that distinct idiom used in Biblical Hebrew verse, 'שׂוּ[i] השׁירה, *Dialectus Poetica*'[5] or 'die *Dichtersprache*'.[6]

1.1. Lexis

The distinctive lexis of the Psalter was noted by Gesenius,[7] who lists both poetic variants for common words used in prose:

Mensch: *prose* אדם; *verse* אנוש. Pfad: *prose* דרך; *verse* ארח. Wort: *prose* דבר; *verse* מלה. schauen *prose* ראה; *verse* חזה. kommen: *prose* בוא; *verse* אתה

and words ('poët. *Epitheta*') which occur with a different meaning in verse:

אביר: *prose* der Starke; *verse* Gott. אבּיר: *prose* der Starke; *verse* Stier, Pferd (*e.g.* 'Bulls of Bashan' לבנה: *prose* alba; *verse* luna. צר: *prose* Feind; *verse* איב

Many of these and similar differences between the lexis of prose and verse can be accounted for by the later date—or later redaction—of certain Psalms, or the use of archaisms.

Tsevat's *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms*,[8] though relying on a rather simplistic statistical methodology,[9] identifies a number of lexical items which can be confidently asserted to belong to a distinct psalmic idiom. It is striking how many of these terms can be classified into groups referring to the Psalms' three primary actants:[10]

		Occuring solely in Psalms (occuring predominantly in Psalms[11])
1.	Psalmist and community	(נחלה, ירא, יהוה/אלהים, חסיד) לב/רוח נכון, ישרי לב, יראיו, דך
		[one could add other metonymous terms: חיי, נפשי, כבודי, יחידי]
2.	God Abstractions, Names Metaphors	מרום also (קדשׁו, עליון, יה) רוח קדשׁך/ו, עשׂה פלא, כבוד שׁמך/ו (צור, מחסה, מגן) משׂגב, עז, סתר, סלע, מנוס
3.	Enemies	שׁוררים, רשׁעי ארץ, עתק, הוללים, דוברי כזב/שׁקר[ים]
		(שׁכנים, משׂנא, מרעים, קמים, צורר, צר, זדים, גאים)
	Types	(נדיבים, מלכי ארץ)

This represents around 40% of those terms which occur solely in the Psalms and 20% of those which occur predominantly there, showing that lexical multiplication is an important feature in participant reference. Two other words identified by Tsevat as predominantly psalmic are

אשׁרי and בל, both of a 'modal' character.[12] Further major categories are the terms for praise/prayer (שׁיר, שׁוע, שׁבח, רנן, רום, ידה, תחנון, זמר, הלל, ברך) and for law (עדות, עדת, מישׁרים, פקודים). These six lexical groupings together account for over 35% of the words occurring solely or predominantly in the Psalter and already give insight into the distinctives of psalmic language. It is concerned, above all, with the relationships between three primary actants, particularly in terms of praise (Psalmist to God) and conformity with the law (Psalmist as against Enemy).

Hebrew poetic language has been described as exhibiting 'überhaupt eine kräftige Kürze des Ausdrucks'.[13] In grammatical terms this is largely true—psalmic language is highly elliptical and syntactically economical; however, extensive multiplication of lexical items and synonymous parallelism contribute to what is in fact a high level of redundancy.[14] This accounts, at least in part, for the characteristic lexis of the Psalms. The term פקודים, 'commandments', for example, occurs only in Psalms, including twenty-one times in the Torah-Psalm 119, where other words for commandments are also used extensively; the need for variation has led to the use of a less common term from the wider lexical stock of the language. The same point could be made for the use of אישׁ and אדם in synonymous parallelism[15] and for the multiplication of divine names in Psalm 57:

57:3 אקרא לאלהים עליון לָאֵל גֹמֵר עָלָי:

I cry to God Most High, to God who fulfills his purpose for me. (NRSV)

We may conclude from this brief sketch that the lexis of the Psalter is highly 'marked', in the sense that, compared with standard prose, terms chosen will often carry features such as archaism or Aramaic derivation (taken, that is, from the wider chronological and geographical lexical stock of the language), or be in some other way unusual (perhaps having a usually more restricted range of meaning).

1.2. Morphology

In defence of the lexical emphasis of his study, Tsevat argues that,

> One cannot expect major morphological differences between the idioms of various types of biblical literature. The speaker or writer may alter his vocabulary in a given situation, but he can hardly apply another set of verbal prefixes without the risk of speaking or writing unintelligibly. Nor does the poetical

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[5]Sappan, R., *The Typical Features of the Syntax of Biblical Poetry in its Classical Period* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1981) IV.

[6]Gesenius, W. and Kautzsch, E., *Hebräische Grammatik* (Repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1991; Leipzig, 1909) 14-15 §2q.

[7]Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 17 §2s.

[8]Tsevat, M., *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms* (JBL Monograph Series IX; Philadelphia: Sociey of Biblical Literature, 1955).

[9]Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 6-9.

[10]See ch. 2, section 1 below.

[11]For criteria for this, see Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 7.

[12]Though מדוע is completely absent from the Psalter, despite 72 occurrences elsewhere in the Old Testament; Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 31; Barr, J., 'Why? in Biblical Hebrew', *JTS* 36 (1985) 1-33.

[13]Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 17 §2s.

[14]Prinsloo refers to 'word pairs and parallelism to retard progression', and to the ultimate intention of this as 'facilitation of the communication process'; Prinsloo, W.S., 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', *OTE* 7/4 (1994) 78-83 (82).

[15]22:7; 80:18; 140:2 (49:2 arguably reflects a class distinction between the two).

structure of the psalms allow for the development of a syntax appreciably different from other types of biblical verse.[16]

The same point is expressed in a more balanced way by Waltke and O'Connor:

> Poetic traditions (and to a lesser extent all literary traditions) preserve older vocabulary and grammatical forms that have been lost from ordinary speech and plain prose. The lexical and morphological resources thus tend to be larger. These linguistic facts interact in complex ways with other structural features of Hebrew verse. It is important to see the grammar *in poetry* in the context of Hebrew grammar. Loose notions of a special vocabulary and grammar *of poetry* are linguistically uninformed.[17]

This point is essential to the present work. I argue that many modal verb forms and clause types occur *by definition* only in the text-type known as Discourse (as against Narrative).[18] No such grammatical distinction can then be made within Discourse between verse and 'ordinary speech'—it is only at the 'macro-structural', 'stylistic' or 'rhetorical' level that they may be distinguished. The following morphological distinctives of the Psalter are therefore to be explained-, just as the above lexical distinctives, simply in terms of diachronic change, borrowing and variation.

Morphological distinctives include:[19]

1. The use of *unusual pronominal suffixes*:

1st-person singular in ‎ני‎- with prepositions (139:11 ‎בעדני‎); 2nd-person feminine singular in ‎כי‎- with singular substantives (103:3a ‎עונכי‎) and verbs (137:6 ‎אזכרכי‎), and in ‎יכי‎- with plural substantives (103:4a ‎חייכי‎) and prepositions (116:7b ‎עליכי‎); 3rd-person singular and plural in ‎מו‎- with substantives, and prepositions (5:12 ‎עלימו‎); 3rd-person plural in ‎מו‎- with verbs (5:11 ‎הדריחמו‎).

2. On the *verb*, the long (non-apocopated) imperative of *hiph'il* ‎נטה‎ (31:3 ‎הטה אזנך‎); also uncontracted *nun energicum* (72:15 ‎יברכנהו‎; 50:23 ‎יכבדנני‎) and apparently functionless ‎ה‎- (adhortative and cohortative; see ch. 6 below).

3. On the *noun*, the *litterae compaginis* (114:8 ‎מעינו‎) and *enclitic mem* (59:6 ‎אלהים צבאות‎); a plural absolute in ‎י‎- (144:2 ‎עמי‎) and use of the *pluralis intensivus* (103:4 ‎רחמים‎); also prefixed *nominal patterns* (88:19 ‎מחשך‎) and reduplicating plurals (133:3 ‎הררי‎).

4. Among the *prepositions*, long unsuffixed forms of those which normally take plural suffixes (32:5 ‎עלי‎), monoliteral prepositions (92:8 ‎כמו‎) and ‎מן‎ (44:11 ‎מני‎); non-reduplicating suffixed ‎מן‎ (18:23 ‎מני‎).

5. *Non-elision* of ‎ה‎ (36:6 ‎בהשמים‎; 86:11 ‎אהלך‎).

Thus the morphology of the Psalter is 'marked' in that otherwise unusual forms, which are often archaic, are frequently used, with the result that forms 'draw attention to themselves'.

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[16]Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 13.

[17]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 58-59 §3.4c.

[18]See below on Weinrich/Schneider/Niccacci.

[19]This is just a selection of some more striking forms. More extensive surveys have already been made; Dahood, M. and Penar, T., 'The Grammar of the Psalter', in *Psalms* (The Anchor Bible 17A; New York: Doubleday, 1965-70) 361-456; Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*.

1.3. Syntax

In his *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen*, Bergsträsser characterised the syntax of Biblical Hebrew in general as principally governed by three elements: the verbal system, alternation between syndesis and asyndesis, and the use of particular word order patterns;[20] he went on then to speak of the freedom with which these may be used (compare Collins above) and the resulting poetic potential:

> Die beherrschenden syntaktischen Ausdrucksmittel des Hebräischen sind das reich entwickelte Verbalsystem, der Wechsel zwischen grundsätzlicher Syndese und gelegentlicher besonderen Ausdruckszwecken dienender Asyndese, und die Verwendung bestimmteer Stellungstypen—von den einfachen Unterschieden der Stellung Subjekt-Verb oder umgekehrt bis zu komplizierten Formen. Schon mit diesen Mitteln gelingt es, auch Unterordnung auszudrücken. Für die Verwendung dieser Mittel besteht ziemliche Bewegungsfreiheit. So ist das Hebr. eine nuancen- und farbenreiche Sprache, vorzüglich befähigt zum Ausdruck gesteigerten Erlebens wie zu lebendiger Schilderung und anschaulicher Erzählung, ohne doch einen hohen Grad gedanklicher Schärfe zu erreichen; eine Dichter- und Propheten-, keine Denkersprache.[21]

Distinguishing verse, Niccacci writes that,

> Poetry has its own rules concerning the use of tense and, unfortunately, they are still mysterious; they cannot be derived from prose and vice versa. ... in contrast with prose, poetry offers a very limited number of linguistic markers for identifying the function of individual forms and verbal constructions in a text.[22]

Tsevat has characterised the language of the Psalter itself:

> This condensed speech frequently contains the syntactical essentials alone. Subordinate clauses are rare, and subordinating conjunctions even more so. All this restricts the possibility of syntactic varieties. On the other hand, word order is so free that there is hardly a standard from which deviations may be noted. Finally, the use of the so-called tenses often escapes syntactical regulation.[23]

What these comments show is that the syntax (as above, the morphology) of Hebrew verse is *stylistically but not systematically* different from that of prose.[24] If the stylistic distinctive of the Psalms' morphology is *markedness*, in terms of there being so many unusual forms, that of their syntax is *unmarkedness*, in that distinct functions are much less consistently marked formally than in prose. Some characteristic features which have been noted include:[25]

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[20]For the first and last of these, see ch. 3 below.

[21]Bergsträsser, G., *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen: Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen* (München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1928) 45-46.

[22]Niccacci, A., *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, tr. W.G.E. Watson from *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica*, 1986 (JSOTS 86; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 10-12. Contrast, however, DeCaen, V., *On the Placement and Interpretation of the Verb in Standard Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Dissertation, University of Toronto: UMI, 1995) 306-310.

[23]Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 13-14.

[24]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 18; O'Connor, M., *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1980) 5-20.

[25]See also Dahood and Penar, 'Grammar of the Psalter'.

1. Omission of the *relative particle* אשר,[26] the direct-object marker,[27] prepositions (קמי for קמים עלי); similarly, the *adverbial* use of nouns ([שקר]); omission of a preposition occuring in an a-colon from a synonymously parallel b-colon;[28] use of 'double-duty' suffixes; *asyndeton* in general.[29]

2. Use of prepositions to refer to a place *before* movement (באפו, '*from* his nostrils') and avoidance of מן (לקהל רב ... כחד); *status constructus* before prepositions (כל־חוסי בו).

3. *Extended rection* of prepositions, relative particles, question words and Negation.

4. Use of a pronominal copula (though never in early poetry).[30]

5. Unusual uses of the verbal conjugations, such as the *jussive* used with personification of natural elements; *qāṭal* used statively.

6. *Anarthrous* use of certain nouns (עם, מלך, אדם; שמש, שמים, ימים/ים, ארץ) and divine epithets (שדי, עליון, אלוה).[31]

7. Lack of *agreement* in gender or number by adjectival or participial predicates, and in number by the suffix of כל (כלו referring to a plural antecedent);[32] 3rd-person agreement in a relative clause with a vocative.[33]

8. One-member sentences, whether in the form of exclamations (*e.g.* קול, הנה) or one-member possessive sentences (*e.g.* רגליהם ולא יהלכו); the latter category may also include the אשרי construction;[34] short ('one-term') כי clauses (כי טוב).

9. Expression of comparison by coordination (*comparant*–ו–*comparé*).[35]

10. Separation of a relative clause from its antecedent.[36]

Sappan, in his *Typical Features of the Syntax of the Psalms*, has suggested that some syntactic phenomena occur in the Psalms for metrical and euphonic reasons:

> in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form.[37]

He includes in this the redundant use of the independent personal pronoun, the copula, the infinitive absolute and an internal (cognate) object. He further uses transformations to argue for parallelism between active and passive forms, or where there is ellipsis.[38]

Syntactical studies have been made of the Psalter by Battle[39] (generative grammar), Michel[40] (textlinguistics), Gibson[41] and O'Connor.[42] Discourse analysis of Psalms is practiced in particular by Bible translators, such as Bliese,[43] Graber,[44] Wendland,[45] Bratcher and Reyburn.[46]

1.4. Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics considers extra-grammatical features such as power-relationships between actants, the requirements of face-saving/giving and politeness. These factors are particularly important in the study of the particles in Hebrew, such as Brongers on *haló*'[47] and Wilt on *-nā*'[48], as well as studies of Deontic forms, such as Finley on 'the proposal'.[49] Collins has also used them in his characterisation of the Psalter.[50] The terms Speaker and Addressee are used here to refer to the actants within the speech situation, thus interacting with the other referential categories of grammatical person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and what I call rhetorical person (God, Psalmist, Enemy). They refer to hypothetical 'players' in a communicative context, not actual processors/receptors, and are hence also used where Psalms were most probably originally composed (and perhaps even intended to be received) in written form.

There is, of course, a lot of Speaker-switching in the Psalms, as well as many cases— including, most crucially, with Deontic forms—where the identity of the Addressee is unclear.

[26]Occasionally, *šæ*-is used instead, or the relative pronoun *zû*, asyndesis, or a participial relative clause or 'semirelative'; Shlonsky, U., *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic: An Essay in Comparative Semitic Syntax* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax; Oxford: OUP, 1997) 36. Asyndetic relative clauses represent 'one of the most striking features of DP'; Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXIII.

[27]Occasionally, *lǝ* is used instead.

[28]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXI.

[29]Though this is questioned in Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXI.

[30]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXI

[31]It has been suggested that this is characteristic of spoken language in general; Rendsburg, G.A., *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (American Oriental Series 72; New Haven, CN: American Oriental Society, 1990) 177-8.

[32]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXIII.

[33]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXIII.

[34]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXVI-II.

[35]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXI-II.

[36]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXIII.

[37]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, V.

[38]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, X-XI. One might also consider in this respect Chomsky's Negative and modal transformations (see section 3 below).

[39]Battle, J.H., *Syntactic Structures in the Masoretic Hebrew Text of the Psalms* (Diss. University of Texas at Austin; Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, Inc., 1969).

[40]Michel, D., *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* (Abhandlungen zur Evangelischen Theologie, Band 1; Bonn: H. Bouvier u. Co. Verlag, 1960).

[41]Gibson, J.C.L., 'The Anatomy of Hebrew Narrative Poetry', in Auld, A.G. (ed.), *Understanding Poets and Prophets. Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 141-48.

[42]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*.

[43]Bliese, L.F., 'Structurally Marked Peak in Psalms 1-24', *OPTAT* 4 (1990) 265-321.

[44]Graber, P.L., 'A Textlinguistic Approach to Understanding Psalm 88', *OPTAT* 4 (1990) 322-39; 'The Structural Meaning of Psalm 113', *OPTAT* 4 (1990) 340-52.

[45]Wendland, E.R. (ed.), *Discourse Perspectives on Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (UBS Monograph 7; Reading/New York: UBS, 1994); *Discourse Analysis and the Psalms: An Introduction with Exercises for Bible Translators* (draft copy).

[46]Bratcher, R.G. and Reyburn, W.D., *A Handbook on Psalms* (UBS Handbook Series; New York: UBS, 1991).

[47]Brongers, H.A., 'Some Remarks on the Biblical Particle *haló*'', *OTS* 21 (1981) 177-89.

[48]Wilt, T., 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*'', *VT* 46 (1996) 237-55.

[49]Finley, T.J., 'The Proposal in Biblical Hebrew: Preliminary Studies Using a Deep Structure Model', *ZAH* 2 (1989) 1-13.

[50]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms'.

When the Addressee is God, there is usually no evidence that he has heard the Psalmist (hence my use of 'Speaker-Addressee' rather than 'Speaker-Hearer'.

1.5. Formulaic Composition

> In ancient times nobody sought to be original. The shelter of convention, however awkward to modern readers, was abandoned only in case of utmost need. In the oral communication with God, psalm language and form were the shelter. They covered great and small, the lonely genius and the man in charge of the regular Temple service.[51]

Culley's *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms*[52] has had a major impact on the way most modern researchers read the psalms. It has been the primary introduction to Biblical studies of the oral composition studies of the Homer scholars Lord and Parry.[53] Though his categorisation of formulas is often too strict (I see standard formulas as influencing many texts which share no lexical items and little surface structure), his formulaic systems and formulas constitute the basis for much syntactical analysis of the Psalms. Work on these 'commonplaces' leads into a better appreciation of syntactical structures throughout psalmic language.

The oral composition perspective has been considered an important factor in translation of the Psalms.[54] A comparable category of 'sememes' has been used by Collins,[55] and the word-pair in Hebrew poetry has been argued to be also 'formulaic' in Culley's sense.[56]

The rapidly-expanding field of Biblical Hebrew poetics has not been considered central to the present work, since we are concerned with Discourse as against Narrative, rather than verse as against prose. Some of the most important recent contributions have been those by Kugel,[57] Watson,[58] O'Connor[59] and Alonso Schökel.[60]

1.6. Other Studies

In addition to the specific studies discussed above, several other approaches to the Psalms have been influential. *Form criticism*, from Gunkel's still excellent *Einleitung in die Psalmen*,[61] through other work by Begrich,[62] Westermann,[63] Crüsemann,[64] Aejmelaeus[65] and Broyles,[66] to the important though unfinished commentary by Gerstenberger,[67] has contributed much to the present discussion of form and function in the Psalms. Its daughter, *Rhetorical criticism*, contributes similarly, as in the works of Muilenburg[68] and his followers, the many publications of Pierre Auffret, and the survey and bibliography by Watson and Hauser,[69] though here there is the greater emphasis on the Psalm as a unit. *Cult-functional criticism* of such as Mowinckel[70] situated the Psalms in the worship life of ancient Israel (albeit often questionably).

The most important commentaries cover a similar range, from the older work of Gunkel[71] to Kraus,[72] the controversial linguistic work of Dahood,[73] the rhetorical analyses of Gerstenberger[74] and most recently the very well-received commentary of Hossfeld and Zenger.[75]

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[51]Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 37.

[52]Culley, R.C., *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (NMES 4; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

[53]The work of these scholars has also been applied to several other fields, including *e.g.* the *Qur'ān*; Neuwirth, A., *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren* (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients NF 10; Berlin: Walter der Gruyter, 1981).

[54]Schrag, B.E., 'Translating Song Texts as Oral Compositions', *NOT* 6 (1992) 44-62.

[55]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms'; see discussion below.

[56]Watson, W.G.E., *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (JSOTS 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984) 136.

[57]Kugel, J.L., *The Idea of Biblical Poetry. Parallelism and its History* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1981).

[58]Watson, W.G.E., *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse* (JSOTS 170; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994); *Classical Hebrew Poetry*.

[59]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*.

[60]Alonso Schökel, L., *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Subsidia Biblica 11; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1988).

[61]Gunkel, H., *Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933).

[62]Begrich, J., 'Die Vertrauensäußerungen im israelitischen Klagelied des Einzelnen und in seinem babylonischen Gegenstück', *ZAW* 46 (1928) 221-60; 'Das priesterliche Heilsorakel', *ZAW* 52 (1934) 81-92; *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB-NBZJ 21; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1964).

[63]Westermann, C., *Lob und Klage in den Psalmen*, 5., erweiterte Auflage von *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

[64]Crüsemann, F., *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969).

[65]Aejmelaeus, A., *The Traditional Prayer in the Psalms* (BZAW 167; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986).

[66]Broyles, C.C., *The Conflict of Faith and Experience in the Psalms: A Form-Critical and Theological Study* (JSOTS 52; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

[67]Gerstenberger, E.S., *Psalms: with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry*, Part 1 (FOTL XIV; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); also *Der bittende Mensch: Bittritual und Klagelied des Einzelnen im Alten Testament* (WMANT 51; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980).

[68]Muilenburg, J., 'Form Criticism and Beyond', *JBL* 88 (1969) 1-18; also the earlier 'A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style', in *Congress Volume: Copenhagen 1953* (SupplVT 1; Leiden: Brill, 1953).

[69]Watson, D.F. and Hauser, A.J., *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method* (Biblical Interpretation Series 4; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

[70]Mowinckel, S., *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, tr. D.R. Ap-Thomas (The Biblical Seminar; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1962).

[71]Gunkel, H., *Die Psalmen* (Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament II.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926).

[72]Kraus, H.-J., *Psalmen*, 5., grundlegend überarbeitete und veränderte Auflage, 2 Bände (Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament XV/1-2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978).

[73]Dahood, M., *Psalms* (The Anchor Bible 16-17A; New York: Doubleday, 1965-70).

[74]Gerstenberger, E.S., *Psalms: with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry*, Part 1 (FOTL XIV; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).

[75]Hossfeld, F.-L. and Zenger, E., *Die Psalmen* (Die neue Echter Bibel 29; Würzburg, 1993).

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Comparative Semantics

The study of Biblical Hebrew has centred in recent years around tense-aspect and discourse features of the verbal system. Modal semantics has been neglected. Therefore this section reviews some of the results of comparative linguistic research into semantics and pragmatics before they are applied in subsequent chapters to Biblical Hebrew.

2.1.1. Communication Theory

There is more to language than just its propositional content. Various terms have been used to define five primary communicative functions:[76]

	My term:	Bühler	Jakobson[77]	Lyons[78]	Halliday[79]
1.	Referential	Darstellung	Referential	Descriptive	Ideational
2.	Interpersonal	Ausdruck	Emotive	Expressive	Interpersonal
2b.	(if distinguished)	—	Phatic	Social	—
3.	Vocative	Appell	Conative	—	—
4.	Relational	—	—	—	Textual

These distinctions are important at many points in this thesis. 'Reference' is a semantic/pragmatic function, connecting text 'exophorically' with real-world context; it contrasts most distinctly with 'Relation', a syntactic function, connecting text 'endophorically' with linguistic cotext.[80] Hence first and second-person pronouns will tend to refer Referentially to Speaker and Addressee in Discourse, whilst third-person pronouns may refer either Referentially in Discourse (often supported by a nod or pointing towards the person concerned) or Relationally in Narrative, anaphorically picking up an earlier reference to a particular

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[76]*Referential* may also be known as: Transactional, Propositional, Cognitive, Designative, Representational Semantic, Factual-Notional, Experiential; *Interpersonal* may also be known as: Interactional, Attitudinal; *Social* may also be known as: Interaction-Management Information, Phatic Communion (Malinowski).

[77]Also lists 'metalinguistic' and 'poetic'; Levinson, S.C., *Pragmatics* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics Cambridge: CUP, 1983) 41.

[78]Lyons, J., *Semantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) 1, 50-51—also the terms of Bühler, Jakobson and others see also Brown, G. and Yule, G., *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: CUP 1983) 1.

[79]Halliday, M.A.K., 'Language Structure and Language Function', in J. Lyons (ed.), *New Horizons in Linguistics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970) 140-165—also others' terms. Followed by Khan, G.A., *Studies in Semitic Syntax* (London Oriental Series, Vol. 38; Oxford: OUP, 1988) xxv and Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 343.

[80]'Referential'/'Relational' is used by Richter, W., *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, 3 vols (ATAT 8, 10, 13; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1978-80) 1, 81; and 'Context'/'Cotext' by Loprieno, A., *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) 80-83, both in discussions of deixis (see ch. 2 below). 'Endophoric' (anaphora/cataphora)/'Exophoric' is coined by Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R., *Cohesion in English* (English Language Series No. 9; London: Longman, 1976) 33, where they note that 'Exophora is not merely a synonym for referential meaning', but refers to referential *function*.

'actant'. 'Interpersonal' and 'Vocative' are purely *pragmatic* functions, governed by (and uninterpretable without) a speech situation with Speaker and Addressee. 'Interpersonal' has often been subdivided into that which is Speaker-oriented ('Expressive') and that which is Speaker/Addressee-oriented ('Social'); this distinction is clarified by speech acts (when defined according to Speaker-Addressee relations) or modality (see below). 'Vocative' is usually Addressee-oriented and may involve 'instrumental' function (Speaker attempting to influence Addressee), hence 'Conative'. These relationships may be depicted, reordered, as follows:

Communicative function:		Grammatical person:	Pragmatic role:	Linguistic study:
2.	Expressive	1st person	Speaker	Pragmatics
2b.	Social	—	Speaker/Addressee	Pragmatics
3.	Vocative	2nd person	Addressee	Pragmatics
1.	Referential	3rd person	Context	Pragmatics/Semantics
4.	Relational	—	Cotext	Syntax

This thesis deals principally with modality in the Psalter, hence it is situated in the first three of these fields. Syntax is not treated extensively, though super-sentential syntax in the form of textlinguistics (see below) does inform the analysis. In the study of Psalms, more than perhaps in any other body of text, we may say that

> the time has surely come to ... replace ontological arguments with functional arguments, for what is important to readers, critics and authors alike, is what literature *does*, and not what it *means*.[81]

This is then the contribution of speech-act theory.

2.1.2. Speech-Act Theory

Speech-act theory, as first presented in John Austin's 1955 Oxford lectures, posthumously published as *How to do Things with Words*,[82] and continued particularly by Searle,[83] contrasts 'constative' and 'performative' utterances (only for Austin to explode his own distinction in ch. 10, see below). Functionally, 'performatives' are utterances such as 'I hereby name this ship the *Mr. Stalin*', which are not truth-conditional (cannot be denied) and are token-reflexive (they refer to themselves—'I *hereby* ...').[84] They perform 'speech acts' or 'illocutionary acts', defined most famously by Austin as the

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[81]The literary critic Wolfgang Iser cited in White, H.C. (ed.), *Speech Act Theory and Biblical Criticism* (Semeia 41; Decatur, GA: Scholars Press, 1988) 2.

[82]Austin, J.L., *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, 2nd edn., ed. J.O. Urmson and M. Sbisà (Oxford: OUP, 1976). The same argument is presented more briefly and less technically in Austin, J.L., 'Performative Utterances', in J.L. Austin, *Philosophical Papers*, ed. J.O. Urmson and G.J. Warnock; 3rd edn. (Clarendon Paperbacks; Oxford: OUP, 1979) 233-52.

[83]Searle, J.R., *Speech Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969); *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979); Searle, J.R. and Vanderveken, D., *Foundations of Illocutionary Logic* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985).

[84]Token-reflexivity is the characteristic of self-reference in sentences such as 'This sentence contains five words' or שלחתיך 'I hereby send you'; Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 57; Lyons, *Semantics* 1, 13-15.

performance of an act *in* saying something as opposed to performance of an act *of* saying something'.[85] Austin demonstrates that performative function can in fact be achieved in any grammatica form (person, voice, mood, tense), that the 'explicit performative' form 'I hereby ...' cal achieve many other functions (habitual, 'historic present') and that some speech acts have n corresponding explicit performatives (*e.g.* *'I insult you!'). Nevertheless, his basi characterisation is helpful. Austin's preliminary formal distinction reads as follows:

> ... any utterance which is in fact a performative should be reducible, or expandible, or analysable into form, or reproducible in a form, with a verb in the first person singular present indicative activ (grammatical).[86]

The mark of a performative verb is then that

> there is an *asymmetry* of a systematic kind between [this first person singular present indicative active] an other persons and tenses of the *very same verb*.[87]

Thus for example, 'I bet' is (usually) performative, whilst 'he bets' and 'I betted' are not, bt describe what happens/happened when he says or I said, 'I bet'.

Speech acts are considered as comprising three components:[88]

Locutionary act	Meaning—'the utterance of a sentence with determinate sense and reference *e.g.* Saying, 'Shoot her!'
Illocutionary act	Force—'the making of a statement, offer, promise, etc. in uttering a sentence, b virtue of the conventional force associated with it (or with its explicit performativ paraphrase)' *e.g.* ordering, urging or advising the Addressee to shoot her.
Perlocutionary act	Achieving of certain effects—'the bringing about of effects on the audience by mean of uttering the sentence, such effects being special to the circumstances of utterance' *e.g.* persuading, forcing or frightening the Addressee into shooting her.

The logical structure of the illocutionary act itself has three elements:[89]

Phrastic	propositional content, *p*
Tropic	'sign of mood'—the kind of speech act
Neustic	'sign of subscription' to the speech act

The illocutionary force of an utterance is thus the product of its tropic and its neustic. The tropic distinguishes between statements ('it is so'), questions ('is it so?') and mands ('so bt it!'), whilst the neustic distinguishes the Speaker's commitment to what he is saying (*e.g.* request *vs.* command, possibility *vs.* necessity, permission *vs.* obligation).

There are five basic classes of illocutionary force in Searle's system:[90]

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1. *Declaratives* (Exercitives, Declarations, Explicit Performatives)   *e.g.* 'I hereby excommunicate you.'
'I hereby ...'—Assertion of influence or exercising of power; effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions.

2. *Assertives* (Verdictives, Representatives; *cf.* 'Referential' above)   *e.g.* 'I hereby assert that ... .'
'X is true' (conviction)—Exercise of judgement; giving a finding as to something (fact, or value) which is for different reasons hard to be certain about; commit S to truth of expressed proposition.

3. *Directives* (compare 'Vocative/Conative' above)   *e.g.* 'I hereby request that ... .'
'H is to do something' (wish)—Attempts by S to get H to do something.

4. *Commissives*   *e.g.* 'I hereby promise that ... .'
'S will do something' (intention)—Assuming of an obligation or declaring of an intention—promising or otherwise undertaking, declarations or announcements of intention; commit S to some future action.

5. *Expressives* (Behabitives; compare 'Expressive' above)   *e.g.* 'I hereby thank you.'
'S's attitude'—Adopting of an attitude; social behaviour; express a psychological state in S.

The 'Performative Hypothesis', outlined in Austin's chapter 10, argues that

> every sentence has as its highest clause in deep or underlying syntactic structure a clause of [a] form ... that corresponds to the overt prefix in the explicit performative.[91]

In other words every utterance has prefixed to it a higher clause of the form

> I (hereby) V_p you (that) S´

and so even statements ('constatives') can be seen to be 'performative'. This result is intuitively correct—we know that any utterance presented as objectively true remains relative to the Speaker, and that its truth conditions lie not only with the propositional content of S´, but also with the higher clause of saying. The Performative Hypothesis is highly debatable as a theory of how language actually functions,[92] but it has proven useful in the study of Biblical Hebrew in the analysis of vocatives and focus-markers.[93]

Speech-act theory was first introduced to many Biblical scholars by Walter Houston[94], and it has been widely received, informing work by MacDonald,[95] Zatelli[96] and, on Psalms,

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[85]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 99-100; also cited in White, H.C. (ed.), *Speech Act Theory and Biblical Criticism*, 3.

[86]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 61-62.

[87]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 63.

[88]Based on Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 236, and Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, ch. 10.

[89]Hare cited in Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 749.

[90]Based on Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 240; Searle, *Expression and Meaning*; Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, ch. 12; Gross, H., *Einführung in die germanistische Linguistik* (Munich: iudicium verlag GmbH, 1990) 151-53.

[91]Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 247, also 244.

[92]See argumentation in Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 243-263.

[93]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 79-82.

[94]Houston, W., 'What Did the Prophets Think They Were Doing? Speech Acts and Prophetic Discourse in the Old Testament', *BI* 1 (1993) 167-88.

[95]MacDonald, P.J., 'Discourse Analysis and Biblical Interpretation', in Bodine, W.R. (ed.), *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 153-76.

[96]Zatelli, I., 'Pragmalinguistics and Speech-Act Theory as Applied to Classical Hebrew', *ZAH* 6 (1993) 60-74; 'Analysis of Lexemes from a Conversational Prose Text: *hnh* as signal of a performative utterance in 1 Sam. 25:41', *ZAH* 7 (1994) 5-11.

Irsigler.[97] There has been a *Semeia* volume devoted entirely to the application of speech-act theory to biblical texts[98] as well as, most recently, an impressive study by Wagner.[99]

Speech-act theory stands conceptually between communicative function (above) and modality (below); in the words of John Lyons,

> the theory of speech-acts ... gives explicit recognition to the social or interpersonal dimension of language-behaviour and provides a general framework ... for the discussion of the syntactic and semantic distinctions that linguists have traditionally described in terms of mood and modality.[100]

It must be noted, however, that, at both the communication-theoretical and speech-act levels, no utterance has just one function. This is borne out by the difficulty of establishing a classificatory scheme for communicative functions (*e.g.* Social may overlap with Conative),[101] the polyvalency of any given utterance (though a pure Expressive function is considered by Lyons[102] and one might argue for the monovalency of explicit performatives), the lack of one-to-one correlation between communicative functions and illocutionary force, Austin's demonstration that even Constatives are in some sense 'performative', and the lack of one-to-one correlation between functional categories (communicative function, illocutionary force, utterance type) and formally distinct moods or modal markers.

2.1.3. Modality

> Jeder Satz realisiert eine Satzarten- [sentence type], (mindestens) eine Leistungsfunktion [utterance type] und eine Modalität [modality].[103]

The *functional* analyses of communication and speech-act theory discussed above correlate with the *formal* study of typological grammatical modality. Modality has been variously understood as the expression of 'attitudes and opinions', different speech acts, subjectivity, non-factivity, non-assertion, non-actuality or remoteness,[104] possibility and necessity,[105] 'eingeschränkte Gültigkeit';[106] it is expressed in different languages by verbal moods, modal

verbs, particles, clitics or even simply intonation. Some of the modal systems and functions which Palmer finds grammaticalised in the languages of the world are as follows:[107]

SEMANTIC FUNCTION			GRAMMATICAL FORM	
Utterance Type	Illocut. Force	Sentence Type	Modal Systems and Functions[108]	
STATEMENT	Constative Declarative		assertive (*Realis*)	He is rich
STATEMENT Answer	Assertive	DECLARATIVE	**EPISTEMIC (possibility/necessity)** JUDGEMENTS	
			apodictive	Twice two must be four
			conditional	Sei er reich
			hypothetical (*Irrealis*)	Wenn er reich wäre
			concessional	Quoiqu'il soit riche
			potential (*Potentialis*)	He can speak Welsh
			purposive	in order that he might be rich
			speculative	Er müßte reich sein
			dubitative	He may be rich
			necessitative	He must be rich (else ...)
			assumptive	He would (will) know
			EVIDENTIALS	
			quotative	Er soll reich sein
			visual	He appears to be rich
QUESTION		INTERROGATIVE	(interrogative)	
MAND S>H: Command, Demand, Advice Invitation, Permission Prohibition H>S: Request, Prayer Wish, Entreaty Request for Permission Warning Recommendation Exhortation[109]	Directive	IMPERATIVE	**DEONTIC (permission/obligation)**	
			compulsive	He has to go
			obligative	He ought to go/we should go
			imperative	Go!
			directive	He must go
			prescriptive	Er soll gehen
			advisory	You should go
			permissive	He may go
			precative	Go, please
			hortative	Let us go
			purposive	It is bound to rain
			deliberative	Shall I go?
			conditional	Ought to, should, might
	Commissive		promissive	I will go / it shall be done
			threats	I will kill you! / You die!
	Expressive		VOLITIVES	
			optative	May he still be alive!
			desiderative	Would he were alive!
			fear	I am afraid lest he go
			intentional	in order that he may go
			EVALUATIVES	
			prediction/warning	
			positive doubt/scepticism	
			surprise	
			regret	... that he should ...
Exclamation		Exclamative	exclamative emphatic affirmative	

97Irsigler, H., 'Psalm-Rede als Handlungs-, Wirk- und Aussageprozeß: Sprechaktanalyse und Psalmeninterpretation am Beispiel von Psalm 13', in Seybold, K. and Zenger, E. (eds.), *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (FS Beyerlin; Herders Biblische Studien, Band 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1994).

98White, (ed.), *Speech Act Theory and Biblical Criticism*.

99Wagner, A., *Sprechakte und Sprechaktanalyse im Alten Testament: Untersuchungen im biblischen Hebräisch an der Nahtstelle zwischen Handlungsebene und Grammatik* (BZAW 253; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997).

100Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 725.

101Lyons, *Semantics* 1, 55.

102Lyons, *Semantics* 1, 79-80.

103Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 48.

104Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 796 n. 4.

105Palmer, F.R., *Mood and Modality* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: CUP, 1986) 4.

106Weinrich, H., *Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt*, 3rd edn. (Sprache und Literatur 16; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 210.

107Palmer, *Mood and Modality*; Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 725-849. Terminology from Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 23-26 *et passim*; Gibson, J.C.L., *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar—Syntax*, 4th Edition (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); and Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*.

108Examples are given in French and German where modal forms are not available in English. They may be translated as follows: Conditional: If he is rich; Hypothetical: If he were rich; Concessional: Though he is rich; Speculative: He is probably rich, He is perhaps rich; Quotative: He is said to be rich; Prescriptive: He is to go. Palmer also refers to the 'Discourse' and 'Speaker/Hearer knowledge' systems of some languages.

109Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 746; Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 76-77.

2.1.3.1. Utterance Type

The above presentation begins on the left with the three basic utterance types, statement, question and mand, extended to four if Exclamation is included.[110] The answer to a question may in some systems be distinguished from a statement. 'Mand' is used by Lyons[111] to refer to that subclass of Directives where the Speaker wants the action carried out; it is classified above *sociolinguistically* according to the relationship between Speaker and Addressee.[112]

2.1.3.2. Illocutionary Force

The five types of performative utterance and the supposedly non-performative Constatives can be considered in relation to the four primary utterance types and their grammatical realisations.

Constatives are truth-conditional, 'non-modal' utterances, in which 'we abstract from the illocutionary ... aspects of the speech-act, and we concentrate on the locutionary'.[113] They are characteristically expressed with the indicative in Declarative sentences making a statement:

> *e.g.* 'It is raining.'   *Explicit perf.*: — ('It is true that ... it is raining')

Because Constatives are theoretically opposed to performatives (though Austin himself finally shows them to be in fact equally 'performative') and 'non-modal', they are excluded from the present work.

Assertives involve an element of objective doubt. They are therefore characteristically expressed with modal verbs or the subjunctive in Declarative sentences making a statement:

> *e.g.* 'It will be raining in London by now.' *Explicit perf.*: 'I hereby assert that ... it is raining there.'

Declaratives have extralinguistic function and must be non-modal, since they are token-reflexive. They are characteristically expressed with the first-person simple present indicative in Declarative sentences making a statement:

> *e.g.* 'I hereby name this ship X'   *Explicit perf.*: 'I hereby declare that ... this ship is called X'

Directives involve volition. They are characteristically expressed with the imperative, jussive, cohortative, optative *etc.* in Imperative sentences issuing a mand:

> *e.g.* 'Come here!'   *Explicit perf.*: 'I hereby command you to come here'

Commissives involve indirect volition (purpose); they are characteristically expressed with the future in Declarative sentences making a statement:

> *e.g.* 'I will come tomorrow'   *Explicit perf.*: 'I hereby promise to come'

Expressives usually 'cannot be performed except by saying something',[114] so that when expressed as an explicit performative, the same word is used.[115] They are characteristically expressed with interjections (of various origins) in Exclamative sentences making an exclamation.

> *e.g.* 'Thank you!'   *Explicit perf.*: 'I hereby thank you'

Questions are problematic here. It is unclear from comparative study whether questions are properly classified as a kind of Directive (getting the Addressee to give information), or a kind of Assertive (expressing doubt, with the indirect force of expecting information to be supplied).[116] On the one hand, the common practice of analysing questions as sub-types of mands

> ... enable[s] us to handle the illocutionary force of the three main classes of utterances in terms of the two primitive notions of asserting and issuing mands.[117]

On the other hand, the verbal form of questions usually corresponds to that of statements.[118] Lyons distinguishes between *asking* of an Addressee a *factual* question (*e.g.* 'Is the door open?') and *posing* (with no Addressee) a *deliberative* question (with the sense of '*I wonder whether* the door is open'). He concludes that

> Corresponding statements and factual questions, on the one hand, and corresponding mands and deliberative questions, on the other, can be said to have the same phrastic and tropic, but to differ in their neustic.[119]

In other words, the binary opposition statement/mand [± VOLITION] is retained in the tropic ('sign of mood'), with assertion/doubt [± DOUBT] superimposed upon it in the neustic ('sign of subscription') thus:[120]

Tropic *Neustic*	[-VOLITION] 'it is so'	[+VOLITION] 'so be it!'
[-DOUBT] 'I say so'	Statement	Mand
[+DOUBT] 'I don't know'	Factual Question	Deliberative Question

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[110]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 745.

[111]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 746; coined by the behaviourist, B.F. Skinner.

[112]> signifies 'greater than' in terms of social hierarchy.

[113]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 145-46.

[114]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 120.

[115]Compare the discussion of delocutive verbs in ch. 3, section 2.4.5. below.

[116]See Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 78-81; Lyons, J., *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1968) 308.

[117]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 753.

[118]So also Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 185: 'Der Aussage kann die Frage zugeordnet werden.'

[119]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 755.

[120]This presentation still seems problematic to me, since mands and factual questions both require an Addressee, whereas statements and deliberative questions do not.

2.1.3.3. Sentence Type

Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative are 'traditionally regarded as the three main classe[s] of sentences'[121] and correspond characteristically to the three main utterance types, statemen[t] question and mand. This is to say,

> undeniable, though only imperfect correspondences hold between formal and semantic features i language.[122]

However, it is well known that language involves form-to-function 'skewing' and that it i possible, for example, to issue a mand (*e.g.* 'Tell me the time') using a statement (*e.g.* wonder if you could tell me the time.') or a question (*e.g.* 'Have you got the time?'). Levinsc provides some amusing, yet quite idiomatic, examples:[123]

Statement	I'd be much obliged if you'd close the door.
	You ought to close the door.
	It might help to close the door.
	I am sorry to have to tell you to please close the door.
Question	Can you close the door?
	Would you mind closing the door?
	May I ask you to close the door?
	Did you forget the door?
	Now Johnny, what do big people do when they come in?
	Okay, Johnny, what am I going to say next?

This skewing may be expressed in terms of sentences with *literal force* as against *indire[ct] speech acts* (Austin, Searle),[124] or *natural meaning* as against *non-natural meaning* (Grice).[1] One might alternatively say that an utterance is 'the pairing of a sentence and a context' (Ba[r] Hillel)[126]—the meaning of a *sentence* is the domain of *semantics*; that of an *utterance*, t[he] domain of *pragmatics*.[127]

2.1.3.4. Modal Systems

It may be said that in the Epistemic modal system, the Speaker tries to get the words to mat[ch] the world, whilst in the Deontic system (or strictly only in its Directive 'core'), he tries to g[et] the world to match the words. The modal forms of a given language may distinguish betwee[n]

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these two systems (as in English subjunctive *vs.* imperative) or between strength of modality within the systems (as in English *must vs. may*).[128]

Tropic	EPISTEMIC (subjunctive)	DEONTIC (imperative)
Neustic	'it is so'	'so be it!'
STRONG (*must*) 'I say so'	Necessity It must be raining.	Obligation You must come in.
WEAK (*may*) 'I don't know'	Possibility It may be raining.	Permission You may come in.

Future is usually classified as belonging to Epistemic modality.[129] This is reflected in the use in English of a 'modal verb', *will*, and the formal analysis of the Arabic auxiliary *sawfa* as not a tense marker, but a 'modal anchor'.[130] As noted above, future represents Commissive illocutionary force., though related to the Deontic 'promissives',

This two-way distinction is expanded to four by von Wright:

Alethic	modes of truth
Epistemic	modes of knowing
Deontic	modes of obligation
Existential	modes of existence

The distinction between Alethic and Epistemic is analogous to Austin's distinction between Constatives and Assertives (which, as we have seen, he finally resolves). Palmer concludes:

> ... there is no formal grammatical distinction in English, and, perhaps, in no other language either, between alethic and epistemic modality. ... There is no distinction between the uses of *is* to state what is logically true and what the speaker believes, as a matter of fact, to be true.[131]

Existential sentences are considered in chapter 3 below.

A further 'Dynamic' modality is suggested by von Wright,[132] to describe utterances such as 'Marcus can speak Welsh' or simply, 'Marcus speaks Welsh'. This corresponds strikingly to Joosten's standard example of modal (*potentialis*) *yiqtōl* for the general or habitual present:[133]

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[121]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 745; 'exclamatives', 'imprecatives' and 'optatives' are also suggested by Levinsc *Pragmatics*, 42.

[122]Chomsky, N., *Syntactic Structures* (Janua Linguarum IV; The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957) 101.

[123]Selected from Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 264-65.

[124]Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 263-76.

[125]Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 16-18.

[126]Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 18-19.

[127]For a further refinement of the distinction, see Levinson, S.C., 'Three levels of meaning', in Palmer, F.R. (ed Grammar and Meaning* (FS Lyons; Cambridge: CUP, 1995) 90-115; see also comments above on how t[he] grammar of verse relates to that of prose.

[128]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 57-58, 98, though note his reservations, pp. 20-21; see also his discussion of *have to* and *can*; pp. 11, 103-4. See the application of this *schema* in Warren, A.L., 'Did Moses permit Divorce? Modal *wĕqātal* as Key to NT Readings of Deuteronomy 24:1-4', *TynBul* 49.1 (1998) 39-56.

[129]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 216-18, also referring to the morphological futures of French and Russian.

[130]Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*, 96.

[131]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 11.

[132]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 12.

[133]Joosten, J., 'The Indicative System of the Biblical Hebrew Verb and its Literary Exploitation', in van Wolde, E. (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997) 51-71 (58).

הדלת תסוב על צירה   Prov 26:14

The door turns / will turn / can turn on its hinges.

This is discussed at length below.[134]

2.1.3.5. Mood

From comparative study, Palmer identifies, amongst others, the modalities in the table above. This list is, of course, neither systematic nor comprehensive, though it does cover the vast majority of the modal functions known to be grammaticalised in the languages of the world.

Judgements and Evidentials are commonly considered the two main types of *Epistemic* modality;[135] the latter is not relevant to English or Biblical Hebrew. In Indo-European languages, Epistemic modality is characteristically expressed with the subjunctive, optative (Greek) or modal verbs (English).

The questionable status of *Interrogative* as Assertive (Epistemic) or Directive (Deontic) has been discussed above. Palmer accepts the possibility of understanding Interrogative modality as an independent category, which sometimes functions Dubitatively (rather than necessarily *vice versa*[136]). I tentatively follow Lyons's distinction between factual questions (Assertive–dubitative) and deliberative questions (Directive–deliberative).

The imperative can, depending on context, fulfil all of the functions listed in the left-hand column under mand and so is clearly unmarked for intensity (neustic). It may therefore be described as the unmarked member of the Directives just as the indicative is the unmarked member of the Assertives.[137] In fact, it can be shown in Biblical Hebrew that the imperative may also fulfil non-Directive Deontic functions such as optative (*e.g.* 128:6 ראה־בנים לבניך, 'May you see your children's children!').

Formally, too, the imperative is unmarked, being most often the shortest verbal form in a language (*e.g.* Latin, English, French, German, Hebrew). Deontic function can be expressed in European languages, however, with imperative, subjunctive or optative moods. Similarly in Hebrew, we find Deontic function expressed with imperative *qǝṭōl*, long-form *yiqṭōl* ('preceptive imperfect') or even *qāṭal* ('precative perfect'); meanwhile, the otherwise Deontic short-form *yiqṭōl* ('jussive') can be used in the dependent *wayyiqṭōl* form.[138]

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[134]See ch. 3, section 2.4.3.2.1. below.

[135]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 57.

[136]So Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 748.

[137]'Straightforward statements of fact (i.e. categorical assertions) may be described as epistemically non-modal' (Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 797); 'the imperative is "deontically non-modal" (Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 29); '... the Imperative is best seen as the unmarked member of the deontic system, or rather of the directive sub-system, just as the Declarative is the unmarked member of the epistemic system.' (Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 108). Similarly Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 185: 'Als neutrale Glieder werden Aussage und Aufforderung gesetzt'.

[138]See also the concept of 'indirect volitives'; Joüon, P. and Muraoka, T., *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2 vols (Rome: Editrice Pontifico Istituto Biblico, 1991) 381-86.

The attempt to get the world to match the words involves Directives when the Addressee has the power to act (hence, *e.g.* 'request-cohortatives') and Commissives when the Speaker has the power to act (hence 'resolve-cohortatives').

Expressives may be considered in two classes. Volitives have Directive force without being addressed to the one with the power to act (*i.e.* Addressee ≠ agent) and are often used in indirect speech acts (*e.g.* Expressive 'May I not be put to shame!' in place of Directive 'Don't let me be put to shame!'). Optatives are realisable; desideratives are unrealisable. Intentional fits here as the opposite of fear, though it has also been included under Epistemic–purposive. Evaluatives include the Expressive side of warnings (Vocative), though this of course merges into Directive force (Conative).

At many points, as we have seen, clear distinctions cannot be made in the study of verbal mood, since no principled basis has yet been developed for modal distinctions. The above range of modal functions does provide a basis, however, for our consideration of Hebrew forms.

2.1.3.6. Hebrew Moods

The marked main-clause modal *functions* in Biblical Hebrew are listed by Richter as:

Emphase, Wunsch, Eventualis, Frage, Verneinung, Beteuerung.[139]

These are expressed by both a range of modal particles and by verbal mood. Mood has been traditionally understood as only embracing the morphological imperative *qǝṭōl*, short-form *yiqṭōl* ('jussive') and *'æqṭǝlâ* ('cohortative'). However, Joosten in particular has argued for a modal understanding of long-form *yiqṭōl* too, and this is key to the present work.[140]

2.1.4. Thematic Roles

Finally, we should mention an area of linguistic theory which has provided a framework for our study of *reference*. The argument structure ('valency') of lexical verbs and adjectives can be described by identifying the various 'thematic roles' which they assign. A fairly standard inventory of thematic roles might read as follows (where E [entity] is a person or thing, and P = 'expressed by the predicate'):[141]

Agent/Actor	E who intentionally initiates action P.
Patient/Goal	E undergoing action P.
Theme	E moved by action P.
Experiencer	E experiencing (psychological) state P.
Beneficiary/Benefactive	E benefitting from action P.

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[139]Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 167.

[140]See ch. 3 below.

[141]Simplified from Haegeman, L., *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*, 2nd edn., 1994 (Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 1; Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 49-50. See also Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', 146-49; Battle, *Syntactic Structures*.

Goal	E towards which activity P is directed.
Source	E from which something is moved as a result of activity P.
Location	place in which action or state P is situated.

Thus, for example, 'put' and 'give' are both trivalent, but have different thematic structure:

put   He [Agent] put the book [Patient] on the table [Location].

give   He [Agent] gave the book [Patient] to his brother [Beneficiary].

These terms will be particularly important in our description of Deontic forms.

2.1.5. Structuralist Semantics and Biblical Hebrew

It would be improper to write a section on semantics without mentioning James Barr.[142] His work informs the method of this thesis throughout, as well as having established authoritative principles of linguistic argumentation for most of what has been written since his *Semantics of Biblical Language*. His influence is seen in many works on Biblical semantics such as those by Sawyer,[143] Arthur Gibson[144] and Sappan.[145]

Two short but important theoretical papers by Collins and Prinsloo have introduced formal linguistic semantics to the study of the Psalter. These both stand in the tradition of Saussurean 'structuralist', 'synchronic', text-immanent approaches, which informs the field of discourse analysis (see below on textlinguistics).

In Collins's 'Structural Approach to the Psalter',[146] semantic abstraction is attempted at three levels.[147] The first level is that of 'semantic constants' or 'sememes'—'the recurring statements that can be said to constitute the raw material or building blocks of the psalms.' This reduction of utterances to 'the common denominator of underlying statements' is achieved by analysing 'modes of discourse', a category including narration, reflection, direct address, invocation, petition, interrogation *etc.*, and defined by linguistic features such as grammatical person, tense, mood and vocatives. These 'modes of discourse' are thus analogous to Austin's 'illocutionary acts', Weinrich's 'Sprecherhaltungen' or Longacre's 'text-types',[148] and when

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[142]Especially: Barr, J., *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: OUP, 1961); *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (SCM Press, 1968).

[143]Sawyer, J.F.A., *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods for Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation* (Studies in Biblical Theology Second Series 24; SCM Press, 1972); and see especially his radically anti-etymologising: Sawyer, J.F.A., 'Types of Prayer in the Old Testament. Some Semantic Observations on Hitpallel, Hithannen, etc.', *Semitics* 7 (1980) 131-43.

[144]Gibson, A., *Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981).

[145]Sappan, R., *The Rhetorical-Logical Classification of Semantic Changes*, ET; first publ. 1983 (Braunton: Merlin Books, 1987).

[146]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms'.

[147]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 42.

[148]See section 2.2.3.2. below.

Collins describes sentences as 'conjugable',[149] he is referring to variation both in utterance type or mood, and in grammatical person.

Secondly, Collins looks at 'patterns of relationships in force between the semantic constants' (a more grammatically-informed equivalent of form criticism) and binary oppositions such as people (the just / the wicked), ways (right way / wrong way) and results (happiness / ruin).[150]

Thirdly, Collins refers to 'narrative analysis', introducing Greimas's 'actantial model' with intersecting axes of 'communication' (Sender gives Object to Recipient), 'volition' (Subject conveys Object to Recipient) and 'power' (Opponent impedes Subject; Sender sends Helper to Subject).[151] Such an analysis properly belongs to the field of 'semiotics'.[152]

Several of Collins's points have been taken up in the present work, particularly the emphasis on utterance types, reference and mood, the identification of binary oppositions and the use of a sociolinguistic distinction between actants.

'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach' is described in a paper of the same title by Prinsloo.[153] 'Semiostructural' means that 'meaning is determined *via* the structure of the text'.[154] He emphasises the use of poetic conventions:

> Poetic conventions are defined ... as the conscious ordering of language so that *linguistic phenomena* occur in a concentrated form at different *language levels*, with the result that the text concerned is classified as poetry. The language levels concerned are those of phonology, morphology and syntax. Linguistic phenomena include pattern formation on these three language levels, as well as conscious deviation from established patterns in order to achieve a particular effect.[155]

Within the text, these poetic conventions have 'segmenting, cohesive and communicative functions'[156]; in the terms of communication theory introduced above, one might then say that poetic conventions function Relationally and Interpersonally.

2.2. Biblical Hebrew Narrative Syntax

2.2.1. Traditional Syntax

In recent years, the classic traditional studies of Hebrew syntax[157] have been challenged by works with a much more sophisticated theoretical basis. Three full syntaxes, in particular, by

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[149]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 43.

[150]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 48-52.

[151]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 52-55.

[152]For a good introduction to semiotics in Old Testament studies, see van Wolde, E., *Words become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1-11* (Biblical Interpretation Series 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 113-48.

[153]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach'.

[154]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', 80.

[155]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', 80.

[156]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', 82.

[157]For example, König, E., *Historisch-Comparative Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897); Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*; Bergsträsser, G., *Hebräische Grammatik*, II. Teil:

Williams,[158] Waltke-O'Connor[159] and Gibson[160] bridge the gap to a wide range of sometimes highly complex work, especially from the field of 'text-linguistics'.

2.2.2. Richter, Talstra and Automatic Text Processing

The Munich 'school' of Wolfgang Richter,[161] Harald Schweizer,[162] Walter Groß,[163] Hubert Irsigler[164] and Theodor Seidel, all of whom publish in the ATAT series founded by Richter, has produced top quality linguistic work, which has suffered from over-formalisation, making it inaccessible (or, probably more to the point, unattractive) to most traditional linguists. Their strictly distributionalist[165] form-to-function methodology has (like that of Chomsky) been motivated by an interest in the computerised analysis of texts. Transliteration forms a part of this task, serving morphemic analysis,[166] though there have also been a number of structural analyses of extended texts, including Psalms and other poetic texts.

Eep Talstra and the *Werkgroep Informatica* at the Free University of Amsterdam naturally (since they are also concerned with computers) share the Munich form-to-function method. They concentrate more on the textual level, however, and so overlap more with the equally form-based textlinguistics of the Weinrich-Niccacci tradition (as against the functional descriptions of Andersen-Longacre). Ironically in the light of his high-tech applications, Talstra continues to maintain, against Weinrich-Niccacci, that traditional grammar has much to contribute.

Verbum (Repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991; Leipzig, 1929); Blau, J., *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie XII; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976); Joüon–Muraoka, *Grammar*.

[158]Williams, R.J., *Hebrew Syntax. An Outline* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

[159]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*.

[160]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*.

[161]Most notably: Richter, *Grundlagen; Untersuchungen zur Valenz althebräischer Verben* (ATAT 23/25; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1985/86).

[162]Schweizer, H., *Metaphorische Grammatik: Wege zur Integration von Grammatik und Textinterpretation in der Exegese* (ATAT 15; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1981).

[163]Groß, W., 'Das nicht substantivierte Partizip als Prädikat im Relativsatz hebräischer Prosa', *JNSL* 4 (1975) 23-47; *Verbform und Funktion* wayyiqtol *für die Gegenwart? Ein Beitrag zur Syntax poetischer althebräischer Texte* (ATAT 1; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1976); *Die Pendenskonstruktion im Biblischen Hebräisch: Studie zum althebräischen Satz I* (ATAT 27; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1987).

[164]Irsigler, H., *Einführung in das biblische Hebräisch. I. Ausgewählte Abschnitte der althebräischen Grammatik* (ATAT 9; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1978).

[165]Talstra, E., 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew: The Viewpoint of Wolfgang Schneider', *JOTT* 5(4) (1992) 269-97 (283).

[166]Richter, W., *Biblia Hebraica transcripta (Bht)* (ATAT 33; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991/93), prepared in: Richter, W., *Transliteration und Transkription—Objekt- und metasprachliche Metazeichensysteme zur Wiedergabe hebräischer Texte* (ATAT 19; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1983).

2.2.3. Textlinguistics

Several surveys are available of the wide range of work produced in the 'textlingustics',[167] or super-sentential syntax, of Biblical Hebrew in the last thirty years;[168] the present survey is therefore very cursory, concerned to fulfil only the requirements of the present study.

Most modern textlinguistic work on Biblical Hebrew deals with the interpretation of the Hebrew verbal conjugations (*qāṭal–wayyiqṭōl* vs. *yiqṭōl–wǝqāṭal*) and word order (SVO/VSO) rather than with other discourse-level features such as the use of personal and demonstrative pronouns and particles. Such study is almost always based on some form of text-type identification.

Two of the most influential books in Hebrew textlinguistics have been Alviero Niccacci's (formal) *Syntax* and Robert Longacre's (functional) *Joseph*.[169] Both authors refer to having become acquainted, via review articles by Eep Talstra,[170] with Wolfgang Schneider's *Grammatik*,[171] which, in turn, bases its 'Funktionsbestimmung der Tempora' on Harald Weinrich's *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt*. The influences can thus be traced as follows:

Weinrich (1964) —> Schneider (1974) —> Talstra (1978/82) —> Niccacci (1986) —> Longacre (1989)

We will first consider the work of Weinrich and Niccacci, then turning separately (for reasons which will become obvious) to Longacre.

2.2.3.1. Weinrich to Niccacci—Form-to-Function

Niccacci was the first to take up the full implications of Weinrich's *textlinguistic* interpretation of the linguistic category of 'tense'. Weinrich had demonstrated that, in Indo-European languages (French, German, English[172]), tense is not so much a *temporal* category, with Referential value, as a *textual* category, with Relational value. In other words, what has always

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[167]In America, referred to as 'Discourse Analysis'; more recently, also 'Narrative Syntax', in the sense of 'the syntax of narratives' (*e.g.* van Wolde (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible*).

[168]See particularly van der Merwe, C.H.J., 'An Overview of Hebrew Narrative Syntax Research', in van Wolde, E. (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997) 1-20; Eskhult, M., 'The Old Testament and Text Linguistics', *OS* 43-44 (1994-95) 93-103; Dawson, D.A., *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (JSOTS 177; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994).

[169]Longacre, R.E., *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence. A Text Theoretical and Textlinguistic Analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

[170]Talstra, E., 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I. Elements of a Theory', *BO* 35 (1978) 169-174; 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II. Syntax and Semantics', *BO* 39 (1982) 26-38.

[171]Schneider, W., *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (Munich: Claudius Verlag, 1982); referred to in Niccacci, *Syntax*, 9 and Longacre, R., 'Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb: Affirmation and Restatement', in Bodine, W.R. (ed.), *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 177 n. 1, where he also acknowledges Niccacci.

[172]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 71, warns against English, however: 'In Englischen hat die Kombination von Erzähltempora und genauen Zeitangaben stärker gefestigt als in anderen Sprachen.'.

been known as the 'sequence of tenses' is a more significant factor, *between one sentence and the next*, than actual time reference.

> Verbal forms should be described not on the basis of their time reference outside the world of text [tense] nor on the basis of reference to their mode of action (either completed or continuous) [aspect] but rather as linguistic signs that guide and determine the mode of communication.[173]

Weinrich begins by showing how the category of grammatical person, 'im ... informations-theoretischen Sinne', effects not only a semantic (Referential), but also a syntactic (Relational) function—a 'grobe Vorsortierung der Welt':

> Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Kommunikation wird die Welt grob eingeteilt in die Positionen Sprecher ('Sender'), Hörer ('Empfänger') und 'alles übrige' (Restkategorie).[174]

In a linguistic tradition that can be traced back to the Greek grammarian, Apollonius Dyscolus, other categories are, by extension from the primacy of the 1st person in communication, also interpreted in terms of *deixis*,

> verstanden als die Zeigefunktion derjenigen Sprachelemente, die sich auf den Ich-hier-jetzt-Punkt als die *origo* der personalen, lokalen und temporalen Deixis beziehen.[175]

Thus, after discussing the syntactic functions of person and determination (the definite article), Weinrich establishes the hypothesis:

> Was nun die beiden skizzierten Beispiele der Person- und Artikel-Morpheme betrifft, die hier kurz besprochen worden sind, so gewinne ich aus ihnen durch Extrapolation die Erwartung, daß es sich auch mit den Tempora, die im Textgebrauch die gleiche Obstination [defined as 'hochgradige Rekurrenzwerte'[176]] wie die syntaktischen Klassen Person und Artikel erkennen lassen, ähnlich verhalten dürfte und daß man folglich auch die Signalwerte des Besprechens und Erzählens so verstehen muß, daß durch diese Signale die Kommunikationssituation in einer Weise verändert wird, die für den Hörer höchst relevant ist.[177]

So Talstra summarises Weinrich's theory in terms of participant reference:

> Some verbal forms refer to the actual situation of communication; others refer to acts or facts outside the domain shared by speaker and listener.[178]

This communication-theoretical background is essential to our understanding of the Referential and Relational values of personal reference (ch. 2 below) and verbal modality (ch. 3 below).

Contrasting the opening paragraph of George Orwell's *1984* ('Winston Smith ... slipped quickly through ...') and the summary of its contents by the literary critic Abraham Lass ('Winston Smith takes time off ...'), Weinrich comments:

> Was ist hier geschehen? Die wiedergegebenen Ereignisse sind offenbar die gleichen. Was läßt sie in dem einen Buch im Preterit, im anderen Buch aber im Present erscheinen? Hat die Zeit solche Wirkung? Eine solche Annahme hätte keinen Sinn. Denn die Zeit dieses Romans ist, das wird deutlich genug gesagt, das Jahr 1984, also weder Vergangenheit noch Gegenwart. Wir interpretieren daher den Befund ohne

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[173]Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 271.

[174]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 29.

[175]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 32.

[176]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 14.

[177]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 33.

[178]Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 271.

> Berücksichtigung von Zeiten und Zeitpunkten und erklären die Verwendung des Present tense in der Zusammenfassung des Inhalts als gattungs- oder situationsspezifisches Signal dafür, daß es sich um einen besprechenden Text handelt.[179]

Thus there are two 'Tempus-Gruppen' (a grammatical category), 'besprechende Tempora' and 'erzählende Tempora', and these function solely to define the text-types (textual category) 'Besprechen' and 'Erzählen'.[180] The 'Signalwert' (see above) of these, argues Weinrich, is one of 'Sprechhaltung' or 'Linguistic Attitude'[181] (a psychological category)—intended to produce in the Addressee a receptive attitude of 'Gespanntheit' or 'Entspanntheit' respectively.[182] Thus:

> Erzählende Rede läßt dem Hörer Freiheit zur Distanzierung.
>
> Besprechende Rede engagiert ihn: Sprecher und Hörer haben zu agieren und zu reagieren.[183]

Discursive texts, such as speech or the exposition to a narrative, tend to use the German 'Präsens, Perfekt, Futur und Futur II',[184] whilst Narrative tends to use the German 'Präteritum, Plusquamperfekt, Konditional und Konditional II'. Similar groupings have been made by Weinrich and Niccacci for other languages:[185]

ATTITUDE	*Discourse*	*Narrative*
German	Präsens, Perfekt, Futur I/II	Präteritum, Plusquamperfekt, Konditional I/II
French	Présent, Passé composé, Futur I/II	Imparfait, Passé simple, Plus-que-parfait, Passé antérieur, Conditionnel I/II
Italian	Presente, Passato prossimo, Futuro	Imperfetto, Passato remoto, Trapassato, Condizionale
English	Present, Present perfect, Future	Imperfect, Simple past, Past perfect, Conditional
Hebrew	x-*yiqtōl*, *weqātal*, (x-)*qātal*, NC, Volitive	*wayyiqtōl*, *we*-x-*qātal*

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[179]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 46.

[180]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 20. Schneider, *Grammatik*, 189 §48.3.3 n. 9, goes so far as to say: 'Das Perfekt ist also eigentlich gar kein Tempus, weil es gegenüber der grundlegenden Opposition: Erzählen/Besprechen indifferent ist.' It is just this excessive insistence on syntactic over semantic function which Talstra criticises in his review articles.

[181]So Watson: 'Linguistic attitude: Discourse/Narrative' (Niccacci, *Syntax*, 19-20) from Niccacci's 'atteggiamento linguistico: commento/narrazione' (Niccacci, A., *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Analecta 23; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1986) 14); Talstra began with 'Orientation: Narrative/Discursive' ('Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 15; and the 'Domain: Narrative/Comment' (van der Merwe, 'An Overview of Hebrew Narrative Syntax Research', title of Talstra's recent book, Talstra, E. (ed.), *Narrative and Comment* (FS Schneider; Amsterdam: Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, 1995)); de Regt has modified the concept slightly and termed it 'domain' (Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 281).

[182]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 33. Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 283, is highly critical of this 'psychologising' explanation as used by Niccacci and others: '*narrative* and *discursive* are not psychological concepts about the state of mind of a writer or speaker but, rather, labels that define a set of linguistic markers'.

[183]Schneider, *Grammatik*, 183 §48.1.3.1.

[184]'Future II' refers to what is termed in English the 'Future Perfect'.

[185]Weinrich, *Tempus*, 18 (German), 39 (French); Niccacci, *Sintassi*, 14 §3 (Italian); *Syntax*, 19 §3 (English); 20 §3 (Hebrew).

As Talstra says, 'most p[s]alms ... are completely discursive';[186] the present study is therefore concerned primarily with long-form x-*yiqtōl*, *weqātal* and the Deontic forms.

Within these categories, a text is given 'Relief' (Watson: 'Emphasis (or highlighting)', 'Prominence'; here, 'Salience') through a distinction of background and foreground tenses.

SALIENCE	Discourse	Narrative
Foreground	[Volitive, Present]	[Simple past]
	Volitive, x-*yiqtōl* (indic.), (x-)*qātal*, NC	*wayyiqtōl*
Background	[Circumstantial / gerund / past pt.]	[Imperfect / past perfect]
	we-x-*qātal*, *we*-x-*yiqtōl*, *we*NC	*weqātal*, *we*(-x-)*qātal*, *we*-x-*yiqtōl*, NC

The Discourse foreground is by definition non-past, and that of Narrative, past. The verb forms have absolute temporal reference in the foreground and 'relative tense' in the background ('Sprechperspektive', Watson: 'Linguistic perspective'): 'Rückschau' (Watson: 'Recovered information (↑)'; *e.g.* the Perfect), 'Null-Stufe' ('Degree zero (∅)') and 'Vorausschau' ('Anticipated information (↓)').[187]

PERSPECTIVE	Discourse	Narrative
↑	[present perfect]	[past perfect]
	x-*qātal*	*we*-x-*qātal* (CNC)
∅	[present / volitive]	[simple past / imperfect]
	Volitive, (x-)*qātal*, x-*yiqtōl* (indic.), NC	*wayyiqtōl*
↓	[future]	[conditional]
	yiqtōl, final clauses	*yiqtōl*

Combining all three categories and applying them to Biblical Hebrew, Niccacci gives a linguistic equivalent to Collins's 'rhetorical' characterisation of Hebrew verse cited at the head of this chapter:

> in Discourse all three axes of time (present, past and future, or in text-linguistic terms: degree zero ∅, recovered information ↑, anticipated information ↓ of Linguistic Perspective ...) can be in the foreground of the Prominence .... In other words, all three axes of time (or the three levels of Linguistic Perspective) can comprise a main line of communication .... This provides Discourse with a very much greater variety of possibilities than is true of Narrative where the fundamental axis (the past) is unavoidably fixed.[188]

In terms of particular forms, then:

> The foreground can be denoted by the jussive YIQTOL and the other volitional forms (imperative, cohortative) and by the indicative x-YIQTOL ..., (x-)QATAL ... and simple noun clauses; the background can be indicated by simple noun clauses, usually preceded by WAW (contemporaneity), WAW-x-QATAL (anteriority); recovered information is indicated by QATAL (preceded by יכ, רשא etc.), anticipated information by indicative YIQTOL, various kinds of final clauses etc.[189]

186Talstra, E., 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I', 172.
187Weinrich, *Tempus*, 58.
188Niccacci, *Syntax*, 170 (abbreviations resolved).
189Niccacci, *Syntax*, 73.

2.2.3.2. *Andersen to Longacre—Function-to-Form*

The 'functionalist'[190] Tagmemics[191] model of Kenneth and Evelyn Pike[192] and Francis Andersen,[193] and of Longacre's own earlier work,[194] forms the background to Longacre's *Joseph*. For this reason, it seems, Longacre has much to add to the textlinguistic model of Weinrich and Niccacci, and in fact it is this Tagmemics model which has informed Khan's study of extraposition[195] and Eskhult's of *we*(subj)*qātal* clauses,[196] and has been popularised by David Allan Dawson.[197]

One of the distinctives of Andersen's work is his insistence on 'a grammatically-organized hierarchical structure'.[198] This is reflected in Longacre's extensive 'verb-rank schemes', that is,

> verbal spectrums ... from clauses that are relatively dynamic to clauses that are relatively static[199]

I prefer to term these salience-graded 'predication hierarchies',[200] and Longacre has developed them for the text-types or 'genres',[201] 'Narrative',[202] 'Predictive',[203] 'Hortatory'[204] and, implicity (since it is the inverse of the others) 'Expository'.[205] Thus the category of Salience is further differentiated from foreground/background (Weinrich/Niccacci) to a full spectrum of predication-types, and the category of Linguistic attitude from Discourse/Narrative to a range of text-types.[206] Longacre himself comments:

190Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 283.
191Longacre, *Joseph*, 311-13; Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, 70-107.
192For example, Pike, K.L. and E.G., *Grammatical Analysis* (Dallas: SIL, 1977).
193Andersen, F.I., *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* (JBL Monograph Series XIV; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970); *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 231; The Hague: Mouton & Co. N.V., 1974). In the preface to *The Hebrew Verbless Clause*, Andersen acknowledges a debt to Pike and Longacre.
194Longacre, R.E., *An Anatomy of Speech Notions* (Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press, 1976); *The Grammar of Discourse* (New York, 1983).
195Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax*, xxxiv, acknowledges a debt to Joseph Grimes, Robert Longacre and Teun van Dijk.
196Eskhult, M., *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, SSU 12; Uppsala, 1990).
197Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*. The Pikes, Andersen, Longacre and Dawson are all Bible translators—field linguists working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the academic branch of Wycliffe Bible Translators.
198Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew', 283, who comments that 'Schneider, as well as the European 'distributionalists' in general, could benefit greatly from the introduction of this concept into their theories if one were able to develop a model integrating the search for formal text markers with the notion of textual hierarchy.'
199Longacre, *Joseph*, 81.
200Since not all predications involve verbs!
201For an early distinction of deep-structure and surface-structure genres according to the two parameters, 'succession' and 'projection', see Longacre, *Anatomy of Speech Notions*, 199-206.
202Longacre, *Joseph*, 81.
203Longacre, *Joseph*, 107.
204Longacre, *Joseph*, 121.
205Longacre, *Joseph*, 111.
206So also Winther-Nielsen, cited in Eskhult, 'The Old Testament and Text Linguistics', 95.

> My work differs from [Schneider's and Niccacci's] mainly in regard to my sharper insistence on the relevance of discourse types to the analysis.[207]

I acknowledge with Longacre a more complex hierarchy of predications, but like Weinrich–Niccacci do not differentiate text-types beyond Narrative *vs.* Discourse. Instead of focussing on supposedly different meanings of the same verb form in different text-types (so Weinrich–Niccacci), I consider the extent to which particular meanings (and hence the corresponding forms) are restricted to particular linguistic situations, for example:

> The actual present is naturally limited to direct speech.[208]

Thus tense is interpreted according to speech context (Narrative defaulting for past and Discourse for non-past)—it is a deictic category.

2.2.3.3. Conclusion

The scholars reviewed above are still interacting vigorously. Two major conferences should be mentioned. The *Seminar on Discourse Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas 1993) produced the volume *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*;[209] and the *Tilburg Conference on Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible* (Nederlandse Onderzoekschool voor Theologie en Religiewetenschap, Tilburg 1996) produced *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible*.[210] These conferences highlighted the particularly controversial emphases of the various scholars, such as Niccacci's nominal clause *vs.* verbal clause distinction and Joosten's modal *yiqṭōl*, as well as the methodological oppositions, such as Niccacci's textlinguistics *vs.* Joosten's traditional morpho-syntax. An ongoing debate between Andersen/Longacre-style textlinguistics (represented by Bryan Rocine) and generative syntax (represented by Vincent DeCaen) has been conducted for several years on the email discussion group ('electronic conference') b-hebrew.

Most important for the present work is the identification of Psalmic language as having the Speaker Orientation / Linguistic Attitude (Weinrich, Niccacci) or text-type (Longacre) 'Discourse'—a mode of communication with distinctive prominence features (Longacre, Niccacci) and tense-aspect system (Niccacci). This has important implications for both reference and mood. The Mood features of Discourse have been characterised by Niccacci (cited above), and particularly involve a distinctive range of (primarily modal) verb forms, such as long-form *yiqṭōl*, short-form *yiqṭōl* ('jussive') and the cohortative. The Reference features of Discourse have not received much attention in the literature; three distinctives should be mentioned.

Firstly, in Discourse, the *referential lexicon* will be restricted to a number of primary actants, unlike in narrative, where any number of characters can appear. The primary actants will be those identified as the grammatical 1st and 2nd persons (functionally, Speaker and Addressee), the 1st person being obligatory, of course:

> The *dialectic* character of the prayers is also portrayed through a high incidence of first- and second-person verbal forms.[211]

The 3rd person slot will be free.

Secondly, Discourse exhibits a greater tendency towards *subject topicalisation*:

> not only the non-narrative character, but also the very spatial relation of a dialogue puts the participants in focus, and thus would account for the prior position of the subject.[212]

In other words, Discourse is a highly deictic and pragmatically-fixed 'speaker orientation'. Whilst in Narrative, the narrative sequence may be considered topicalised (hence, in the foreground, uninterrupted *wayyiqṭōl* forms), in Discourse, the *participants* are topicalised, as is in fact required by the focus on the primary actants. The subject is most often topicalised to indicate a subject *shift*.[213]

Thirdly, there is the influence of *pragmatics/sociolinguistics*. The referential value of deictic terms such as personal pronouns is pragmatically assigned; indeed, there are some pragmatically-assigned thematic roles which have *no* grammatical realisation.[214] On the other hand, sociolinguistic factors influence the Speaker's choice of certain *expletives* for redressive action to 'give face' to the Addressee (*e.g. -nā'*),[215] and may extend the *scope* of Negative, Interrogative and Imperative to the speech turn.[216] Many of these *pragmatic/sociolinguistic* features of Discourse correspond to *textlinguistic* features in Narrative, where personal pronouns are assigned according to principles of clausal and argument relations, there is greater use of *logical* expletives, the scope of MTA values is limited to the clause,[217] and thus episode-boundaries are marked by TA.

2.3. Conclusions for the Language of the Psalms

The above discussions of the language of the Psalter and of some new theoretical approaches yields the following linguistic characterisation of the Psalter:

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[207]Longacre, 'Discourse Perspective', 177.

[208]Joosten, J., 'The Predicative Participle in Biblical Hebrew', *ZAH* 2 (1989) 128-59 (141).

[209]Bergen, R.D. (ed.) , *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics* (Dallas: SIL, 1994).

[210]van Wolde, E. (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* (Biblical Interpretation Series 29; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).

[211]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', 82.

[212]Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique*, 39, though see also Weinrich, *Tempus* on the 'Obstination' of the categories Person, Article and Tense.

[213]See on topicalisation and adversativity in ch. 2 below.

[214]See ch. 6 on Directive-precative cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives.

[215]Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*', 241-42.

[216]'... it is assumed that the (non-)use of *-nā'* functions at the turn level, rather than the clause level.'; Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*', 243.

[217]Disregarding for the moment the possibility of MTA-neutral 'continuation-forms'.

		Characterisation	Markedness
1.	*Lexis—Nominal*	Primary Actants	Marked
2.	*Lexis—Verbal*	Praise/Pray, Save/Destroy	Marked
3.	*Morphology*	Modal	Marked
4.	*Syntax*	Subordination	Unmarked
5.	*Speaker Orientation*	Discourse	Marked
6.	*Prominence*	Backgrounding	Marked

A particular emphasis in the *nominal lexis* of the Psalter is on the three primary actants, referred to in marked forms such as psychophysical substitutes, descriptive terms and unusual names instead of personal pronouns or deixis; emphases of *verbal lexis* are the psalm-act itself (praise and prayer) and the acts of deliverance which are subject-matter of the thanksgiving or prayer. Throughout, there is a high level of lexical multiplication and redundancy.

Morphological variation can also been seen, for example in the frequent use of the adhortative and long forms of prepositions and pronouns, though it is the frequency of modally marked terms that is most striking.

It is at the *syntactical* level that the language of the Psalter may be described as unmarked, especially in its many different uses of asyndetic relations between clauses.

Finally, the Discourse *speaker orientation* of the Psalter is marked by the characteristic personal reference and modal verb forms. The *Prominence* feature may also be described as marked in the sense that there is frequent interchange between fore- and backgrounding.

3. Interrogative–Negative–Imperative

After foundational studies on reference (with a view to argument hierarchy) and modality (with consideration of predication hierarchies), I have chosen to treat the three grammatical features of Interrogativity, Negativity and Imperativity. This juxtaposition can be justified from a range of viewpoints, as there is considerable overlap between these three features at several levels.

3.1. Modality

Interrogative and Imperative clauses, together with Declarative clauses, represent the *grammatical reflexes* of the three basic and universal *utterance types*—statement, question and mand, corresponding to the typological *moods* Indicative, Dubitative and Volitional.[218] The term 'modal' is used here to distinguish Interrogative, Imperative *etc.* ('modal'—*irrealis*) from Indicative ('non-modal'—*realis*).

But what does Negativity have to do with these two 'modal' clause types? It is clearly not paradigmatic with them, since all three principal clause types can be Negated. Moreover, in most languages, Negation is *lexically* rather than *morphosyntactically* realised,[219] whilst Interrogative can often be realised in word-order and Imperative is most often morphological.[220]

The subjunctive mood has already been mentioned. If *realis* modality is expressed grammatically primarily with the indicative, *irrealis* modality is expressed in classical languages with the imperative, optative and subjunctive.[221] Some types of Negativity exhibit *irrealis* (perhaps better, 'non-assertive') features, particularly in some subordinate clause types, such as causal (Latin 'non quod' + subjunctive; similarly Spanish[222]), relative with Negated antecedent (Spanish 'Ningún hombre que' + subjunctive[223]), purpose, fear and conditional clauses, and reported speech. Where there is 'Negative raising' ('i.e. where the negative belongs syntactically ... or semantically to the subordinate clause'[224]), the subjunctive is required in Romance and the conditional/subjunctive particle бы (+ past) in Russian.[225] Negation further distinguishes between Epistemic and Deontic modality in the English modal verbs *may* and *must*; it has been shown to be related by 'dubativity' to Interrogative[226] and is in fact included in some definitions of the concept 'modality' in terms of all the 'non-propositional' elements of a sentence.[227] Finally, it has been said that:

> A *proposition* ... is a unit of communication, that is, it affirms, denies, questions or commands something.[228]

This work deals with the latter three of these.

3.2. Deep-Structure Syntax

The relationships between Interrogative, Negative, mood, tense and aspect are considered in chapter 3 below with reference to generative grammar. Chomsky's earliest presentation of his 'transformations' of a 'kernel' clause refers to compound sentences, Negative, passive and Interrogative/Imperative:[229]

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[218]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 23-33.

[219]Though some languages have Negative verbs *etc.*; see *e.g.* Egyptian and Japanese.

[220]Or, indeed, indicated by the *absence* of morphological marking on the bare stem.

[221]Subjunctive forms are used volitionally in many European languages, and the non-assertive nature of questions and subordinate clauses has been argued cross-linguistically to indicate that the latter develop out of the former; Harris, A.C. and Campbell, L., *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 74; Cambridge: CUP, 1995) 293-308.

[222]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 184.

[223]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 219.

[224]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 145.

[225]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 219.

[226]Haegeman, L., *The Syntax of Negation* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 75; Cambridge: CUP, 1996).

[227]*E.g.* Lewis lists tense, aspect, Interrogative and Negative; Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 14-15.

[228]Beekman, J. and Callow, J., *Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1974) 272.

[229]Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 61-84; Lyons, J., *Chomsky*, Rev. edn. (Fontana Modern Masters; Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977) 118-9.

	1	2	3	4
Kernel:	simple	Affirmative	active	Declarative
By transformations:	complex	Negative	passive	Interrogative/Imperative.

The second and fourth of these transformations are considered in this study. The first, subordination, has had to be omitted for reasons of space, since it involves discourse-level considerations (between clauses). The third transformation is realised in Hebrew within the verbal stem morphology (*niph'al, pu'al, hoph'al*). Generative grammar considers some or all of these categories under a node termed INFL[ection].[230]

The modal verbs of English itself have a set of properties which bring together the features considered here; Huddleston has coined the acronym NICE:[231]

	Example	*Function*
Negative	I can't go.	Deny
Inversion	Must I come?	Question
Code	Yes, you must.	Repeat
Emphatic Affirmation	He *will* be there.	Confirm

Inversion and Code are characteristic respectively of questions and answers, pragmatically-determined discourse functions. Emphatic affirmation, like answer, is grammaticalised as a distinct verbal mood in some languages (so Palmer above) and also represents a discourse function in the pragmatic or Referential (as opposed to Relational) sphere. Thus these properties bring together Negation, Interrogation and the English modal verbs.

Finally, Richter selects the three features considered here as paradigmatical transformations:

> Die merkmallose Form ist in verschiedenen Richtungen modifizierbar. Merkmallose Aussage steht der merkmalhaften Frage [INT], merkmallose Affirmation der merkmalhaften Negation [NEG], merkmalloser Realis den merkmalhaften Irrealis, Eventualis [IMP] gegenüber.

3.3. Points of Contact

These theoretical principles of language can be seen to be at work in a wide range of points of contact between Interrogative, Negative and Imperative in Semitic languages. To take some assorted points of contact from the grammar of Arabic:

1. Negative, Interrogative and Affirmative (*la*, 'truly') free a clausal subject from 'grammatical influence' (accusative marking) by a governing 'verb of the heart', *e.g.* 'I think Zèid [Nom] is not truthful'.[232]

2. Negative, Interrogative and Affirmative nominal clauses can have an indefinite subject.[233]

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[230]See for example Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*, 3, referring to IP (the 'functional layer') as comprising Asp(ect), T(ense)P and NegP.

[231]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 25, 90-91.

[232]Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd edn., rev. W. Robertson Smith and M.J. de Goeje (Cambridge: CUP, 1896), 51.

[233]Wright, *Grammar*, 261.

3. Negative and Interrogative nominal clauses have predicate–subject word order.[234]

4. *mā* has both Interrogative ('what?') and Negative ('not') senses.[235]

5. Interrogative and Negative can be combined in the particle *'ălā* (Hebrew *hᵃlō*'; Latin *nonne*) 'to draw close attention to the certainty of the following assertion', *i.e.* Negative Interrogative = emphatic Affirmative Declarative. The particle frequently occurs together with Imperative (optative perfect, imperative, jussive, energetic).

Diachronic study shows many relationships between markers of Negative and Interrogative in Semitic languages.[236]

4. Corpus and Approach

> Text criticism tends to purge the more glaring cases of abruptness by viewing some psalms as compilations of originally separate psalms or by designating particular verses as secondary additions. This procedure simply produces an alternative text. In this study we are taking the text of Psalms as it is.[237]

The choice of the canonical book of Psalms as a corpus for syntactic description should not need defending.[238] Canonical books have often been considered in isolation, whether in terms of theology (Deuteronomy, Psalms), language in general (Deuteronomy, Ezra-Nehemiah) or syntax in particular (the Joseph narrative and Jonah [Blau], the Joseph narrative [Longacre], the succession narrative [Richter], Samuel-Kings [DeCaen]). Neither the thought nor the language of any Old Testament book can be isolated from its historical or canonical context, but both can be extracted for particular study, and this is the purpose of the present work. It should be noted that what is universally recognised as the most thorough of modern studies of psalmic syntax uses just fourteen assorted texts (O'Connor[239]). The present work is concerned, then, with a closed corpus and a particular range of linguistic phenomena, not with a historical literary type.[240] It considers the relationship of grammatical form to a distinct type of language.

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[234]Wright, *Grammar*, 296.

[235]Compare Greek μή used as an interrogative particle when a negative answer is expected to the question. οὐκ can also have this function, and both μή and οὐκ are more often used in *rhetorical* questions than in real ones (Beekmann and Callow, *Translating the Word of God*, 236-37).

[236]Faber, A., 'The diachronic relationship between negative and interrogative markers in Semitic', in Kaye, A.S. (ed.), *Semitic Studies* (2 vols; FS Leslau; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991) 411-29.

[237]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 58 n. 3. For a structuralist rationale, see Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 41; Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I', 169; Saussure, F. de, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris: Payot, 1916) 30. Compare also Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 12: 'With such a large amount of material as the basis of the inquiry, characteristic phraseology is as likely to be omitted as added in the process of textual corruption.'

[238]See Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 1-4; Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 41.

[239]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*.

[240]Compare the corpus of Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 4-5. My linguistic analysis could be skewed by many factors, not only 45 and the narrative 78 and 105, but also the excessively-formulaic acrostics (9-10; 25; 34; 111; 112; 119; 145), the refrains and doublets (14 = 53; 40:14-18 = 70; 57:8-12 = 108:2-6; 60:7-14 = 108:7-

The method of the present work is strongly influenced by structuralist grammatical study, that is, that which works from form to function:

> The real question that should be asked is: "How are the syntactic devices available in a given language put to work in the actual use of this language?" (Chomsky)[241]
>
> le seul objet de la linguistique, c'est la vie normale et régulière d'un idiome déjà constitué (Saussure)[242]

O'Connor expresses the rationale for this approach with reference to rhetorical questions:

> Rhetorical questions are questions in form *and* assertions (or the like) by conversational implication. Both facts must be treated. The theory of grammar (as of any scientific inquiry) requires that complex facts be treated in terms of simpler ones. Thus, the interrogative shape of rhetorical questions must be accounted for before their assertive function is described.[243]

More recent Hebrew grammars follow this trend (*e.g.* Gibson, Waltke-O'Connor).[244]

Reference is considered first, and in terms specific to the sociolinguistic context of the Psalter, with its three primary actants. Much of this discussion, and the whole of the subsequent chapter on modality is, however, not specific to the Psalter, but to the Linguistic Attitude of Discourse (as distinct from Narrative). The latter chapter therefore makes extensive use of stretches of Discourse from other parts of the Old Testament in order to establish a clear view of the verbal system. The results of these two chapters are then used in the analysis of Interrogative, Negative and Imperative sentences in chapters 4-6. After consideration of the basic morphemes and structures concerned with that sentence type, we look at the range of rhetorical functions which can be achieved pragmatically. Frequently, we see how one grammatical form may be interchangeable with another; this is the rhetorical figure of *heterosis*[245] or *enallage*[246] (*e.g.* Interrogative מי כמוך ≈ Negative אין כמוך). We thus attempt to bridge the gap driven by Western Latin-based models of grammar between the—in Arabic models, integrated—fields of grammar, rhetoric and poetics,[247] as well as accounting in part for a much wider tendency towards form–function 'skewing' as attested to by the titles of some recent form-critical works on the Psalms, such as Frost's 'Asseveration by Thanksgiving' and Fuchs's *Die Klage als Gebet*.[248]

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14), the many imperatives addressed to God in 119, the singular imperatives addressed to the community in the 'wisdom Psalms' and 'Songs of Ascent' and the plural imperative calls to praise in the 'Hallelujah' Psalms.

[241]Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 93.

[242]Saussure, *Cours*, 105.

[243]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 12.

[244]Though compare Andersen, *Sentence*, 35.

[245]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 572 §34.4c.

[246]'die Ersetzung einer Wortart, einer Konjugationsform oder eines Kasus durch eine andere Wortart, Konjugationsform oder Kasus'; Bühlmann, W. and Scherer, K., *Stilfiguren der Bibel: ein kleines Nachschlagewerk* (Biblische Beiträge 10; Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1973) 74.

[247]van der Merwe, 'Overview', 1.

[248]Frost, S., 'Asseveration by Thanksgiving', *VT* 8 (1958) 380-90; Fuchs, O., *Die Klage als Gebet: eine theologische Besinnung am Beispiel des Psalms 22* (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1982).

Chapter 2
REFERENCE

The term 'Reference' in this chapter refers primarily to two distinct features. The first is the pragmatic function of exophoric 'Reference' to real-world context; we are concerned particularly with participant reference, the use of the three grammatical persons to refer to the three rhetorical persons (or 'actants') and the difference between reference by name, description, pronoun or verbal morphology. The second is the syntactic function of endophoric 'Relation' to linguistic cotext; this covers all kinds of deixis, nominal and adverbial, and requires a discussion of pronoun topicalisation and its most frequent function, adversativity. Metonymy and discongruence are two features of participant reference in the Psalms which affect the referential value and agreement features of referential terms.

1. The Referential Lexicon—Primary Referents

1.1. The Implications of Text-Type Identification

The text-type Discourse was shown above to involve a restricted referential lexicon, subject topicalisation and the influence of pragmatics/sociolinguistics.[1] For the Psalter, in particular, the grammatical 1st person is by definition always the Psalmist except in reported direct speech, especially what are usually termed priestly 'oracles' (*i.e.* the voice of God, *e.g.* 50). The 2nd person is usually God, but not always:

> *Direct address.* This is obviously the most frequent mode of discourse and the address is made chiefly to God, but it may be to others such as the king (Pss. 20, 25) or the wicked (Ps. 52).[2]

The 3rd person in the Psalter is usually the Enemy/-ies. This is the natural result of a strong moral dualism (good/evil) intersecting with a certain social dualism (master/servant), rendering:

	Good		*Evil*
Master	GOD		Idols
	↕		↕
Servant	PSALMIST	↔	ENEMY
	∈ community		∈ Enemies
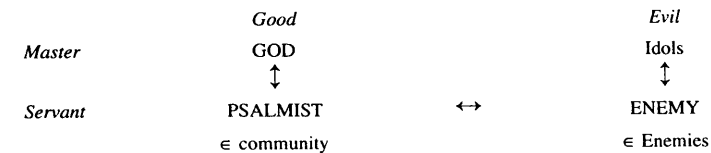
Since the Psalmist's world thus consists primarily of a horizontal plane in which he interacts with the Enemy, and a vertical plane in which he interacts with God, the language of Psalms (and of prayer in general) is concerned with these two relationships and three actants.

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[1]Ch. 1, section 2.2.3.3.

[2]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 43. It is because of these 'others' that I reject Tsevat's definition of a Psalm as 'man's address to God in metrical form'; Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 4).

1.2. The Referential Triangle and its Place in Rhetorical Analysis

Die Klage in den Psalmen ist dreigliedrig. Sie ist nach den drei Subjekten gegliedert: Gott—der Klagende—die Feinde.[3]

... there are three elements which occur with such regularity that they can be taken as cardinal points around which all the statements hinge. They are: the protagonist, the opposition and God.[4]

It has been recorded as a convention of the first group of psalms that there are three *main actants* or groups of actants, to wit the suppliant, Yhwh and the wicked, who are represented as enemies of the suppliant.[5]

The three primary actants in the language of the Psalms are represented here by the points of a triangle within a category of 'rhetorical person'. Of course, not all psalms have a 1st person, some being purely liturgical (15; 24; 134), hymnic (113), sapiential (1, 112) or narrative (the body of 78; 105); other characters also appear—the community of Israel, idols *etc.*[6] However, the relational triangle will prove to be a useful heuristic tool.

GOD

(2nd person)

PSALMIST   ENEMY

(1st person)   (3rd person)
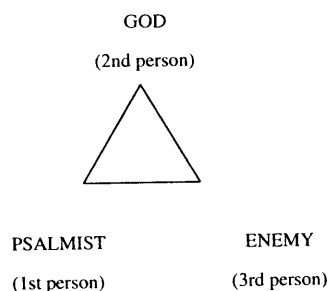
The God-Enemy axis of this triangle has been added here—it was not present in the above moral and social dualism matrix. It therefore has three distinctive properties:

Firstly, God and the Enemy do not share any one feature (either good/evil or master/servant). The contrast is highlighted by the distinctive pronunciation tradition of the poetic books, as reflected in the Massoretic Text's placing of *paseq euphemisticum*

before or after the Divine Name [or other terms for God—אלהים, ארני, אלוה, even the pronoun אתה], to prevent its being joined, in the reading, to a word, which—in the opinion of the accentuators—it was not seemly, משום כבוד השם, to bring into contact with it.[7]

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[3]Westermann, *Lob und Klage*, 128.

[4]Collins, 'Decoding the Psalms', 45.

[5]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', 82.

[6]The placing of the community with the Psalmist is not ideal, since it results in equating self-exhortations with exhortations addressed to the community, which sometimes appear very similar to those addressed to the Enemies. On the other hand, it is valuable in removing the distinction between, for example, individual and communal laments.

[7]Wickes, W., *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the three so-called Poetical Books of the Old Testament, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881) 97.

The largest set of such words is terms for the Enemy (איבי, אויביך, רשעים, עמים, גוים), though it also occurs with אלהים referring to 'other gods'.[8] It is important that אויביך and איבי are treated identically here—in our study, too, they will both fill the rhetorical 3rd-person slot, since they have the same referent and are only specified with respect to plane of relation (represented by the sides of the rhetorical triangle).

Secondly, relationship between God and the Enemy is essentially one-way—the Enemy himself 'forgets God' (9:17; 14//53; 50:22; 119:139), whilst God punishes the Enemy, avenging his servants.

Thirdly, whilst the Enemy is impacted by the *linguistic* force of speech acts such as curses on the horizontal level, he also receives the *literal* force of God's intervention on the vertical level.[9] This dual origin of the effective force of a curse—from the *Speaker* and then the *source*, God—is analogous to the linguistic fact that the subject of a (1st-person) request cohortative (*e.g.* אל־אבושה, 'may I not be put to shame' 31:2) or a 3rd-person jussive (*e.g.* יפלו, 'may they fall' 5:11) is not the source of the action. The thematic role of the source is here termed 'Causer', to indicate its relation to causative valency relations.[10] The rhetorical function of such forms may be termed '*causativum divinum*'—deliberate avoidance of reference to God.

1.3. Reference to Rhetorical Person

The three unireferential semantic sets referred to here as 'rhetorical person' can be referred to in:

1. any of the three grammatical *persons*,
2. singular or plural *number*,
3. subject, object, prepositionally-governed or construct *position*, and
4. nominal or pronominal *form*.

However, as we have seen, their prototypical or 'iconic' values correspond to those of 1st, 2nd and 3rd grammatical person. They govern other syntagms at the formal level (*e.g.* plural imperatives are not addressed to God) and at the functional level (*e.g.* calls of praise are not addressed to the Enemy).

'Rhetorical Person' is, then, the place of the referent in the moral/political/social world of the Psalms. God stands appropriately at the head since he is the Judge whom the Psalms call to 'end the violence of the wicked (רשעים) and establish the righteous (צדיק)' 7:9. His just judgement and siding with the righteous are the prerequisites for prayers of lament and petition.

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[8]Also with (usually following) certain verbs of condemning (זנח, חרף, נתק, נאץ, תעב, שנא) even when God is grammatical subject, רבים indicating 'a plurality' and even ישן 'as conveying a strongly anthropomorphic idea'; Wickes, *Treatise*, 97.

[9]Compare the very useful discussion of modern-day blessings in Bruder, K.A., 'A pragmatics for human relationship with the divine: An examination of the monastic blessing sequence', *JoP* 29 (1998) 463-91 (471-72).

[10]See ch. 6, section 1.2 below.

Considering the Temple-based cultic 'Sitz im Leben' of at least most of the Psalms, one might compare these three poles with three stages in a Priestly 'graded holiness':[11]

קדש קדשים———————טהר/חל———————טמא		
Holy of holies———————profane/clean———————unclean		
sanctuary———————Temple courts———————outside		
God———————Israel———————nations		

The 1st person (clean) is the Psalmist, אני, נפשי, יחידי, כבודי, חיי,[12] who is בר־לבב, צדיק, etc. Sometimes, reference is made to the faithful community, though this cannot be equated for our purposes with the קהל־רב, which usually serves simply as the Addressees of the Psalmist's testimony to God's faithfulness.

The 2nd person (holy) is God alone. The Divine Name יהוה predominates in books I and IIIB-V (Psalter Y), with אלהים in book II and IIIA (Psalter E); the 'seam' in book III is the evenly balanced Psalm 84 (seven occurrences of both Y and E). Hence the differences between some parallel passages:[13]

14 [Y]	predominantly יהוה	//	53 [E]	exclusively אלהים	
40:14-18 [Y]	אדני/יהוה	//	70 [E]	אלהים[14]	
108:2-6 [E![15]]	יהוה	//	57:8-12 [E]	אדני	
106:1, 47-48 [Y]	יהוה אלהינו	//	1 Chr 16:34-36 [Y=E]	אלהי ישענו	

The 3rd person (unclean) is the Enemy, the הוללים, מקימי עלי, צרר, צר, אויב, the רשעים who practice חטאת; also the עמים, גוים.

Participants can be referred to by a name, description, pronoun or verbal morphology:[16]

	Name (Proper Noun)	Description (Common Noun)	Pronoun (Free Pronoun)	Verbal morphology (Bound Pronoun)	
				qāṭal	*yiqṭōl*
1.	(ישראל)	עבדך	אני / אנחנו	אֹ—נ / תי—נו	אֹ—נ / י—
2.	יהוה	אלהים	אתה	תָ / תם—תם	ת—
3.	—	אויב / צר	הוא / הם	ו— / Ø	י—ת/

These various forms of participant reference lie on a continuum of referentiality:

Name   —>   Description   —>   Pronoun   —>   Verbal Morphology

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[11]Jenson, P.P., *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World* (JSOTS 106; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

[12]See below on metonymy.

[13]Other parallel passages which show no particular tendencies are: 18 [Y/E] // 2 Sam 22 [Y/E] (one change in the latter to Y); 60:7-14 [E] // 108:7-14 [E]; 105:1-15 [Y] // 1 Chr 16:8-22 [Y]; 96 [Y] // 1 Chr 16:23-33.

[14]But compare 40:18b אלהי with 70:6b יהוה!

[15]Together with 90, these are the two exceptions to the distribution as presented here.

[16]Or even zero anaphora. Not all of these options occur in the Psalter. See Givón's Iconicity Principle: 'The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it.'; Summer Institute of Linguistics (ed.), *Field Linguistics 1998 Grammar* (SIL, 1998) 131.

Thus *names* have the highest referential value, in that their referents are absolute, being lexically determined. It is for this reason that the *name* of God is most often used (especially in the lament Psalms), reflecting the psalmist's concern, in a polytheistic world, to ensure correct addressing of the message to the Addressee, lest it be lost in transmission and received by some other deity.[17] This is one aspect of what might be considered overspecification, as against the frequent apparent underspecification in other parts of Psalms.[18] *Descriptions*, and then *pronouns*, are less referential, their referents being determined by context or cotext. *Verbal morphology* has the lowest referential value, being specified purely pragmatically by reference to real-world context or textually by relation to Psalm cotext. It has the advantage of lending more 'cohesion'[19] to a text and not interrupting its flow.

Rhetorical force is the inverse of referentiality. That is, a name, for example, is more referential but less rhetorically forceful than a pronoun.

Name   —>   Description   —>   Pronoun   —>   Verbal Morphology

Referentiality———————————————————> *Rhetorical Force*

In pragmatic terms, a name or description in fact has *no* rhetorical force, since, though identifying the referent, it does not identify the Addressee within the clause. For example, with a 3rd-person verb, a name may function as subject or vocative:[20]

יהוה ישמרך, 'The LORD will protect you' 121:7

יהוה יבושו, 'LORD, may they be put to shame!'

This shows that it has no value in specifying the Addressee. Rhetorical force in participant reference is achieved by specifying the participants in relation to the Speaker; for this purpose, verbal morphology is very powerful.

There are thus two types of prominence against which the features of grammatical and rhetorical person are set:

1. Argument hierarchy (function): Subject—Direct Object—Indirect Object—Prepositional Object *etc.*
2. Rhetorical force (lexical form): Verbal Morphology—Pronoun—Description—Name

1.4. Form-critical locus

Westermann has taught us to see psalmic language as riding on a sliding scale between praise and lament, referring to

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[17]Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 56.

[18]See van der Merwe's comments on the importance of this for narrative syntax; van der Merwe, 'Overview', 6.

[19]Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion*.

[20]Interestingly, there are no examples in the Psalter of a vocative immediately preceding a 3rd-person jussive, perhaps because of the ambiguity. See ch. 3 below on word order and the interpretation of *yiqṭōl*-x *vs.* x-*yiqṭōl*, and ch. 6, section 5.1. on the jussive.

die den ganzen Psalter bestimmende polare Entsprechung von Klage und Lob.[21]

I would like to characterise the entire dynamic of the psalms as riding on two interacting planes/dimensions—Westermann's bipolar *attitudinal* plane of praise and lament[22] and the tripolar *referential* plane of God, Psalmist and Enemy.

GOD

(2nd person)

PRAISE <—————————————————————————> LAMENT

PSALMIST   ENEMY

(1st person)   (3rd person)
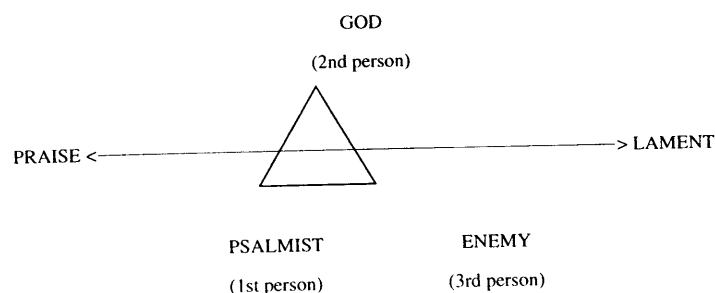
These two planes intersect completely to present a response-referent matrix:

	Praise	*Lament*
1. Psalmist	אגילה. אשמח	אנכי תולעת ולא־איש
	I will rejoice! I will be happy!	I am a worm, not a man
2. God	אודך	למה שכחתני
	I will acknowledge you!	Why have you forgotten me?
3. Enemy	הכית את־כל־איבי לחי	מה־רבו צרי
	May you strike all my enemies on the cheek!	How my enemies have multiplied!

This matrix is useful in tracing the shift of rhetorical person within the Psalms; we are particularly interested in lines such as:

71:7 כְּמוֹפֵת הָיִיתִי לְרַבִּים וְאַתָּה מַחֲסִי־עֹז׃

I have been like a portent to many, but you are my strong refuge. (NRSV)

109:28 יְקַלְלוּ־הֵמָּה וְאַתָּה תְבָרֵךְ קָמוּ וַיֵּבֹשׁוּ וְעַבְדְּךָ יִשְׂמָח׃

Let them curse, but you will bless. Let my assailants be put to shame; may your servant be glad. (NRSV)

119:87 כִּמְעַט כִּלּוּנִי בָאָרֶץ וַאֲנִי לֹא־עָזַבְתִּי פִקּוּדֶיךָ׃

They have almost made an end of me on earth; but I have not forsaken your precepts. (NRSV)

The first of these switches from Lament focussing on the rhetorical 1st person to Praise focussing on the 2nd person. Similarly, each of the parallel cola of 109:28 shifts from Lament (3rd person) to Praise (2nd person); and 119:87 shifts from Lament (1st person) to Praise (1st person). The assignment of cola to particular rhetorical persons is debatable of course (*e.g.* 119:87 as 1st person), though this kind of analysis may prove useful in showing up recurrent

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[21]Westermann, *Lob und Klage*, 6. One might argue for the addition of poles of 'prayer' and/or 'wisdom' (rhetorically neutral—a genre in which righteous and evil action is spoken of often with only minor reference to the self or God's personal interests).

[22]Verb-Phrase, propositional categories, unrelated to the Inflectional Phrase, clausal category of mood.

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patterns of shift in personal referent, which go together with patterns of shifting Praise and Lament on the grammatical base of clause-types (Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative), to make up the rhetorical artistry of the psalms.

2. Deixis

2.1. Definition

'Deixis' is a functional term for a group of words which have little or no inherent semantic content, but function beyond the limits of the sentence. Richter gives a useful definition of pronominal deixis:

> Die Deixis dient dazu, das im Nomen Ausgedrückte in einem Satz hervorzuheben und mit dem Bezeichneten außerhalb des Satzes zu verbinden, sei es in weiteren Sätzen (Relation) oder außerhalb von Sätzen (Referenz); hier verweist sie auf Sachverhalte.[23]

It has already been noted in chapter 1 above how referential (pragmatically-defined) deixis is restricted to Discourse, whilst relational (textlinguistically-defined) deixis is most characteristic of Narrative.

Many kinds of clausal constituents have deictic terms in Hebrew:

Nominal	Personal pronoun (distal)	אני־אתה/את־הוא/היא / אנחנו־אתמ/ן־הם/ן
	Demonstrative pronoun (proximal)	זה־זות / אלה
	Relative pronoun	זו / [אשר]
	Interrogative	אי־זה / מי / מה
Adjectival	Demonstrative adjective (distal)	ההוא/ההיא / ההמ/ן
	Demonstrative adjective (proximal)	הזה־הזות / האלה
	Interrogative	איך / כמה / במה / למה / מה
Verbal	Adverbial	כה ,כן
Article		ה
Clausal	Interrogative particle	ה

A range of other terms, known as 'Discourse Deixis' (*e.g.* many conjunctions and adverbs) and 'Social Deixis' (*e.g.* honorifics) could be added to this list,[24] but the above are those most important for the present discussion. The 'distal/proximal' distinction (Richter's 'Nah-' and 'Fern-Deixis') is also important, since it contributes to the rhetorical texture of a Psalm. Indicative pronouns are considered here, and Interrogative pronouns in chapter 4 below.

Personal pronouns are distinguished by person, number and gender. Their Referential values can be defined in pragmatic terms as follows:[25]

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[23]Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 81. See also Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 80-83 on context and cotext.

[24]Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 54-96.

[25]The term 'representative' is coined here in the absence of a conventionally-accepted term.

Person	Referential value
1st sg.	Speaker (occasionally, also Speakers, *e.g.* 129)
2nd sg.	Addressee (occasionally, also Addressees, *e.g.* Deut *passim*)
3rd sg.	Animate or inanimate communication-external referent
1st pl.	Speakers (exclusive), or
	Speaker+Addressee (inclusive), or
	Speaker(s)+other ('representative')
2nd pl.	Addressees (exclusive), or
	Addressee + other communication-external referent(s) ('representative')
3rd pl.	Animate or inanimate communication-external referents

The distinctions between inclusive and exclusive 1st and 2nd person plurals are important in the analysis of, for example, plural directive cohortatives (*e.g.* נלכה, 'Let us go'), where they distinguish true directives (*e.g.* 'They said, "Let us go ..."'') from hortatives (*e.g.* 'He said to his brother, "Let us go ..."''). They may also aid our understanding of difficult texts such as

קׁ נודִ י 11:1 בְּיהֹוָה חָסִיתי אֵיך תֹּאמרו לנפשׁי נודו הרכם צפור:

I have put my hope in the LORD, how can you say to my soul, 'Flee to your mountain like a bird!' (ALW)

The *qarê* and many later commentators amend נודו to נוד י, though נודו הרכם צפור is perhaps best understood as 'representative' 2nd-person plural, that is a common battle taunt, addressed to an army including the Psalmist.[26]

An important functional distinction exists between the *Interlocutive* persons (Speaker and Addressee) and the *Delocutive* (Other), and it may be said that there is a 'hierarchy of salience' from the 1st person, to 2nd to 3rd persons.[27] This distinction may be seen in the way that the referents of 1st and 2nd-person pronouns are defined in the above table *Referentially* by the speech situation, whilst 3rd-person pronouns also have the possibility of being *Relationally* defined—they may relate back to an earlier description of the Enemy, for example. The distinction is expressed formally in the Hebrew pronominal system by use of the proximal morpheme '*n*- (את/ה/את-אתם/ן, אנכ/י-אנחנו) as against the distal 'deiktische[s] Grundmorphem' *h*- (הוא/היא-הם/ן);[28] similarly, among the enclitic personal pronouns, the proximal mopheme -*k*- marks the 2nd person,[29] whilst the distal -*h*- marks 3rd person. This phenomenon has been noted in several languages:

In the Semitic, and even in many non-Semitic, languages such as in Greek and Latin, for example, the third persons of the personal pronoun are not taken from the same paradigm as that of the first and second persons.[30]

Generalisations have also been made cross-linguistically:

First and second person pronouns cannot be impersonal, they are intrinsically fully referential. There are no first or second person expletives, only "third" person expletives. Benveniste makes the typological claim that in many languages "the 'third person' is not a 'person'; it is really the verbal form whose function is to express the *non-person*".[31]

A further distinction exists between *Speaker* and *Addressee* themselves. This distinction is initially evident in morphology in the lack of gender-marking in the 1st-person—this grammatical person is bound to the (self-defining) function 'Speaker'. The distinction is expressed formally in the Hebrew pronouns in the 2nd-person morpheme -*t*-, which is also present in *yiqtōl* and *qātal* morphology.

Demonstrative pronouns are formed from the two 'Grundmorpheme', -*h* (distal) and אלה-*z*/ (proximal).[32] The זו, זו (<*zā*?), זה (<*zī*?) system suggests case-marking within the proximal system,[33] זו being originally a relative pronoun.[34]

Finally, in addition to the use of the -*k*- morpheme in 2nd-person enclitic personal pronouns, it occurs in Interrogative איך, in the adverbial כן and כה, emphatic and restrictive אכן/אך and emphatic and conjunctive כי. *h*- also occurs as the article and Interrogative particle, as well as in הנה, הן and הֵנה. Other deictic terms in Hebrew include the complementary adverbs of place, פה, 'where?', and שם, 'there'.

2.2. *Pronominal Deixis and Adversativity*

2.2.1. *Topicalisation*

Here, the *function* of topicalisation is dealt with; the *formal* question of what is the unmarked word order for verbal clauses is treated in chapter 3 below.

In Hebrew, if a VSO paradigm for clause constituents is held to, SVO word order must be accounted for in terms of either stylistics (*e.g.* constituent weight), syntax above the clause (textlinguistics) or pragmatics (topicalisation).

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[26]See discussion below, ch. 3, section 3.1.

[27]Terms from Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 105-8. See also Weinrich, *Tempus*, 29.

[28]Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 82-4. Richter notes that אנחנו is at most secondarily assimilated to this pattern. Note also the frequent cases where הוא is interpreted as related to the verb היה, *e.g.* 102:28 ואתה־הוא Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XVI-XVII.

[29]Egyptian opposes 1st-person *k* to 2nd- and 3rd-person *t* in independent pronouns and the stative/pseudoparticiple endings; Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 65.Müller, H.-P., 'Ergative Constructions in Early Semitic Languages', *JNES* 54 (1995) 261-71 (269) presents the use of -*k*- in the 2nd-person of the suffix conjugation in some Semitic languages as evidence for ergativity.

[30]Müller, 'Ergative Constructions', 270.

[31]Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*, 123. Demonstrated also with אין (pp. 140-41) and independent pronouns versus *qātal*-form suffixes (pp. 215).

[32]See also the combined forms הלי, הלזה and הלזו; Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 87.

[33]Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 87.

[34]'the true relative pronoun' (Williams, *Syntax*, 27 §129); 'das älteste RPron' (Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 88 n. 247); *zû* is 'probably a vernacular element' (Seow, C.L., 'Linguistic Evidence and the Dating of Qohelet', *JBL* 115 (1996) 643-66 (662)). Compare Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*, 132-33.

Clause constituents in Hebrew tend to be 'light', three-term construct phrases being quite rare and relative clauses being easily reduced. Nevertheless, this factor has not received sufficient consideration amongst scholars.

Syntax above the clause has become strongly argued as the principal reason for certain kinds of subject topicalisation.[35] Schneider and Niccacci have seen discourse function in (*we*)-subject-*qātal* clauses within a chain of narrative *wayyiqtōl* forms, and Eskhult has linked this with an aspectual study. On the other hand, the distinctions between x-*yiqtōl* and *yiqtōl*-x, and between *hû' qōtēl* and *qōtēl hû'* have been shown by Niccacci and Joosten respectively to be not textlinguistic but semantic (modality and aspect respectively).[36]

Topicalisation is used here to refer to the pragmatically-significant fronting of any element of a clause. Its most frequent function in the Psalms is for contrast, or 'adversativity'.

2.2.2. *Adversativity*

Adversativity[37] is marked or unmarked shift in referent, particularly between verbal arguments of the same type (*e.g.* subject–subject or locative–locative). Usually there will be some inherent opposition already present in the contrasted elements, such as rhetorical person or grammatical person, or there will be a common element in the two contrasted predications. This functions at a number of levels, from a higher textual level, down to the relation of arguments between clauses, down further to the relation of arguments within a clause. Shifts in subject–topic between clauses are an important feature of the Psalter.

Psalm 1 hinges on the axis ... לא־כן הרשעים (v. 4), the change of rhetorical person (רשעים / v. 6] = צדיק [האיש) distinguishing two distinct parts of a psalm in a Deuteronomy-style contrast of blessing and curse.[38] Though similar contrasts are made of *comment* in vv. 1-2 (... לא ... כי אם ...), we are concerned here only with shift in *topic*.[39]

Adversativity can be marked in a variety of ways, including verbal forms (such as *wayyiqtōl* marking 'actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately before'[40]) and particles (*'ap*,[41] *kî*[42] and, after a Negative clause, typically *kî 'im*). Here, however, we are primarily concerned with purely syntactical markers of adversativity—fronting of a constituent such as a pronoun (*wa-'anî*,

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[35]But compare Joosten's strong refutal; Joosten, 'The Indicative System'.

[36]See ch. 3 below.

[37]Williams, *Syntax*, 71 § 432; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 129 §8.3b. Also often referred to as 'Conversativity'.

[38]The contrast is heightened in LXX's repeated οὐχ οὕτως.

[39]I also do not consider prepositionally-governed topics such as those in 115:1 לא לנו כי־לשמך תן כבוד.

[40]Gesenius–Kautzsch, 338 §111a, cited in Antturi, A., 'The Hebrew Verb in Poetic Context: Psalm 44', Presented at the University of Leiden (1994) 15, n. 48.

[41]Antturi, 'Psalm 44', 18.

[42]When preceded by a Negative clause, *kî* usually gains adversative force; Antturi, 'Psalm 44', 15, 22.

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wa-'attâ) or time adverbial (*wa-'attâ*). Typically, this involves 'adversative *wāw*'. This is the case for example in the axis of Psalm 52, otherwise so similar to Psalm 1:

52:10 ואני כזית רענן בבית אלהים ...

But I am like a green olive tree in the house of God. ... (NRSV)

2.2.3. *Adversative* wāw *and Pronoun*

As Tsevat notes,[43] *wa-'anî* and *wa-'anahnû* often occur in the Psalms as subject of a verbal clause; this is also true of *wa-'attâ* and, less frequently, of other personal pronouns.[44] It is much rarer outside the Psalter and can be shown in most cases to be rhetorically significant in terms of establishing contrast along one of the three axes of the rhetorical triangle. 10/30 occurrences of *wa-'anî* in the Psalms are translated in the NIV as '*but* I', and 12/21 occurrences of *wa-'attâ* as '*but* you'. This is a substantially higher proportion of adversative *wāws* than is seen in the Old Testament as a whole and supports the view that the syntactic markedness of a pronominal subject can have an inherently contrastive function. Between the three poles, there are six logical relationships of contrast, five of which are attested in the Psalter using adversative *wāw*.[45]

GOD

GOD —> PSALMIST
אך טוב ... אלהים לברי לבב
ואני כמעט נטוי רגלי (73:1-2)
Truly God is good ... to those who are pure in heart.
But as for me, my feet had almost stumbled

GOD —> ENEMY
(not attested)

PSALMIST —> GOD
אמרתי אודה עלי פשעי ליהוה
ואתה נשאת עון חטאתי (32:5)
I said, "I will confess my transgressions to the LORD," and you forgave the guilt of my sin.

ENEMY —> GOD
הנה יביעון בפיהם ...
ואתה יהוה תשחק־למו (59:8-9)
There they are, bellowing with their mouths ...
But you laugh at them, O LORD.

PSALMIST →

ENEMY

PSALMIST —> ENEMY
דבקה נפשי אחריך
והמה ... יבאו בתחתיות (63:9-10)
My soul clings to you ...
But those who ... shall go down into the depths

ENEMY —> PSALMIST
וימינם מלאה שחד
ואני בתמי אלך (26:10-11)
... whose right hands are full of bribes.
But as for me, I walk in my integrity

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[43]Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 25 no. 163.

[44]Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 112.

[45]Translations are from the NRSV.

This presentation shows that adversative *waˀᵃnî*, *wᵊ ʿattâ* and *wᵊhēmmâ* functions throughout the rhetorical world of the Psalms to establish contrasts between the three primary actants. In fact, both *waˀᵃnî* and *wᵊ ʿattâ* occur in Psalm 59 as macrostructural devices, establishing contrasts between the Enemies and God (*wᵊ ʿattâ*, vv. 6, 9) and the Enemies and the Psalmist (*waˀᵃnî*, v. 17).[46] Westermann has shown how these terms occur at key points in the individual lament—they may mark the transition from the lament to the confession of trust or from the petition to the assurance of being heard.[47] Thus they are key markers, not only of shift in grammatical and rhetorical person, but also of the shift from Lament to Praise.

As Westermann has further noted,

> The contrast is actually made, not by the *waw*, but by the structure of the sentence.[48]

This is supported by the homonymy of adversative ('but') and copulative ('and') *wāw* and the absence of *wāw* in some adversative contexts:

17:14b-15   תִּמָּלֵא בִטְנָם ... אֲנִי בְּצֶדֶק אֶחֱזֶה פָנֶיךָ

> May their bellies be filled ... As for me, I shall behold your face in righteousness (NRSV)

55:16-7   ... יֵרְדוּ שְׁאוֹל חַיִּים כִּי־רָעוֹת בִּמְגוּרָם בְּקִרְבָּם:

אֲנִי אֶל־אֱלֹהִים אֶקְרָא וַיהוָה יוֹשִׁיעֵנִי:

> ... let them go down alive to Sheol; for evil is in their homes and in their hearts.
> But I call upon God, and the LORD will save me. (NRSV)

Some of the functions of adversative *wāw* with a personal pronoun may be exemplified from the occurrences of *waˀᵃnî*. Often occurring as the last[49] or penultimate[50] line of a Psalm, these references to the self often involve what Gunkel called 'Beweggründe des göttlichen Einschreitens'—appeals to the Psalmist's need[51] or righteousness.[52] Compare, for example:

69:30   וַאֲנִי עָנִי וְכוֹאֵב יְשׁוּעָתְךָ אֱלֹהִים תְּשַׂגְּבֵנִי:

> But I am lowly and in pain; let your salvation, O God, protect me. (NRSV)

26:11   וַאֲנִי בְּתֻמִּי אֵלֵךְ פְּדֵנִי וְחָנֵּנִי:

> But as for me, I walk in my integrity; redeem me, and be gracious to me. (NRSV)

with the 'traditional prayers':[53]

25:16   פְּנֵה־אֵלַי וְחָנֵּנִי כִּי־יָחִיד וְעָנִי אָנִי:

> Turn to me and be gracious to me, for I am lonely and afflicted. (NRSV)

26:1   שָׁפְטֵנִי יְהוָה כִּי־אֲנִי בְּתֻמִּי הָלַכְתִּי ...

> Vindicate me, O LORD, for I have walked in my integrity, ... (NRSV)

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[46]Compare also 55:24.

[47]Often considered in terms of a 'Heilsorakel'. Begrich, 'Das priesterliche Heilsorakel'; Westermann, C., *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* tr. K.R. Crim and R.N. Soulen (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1965) 70-75.

[48]Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 71.

[49]17:15; 40:18; 55:24.

[50]13:6; 41:13; 52:10; 59:17.

[51]*E.g.* עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן אָנִי, 'I am poor and needy', Culley's formula 31: 40:17-18 // 70:5-6; 69:30.

[52]13:6; 26:11; 31:15; 41:12-13; 55:24.

[53]Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer*.

waˀᵃnî tends to introduce stative clause types (*e.g.* nominal clauses) in contrast with the modal verbal character of preceding imprecations against the Enemy.

The most frequent function of the term *waˀᵃnî* itself is contrast in both topic and comment across two lines. However, it should be noted that there are some differences between the use of *waˀᵃnî* in Hebrew and the use of 'But as for me' in English.

The English expression tends to signal a contrast of topic *and* comment, and the topic is usually new—English favours verses such as:

> They will be destroyed, but as for me, I will be saved.

or

59:16-17   הֵמָּה יְנִיעוּן לֶאֱכֹל אִם־לֹא יִשְׂבְּעוּ וַיָּלִינוּ:

ק יניעון   וַאֲנִי אָשִׁיר עֻזֶּךָ וַאֲרַנֵּן לַבֹּקֶר חַסְדֶּךָ ...

> They roam about for food, and growl if they do not get their fill.
> But I will sing of your might; I will sing aloud of your steadfast love in the morning. (NRSV)

In these examples, there is a contrast between topics ('they ... I') as well as between comments ('be destroyed ... be saved' and 'growl ... sing').

In Hebrew, by contrast, it is possible to have no contrast between topics—*waˀᵃnî* may open direct speech:

2:6   וַאֲנִי נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי עַל־צִיּוֹן הַר־קָדְשִׁי:

> "I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill." (NRSV)

or be repeated:

73:22-3   וַאֲנִי־בַעַר וְלֹא אֵדָע בְּהֵמוֹת הָיִיתִי עִמָּךְ:

וַאֲנִי תָמִיד עִמָּךְ אָחַזְתָּ בְּיַד־יְמִינִי:

> I was stupid and ignorant; I was like a brute beast toward you.
> Nevertheless I am continually with you; you hold my right hand. (NRSV)

or there may simply be no contrast conceivable between the cola:

88:13-14   הֲיִוָּדַע בַּחֹשֶׁךְ פִּלְאֶךָ וְצִדְקָתְךָ בְּאֶרֶץ נְשִׁיָּה:

וַאֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה שִׁוַּעְתִּי וּבַבֹּקֶר תְּפִלָּתִי תְקַדְּמֶךָּ:

> Are your wonders known in the darkness, or your saving help in the land of forgetfulness?
> But I, O LORD, cry out to you ... (NRSV)

In the latter two examples, though a translation with 'But as for me ...' would not be possible, 'But I ...' is acceptable. Prominence is given not only to the subject, but to the entire clause.

Hebrew also allows less sharp contrasts between comments:

38:13   ... וּמִרְמוֹת כָּל־הַיּוֹם יֶהְגּוּ: וַאֲנִי כְחֵרֵשׁ לֹא אֶשְׁמָע ...

> [They] meditate treachery all day long. But I am like the deaf, I do not hear ... (NRSV)

and the topic is not necessarily new (it may have already occurred as an object, for example):

31:14-15   ... בְּהִוָּסְדָם יַחַד עָלַי לָקַחַת נַפְשִׁי זָמָמוּ: וַאֲנִי עָלֶיךָ בָטַחְתִּי יְהוָה ...

> ... as they scheme together against me, as they plot to take my life. But I trust in you, O LORD ... (NRSV)

One would require 'But as for me myself ...' in English here.

Where there is no contrast between comments, the *wāw* is, of course, conjunctive.[54]

2.2.3.1. wa³ᵃnî *in Subject Position*

The *subject* position is the most frequent for *wa³ᵃnî*, mostly contrasting the Psalmist with the Enemy:[55]

צָרַי יָגִילוּ ... וַאֲנִי בְּחַסְדְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי יָגֵל לִבִּי בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ   13:5-6

... my foes will rejoice ... But I have trusted in your covenant love. May my heart rejoice in your salvation! (ALW)

וַאֲנִי כְּזַיִת רַעֲנָן בְּבֵית אֱלֹהִים ...   52:10

But I am like a green olive tree in the house of God. ... (NRSV)

The preceding reference to the Enemy may be as a subject,[56] subject of a jussive,[57] object,[58] prepositional object[59] or even Addressee.[60] It is thus not really true, as Waltke–O'Connor claim, that,

> When two clauses in contrast are joined by a *waw*-adversative, a species of *waw*-disjunctive, the subject often comes first in both.[61]

There may alternatively be contrast with the community:[62]

יָשִׂישׂוּ וְיִשְׂמְחוּ בְּךָ כָּל־מְבַקְשֶׁיךָ ... וַאֲנִי עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן אֲדֹנָי יַחֲשָׁב לִי   40:17-18

But may all who seek you rejoice and be glad in you ... As for me, I am poor and needy, but the Lord takes thought for me. (NRSV)

אַךְ טוֹב לְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלֹהִים לְבָרֵי לֵבָב: וַאֲנִי כִּמְעַט נָטוּי רַגְלָי   73:1

Truly God is good to the upright, to those who are pure in heart. But as for me, my feet had almost stumbled ... (NRSV)

2.2.3.2. wa³ᵃnî *in Extraposition*

The English syntactic structure used to express the adversative nature of *wa³ᵃnî*, 'But as for me' is itself extrapositional, requiring repeated reference to the same clausal constituent in the main clause ('As for me, I ...'). In Hebrew, the extraposed 1st person may be recovered in the object position:

וּבְזֹאת יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־חָפַצְתָּ בִּי כִּי לֹא־יָרִיעַ אֹיְבִי עָלָי ... וַאֲנִי בְּתֻמִּי תָּמַכְתָּ בִּי   41:12-3

By this I know that you are pleased with me; because my enemy has not triumphed over me. But you have upheld me because of my integrity ... (NRSV)

or under a preposition:

וַאֲנִי קִרֲבַת אֱלֹהִים לִי־טוֹב ...   73:28

But for me it is good to be near God ... (NRSV)

or in the possessive:[63]

יְשַׁלְּמוּנִי רָעָה תַּחַת טוֹבָה שְׁכוֹל לְנַפְשִׁי: ... וַאֲנִי בַּחֲלוֹתָם לְבוּשִׁי שָׂק ...   35:12-3

They repay me evil for good; my soul is forlorn. ... But as for me, when they were sick, I wore sackcloth ... (NRSV)

2.2.3.3. Anticipatory Contrast

The contrast is not always with what precedes; occasionally, it is with what follows. A particularly important example of this in the Psalter is אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי,[64] followed by the report of an experience which did not accord with expectations.

2.3. Adverbial Deixis

It has been seen above how adversativity may be expressed by free-standing pronouns, often with 'adversative *wāw*'. There are a range of other deictic terms, too, however, which may function in the same way. In particular, there are those of manner (*kēn*), cause (*lākēn, ʿal-kēn*), time (*ʿattâ*) and logical deixis (*ʾāz*).

2.3.1. Manner: kēn

Adverbial deixis of manner is usually achieved by means of the particle כֵּן, 'thus'.

kēn may be used together with *k-*, functioning at the clausal level just as it does at the argumental level. The clausal function is normally achieved in prose with כַּאֲשֶׁר ... כֵּן ...,[65] but in verse אֲשֶׁר is often omitted,[66] so that the clausal form כַּעֲשֶׂה אָבִי כֵּן־אֶעֱשֶׂה, 'As my father did, so will I do', corresponds exactly to the argumental form כְּאָבִי כֵּן־אָנִי, 'As was my father, so am I'.[67] This is clearly analogous to the colloquial English 'He did it like an expert' meaning both 'He did it as an expert does' (clausal) and 'He did it as if he were an expert' (argumental).

Both functions of כְּ ... כֵּן are attested in the Psalter. Argumental:[68]

כְּחִצִּים בְּיַד־גִּבּוֹר כֵּן בְּנֵי הַנְּעוּרִים: 127:4

Like arrows in the hand of a warrior are the sons of one's youth. (NRSV)

and clausal:[69]

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54 102:12; 109:24; 118:7.

55 Similarly 38:14.

56 55:24; 59:16; 109:4; 119:87.

57 71:13.

58 5:7 (with object topicalisation and similar reference to the Enemy as 55:24); 31:7.

59 26:9.

60 52:1-9.

61 Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 129 §8.3b.

62 17:15.

63 69:14; 73:2.

64 Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 26 no. 164. See also ch. 3 on direct discourse. 30:7; 31:23; 41:5; 82:6; 116:10-11.

65 So 48:9.

66 As also in many other contexts; see ch. 1 above.

67 So 1 Sam 25:25 כְּשֵׁמוֹ כֵּן־הוּא; 48:11 כְּשִׁמְךָ אֱלֹהִים כֵּן תְּהִלָּתְךָ.

68 Similarly 48:11; 103:15.

69 SImilarly 83:15-16; 123:2.

42:2   כְּאַיָּל תַּעֲרֹג עַל־אֲפִיקֵי־מָיִם כֵּן נַפְשִׁי תַעֲרֹג אֵלֶיךָ אֱלֹהִים:

As a deer longs for flowing streams, so my soul longs for you, O God. (NRSV)

kēn may refer also to an infinitival clause:

90:12   לִמְנוֹת יָמֵינוּ כֵּן הוֹדַע וְנָבִא לְבַב חָכְמָה:

So teach us to count our days that we may gain a wise heart. (NRSV)

or to a temporal clause:

48:6   הֵמָּה רָאוּ כֵּן תָּמָהוּ נִבְהֲלוּ נֶחְפָּזוּ:

As soon as they saw it, they were astounded; they were in panic, they took to flight (NRSV)

Often its referent is very difficult to identify.[70]

2.3.2. *Cause:* lākēn, ʿal-kēn

The particle *lākēn*, like its Interrogative counterpart, *lāmmâ*, most often refers not to purpose (which one might have expected), but cause:[71]

16:8-9   שִׁוִּיתִי יְהוָה לְנֶגְדִּי תָמִיד כִּי מִימִינִי בַּל־אֶמּוֹט:

לָכֵן שָׂמַח לִבִּי וַיָּגֶל כְּבוֹדִי אַף־בְּשָׂרִי יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח:

I keep the LORD always before me; because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved.
Therefore my heart is glad, and my soul rejoices; my body also rests secure. (NRSV)

lākēn nearly always involves a shift of rhetorical person, from God to Psalmist (16:8-9) or community (73:10), from community to God (78:21), or from Enemy to Psalmist:

119:119   סִגִים הִשְׁבַּתָּ כָל־רִשְׁעֵי־אָרֶץ לָכֵן אָהַבְתִּי עֵדֹתֶיךָ:

All the wicked of the earth you count as dross; therefore I love your decrees. (NRSV)

ʿal-kēn also refers to cause:

45:8   אָהַבְתָּ צֶדֶק וַתִּשְׂנָא רֶשַׁע עַל־כֵּן מְשָׁחֲךָ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ שֶׁמֶן שָׂשׂוֹן מֵחֲבֵרֶיךָ:

You love righteousness and hate wickedness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions (NRSV)

and similarly often involves shift of rhetorical person, from community[72] to God (45:3; 45:8), from God to Psalmist (18:50; 46:3; 119:129), or from Psalmist to Enemy (45:18). It may mark a paragraph-level shift of comment (1:5) or a shift from Lament to Praise (42:7).

2.3.3. *Time:* ʿattâ

Proximal temporal deixis is the basic meaning of *ʿattâ*, which frequently occurs with adversative *wāw*. Two main functions are essential to the present work.

Firstly, *wəʿattâ* may frequently be used to express logical consequence:

    ... used like the English "so" or "therefore" ... to relate a preceding circumstantial clause to a following volitional clause ...[73]

This is the case in the Psalmist's warning to the kings of the earth in the light of the LORD's dominion:

2:5-10   אָז יְדַבֵּר אֵלֵימוֹ בְאַפּוֹ וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יְבַהֲלֵמוֹ: ...

וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ:

Then he will speak to them in his wrath, and terrify them in his fury ...
Now therefore, O kings, be wise; be warned, O rulers of the earth. (NRSV)

Something of this consequential meaning is evident in the assertion of present confidence in the light of future security:

27:5-6   כִּי יִצְפְּנֵנִי בְּסֻכֹּה בְּיוֹם רָעָה ...

וְעַתָּה יָרוּם רֹאשִׁי עַל אֹיְבַי סְבִיבוֹתַי ...

    For he will hide me in his shelter in the day of trouble ... Now my head is lifted up above my enemies all around me ... (NRSV)

Secondly, *wəʿattâ* may be used, like *hinnê* (the standard performative marker), *həlōʾ* (Interrogative/Negative) and *waʾanî* (pronominal deixis) to signal a performative utterance.[74] This may be the best interpretation of

119:67   טֶרֶם אֶעֱנֶה אֲנִי שֹׁגֵג וְעַתָּה אִמְרָתְךָ שָׁמָרְתִּי:

    Before I was humbled I was going astray, but now I pledge myself to your word. (ALW)

Similarly, *wəʿattâ* may be used to signal a question:

39:8   וְעַתָּה מַה־קִּוִּיתִי אֲדֹנָי תּוֹחַלְתִּי לְךָ הִיא:

    "And now, O Lord, what do I wait for? My hope is in you. (NRSV)

The response to a blessing may also be introduced by *ʿattâ*:

20:7   עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי הוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה מְשִׁיחוֹ ...

    Now I know that the Lord has ordained salvation for his anointed (ALW)

This is a common juxtaposition of elements,[75] and it appears that *ʿattâ* functions—as elsewhere also *ʾanî* (135:5 ... כִּי אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי) and demonstratives (41:12 ... כִּי יָדַעְתִּי בְּזֹאת; 56:10 ... כִּי יָדַעְתִּי־זֶה) to signal a formal expresssion of faith. This formula shows well the common function of temporal (*ʿattâ*), pronominal (*ʾanî*) and demonstrative (*zôt, zæ*) deictic elements.[76]

Finally, *ʿattâ* occurs frequently in the Psalter in the formulaic expression מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם, in blessings of God (113:2; 115:18) or of Israel (121:8; 125:2; 131:3).

2.3.4. *Logical:* ʾāz

Logical deixis is exhibited by the particle *ʾāz*. In Narrative, *ʾāz* standardly occurs with the *yiqtōl* form and functions temporally, referring to the general past.[77]

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[70] 61:9; 63:5; 63:3 ['so I see you'?]; 65:10; 127:2; 128:4; 147:20.

[71] Similarly 73:6; 73:10; 78:21; 119:119.

[72] In fact an individual, though performing the same function as the community—an ally of the Psalmist.

[73] Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*', 238.

[74] 74:6 is too debatable to form part of this argument. עתה alone marks a commissive in 12:6 עַתָּה אָקוּם, 'I now arise ...'.

[75] 119:75; 140:13.

[76] In contrast, a relative clause with לֹא־יָדַעְתִּי (18:44; 35:11; 81:6) often occurs in the context of the Enemy.

[77] See ch. 3 on *yiqtōl* for general past.

126:2   אָז יִמָּלֵא שְׂחוֹק פִּינוּ וּלְשׁוֹנֵנוּ רִנָּה

אָז יֹאמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם הִגְדִּיל יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת עִם־אֵלֶּה:

Then our mouth was filled with laughter, and our tongue with shouts of joy;

then it was said among the nations, "The LORD has done great things for them." (NRSV)

In the Psalms, *'āz* most often functions to mark a final clause after a Directive ('Do X, then Y will happen'):[78]

19:14   גַּם מִזֵּדִים חֲשֹׂךְ עַבְדֶּךָ אַל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִי אָז אֵיתָם וְנִקֵּיתִי מִפֶּשַׁע רָב:

Keep back your servant also from the insolent; do not let them have dominion over me. Then I shall be blameless, and innocent of great transgression. (NRSV)

or after an Expresssive–desiderative (119:6 אַחֲלַי, 'Oh that …') or a resultative question (69:5).

The reference may be to general present (2:5) or future (19:14) time, in accordance with the standard range of meaning of Epistemic *yiqtōl*.[79]

'āz may occasionally occur with *qātal*. 40:8 אָז אָמַרְתִּי is probably performative—'so I hereby say …'.[80] 89:20 אָז דִּבַּרְתָּ may be explained as referring to a specific point in the past (as opposed to general past). 119:92 לוּלֵי … אָז requires *qātal* as the apodosis to an unreal condition.

2.4. Conclusion

In this section, we have considered the various deictic pronouns and adverbs which most commonly function as Relational (text) and Referential (context) deixis within the Psalter. We have seen that this function often involves not only shift in rhetorical person, but also shift in modal force, from, for example, statement to question, mand or performative utterance. Thus referential shift has been shown to interact closely with modal shift in the texturing of Psalm language.

3. Exceptivity

It was noted above[81] that a range of conjunctions may be considered as 'discourse deixis'. One particularly striking form for adversative discourse deixis is 'exceptive' [לֹא]־כֵן] … כִּי־[אִם]. This occurs twice in Psalm 1, once at clausal level:

1:1-2   … לֹא הָלַךְ … לֹא עָמַד … לֹא יָשַׁב … כִּי אִם …

… does not walk … does not stand … does not sit … but rather … (ALW)

And once at a higher level of discourse:

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[78]Similarly 51:21; 56:10; 96:12.
[79]See ch. 3 below.
[80]See ch. 3, section 2.4.5. on performative function.
[81]Section 2.1.

1:4   לֹא־כֵן הָרְשָׁעִים כִּי אִם־כַּמֹּץ …

The wicked are not so, but are like chaff that the wind drives away. (NRSV)

Occasionally כִּי alone can have this sense:

115:1   לֹא לָנוּ יְהוָה לֹא לָנוּ כִּי־לְשִׁמְךָ תֵּן כָּבוֹד …

Not to us, O LORD, not to us, but to your name give glory (NRSV)

It may follow an Interrogative sentence, whether nominal Interrogative:

130:3-4   אִם־עֲוֹנוֹת תִּשְׁמָר־יָהּ אֲדֹנָי מִי יַעֲמֹד:

כִּי־עִמְּךָ הַסְּלִיחָה …

If you, O LORD, should mark iniquities, Lord, who could stand?

But there is forgiveness with you … (NRSV)

or clausal Interrogative:

44:22-23   הֲלֹא אֱלֹהִים יַחֲקָר־זֹאת …

כִּי־עָלֶיךָ הֹרַגְנוּ כָל־הַיּוֹם …

Cannot God perceive this? …

Yet for your sake we are being killed all day long, … (ALW)

Thus we see a further relationship between Negative and Interrogative highlighted by an adversative particle.

4. Metonymy

In the discussion of Psalm 145 which began this chapter, it was noted that terms such as 'your name' and 'their eyes' are used to refer to 'you' and 'they' respectively. This is the rhetorical feature of metonymy, and the terms used '*pars pro totum*'[82] in place of participant reference (which itself is lowered to the adnominal or 'genitive' level) are described as 'psychophysical substitutes'.[83]

16:9   לָכֵן שָׂמַח לִבִּי וַיָּגֶל כְּבוֹדִי אַף־בְּשָׂרִי יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח:

Therefore my heart is glad, and my soul rejoices; my body also rests secure. (NRSV)

63:2   אֱלֹהִים אֵלִי אַתָּה אֲשַׁחֲרֶךָּ צָמְאָה לְךָ נַפְשִׁי כָּמַהּ לְךָ בְשָׂרִי

בְּאֶרֶץ־צִיָּה וְעָיֵף בְּלִי־מָיִם:

O God, you are my God, I seek you, my soul thirsts for you; my flesh faints for you, as in a dry and weary land where there is no water. (NRSV)

73:26   כָּלָה שְׁאֵרִי וּלְבָבִי צוּר־לְבָבִי וְחֶלְקִי אֱלֹהִים לְעוֹלָם:

My flesh and my heart may fail, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever. (NRSV)

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[82]Strictly, synecdoche.
[83]Lauha, R., *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament: Eine struktursemantische Analyse von לב. נפש und רוח I. Emotionen* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 35; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1983).

84:3 נִכְסְפָה וְגַם־כָּלְתָה נַפְשִׁי לְחַצְרוֹת יְהוָה לִבִּי וּבְשָׂרִי יְרַנְּנוּ אֶל אֵל־חָי:

My soul longs, indeed it faints for the courts of the LORD; my heart and my flesh sing for joy to the living God. (NRSV)

In these examples, the terms שְׁאָרִי ,בְּשָׂרִי ,כְּבוֹדִי ,לִבִּי ,לְבָבִי ,נַפְשִׁי and are all used in metonymous reference to the self, enabling the Psalmist to speak of his own well-being in terms of the well-being of his 'flesh', 'heart' *etc..* This function is analogous to three other forms of reference-skewing.

The *first* is the use of *Names and Descriptions*, as discussed above in section 2.3. If the Psalmist or God refers to himself using a name, such as יְהוָה or יִשְׂרָאֵל, or a description, such as עֶבֶד or אֱלֹהִים, the corresponding agreement throughout will be in the 3rd person, creating an asymmetry between grammatical and rhetorical person. This may have an important rhetorical function, in accentuating the sociolinguistic aspect—emphasising Speaker-Addressee status relations. Thus the Psalmist's reference to himself as עֶבֶד will emphasise his inferiority (it will 'give face' to the Addressee[84]), whilst God's reference to himself as אֱלֹהִים will emphasise his superiority. A particularly striking example of this is Hannah's triple use of אֲמָתְךָ to refer to herself and use of יְהוָה to refer to God in her prayer in 1 Samuel 1:11. A collective singular use may be seen in:

14:7 מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן יְשׁוּעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשׁוּב יְהוָה שְׁבוּת עַמּוֹ יָגֵל יַעֲקֹב יִשְׂמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל:

O that the deliverance of Israel would come from Zion! When the LORD restores the fortunes of his people, let Jacob rejoice; let Israel be glad! (ALW)

In this example, the desiderative מִי יִתֵּן shows the Psalmist's personal involvement in his prayer. He is part of Israel himself, and is in fact praying the equivalent of אָגִילָה אֶשְׂמְחָה—praying for himself, just as much as Hannah. Analogous to this question of Speaker-reference is the interpretation of the strength-neutral Deontic particle *-nā'* and of Deontic verbal forms as precative (requests) or directive (commands).[85]

Secondly, the Psalms exhibit reference to *nature praising God.*

96:11-12 יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ יִרְעַם הַיָּם וּמְלֹאוֹ:

יַעֲלֹז שָׂדַי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ אָז יְרַנְּנוּ כָּל־עֲצֵי־יָעַר:

Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice; let the sea roar, and all that fills it;

let the field exult, and everything in it. Then shall all the trees of the forest sing for joy. (NRSV)

Just as the use of the divine name enables the Psalmist to cry more Expressively (and less Directively) יָקוּם אֱלֹהִים יָפוּצוּ אוֹיְבָיו, 'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered' (68:2) instead of קוּמָה יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי אֱלֹהַי, 'Arise, Lord, save me, my God!' (3:8), so the use of jussives enables him to cry out to the creation to praise God without directly addressing it. This

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has an extremely important theological aspect, of course, in that it avoids the risk of charges of animism or polytheism.

Thirdly, and related to the above questions, is the increased use within the Psalter, in place of the imperative, of cohortatives and jussives (person-marked Directives) with their more complex argument structure.[86] This is analogous to the use of the *passivum divinum* (e.g. זְרוֹעוֹת רְשָׁעִים תִּשָּׁבַרְנָה, 'the arms of the wicked shall be broken', avoiding reference to God) or the derived feature of *causativum divinum* as, for example, in

13:6 יָגֵל לִבִּי בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ אָשִׁירָה לַיהוָה כִּי גָמַל עָלָי:

May my heart rejoice in your salvation, may I sing to the LORD because of what he has done for me. (ALW)

or

69:15 הַצִּילֵנִי מִטִּיט וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה אִנָּצְלָה מִשֹּׂנְאַי וּמִמַּעֲמַקֵּי־מָיִם:

rescue me from sinking in the mire; let me be delivered from my enemies and from the deep waters. (NRSV)

The *causativum divinum* exists for cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives, and implies three actants—the subject, the Agent and the Addressee (the latter two both being God). This is the most oblique and indirect form of request available in Biblical Hebrew.

The feature of metonymy is also related to other concerns of the present work, such as to what extent אוֹדֶה שִׁמְךָ can really be considered as equivalent rhetorically to אוֹדְךָ or to אוֹדֶה יְהוָה in contexts such as:

54:8 בִּנְדָבָה אֶזְבְּחָה־לָּךְ אוֹדֶה שִּׁמְךָ יְהוָה כִּי־טוֹב:

With a freewill offering I will sacrifice to you; I will give thanks to your name, O LORD, for it is good. (NRSV)

One final particularly striking use of metonymy in the Psalter is the use of abstract nominal complements in nominal clauses, such as: 120:7 אֲנִי שָׁלוֹם, 'I am all peace'; 109:4 אֲנִי תְפִלָּה, 'I am all prayer'.[87]

5. Discongruence

Various irregularities may be noted in the referential structures of the Psalms.

Firstly, arguments may be expressed with forms from *higher up* the argument hierarchy,[88] such as when a direct object is expressed with a bare subject pronoun (e.g. 89:48 זְכָר־אָנִי, 'Remember me!'); or they may be expressed with forms from *lower down* the argument hierarchy, such as when direct objects are marked with לְ (e.g. the 'accusative of theme' in

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[84]See the discussion of Wilt's treatment of *-nā'* in ch. 6, section 2.1. below.

[85]See below ch. 6.

[86]See below ch. 6.

[87]Compare also 119:94 לְךָ אֲנִי, 'I am yours'.

[88]Sophisticated argument hierarchies are given by Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 41, 93.

שִׁירוּ לִיהוה, 'Sing the LORD',[89] and hence, presumably, also הוֹדוּ לִיהוה, 'Acknowledge the LORD'). Arguments may be lowered from the subject to the lowest position (agentive 'by' with a passive verb) in order to avoid too direct reference to God; this is known as the *passivum divinum/theologicum*, and has a counterpart in what I refer to in the study of request-cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives as the *causativum divinum*. With the passive, arguments may even be omitted completely for the same reason:

37:17   כִּי זְרוֹעוֹת רְשָׁעִים תִּשָּׁבַרְנָה וְסוֹמֵךְ צַדִּיקִים יְהוָה:

For the arms of the wicked shall be broken, but the LORD upholds the righteous. (NRSV)

Secondly, a modifier of the Addressee of a vocative is usually in the 3rd person (*e.g.* Mic 1:2 שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם , 'Hear, nations, all of you!').[90]

Thirdly, there may be discongruence of number, especially in the case of reference to the community (*e.g.* 118:1-4 יֹאמַר־נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל ... יֹאמְרוּ־נָא בֵית־אַהֲרֹן, 'Let Israel say ... Let the house of Aaron say ...'[91]).

6. Conclusion

We have considered various types of reference to the main actants in the Psalms, as well as a wide range of forms for nominal, adverbial and discourse deixis. Such forms not only situate a Psalm Referentially and give it cohesion[92] Relationally; they also give it a rhetorical texture, 'tying down' 'distal' abstract statements or descriptions into a 'proximal' real-world or literary context. Since truly Referential deixis is absent from Narrative, this is one of the key elements behind the rhetorical force of the Psalms.

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[89]de Boer, P.A.H., 'Cantate domino: an erroneous dative?', *OTS* 21 (1981) 55-67. See also 21:9; 25:11; 34:4; 129:3; 135:10-11; and with זמר: 47:7-8; 66:4; 68:5.

[90]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 77 §4.7d.

[91]See also 124:1 *cf.* 129:1.

[92]Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, ch. 2.

Chapter 3
MODALITY

The term 'modality' refers to the cross-linguistic feature which may be described as the grammatical reflex of assertivity or reality. A language may give it grammatical realisation in distinct verbal moods, and I argue that this is in fact the case in Biblical Hebrew, which has three moods: a Deontic mood [+MOD, +VOL] based on short-form *yiqtōl*, an Epistemic mood [+MOD, -VOL] based on long-form *yiqtōl*, and an Indicative mood [-MOD] based on the Anterior *qātal* form supplemented by the predicative participle. Features closely related to modality are considered, such as subordination and vocative, as well as the question of the scope of Interrogative, Negative and Imperative force. Other forms of clausal modification such as passivity and tense-aspect are considered throughout because they share certain formal characteristics with modal markers.

1. Introduction

The *style* of the first psalms is generally that of prayers, and a high incidence of imperatives, emphatic forms, jussives, hortatory sentences, exclamations and asseverative particles are found.[1] This characterisation of the Psalms in terms of Deontic modality ('imperatives', 'jussives', 'hortatory sentences'), expletives ('exclamations') and other forms marked for emphasis corresponds to the wide functional range of the Linguistic Attitude of Discourse (as opposed to Narrative).

That these various functions are, like reference-shift, all clause-level functions is shown clearly in their common textlinguistic function:[2]

> One of the functions of rhetorical questions is to introduce a new theme or topic. ... Another evidence of change of theme is the use of the vocative form of address. ... Other details of the discourses, such as change of participant, or a change in the tense, mood, or aspect of a verb, may indicate that a new unit is starting.[3]

Every occurrence of such forms will certainly not indicate a new unit, since, in Weinrich's terminology, these features are characteristically 'obstinat' (highly recurrent). For this very reason, however, a *change* in clause type or MTA marking[4] will exhibit a high degree of salience.

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[1]Prinsloo, 'A Comprehensive Semiostructural Exegetical Approach', 82.

[2]Benveniste shows that 'There can be no relation between discontiguous elements .... The distinction between foreground and background functions is made on the *textual* level, and so is not affected by verb forms, but by the sentence i.e. word order.'; Joosten, Tilburg handout; similarly, 'The Indicative System', 56.

[3]Beekman and Callow, *Translating the Word of God*, 279-80.

[4]Weinrich: 'Tempus-Übergänge'; Niccacci: 'transizioni temporali'; Watson: 'tense-shifts'. Andersen: 'episode boundaries'.

2. Main-Clause Modification

There are many ways in which a simple unmarked clause can be modified—for restriction, intensification, mood, polarity *etc.*. Here we are concerned with the modification of main clauses by means of internal grammatical, external grammatical and lexical morphemes.

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. An Illustration: Existential Clauses

The three functions considered in this thesis—Negative, Interrogative and Imperative—can be well illustrated for existential clauses,[5] since their non-verbal character excludes MTA features in the unmarked clause. The forms we are concerned with are as follows:

		Affirmative (Int)	*Negative (Int)*
MTA-unmarked:		‏[ה]יש‎	‏[ה]אין‎
MTA-marked:	*qāṭal*	‏[ה]היה‎	‏[ה]לא היה‎
	long-form *yiqṭōl*	‏[ה]יהיה‎	‏[ה]לא יהיה‎
	short-form *yiqṭōl*	‏יהי‎	‏אל יהי‎

The relationships between these various forms can tell us something about the relationships which exist between their corresponding functions. The form ‏הלא יהיה‎ shows that the order of constituents is Int–Neg–M.

Interrogativity has one distinct formal marker used throughout the system (*hayēš/haʾên*), though it may be left unmarked.[6] Since it is the highest-level feature, it is compatible with all other forms, with the exception of Deontic modality.

Within the predication, the primary distinction (before MTA values) is that of *polarity*. It has three distinct forms: *ʾên* for nominal and participial clauses, *lōʾ* for Indicative and Epistemic clauses, and *ʾal-* for Deontic clauses. The distinct lexeme, *ʾên*, for nominal and participial Negation is probably derived diachronically from an Interrogative morpheme, but synchronically, it may be interpreted as *lōʾ yēš* in the light of the analogy between Negative, conditional and Interrogative patterns in the Indicative Cursive:[7]

Neg:	*ʾên*-Su-Ptcp	‏אי-נ-ך קטל‎
Cond:	*ʾim-yēš*-Su-Ptcp	‏אם יש-ך קטל‎
Int:	*haʾ-yēš*-Su-Ptcp	‏ה-יש-ך קטל‎

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[5] A class of nominal clauses which has no subject, only a predicate and complement; there may also be a prepositional adjunct in *lə* (attributive ‏יש לי‎, 'I have') or *e.g. bə* (locative ‏יש בארץ‎, 'There is in the land').

[6] See ch. 4, section 2.5. on unmarked clausal Interrogatives.

[7] Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 137; he further notes that the modal verb ‏אבה‎ occurs exclusively in these clause types.

This is clearly true *diachronically* too for the equivalents of ‏אין‎ in other Semitic languages, such as Aramaic ‏לית‎ and Arabic *laysa*.[8] It should be noted, however, that the two terms *yēš* and *ên* do not occur in fully complementary distribution, since *yēš* is usually restricted to existential (*e.g.* ‏יש-אלהים‎ 58:11), possessive (*e.g.* ‏יש אלהים לישראל‎ 1 Sam 17:46) and locative clauses, whilst *ên* can also Negate nominal clauses which have a nominal subject, such as those with adjectival or prepositional complements, and also (if the subject is a cliticised pronoun) those with a nominal or participial[9] complement. Negation is compatible with all MTA values except the mood-neutralised consecutive forms, *wəqāṭal* and *wayyiqṭōl*.

Certain relationships can be shown to hold between Interrogative, Negative and Imperative.

Firstly, Negative and Interrogative have the same effect on the choice of verb form. We see complementary distribution of Affirmative plus *wayyiqṭōl* (which is consecutive and so MTA-neutral[10]) and Negative plus *qāṭal* (the Indicative Anterior form):

‏ותהי עליו רוח-יהוה‎ Judg 3:10

The spirit of the LORD came upon him.

‏ולא היה בם עוד רוח‎ Jos 5:1

there was no longer any spirit in them

This can be explained as due to the compulsory initial position of *wayyiqṭōl* (a syntactic criterion) and the discontinuative function of Negation (a semantic criterion). Under Interrogative, we see the same complementary distribution; here it is attributable to the same factors *and* to the distinction in Linguistic Attitude between Narrative and Discourse, since Interrogative implies a Speaker–Addressee relationship, and so is limited by definition to Discourse.

Secondly, the clitics corresponding to these three functions relate in similar ways to the verb. Deontic Negative *ʾal-*, Deontic Affirmative *-nāʾ* and Consecutive *wa=* are the only particles in Hebrew exclusively associated with the verb, and whereas these three select short-form *yiqṭōl*-x, so *lōʾ* selects long-form x-*yiqṭōl*.[11] Even when the Consecutive *wa=* stands with *qāṭal*, it selects a distinct form with a similar fronting of the stress to that seen in short-form *yiqṭōl*-x.

Thirdly, the relationship between Negative and Interrogative can be seen in that *haʾên* is normally used where an Affirmative answer is expected.

‏האין בבנות אחיך ובכל-עמי אשה כי ...‎ Judg 14:3

Isn't there a woman among the daughters of your relatives and among all my people, that ...

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[8] Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 137.

[9] Here termed the Indicative Cursive.

[10] See below, section 2.4.7.

[11] Richter, *Grundlagen* 2, 75: 'Nur die Konj *wa=*, die Neg *ʾal*, die Wunsch-Ptk *nā(ʾ)* und der Inf abs sind ausschließlich mit dem Verb verbunden. Dabei setzen *nā(ʾ)*, *ʾal*, *wa=* (PK KF) und *lō(ʾ)* (bei PK:LF) die Wahl bestimmter Konjugationsformen voraus. ... Diese eingeschränkten Fügungswerte deuten auf Realisierung bestimmter Funktionen hin.'

Effectively, then, we may say that Interrogative x Negative = Affirmative.[12]

These links, illustrated here with respect to existential clauses, show up a complex interrelationship of parts of language which are often considered as functioning independently. We will see in the following how several linguistic functions, especially Negative, Interrogative and Imperative, but also conditional, consecutive and various types of emphasis, all interact around the central parameter of modality, which is also fundamental to the Hebrew verbal system.[13]

2.1.2. Morpheme Types

The following discussion of main-clause morphemes will be structured around a distinction made by Moscati,[14] and followed by Richter,[15] between *lexical*,[16] *internal grammatical*, *external grammatical*[17] and *syntactical* morphemes. *Lexical* morphemes correspond to the (mostly tri-) consonantal roots of Hebrew. *Internal* grammatical morphemes are inflectional types (vocalisation, consonant doubling, stress) such as for broken plurals and passive conjugation. *External* grammatical morphemes are verbal, nominal and adverbial[18] pre-, in- and suffixes. *Syntactical* morphemes are constituted by word order or independent elements such as auxiliary verbs.

Each of these kinds of morphemes may modify the entire clause:

> Semantische Funktionsklassen, die den Satz betreffen, drückt ... das Verb mit den grammatischen Morphemen für Imp, Koh, Juss, Energicus, mit den grammatischen oder lexikalischen Morphemen für Aktionsart, Aspekt, Tempus, usw. aus. Ebenfalls auf der Satzebene wirken, durch eine Wortart (Mod) bezeichnet oder nicht, die Modalitäten, durch grammatische Morpheme am Verb, durch Wortart (Intj) bezeichnet oder nicht, die Leistungsfunktionen der Sprache, vor allem Darstellung, Appell, Kundgabe.[19]

Thus the modal 'layer' with which we are concerned here may involve modal clitics such as *-nā'* or *'al-* (lexical), inflections such as the increase of arguments under causative (internal grammatical), modal reductions as the short-form *yiqṭōl* and the tone-fronting in *wayyiqṭōl* and *waqāṭal* and modal suffixes such as the cohortative and adhortative *-â* ending (external grammatical), and modal verbs such as היה, אבה and קום (syntactical). Throughout, we will have to consider at what grammatical level a morpheme is functioning:

There exists ... a *gradation* from the lexical-semantic properties of verbs, to their propositional-semantic properties in coding states/events/actions, and onward to their contextualized properties in connected discourse. The TAM system in grammars thus reflects this gradation, whereby some features may be viewed as having a narrower, lexical-semantic scope, others as having a wider propositional scope, and others yet as having the widest, discourse-pragmatic scope. It is also common for the same coding unit, say a morpheme, to code a *cluster* of lexical, propositional and discourse functions.[20]

2.2. Lexical Morphemes

Particular lexical morphemes are characteristic of particular clause types. Those corresponding to Negative, Interrogative and Imperative are therefore considered in more detail in the respective chapters.

Lexical words[21] are conventionally distinguished from grammatical words. The latter (in his terminology, 'Funktionswörter'), are distinguished by Richter[22] as deictic pronouns, deictic adverbs, prepositions, and a fourth, eclectic class of non-deictic words which do not combine with an enclitic personal pronoun. This class includes: *Modalwort*, 'das in Verbindung mit einem Hauptwort oder Satz steht' (*hᵃ*, *lō'*, *lû*, *'ê*, *'al*),[23]*Konjunktion* 'die einen Satz einleitet' (*wə*, *kî*, *'ô*, *gam*, *'ap*) and *Interjektion*, 'die einen Satz ersetzt'. In the terms of Communication Theory introduced in chapter 1 above, modal words belong primarily to the Interpersonal (Social/Expressive) function of language, conjunctions to the Relational and interjections to the Vocative.

Modal words form the basis for the forms for Negation and Interrogation. There is much overlapping of morphemes (*e.g.* Negative *'ên* / Interrogative *'êk*),[24] corresponding to a broader functional overlap (*e.g.* Negative כמוך אין / Interrogative מי כמוך). Related functional categories are conditional (*e.g.* conditional / Interrogative / precative *'im cf.* disjunctive question *hᵃ* ... *'im*), relative, exclamatory and indefinite (*e.g.* Interrogative / relative / exclamatory / indefinite *mâ*[25]).

Conjunctions may mark inter-clausal relations such as coordination/apposition (*wə*),[26] alternativity (*'ô*) and cause (*kî*). However, they also express restriction (*raq*, *'ak*), and

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[12]See ch. 4, section 2.4 below.

[13]For an example of how modal categories can be used to characterise 'main-clause verbs, verbs of reporting, verbs of divorcing and conditional clauses', see Warren, 'Did Moses permit Divorce?'.

[14]Moscati, S. (ed.), *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie VI; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1964) 71.

[15]Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 91.

[16]Conventionally termed 'free morphemes', but also 'root morphemes' (Moscati); 'Grundmorpheme', 'Lexeme' (Richter).

[17]Conventionally termed 'bound' morphemes.

[18]*E.g.* *-ām, contra* Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 91: 'Grammatische Morpheme sind beschränkt auf Nomen und Verb.'

[19]Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 35.

[20]Givón, T., *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1984/90) 1, 269-70. See also Joosten's account of Benveniste's theory of linguistic levels; Joosten, 'The Indicative System', 52-57.

[21]A different use of the term 'lexical' to that in 'lexical morpheme'—here it refers to function; there it referred to form.

[22]Similarly Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 66-67 §4.2.2d-e.

[23]There are three modal words which *can* combine with an enclitic personal pronoun: *'ên*, *yeš* and *'ôd*. The former two have been discussed incidentally above.

[24]See Faber, 'The diachronic relationship'.

[25]Richter, *Grundlagen* 1, 26.

[26]See particularly Andersen, *Sentence*.

intensification (*kî*, *'ap*, *hēn*). Some of these functions overlap with those of, for example, topicalisation and *casus pendens*, and the *figura etymologica*, or use of a cognate infinitive.

Interjections serve primarily for focus-marking. They often function as Referential equivalents to conjunctions (Relational), relating the clause to the real-world context just as conjunctions relate a clause to its linguistic cotext. Vocative and Imperative functions are closely related, as is that of the topic-marker *'æt-*.

2.3. Internal Grammatical Morphemes—Voice/Stem

The various options for clausal voice[27] are not essential to the present work, though transitivity is a category closely related to emphasis, vocative and modality. The functions of passivity have been considered as: *divinum*, agent unknown, agent unmentioned, focus,[28] and each of these has some importance for the sociolinguistic context of the Psalter. True passive imperatives seem logically impossible;[29] Hebrew therefore has no imperative *pu'al* or *hoph'al* forms, but imperative *niph'al* forms are attested (*e.g.* 24:7 הנשאו פתחי עולם, 'Be lifted up, ancient doors!').[30] Imperativity thus resists passivity just as it also resists Negation.

2.4. External Grammatical Morphemes—Verbal Mood/Tense/Aspect

Some recent textlinguistic treatments of the Hebrew verbal system were reviewed in chapter 1. There are four principal parameters within which the system has been treated. These are: mood [±MOD]AL, tense [±PAST], aspect [±PERF]ECTIVE[31] and discourse function [±CONT]INUATION. Historically, the prevailing view has shifted from tense to aspect to discourse.[32]

Tense theories were held by all Hebrew grammarians, such as Gesenius (1813), until the middle of the nineteenth century; they have remained popular with such as Joshua Blau (1976), Joüon (1923), Rainey (1990), Gropp (1991) and, most recently, DeCaen (1995). *Aspectual* theories, introduced via Ewald's relative tense theory (*i.e.* 'Perfect' tense[33]) and then Driver[34]

have been pursued also by Turner (1876), Eskhult (1990), Gibson (1994)[35] and, in conjunction with absolute tense, by Huehnergard (1988) and Buth (1992), and in conjunction with relative tense, by Hendel (1996). *Discourse* theories are held by Michel (1960) and Niccacci (1990), and, in conjunction with aspect, by Waltke-O'Connor (1990). Finally, a *modal* view of the system is held by Turner (1876) as interpreted by Ljungberg,[36] Zuber (1986) and Joosten (1996).

In the following, we will be concerned with the interaction of these four verbal parameters, and, in particular, with the category mood. Against the background of the textlinguistic ('Discourse'-based) study reviewed in chapter 1, I understand the Hebrew verbal system primarily in terms of relative tense (Kurylowicz, DeCaen) and mood (Joosten).

2.4.1. Interrelationship of Constituents

In the discussion of the Hebrew Verbal System, it has generally been insufficiently recognised to what extent the categories of mood, tense and aspect '"merge" into one another'.[37] Loprieno expresses well the nature of the interaction:

> Since these verbal categories [TAM] overlap in actual strings of discourse, where they are combined with semantic references provided by the context and by the lexical choices of the speaker, it is more predictable—obviously not on the theoretical level, but rather in terms of the likelihood for a form to actually occur in spoken or written discourse—for a preterite predication to be perfective, i.e. presented as completed, for a temporally unmarked form to be imperfective, i.e. not (yet) completed, and for an action expected to take place in the future to convey the attitude of the speaker to this expected predication, i.e. to exhibit modal features.[38]

In cross-linguistic perspective, it has been noted that,

> The aspectual type [of language] is defined by a marked term that combines in varying degrees past tense, perfective aspect and realis mood.[39]

It may well be that every language expresses in some way objective/external[40] temporal relations (tense), subjective/internal temporal relations (aspect)[41] and subjective truth

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[27]Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', 151-2; Hendel, R.S., 'In the Margins of the Hebrew Verbal System: Situation, Tense, Aspect, Mood', *ZAH* 9 (1996) 152-81 (157, 176).

[28]Wright, *Grammar* 1, 50 §74.

[29]Compare Wright on Arabic: 'There is no special form to express the Imperative Passive, the Jussive being used instead.'; Wright, *Grammar* 1, 63 §101.

[30]See ch. 6, section 3.2 below.

[31]Or, perhaps more correctly, '±IMPERFECTIVE', since most languages default for perfectivity; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 147.

[32]For surveys, see McFall, L., *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System* (Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship 2; Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1982) and van der Merwe, 'Overview'.

[33]The relationship between the relative tense, 'Perfect', and aspectual distinctions is discussed in Comrie, B., *Aspect* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 52-65.

[34]Note DeCaen's discussion: DeCaen, V., 'Ewald and Driver on Biblical Hebrew 'Aspect': Anteriority and the Orientalist Framework', *ZAH* 9 (1996) 129-51; see also Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 154, on Kurylowicz's contribution.

[35]Though significantly redefined as states *vs.* actions, and therefore coming close to relative tense; *e.g.* Kurylowicz, 'Verbal Aspect in Semitic', *Or* 42 (1973) 114-20 (116).

[36]Ljungberg, B.-K., 'Tense, Aspect, and Modality in some Theories of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System', *JOTT* 7/3 (1995) 85-86 and pers. comm.

[37]Lyons, *Introduction*, 317.

[38]Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 75; similarly, Huehnergard, J., 'The Early Hebrew Prefix-Conjugations', *HS* 29 (1988) 19-23 (20-21).

[39]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 51.

[40]This is not the same as 'absolute' tense, which does not properly exist. As a deictic category, like pronominal reference, tense is by definition relative (DeCaen, pers. comm.). See the use of S(peech-act), E(vent) and R(eference point) in the the treatments by Comrie, B., *Tense* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: CUP, 1976) 122-30; Ljungberg, 'Tense, Aspect, and Modality'; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*; and Hendel, 'In the Margins'.

[41]See Comrie's definition of Aspect as 'internal temporal constituency' (Comrie, *Aspect*, 5) and Pustejovsky: 'While temporal relationships are important for constructing larger level representations of narratives or texts,

conditionality (mood). It has often been argued, however, that Hebrew has *no* tense element, but solely aspect; this has been shown to be impossible by Kurylowicz, who shows clearly that aspectual distinctions can only be made *within* an identifiable tense,[42] and thus further that

> In binary verbal systems *aspect* can be only a *context-conditioned tertiary* function of the verb.[43]

Some further interdependencies of these parameters can be shown in the following.

Firstly, *tense* marking will often imply aspectual and modal functions, so that, for example, [+PAST] will tend to imply [+PERF] and [-PAST] will tend to imply [+MOD] (so Loprieno above). It will be shown below that not only future, but also many types of present tense are strictly modal. In most European languages, it is also true that [-PAST] implies [-PERF], that is, a present tense will tend to have imperfective aspect, as in the French 'Je chante', interpreted by default as 'I am singing'. Biblical Hebrew and modern English,[44] by contrast, have a 'perfective default'.[45]

From the perspective of *aspect*, we can say the converse, that [+PERF] will tend to imply [+PAST]. A completed action will tend to be referred to in the past. However, it should be noted that both pastness and perfectivity are distinct from the 'perfect', which is an aspectually imperfective 'relative-absolute tense', which may exist in any time frame.[46]

Finally, *modal* forms [+MOD] will tend to be [-PERF] in that they will often refer to incomplete situations, and [-PAST] in that they will tend to be in the uncertainty (Epistemic) or volition (Deontic) of the future or present. Hence, as DeCaen says,

> No language save the artificial Esperanto has a future tense that is not subject to decomposition into irrealis and/or nonpast and/or perfective aspect.[47]

A fourth category which has been shown to interact with these three is the stativity or 'situation' of the lexical verb.[48]

2.4.2. *Order of Constituents: MTAV*

Considering the *form* of natural languages, generative syntax considers the three categories of tense, mood and aspect as together heading the clause in deep structure (pre-transformation

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aspect looks at the finer details of the temporal landscape inside each event.'; cited in Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*, 49).

[42]Kurylowicz, 'Verbal Aspect in Semitic', 114; Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 154. Examples cited by Joosten are, in the past, Greek imperfect *vs.* aorist and French imperfect *vs.* past historic; and in the present, Biblical Hebrew actual present *'aˀnî qōṭēl vs.* factual present *qōṭēl 'aˀnî*.

[43]Kurylowicz, 'Verbal Aspect in Semitic', 118.

[44]In English, the bare simple present, *e.g.* 'I sing', is interpreted as perfective, requiring (as in Hebrew) the use of the participle in 'I am singing' to express the progressive. In French, the simple present, 'Je chante' may be progressive or perfective.

[45]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*.

[46]For the Perfective/Perfect/Past distinction, see DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 183; Comrie, *Aspect*, ch. 3.

[47]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 263. Though Dahl argues for 'pure futures' (Ljungberg, pers. comm.).

[48]Hendel, 'In the Margins', 154-58.

syntax, congruent with 'meaning'[49]), under a node INFL. It has been shown that contrary to many common assumptions, they in fact occur in the order MTA.[50] Mood, though most often marked in verbal morphology, is strictly a feature not of the verb, but of the clause. Thus Palmer writes:

> The modal system of most familiar languages, whether it is mood in Latin and Greek or modal verbs in English, is formally associated, along with tense, aspect and voice, with the verbal system of the language (and even gender, number and person are marked on the verb). But modality ... does not relate semantically to the verb alone or primarily, but to the whole sentence. Not surprisingly, therefore, there are languages in which modality is marked elsewhere than on the verb or within a verbal complex.[51]

It should be noted that most world languages front Imperative (Deontic) forms, thus indicating the primacy of mood within their word order.

Above mood, there stand the other higher level features of Interrogative and Negative, so that we have the following order of constituents at deep structure:

> Int > Neg > Mood > Tense > Aspect > Verb

This ordering reflects the fact that Negative usually applies to the entire predication (*i.e.* stands outside the verb phrase at the head of the predicate phrase); and Interrogative functions within Referential language similarly to conjunctions in Relational language (*i.e.* stands outside the predicate phrase). This result from the study of morphology and syntax can be verified in semantic terms, too:

> ... I whole-heartedly agree with you that the order should be MTA. In my thinking, modality is very obviously outside the core, and more in the realm of the pragmatic/sociolinguistic dimension of language, whereas aspect is the innermost, drawing both from morphology and lexicon for its meaning, (and highly influenced by syntax), and tense navigating in the deictic dimensions, and perhaps mostly influenced by semantics.[52]

We see the ordering of constituents which we have established here reflected in Biblical Hebrew, as already seen in the form הלא יהיה (Int–Neg–Mod) in the discussion of existentials above. Some examples from the Psalter are:

14:4 הֲלֹא יָדְעוּ כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן

Have they no knowledge, all the evildoers ... ? (NRSV)

102:3 אַל־תַּסְתֵּר פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי

Do not hide your face from me ... (NRSV)

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[49]'According to the generative-semantics hypothesis the deep structure of a sentence *is* its semantic representation.' Lyons, *Chomsky*, 94. A logician might be more likely to think of it in terms of illocutionary (or perhaps even perlocutionary) force.

[50]Hopper, P.J. and Traugott, E.C., *Grammaticalization* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: CUP, 1993) 142-43.

[51]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 2.

[52]Ljungberg, pers. comm. Compare Comrie, *Aspect*, 5, who contrasts situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).

The kind of ordering of constituents performed by Generative Grammar as discussed above has been illustrated for Biblical Hebrew by Battle. He posits the sample sentence:[53]

לכן צדקיהו ה אם ירמיהו לא יגלה את האמת מפי יהוה לעמו בכח לישועתם בירושלם היום

Cj NP[Voc] Int Cj NP[Subj] Neg V NP[Obj] NP[IS] NP[IO] NP[Mann] NP[Intent] NP[Place] NP[Time]

Therefore, Zedekiah, will not Jeremiah reveal the truth from the mouth of God to his people with strength for their salvation in Jerusalem today?

The morphology of Biblical Hebrew supports the position of mood between TA and Int/Neg in that TA is marked morphologically (grammatical morphemes) and Int/Neg with particles (lexical morphemes), whilst mood uses both morphology (*e.g.* cohortative *-â*) and particles (*e.g. -nâ*).

This discussion has argued for a constituent order in deep structure of: Interrogative–Negative–Mood–Tense–Aspect. This has two major implications for the present work. Firstly, Interrogative, Negative and Imperative are the clause types considered in the following chapters; it is argued that they are all related to the concept of modality, and it is shown how they function within the rhetoric of the Psalter. Secondly, a constituent order of MTA is integral to the view of the Hebrew verbal system presented here, which iconically (*i.e.* with surface structure reflecting deep structure) distinguishes verbal forms first by mood, then by tense, then by aspect as follows:[54]
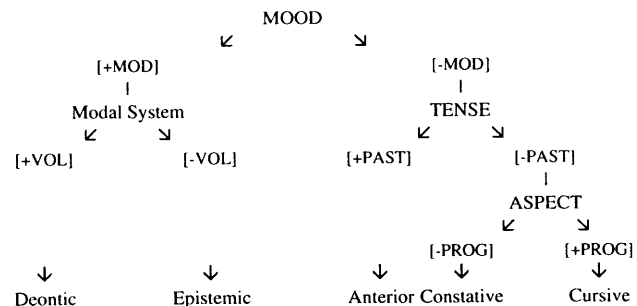
That this is the correct way of understanding the basic distinctions in the Hebrew verbal system will be argued in the following. First, however, we must consider the key to the system—the *yiqtōl* form.

2.4.3. *Long-Form* yiqtōl *as Modal*

Long-form *yiqtōl* is usually understood in tense theories as [-PAST] and in aspectual theories as [-PERF]; these categories have been shown above to be often associated with modal forms

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[53]Battle, *Syntactic Structures*, 20, based on Chomsky, N., *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965).

[54]Compare the nesting preliminarily offered by DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 54; his assumption of TMA encourages him towards an essentially tense-based theory.

[+MOD]. Throughout the literature on the Hebrew verbal system, comments can be found suggesting a relationship between long-form *yiqtōl* (and its continuation form *wəqātal*) and modality. So, for example S.R. Driver:

> יֵרֵד וְיַעֲמֹד denote two concrete events: יֵרֵד וּעֲמֹד denote two abstract possibilities, the context fixing the particular conditions upon which their being realized depends.[55]

or Gesenius–Kautzsch:

> ... es ist gleichgültig, ob das Eintreten [von Handlungen, Ereignisse oder Zustände] als ein sicher zu erwartendes oder nur als ein subjektiv vorgestelltes oder gewünschtes und somit als ein nur eventuelles bezeichnet werden soll (modalistischer Gebrauch des Imperf.).[56]

It is perhaps Lambdin who comes closest among the standard textbooks to a modal description of *yiqtōl*:

> With the exception of the future usage, where the action described may be quite specific, the imperfect is otherwise used to describe action conceived by the speaker as general, non-specific, habitual, potential, or to some degree probable. It is not entirely accurate, however, to describe such an action as incomplete or unfinished, as is often done.[57]

Long-form *yiqtōl* is morphologically distinct in some forms and stems from a short-form *yiqtōl*.[58] In an important paper on a 'A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax',[59] Niccacci has demonstrated that this morphological distinction corresponds to a syntactical distinction between x-*yiqtōl* and *yiqtōl*-x; he calls the latter 'jussive', and characterises the former as 'simply future, not volitive ..., indicative'.[60] The description of any verbal form as 'simply future ... indicative' seems problematic from the outset, since as we have already seen, future is properly a form of Epistemic modality. In the following, I therefore accept Niccacci's distinction between the two forms, as well as his (conventional) interpretation of *yiqtōl*-x as Deontic [+MOD, +VOL], but analyse x-*yiqtōl* with Joosten as Epistemic [+MOD, -VOL].[61]

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[55]Driver, S.R., *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and some other syntactical Questions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892) 114.

[56]Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 324 §107a. See also, in particular, Gesenius–Kautzsch's review in the same paragraph of Knudtzon's view: '[Imperf. setze] die Handlung usw. zu dem Bewußtsein, Urteil oder Gefühl des Redenden in direktere Beziehung.'

[57]Lambdin, T.O., *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1971) 100 §91. The proper counterpart to such a characterisation must be *realis* modality, not (*contra* DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 184) progressive aspect.

[58]The distinction is usually considered as reflecting dual origins, in Proto-Semitic *yaqtulu* for relative future, weak volition and, most strikingly, [-progressive] (DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 184), and *yaqtul* for preterite and the volitional paradigm. That is, *yiqtōl* is not 'univocal'; Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 19.

[59]Niccacci, A., 'A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: Yiqtol and Position in the Sentence', *LA* 37 (1987) 7-19.

[60]Niccacci, 'A Neglected Point', 8; similarly 9 §1.2: 'wᵉQatal ... always indicates simple future'; corrected in Niccacci, *Syntax*, 73-96.

[61]Joosten uses the terms 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic' modality; Joosten, J., 'Biblical Hebrew *weqātal* and Syriac *hwā qātel* expressing repetition in the past', *ZAH* 5 (1992) 1-14 (13-14). He in fact argues from *weqātal* to *yiqtōl*.

Joosten considers the Hebrew verbal system in terms of three 'subsystems'. The Deontic modal subsystem (here, 'D-system') is characterised throughout by verb topicalisation (as also Niccacci's argument for *yiqṭōl-x* as jussive):

> Deontic system: cohortative, imperative, jussive, *'al-tiqṭōl*

The Epistemic modal subsystem (here, 'E-system') centres around long-form *yiqṭōl*:

> Epistemic system: x-*yiqṭōl*, *wəqāṭal*, *lō' tiqṭōl*

The Indicative non-modal subsystem (here, 'I-system') stands in opposition to both of these:

> Indicative system: *wayyiqṭōl*, *qāṭal*, *qōṭēl*

Essential to the development of this view have been a relocation of the predicative participle into the Hebrew verbal system,[62] where it functions as Indicative Contemporaneous (cursive [+PROG] *hû' qōṭēl* vs. constative [-PROG] *qōṭēl hû'*), and a demonstration that several purportedly Indicative uses of *yiqṭōl* are in fact extensions of its modal nature.[63] This quite radical reanalysis, which goes so far as to say that

> From the point of view of the system, the indicative functions of *yiqṭōl* are negligible,[64]

is developed below in a fuller way than has been done by Joosten himself.[65] Firstly, I consider more conventionally 'modal' uses of *yiqṭōl*, then turning to its broader functional range, as conditioned both by extension of its own inherent modal properties and by forms of clausal modality. The *wəqāṭal* 'continuation form' is considered later.

2.4.3.1. Typically modal yiqṭōl

Amongst Waltke-O'Connor's categories for modal *yiqṭōl*,[66] 'permission', 'deliberation', 'obligation' (permissive, deliberative, obligative in the terms of ch. 1 here) and 'desire' are typical Deontic modal functions and relate closely to the jussive and cohortative.[67] Many of Waltke-O'Connor's examples are Interrogative or dependent.

Several of their examples of 'obligation' as well as the entire categories of 'capability' and 'possibility' may be distinguished, however, in that they relate to Epistemic, rather than Deontic, modality. This is the case, for example, with:

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[62]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle'.

[63]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*'.

[64]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*', 14 n. 82.

[65]He has not yet convinced the consensus how Niccacci's and Revell's descriptions of his Epistemic system as 'indicative' can be 'mostly a matter of terminology' (Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*', 13 n. 78; van der Merwe, 'Overview', 16 n. 29) and has qualified his own presentation as 'only a rapid schema, not a serious attempt to describe the BH verbal system.' (Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*', 14).

[66]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 506-9 §31.4.

[67]The modal range Permissive to Obligative is discussed with relation to *wᵉqāṭal* in Warren, 'Did Moses permit Divorce?'.

66:3   בְּרֹב עֻזְּךָ יְכַחֲשׁוּ לְךָ אֹיְבֶיךָ

> So great is your power that your enemies *must cringe* before you. (ALW)

Here, there is no element of volition on the part of Speaker or subject, and we might speak rather of (externally contingent) 'necessitative' modality. A further example from the Psalter is:

69:5   אֲשֶׁר לֹא־גָזַלְתִּי אָז אָשִׁיב

> What I did not steal must I now restore? (NRSV)

Two of Waltke-O'Connor's examples can be shown by relationship with יכל to have a *potentialis* meaning (see below). Again, it is striking that many of Waltke-O'Connor's examples are Interrogative, Negative or dependent, and have indefinite subjects. These are of course all categories which one might suspect are related to modality.

2.4.3.2. Extended Functions

There are some functions of *yiqṭōl* for the past and present which, it might be argued, *must* be Indicative, and disprove the present contention that *yiqṭōl* is fundamentally modal. Three key examples are the general present (which is here reanalysed as present *potentialis*), the past iterative and what I here term the past prospective.

2.4.3.2.1. General Present as Present *Potentialis*

Waltke-O'Connor describe the 'general present' uses of *yiqṭōl* as (non-modal) 'progressive', 'incipient' and 'habitual'.[68] Joosten instead shows that the *participle* provides the Hebrew progressive form, whilst these uses of *yiqṭōl* refer to an event's '*liability* to happen', *i.e.* '*potentialis*'.[69]

In the discussion of modal systems in chapter 1 above, it was suggested that a sentence of the type 'Marcus can speak Welsh' might be best described as 'Dynamic' modality, since it involves no volition (so is not Deontic) or contingency (hence not Epistemic).[70] It was in fact classified as Epistemic, however, on the understanding that there is in fact a condition present: '... if he wants to'. The same implicit condition is present in many English sentences with 'will'; for example, the sentence, 'An unused book will gather dust' really means, '*If* a book is not used, it will gather dust'. Thus this *potentialis* function covers not only *ability* ('can speak'), but also *liability* ('will [tend to] gather'), and both of these functions can be expressed with an apparently non-modal form: 'Marcus speaks Welsh' or 'An unused book gathers dust'.

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[68]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 504-6 §31.3.

[69]Joosten also comments elsewhere on the relationship between factual present and *potentialis*: 'This is clearly an application of the factual-present function: the action is envisaged as a potentiality, not as actually going on.' (Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 148). It will be shown below that the range of E-system *yiqṭōl* in fact covers the full range presented in ch. 1, section 2.1.3.2. above, that is, necessary (related to Joosten's 'liable') to possible (related to Joosten's 'able'). The corresponding Epistemic functions, obligative and permissive, are attested for short-form *yiqṭōl* and for Deontic use of the E-system.

[70]Ch. 1, section 2.1.3.4.

That *potentialis* covers both ability and liability is important for the interpretation of Joosten's main example in Hebrew:[71]

Prov 26:14   הדלת תסוב על צירה ועצל על־מטתו

The door turns on its hinge and a sluggard on his bed. (ALW)

Though the first clause of this proverb refers to the inherent *ability* of the door, the second clause, עצל יסוב על־מטתו (after resolution of verb-gapping), is clearly not concerned with *ability* (*'A sluggard *can* turn'), but with *liability* ('A sluggard *will tend to* turn'). Further, the underlying condition is clearly *not* 'A sluggard *will* turn, if ...', but can only be discovered by decomposing עצל into the semantic constituents [+ANIMATE, +LAZY]: 'A person will turn, *if* he is lazy'. Thus conditionality, and hence Epistemic modality, is implied by both *ability* ('can'), *and liability* ('will tend to'), and the content of the condition may be expressed in either an adjective ('unused') or a nominal subject (עצל).

Potentialis of *ability* may be seen in many examples of *yiqṭōl* in the Psalter:

38:14   ואני כחרש לא אשמע וכאלם לא יפתח־פיו:

But I am like a deaf man—I can't hear; and like a mute, who can't open his mouth. (ALW)[72]

It frequently occurs with both content and polar questions:

130:3   אם־עונות תשמר־יה אדני מי יעמד:

If you, O LORD, should mark iniquities, Lord, who could stand? (NRSV)

44:22   ... הלא אלהים יחקר־זאת

Cannot God perceive this? ... (ALW)

The relationship of *yiqṭōl* to what we know as modal verbs has been demonstrated quite apart from extended grammatical discussions. In an old work on formulaic expressions in Biblical Hebrew idiom, Lande writes:

> Da die Hilfsverben im Hebräischen im grossen Ganzen fehlen, übernimmt das blosse Imperfekt des Hauptverbes, das wir im Deutschen mit dem Hilfszeitwort verbinden, ihre Stelle.[73]

She cites as examples 2 Sam 2:22 ואיך אשא, 'Wie könnte ich ...?' and 1 Sam 26:9 (corr.) מי ישלח ידו במשיח, 'Wer dürfte seine Hand and den Gesalbten ... legen?', then going on to discuss the Desiderative idiom מי יתן.[74] Two of Waltke-O'Connor's examples can be clearly shown to have *potentialis* meaning by the use of one of very few modal verbs in Biblical Hebrew, יכל, in parallel texts. Deuteronomy 1:12 איכה אשא, 'How can I carry', is parallelled by Deuteronomy 1:9 לא־אוכל ... שאת, 'I cannot carry', and 2 Samuel 22:39 ולא יקומון,

'They couldn't get up', by Psalm 18:39 ולא־יוכלו קום, 'They couldn't get up'.[75] A further example can be seen within the parallelism of:

78:20   הגם־לחם יוכל תת אם־יכין שאר לעמו:

can he give even bread, or provide meat to his people? (ALW)

To take one other recent grammar, many of Gibson's general present *yiqṭōls* can be interpreted as *potentialis* of *liability*. He cites firstly comparisons:[76]

Judg 7:5   כאשר ילק הכלב

as a dog will lap (ALW)

Exod 33:11[77]   ודבר יהוה אל־משה פנים אל־פנים כאשר ידבר איש אל־רעהו

... as a man will speak to his friend (ALW)

42:2   כאיל תערג על־אפיקי־מים כן נפשי תערג אליך אלהים:

As a deer will long for streams of water, so my soul will long for you, God. (ALW)

83:15   כאש תבער־יער וכלהבה תלהט הרים:

As fire will burn a forest, and as a flame will set fire to mountains. (ALW)

The first four of these refer to general characteristics of dogs, friends, deer and fires *under certain conditions*. Dogs do not spend all their time lapping, nor do fires always burn forests.[78] Though 42:2b might seem more problematic, it should be noticed that longing implies the condition of dissatisfaction.

Secondly, Gibson cites 'proverbial sayings and general truths':

103:15-16   אנוש כחציר ימיו כציץ השדה כן יציץ:

כי רוח עברה־בו ואיננו ולא־יכירנו עוד מקומו:

As for man, his days are like grass; he will flourish like a flower of the field.

For when the wind has passed over it, it is no more; and its place will not recognise it any more. (ALW)

The nature of the condition implied by *potentialis yiqṭōl* of *liability* here is made clear by the ensuing verses, which speak of the contrasting benefits for those who fear God.

Finally, Gibson lists uses 'of a characteristic or a habit':

37:30   פי־צדיק יהגה חכמה ולשונו תדבר משפט:

The mouth of a righteous man will utter wisdom and his tongue will speak justice. (ALW)

In conditional terms, 'If a man is righteous, he will ...'. But here, as in all the above examples, one element in the modal nature of the clause is the indefinite nature of the subject. One might compare the use of the French subjunctive after an indefinite subject.

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[71]Offered at Tilburg; also in Joosten, 'The Indicative System', 58. This example seems further problematic, however, since Joosten himself had earlier cited it as an example of the archaic 'general present' ('The Predicative Participle', 156-7)!

[72]The 3rd-person reference in bβ makes this a tautologous non-restrictive relative clause.

[73]Lande, I., *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im Alten Testament* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949) 90.

[74]See ch. 4, section 3.2.4, below.

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[75]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 507 §31.4c and n. 28. See also Blau, 86 §62, on ידוע נרע Gen 43:7: 'perhaps because of the modal colour of the interrogation: "could we know"'; in fact, the modal *potentialis* lies already in the *yiqṭōl* form.

[76]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 74-75 §63b. Gibson's own examples are reinterpreted here, with further examples added from the Psalter as necessary.

[77]The habitual *waqāṭal* in the first clause corresponds to *yiqṭōl* in the parallel Num 12:8.

[78]See also 2 Sam 17:12 כאשר יפל הטל, 'as the dew falls'.

In conclusion, we might consider a cross-linguistic treatment of 'gnomic' utterances. Lyons[79] shows that these may be timeless, omnitemporal or non-deictically time-bound. They may use present tense in languages where this is the semantically unmarked tense, past tense when basing a general truth on past experience, iterative aspect when basing it on what is usually the case, and Epistemic modality when subjective. The *potentialis/*'conditionality' argument put forward above is therefore only one aspect of these utterances, and, as we shall see below, some occurrences of *qāṭal* may also be analysed as gnomic.

2.4.3.2.2. Past Iterative

'Iterative', 'habitual' or 'frequentative' past represents a (non-modal) tense-aspect description of *yiqṭōl/wəqāṭal*.[80] Joosten has argued, however, that this is 'a regular extension'[81] of the main, modal function, comparable to the use of 'would' for iterative past in English[82] and the iterative use of the Greek optative and Latin subjunctive.[83]

Often the context demands an iterative reading, whether it be in the exposition to a Narrative (which is presented in the Linguistic Attitude Discourse):

1 Sam 1:3-7[84] ועלה ... מימים ימימה ... ונתן ... יתן ... וכעסתה ... עשה ... הכעסנה

And he would go up ... year by year ... and he would give ... he would give ... and she would provoke her ... he would do ... she would provoke her. (ALW)

or in an iterative interpolation:[85]

Exod 33:7-11 ומשה יקח ... ונטה ... וקרא ... והיה ... יצא ... והיה ... יקומו ...
... ונצבו ... והביטו ... והיה ... ירד ... ועמד ... ודבר ...

And Moses would take ... and would pitch ... and would call ... and it would happen that ... would go out ... and it would happen that ... would rise ... and would stand ... and would look ... and it would happen that ... would descend ... and would stand ... and would speak ... (ALW)

General historical background may also be presented in this way:

Gen 50:3 וימלאו־לו ארבעים יום כי כן ימלאו ימי החנטים

And they fulfilled forty days for him, for thus they would fulfil the days of embalming. (ALW)

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[79]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 681.

[80]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 502-3 §31.2b; Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 73-74 §63a.

[81]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*', 12.

[82]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*', 8.

[83]See also Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 43: '*wəhāyā* indicates the future or (strikingly enough) habituality in the past'.

[84]Problematic here are what Joosten calls a 'false start' in v. 4a (taken up at the end of v. 7); Joosten, J., 'Workshop: Meaning and Use of the Tenses in 1 Samuel 1', in van Wolde, E. (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997) 72-83. Strikingly, it is just this passage that is promoted by DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 261-62, as evidence in favour of his tense theory; he unconvincingly reads *yiqṭōl* here as 'Narrative Present'.

[85]Note the *wayyiqṭōl* narrative sequences which precede and follow this passage. See similarly 2 Sam 15:1-6.

The subordinate clause here must exist in the past, not the present,[86] since, however early one dates this text, there is clearly a historical displacement from the writer and a parallel with וימלאו.

One rather idiosyncratic aspectual treatment of the Hebrew verbal system lends surprising support to this 'past iterative' interpretation of *yiqṭōl*. In his excursus on the 'precative perfect', Moses Buttenwieser[87] discusses an 'imperfect of progressive duration', reading for example ימלא 'became *more and more* filled with smoke' (Isa 6:4), יאמר 'speaks *ever more clearly*' (Isa 40:1), יעלה 'The mist *lifted in layers*' (Gen 2:6) and even a sequence of verbs of striking with disease (Job 16:13-14),

> as descriptive of the nature of the disease from which Job was suffering. A person stricken with elephantiasis actually dies by inches: the members of the body rot away and drop off one by one.[88]

Though these examples might not be best translated with English 'would', they are clearly *iterative*. They cannot be truly progressive, due to their punctual *Aktionsart*.

Finally, Niccacci has shown that following ויהי (a position which he interprets as an apodosis), *yiqṭōl*-x (usually Deontic) can perform this same function.[89] So, for example:

2 Kgs 4:8b ויהי מדי עברו יסר שמה לאכל־לחם

And so, every time (Elisha) passed by, he used to turn there to eat bread. (Niccacci)

Since it is located in the past, this function of *yiqṭōl* is not frequent in the Psalter. We find some examples in the historical Psalms:

78:34 אם־הרגם ודרשוהו ושבו ושחרו־אל:

When he had killed them, then they would seek him and would return and would pursue God. (ALW)[90]

2.4.3.2.3. Past Prospective

Joosten's examples of the past *prospective yiqṭōl* include:

1 Sam 1:10 ותתפלל על־יהוה ובכה תבכה

And she prayed to the Lord and was on the point of crying. (ALW)

2 Sam 15:37 ויבא חושי רעה דוד העיר ואבשלם יבא ירושלם

And David's friend Hushai entered the city just as Absalom was about to enter Jerusalem. (ALW)

Exod 15:5 תהמת יכסימו

The deep waters were about to cover them. (ALW)

2 Kgs 13:14 ואלישע חלה את־חליו אשר ימות בו

And Elisha became ill with the illness of which he was going to die. (ALW)

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[86]*Contra* Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 74 §63b.

[87]Buttenwieser, M., *The Psalms* (The Library of Biblical Studies; New York: KTAV, 1969) 18-25.

[88]Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 20.

[89]Niccacci, 'A Neglected Point', 13 §2.3.

[90]Similarly throughout this Psalm, though there are also several *wayyiqṭōls* with apparently the same function. Misvocalisation of originally *wəyiqṭōls* seems possible, though *wayyiqṭōl* itself can be iterative.

Waltke-O'Connor describe this function of *yiqtōl* as non-modal 'incipient' or 'ingressive' and so translate '*began* weeping', 'while Absalom *began* entering', '*began* to cover them'.[91] The key to a defence of Joosten's reading lies in the punctual *Aktionsart* of the verbs used here. 'Entering', 'covering' and 'dying' clearly do not happen over a period of time, so we must translate 'to be about to' (prospective mood with punctual *Aktionsart*) rather than 'to begin to' (incipient aspect with durative *Aktionsart*).

2.4.3.2.4. Conclusion

These three extended functions of *yiqtōl* are essential to an understanding of the basic meanig of the *yiqtōl* conjugation as modal. If it is accepted that present and past uses of *yiqtōl* are *potentialis* (*ability*: 'can speak' or *liability*: 'will turn'), iterative ('would go up') or prospective ('was about to'), it will no longer be possible with Niccacci to describe *yiqtōl*-x as 'indicative'.

2.4.3.3. Modally Marked

The above extensions of the modal capacity of *yiqtōl* have had to be carefully argued, relying as they do on complex matters of contingency and *Aktionsart*. This next category, however, looks at three characteristically modal clause-types (Negative, Interrogative and conditional), marked for modality by lexical morphemes. Even Eskhult, with his strong aspect theory, acknowledges that these are special cases:

> ... there are particles that deny, dispute or question the full and real activity of a verbal form, such as negations, interrogatives, conditional particles etc. It goes without saying that such particles deprive *yiqtōl* (<*yaqtulu) from executing its cursive value.[92]

Modal *yiqtōl* can be shown to stand in these contexts in complementary distribution to the (Indicative Contemporaneous) predicative participle in unmarked contexts.[93]

2.4.3.3.1. Negative Present

The participle may be *Negated* with *yiqtōl*.[94]

וחנה היא מדברת על־לבה רק שפתיה נעות וקולה לא ישמע 1 Sam 1:13

And Hannah was speaking in her heart; only her lips were moving and her voice could not be heard. (ALW)

The participles here may be considered as 'historic present' according to a theory of absolute tense, or, better, 'progressive/Contemporaneous' in a relative tense theory. The function of Negated *yiqtōl* is clearly related to Dynamic *potentialis* of ability as discussed above.

ויכסהו בבגדים ולא יחם לו 1 Kgs 1:1

And they covered him with clothes, but he could not get warm. (ALW)

(It should be noted how many of the above examples of past *potentialis yiqtōl* are Negative or Interrogative.) These examples confirm the relationship discussed in chapter 1 between Negative and mood. The same point can be made for Arabic *lam yaqtul*, description of which as an allomorph of *qatala* is clearly wrong, since they are distinguished by the feature [±MOD].

2.4.3.3.2. Interrogative Present

Joosten has tentatively suggested that

> ... the use of *yiqtōl* to refer to the real present in questions etc. ... is modal: in a question the action is not entirely "real", it is questioned.[95]

This can be shown most clearly in conversational exchanges:[96]

מה תבקש ... את־אחי אנכי מבקש Gen 37:15-16

What are you looking for? ... I'm looking for my brothers. (ALW)

אי־מזה באת ואנה תלכי ... מפני שרי גברתי אנכי ברחת Gen 16:8

Where have you come from and where are you going? ... I'm fleeing from Sarai my mistress. (ALW)

אנה תלך ומאין תבוא ... עברים אנחנו ... Judg 19:17-18

Where are you going and where are you coming from ... We are passing through ... (ALW)

We therefore note the rule as formulated by Gross:

> Auf Frage nach individuellem gegenwärtigem Sachverhalt mit x-yiqtōl antwortet Ptz für individuellen gegenwärtigen Sachverhalt.[97]

The ('real') answer resorts to the predicative participle,[98] indicating that the ('unreal') question's *yiqtōl* is associated with the (weak) 'I don't know' element in the neustic of factual questions, which distinguishes them from (strong) 'I say so' statements.[99]

Interrogative *yiqtōl* can further be seen in adverbial Interrogatives of purpose and time.

למה תבכי ולמה לא תאכלי ולמה ירע לבבך 1 Sam 1:8

Why are you crying and why aren't you eating and why is your heart down? (ALW)

עד־מתי תשתכרין 1 Sam 1:14

How long will you go on getting drunk? (ALW)

Finally, a good example of a rhetorical question with *potentialis yiqtōl* comes from an unlikely source, Joshua Blau (a tense theorist), who comments:

> [Gen] 43:7 הידוע נדע referring to the past [!], perhaps because of the modal colour of the interrogation: "could we know"[100]

91Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 503-4 §31.2c.
92Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 43.
93Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle'.
94Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 144 n. 69, 157 n. 107.

95Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *weqātal*', 14 n. 82.
96Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 157 and n. 107.
97Groß, W., 'Das nicht substantivierte Partizip', 46.
98Though the Pt-S word order in Judg 19:18 corresponds to what Joosten calls the 'constative or factual present' as opposed to S-Pt 'cursive or actual present'. This distinction is doubtless correct, but Joosten's argument for Judg 19:18 is weak—he speaks of the 'interpretive' element in the Levite's reply; Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 150.
99See ch. 1.
100Blau, *Grammar*, 86 §62.

It has been shown that Interrogative *yiqṭōl* corresponds not to the participle as a whole, but only to its *cursive* aspect (*hû' qōṭēl* as opposed to *qōṭēl hû'*).[101]

2.4.3.3.3. Conditional Present

As is shown throughout the current work, conditionality shares with Interrogativity a modal neustic. We have already seen examples of *'im* as Interrogative conjunction (following *hᵃ*) with *yiqṭōl* (78:20 under 2.4.3.2.1. above). We can compare its conditional function:

I Sam 1:11   אם־ראה תראה ... וזכרתני ... ולא־תשכח ... ונתתה ... ונתתיו ... לא־יעלה

IF you look ... and you remember me ... and you don't forget ... and you give ... THEN I will give him ... will not go up. (ALW)

Even concessive uses of *'im* take *yiqṭōl*:[102]

Isa 1:18   אם־יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו

אם־יאדימו כתולע כצמר יהיו

Though your sins are like scarlet, they will be white like snow.

Though they are red like crimson, they shall be like wool. (ALW)

The Epistemic modality here might be brought out in English by use of the subjunctive: 'Though your sins *be* ...'.

Some temporal expressions also have a conditional flavour:

I Sam 1:22   עד יגמל ... והבאתיו ונראה ... וישב

Once he is weaned ... then I'll bring him and he will appear and he will stay. (ALW)

2.4.3.2.4. Conclusion

It has now been shown that the three modal clause types of Negative, Interrogative and conditional require *yiqṭōl* in place of the participle. This strongly supports our thesis that, whilst the participle is Indicative Contemporaneous, *yiqṭōl* is modal.

2.4.3.4. *Arguments against Modal* yiqṭōl

I have shown throughout the above discussion how the examples of supposedly Indicative *yiqṭōl* presented by those who hold to a tense or aspect-based view of the Hebrew verbal system can be reanalysed as modal. Here I consider some more specific arguments against a modal view of *yiqṭōl*.

DeCaen's[103] relative tense theory of the Hebrew verbal system is highly susceptible to a modal interpretation of *yiqṭōl*. He describes *yiqṭōl* as 'simple present tense', then subclassifying into two Indicative functions (generic and narrative present) and two modal functions (*irrealis* and Epistemic/Deontic).[104] His description of the generic present as 'timeless'[105] already

[101] Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 157-8.

[102] Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 157 n. 107.

[103] DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*.

[104] DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 257-66.

[105] DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 259.

suggests a modal meaning, since the dislocation of a situation from real time (such as in subordinate clauses), like its ascription to an indefinite subject, makes it *irrealis, i.e.* modal. Each of the examples given invites a modal reading.[106] All of DeCaen's 'narrative presents' are further iterative,[107] those in the background are relative future[108] and those with *'āz* can also be reanalysed.[109]

Khan[110] has argued against the modal understanding of the Hebrew verbal system presented by Zuber.[111] He writes,

> The form *yiqṭōl* ... is often used in contexts where it is most easily interpreted as expressing indicative mood. This applies particularly to the use of *yiqṭōl* to refer to the present tense.

Though I would have the same reservations as Khan about the kind of methodology used by Zuber (using the LXX and Vulgate), the above discussion should have demonstrated that there are a range of functions within the present (*potentialis*, Interrogative, Negative, conditional) which, though not normally shown to be such by Greek, Latin or English translations, are in fact 'modal' in a broader sense.

Finally, Joosten himself comments that there may be Indicative uses of *yiqṭōl* in ancient poetry.[112] The example he cites is:

Num 23:9   כי ... אראנו ... אשורנו ... הן־עם לבדד ישכן ובגוים לא יתחשב

I see him ... I behold him ... a people living alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations! (NRSV)

It should be clear from what has been said above, however, about the relationship between mood and conditionality, that this sentence could easily be translated as temporal protasis followed by apodosis:

> When ... I see him ... I behold him ... (Then ...) Behold a nation that will live apart, that doesn't consider living among the nations! (ALW)

This translation accounts for the use of *yiqṭōl* forms, explains the use of *kî*, links the two bicola (כי ... הן, 'When I see ... Behold!'), and accords better with the context, since it reads the

[106] I Sam 5:5 volition—'the priests of Dagon will not / are not prepared to ...'; I Sam 16:7 *potentialis*—'can see'; I Sam 19:24 relative future—'for this reason they were to say ...'; I Sam 20:2 assumptive—'my father wouldn't ... without telling me'; I Sam 24:14 relative future—'as the old proverb was to say ...' (authorial comment, showing 13b occurring in the proverb 14ab-b).

[107] DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 261; just as his examples of the corresponding sequential form, *waqāṭal* (290-91) and the Fula subjunctive (288-89).

[108] 2 Sam 12:31 'and thus he was to do to all the cities ...'; 1 Kgs 3:4 'he was to offer a thousand burnt offerings ...'.

[109] 1 Sam 6:3 conditional—'*if then* you're healed, then we'll know...'; 1 Sam 20:12 Interrogative—'will I not send to you ...?'; 2 Sam 5:24a jussive (Deontic!); 2 Sam 5:24b relative future—'will be about to go out ...'.

[110] Khan, G.A., 'Review of B. Zuber, Das Tempussystem des biblischen Hebräisch. Eine Untersuchung am Text', *VT* 46 (1996) 143-44.

[111] Zuber, B., *Das Tempussystem des biblischen Hebräisch. Eine Untersuchung am Text* (BZAW 164; Berlin de Gruyter, 1986).

[112] Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 157 n. 107.

second bicolon as referring to Israel's claim to live in her own land ('apart'), not remaining nomadic ('among the nations').

Having presented the evidence for modal *yiqṭōl*, and having addressed several objections to this view, it must be acknowledged that other views are tenable, and that there are likely to be cases where *yiqṭōl* appears to more naturally invite an Indicative reading. Nevertheless, in my view, reading *yiqṭōl* as modal best accounts for the largest number of occurrences.

2.4.4. qāṭal *as Perfect*

The *qāṭal* form is usually understood in tense theories as [+PAST] and in aspectual theories as [+PERF]; these categories are particularly associated with the modal value [-MOD]. If, as has been argued above, *yiqṭōl* forms the basis of a Hebrew *modal* system, *qāṭal* must form the basis of the *non-modal* system [-MOD]. But here we also find the predicative participle for contemporaneity, forcing the interpretation of *qāṭal* as [+PAST].[113] It should be emphasised at this point, however, that just as the participle is properly not *present*, but 'Contemporaneous', so *qāṭal* is not properly *past*, but 'perfect' or 'Anterior', that is, *relative past*.[114]

The morphological and syntactic differentiation within *yiqṭōl* (x-*yiqṭōl* vs. apocopated *yiqṭōl*-x) has been shown to be related *diachronically* to its dual origins in Proto-Semitic *yaqṭulu* and *yaqṭul*, and *synchronically* to a dual function as Epistemic *vs.* Deontic. It has frequently been noted that the tree of functional types is unbalanced in that *qāṭal* is not subject to a comparable secondary distinction.[115] This is explained by Gesenius as follows:

> Das Perfekt hat nur *eine* Form, da es nicht in der Weise des Impf. zum Ausdruck von Modusverhältnissen dienen kann.[116]

In fact, however, just as Epistemic x-*yiqṭōl* contrasts with Deontic *yiqṭōl*-x (so Niccacci), and Cursive *hû' qōṭēl* with Constative *qōṭēl hû'* (so Joosten), so *qāṭal* too has several alternative functions, governed sometimes by word order.[117]

Within the *realis*–perfect function, *qāṭal* may cover a broad range. Past perfect (1 Sam 17:20 and *passim*), present perfect (Exod 4:21; 1 Sam 3:12; 12:14, 24; Jer 45:4) and future perfect

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[113]So especially DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*.

[114]See Ljungberg's comment on the order of constituents above. Even languages traditionally understood as tense-based use tense relatively—*e.g.* Joosten refers to the historic present as a linguistic universal; 'The Predicative Participle', 142.

[115]It is a 'terminal node'. See Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 20: 'The idea, that causes the suffix conjugation to oppose the two forms of the prefix conjugation, is that the suffix conjugation is essentially static. Being static, it is also *aterminal*, that is, there is no analysis of the verbal content in a continuum between given limits. In contrast, the prefix conjugation stands for motion. Something happens. This presupposes a beginning and an end of the verbal activity. One has to reckon with an initial point and a terminal point of the verbal activity. Thus the prefix conjugation is *non-aterminal*.'

[116]Gesenius–Kautzsch, 136 §48b n. 1.

[117]*Contra* Joosten, Tilburg: '*qotel* is only a predicate, whilst *qāṭal* is a verb form and so has no distinction at this level between SV and VS.'

(Gen 48:6; Lev 4:3; 1 Sam 8:18; 2 Sam 17:12) are distinguished by a shift in deictic centre.[118] Within a subordinate clause, there may also be such a shift to the (present) speech act from a main clause reference point in the past (Deut 4:13) or future (1 Sam 3:12 / Exod 4:21, 1 Sam 12:24). Similarly, the *'epistolary'* perfect function is governed purely by a shift in the deictic centre from Speaker/Writer to Addressee/Reader.[119] The *'prophetic'* perfect is clearly a secondary function—a 'context-conditioned perfective future'[120] of *qāṭal*. In Klein's much-cited treatment[121] several examples are Interrogative (and so modally marked at clause level); several are gnomic (see above on *potentialis yiqṭōl*); the concept of performativity is not even mentioned,[122] despite these utterances typically issuing from a bearer of authority (prototypically, of course, God Himself);[123] and no consideration is made of the prophetic formula כה אמר יהוה, which may itself signal a shift of deictic centre to the time when the revelation being reported was first received.[124] From a deictic centre in the present, present states may be expressed using a stative verb such as אהב in the *qāṭal* form;[125] imminent future states may be expressed similarly (*e.g.* Num 17:27 אבדנו, 'we are going to die!'), as may future actions of which the starting point is perceived as in the past (*e.g.* 1 Sam 16:8 השבתם, 'you are going to return'). The *'precative'* perfect is treated below.[126]

2.4.5. *Performative Function*

In this and the following two sections, we look first at a definitively Indicative function (Performative), then at the two varieties of modal function (Deontic and Epistemic) to see how they may be fulfilled by different forms.

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[118]But see Comrie, *Tense*, 77-82, who shows that the perfect is not fully congruous with future perfect and pluperfect.

[119]As in Latin and Greek. See Pardee, D., 'The "Epistolary Perfect" in Hebrew Letters', *BN* 22 (1983) 34-40, especially n. 7; Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 73-74.

[120]Kurylowicz, 'Verbal Aspect in Semitic', 118; compare—less formally—Joüon–Muraoka, 363 §112h: 'not a special grammatical perfect, but a rhetorical device.'. Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 21, notes that it always occurs in alternation with *yiqṭōl*.

[121]Klein, G.L., 'The 'Prophetic Perfect'', *JNSL* 16 (1990) 45-60.

[122]In earlier editions of his *Grammatik*, Schneider, 205 §48.6.3, had attempted to explain the entire 'prophetic' perfect 'als einen Sonderfall performativen Sprechens'; this was retracted in the 5th edition in the light of criticisms of such as Talstra. Nevertheless, several of Klein's examples (עוב, ברך, יהב, נתן) are in fact clearly performative.

[123]See further below. Klein, 'The Prophetic Perfect', 45, rightly notes that, despite the term 'prophetic perfect', the Speaker is not always God; it remains true, however, that authority is usually involved.

[124]Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II', 28: ''mr still has its past perspective function', responding to the claim in Schneider, *Grammatik*, 205 §48.6.3.2 (corrected in the 5th edition), that this is performative.

[125]On the relationship between Mood and Aspect, see Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 125, where he shows how in Egyptian, direct (main-clause) or indirect (subordinate) volitional modality occasions in 'adjective verbs' a 'semantic shift … from the static ['be good'] to the dynamic meaning ['become good']'.

[126]See below, 2.4.6. on Deontic function. Max Rogland, working under Professor Muraoka at Leiden University, is preparing a new study on *qāṭal*, including the 'precative' function.

Both Old and New Testament accounts of origins (Gen 1:3; John 1:1) suggest a certain power in divine words, so that Ewald could write of what we will describe as 'performative *qāṭal*' that

> ... it is especially frequent in utterances of God, whose will is equivalent to his deed.[127]

Buttenwieser uses similar terms to explain the 'prophetic' and 'precative' *qāṭal*:

> Its origin is primarily to be explained in terms of the primitive man's belief in the magic power of the word. The primitive man reasoned that, if he spoke of his wish as already fulfilled, its fulfilment was bound to follow.[128]

Such comments, together with over-etymologising and over-theologising discussions of the word דָּבָר as embracing both dianoetic and dynamic elements,[129] have provoked justifiably strong attacks from such as James Barr[130] and Anthony Thiselton.[131] However, this backlash should not be allowed to inhibit us from investigating Hebrew verbal usage in terms of the comparable categories of Speech Act Theory;[132] such a discussion will not, of course, be characterised by theological claims about the unique effective power of divine utterances, but by a more general appreciation of the functioning of linguistic conventions and authority structures.[133]

The 'explicit' performative (English: 'I hereby name this ship ...') may be defined formally as:[134]

[127]Ewald, H., *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament*, tr. J. Kennedy (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1881) 5 §135c.

[128]Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 24.

[129]E.g. Procksch, 'The Word of God in the Old Testament ', in TDNT s.v. λέγω (1942) 91-100 (93): 'Only in the Heb. דָּבָר is the material concept with its energy felt so vitally in the verbal concept that the word appears as a material force which is always present and at work, which runs and has the power to make alive'. 'Dianoetic *vs.* dynamic' is analogous to 'propositional content *vs.* illocutionary force'.

[130]Barr, *Semantics*, 129-40.

[131]Thiselton, A.C., 'The Supposed Power of Words in the Biblical Writings', *JTS* NS25 (1974) 283-99.

[132]Phrastic/tropic; compare also the terminology of communication theory (Referential/Interpersonal) and modality (propositional content/modality).

[133]Compare Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II', 28-29.

[134]Compare Schneider, *Grammatik*, 204 §48.6.2: '1. der Sprecher ist Subjekt, 2. das Verb steht im Präsens, 3. die 2. Person kann als indirektes Objekt vorkommen, 4. es kann "hiermit" eingefügt werden, 5. der Satz ist nicht negativ.'; also, critiquing Schneider's application of Leech's second syntactic marker of a performative utterance (= Austin's grammatical condition), Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II', 28: '2. The verb is in simple present tense. In Hebrew: perfect tense'. Similarly, Hendel, 'In the Margins', 156. Eskhult's "coincident case" is also in fact performative (Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 21); Gen 14:22 הֲרִמֹתִי יָדִי is an idiom, meaning 'I hereby swear'; Lust, J., 'The raised hand of the Lord in Deut 32:40 according to MT, 4QDeutq, and LXX', *Textus* 18 (1995) 33-45 (42), though *contra* his explanation pp. 44-45.

Subject	Speaker (1st or self-referential 3rd person)[135]
Indirect Object (optional)	Addressee (2nd person)
Situation	dynamic
Mood	Indicative [-MOD]
Tense-Aspect	present perfective [-PAST, +PFV]---English simple present / Hebrew *qāṭal*
Polarity	Affirmative [-NEG]
Adverbial marking	English 'hereby'; Hebrew הִנֵּה,[136] הַיּוֹם, וְעַתָּה (also הֲלֹא, וַאֲנִי, וְרָאָה, אָז)[137]

The range of lexical items used in this way is governed by Austin's first pair of felicity conditions for speech acts:

> A.1   There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, the procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances.
>
> A.2   The particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure involved.[138]

That is to say, there must exist a *verbal convention* for *specific actants* in *specific circumstances* A paradigmatic example of an explicit performative might be הִנֵּה נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְךָ, 'I hereby promise you', where there is an accepted convention of swearing (perhaps reflected in the etymology of √שׁבע), where an authority adduced in support of the oath is not invalid (such as in 'I swear by my head') and the Speaker has the power to fulfil what he promises (see Matt 5:34-36; Heb 6:13-16). Common performative verbs include נָתַן, נָגַד and אָמַר.[139]

An important subclass of performative verbs, referred to by Benveniste as 'verbes délocutifs', consists of verbs not just referring to a Speech Act, but actually derived from the

[135]Austin's 'mark of a performative verb' was 'asymmetry between the first person singular present indicative active and other persons and tenses of the *very same verb.*'; Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 63.

[136]Zatelli, '*hnh* as signal of a performative utterance'.

[137]These are not normally included in such a list. However, הֲלֹא seems to have this function in Josh 1:9 and Judg 6:14; וַאֲנִי (compare also the topicalised Agent in Aramaic מַנִּי שִׂים טְעֵם) in Gen 48:22, Num 3:12 (with הִנֵּה) and Ps 2:6; רָאָה in Deut 4:5; and אָז in Ps 40:8.

[138]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 14-15.

[139]Hillers, D.R., 'Some Performative Utterances in the Bible', in Wright, D.P., Freeman, D.N. and Hurvitz, A. (eds.), Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 757-66 cites: שָׁלַח, צִוָּה, הִקְדִּישׁ, שָׁאַל, הֶעָרִיר, עֹזֵב, הִפְקִיד, also adding יָלַד meaning 'adopt' (Ps 2:7), אָמַר, בָּחַר, בָּרַךְ, דָּמָה, חָרַף, מָאַס, הִגִּיד, נֶסֶךְ, נָגַף, נָשָׂא, נָתַן, הֶעֱבִיר אָהֵב meaning 'declare love' (Exod 21:5), and Aramaic שְׁנָא meaning 'divorce'. I would add כּוּן (?1 Chron 29:2), לָמַד (Deut 4:5), לָקַח (Num 3:12), נָתַן (Gen 9:3; 23:11, 13; 48:22; 1 Kgs 3:12-13; 1 Chron 29:3; Jer 34:17-18 with copulative *wāw*), עָשָׂה (2 Sam 14:21; 1 Kgs 3:12), צִוָּה (Josh 1:9, though not 2 Sam 13:28); I would delete Hillers's examples of שָׁלַח, which I read as epistolary *qāṭal*, and replace them with Judg 6:14 (see below). Judg 1:2 יְהוּדָה יַעֲלֶה הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּיָדוֹ seems highly problematic, since the SV word order suggests a non-volitional reading of יְהוּדָה יַעֲלֶה, which in turn would tend to suggest reading נָתַתִּי as perfect, not performative. Many performative *qāṭals* are rightly rendered (and often marked with 'hereby') in NRSV, which, however, similarly renders several participles (see below). See also the list in O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 410.

characteristic form of its utterance.[140] Thus, in English, 'to welcome' means 'to say "welcome"' (similarly 'to hail', 'to sweetheart' and Latin 'salutare'). In Biblical Hebrew, these have usually been incorrectly termed 'declarative *pi'el/hiph'il'*. They occur especially in legal contexts: הצדיק and הרשיע mean 'to say "צדיק הוא / רשע הוא"' (civil law); טהר and טמא mean 'to say "טהור הוא / טמא הוא"' (ritual law); נקה means 'to say "נקי הוא"'. Two non-legal terms are important for the present thesis: אשר means 'to say "אשרי הוא"', and ברך 'to say הוא ברוך'. The last of these examples is questionable, since it may be denominative (√ברכה) rather than delocutive (√ברוך הוא); for the same reason, קלל is not delocutive.[141]

Performative function is important for the study of Hebrew verbal modality because it is *by definition* non-modal. If a Speech Act is 'the performance of an act *in* saying something', then the act becomes 'real' as the utterance is made, so *irrealis* forms cannot be used here. The *qātal* form is the obvious choice, since it is non-modal and perfective,[142] but it is surprising, in the light of English and other European languages, that Hebrew should use a *past* tense for this function. It cannot be right to understand these actions as

> obschon äußerlich erst im Vollzug begriffen, doch als in der Vorstellung bereits vorliegende hingestellt[143]

since this would be to rob the utterance of its very nature as token-reflexive (referring to itself). It would seem better to say that,

> Die dem Perfekt sonst eigene Perspektive ist auf Null verkürzt.[144]

In other words, this is a strictly *secondary* function of *qātal*, governed not by its inherent semantics, but *pragmatically*.[145]

Austin himself drew attention to the inadmissibility of person, voice, mood and tense as definitive of performatives.[146] A 3rd-person example is הכל נתן ארונה ... למלך, spoken by Araunah himself (2 Sam 24:23). Amongst non-modal forms we find performatives expressed in nominal clauses

2:7 בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ:

'You are my son; I hereby beget you.'[147]

and in a passive in the common Aramaic phrase מני שים טעם (*e.g.* Ezra 6:8). Deontic modality is the first of Austin's 'more primitive devices in speech, ... roles which can ... be taken over by the device of the explicit performative';[148] Biblical examples include imperatives (*e.g.* פרו ורבו Gen 1:28; 9:1; 35:11 (sg.); והיה ברכה Gen 12:2) and jussives (*e.g.* Gen 1:3 יהי אור).

It is important to note, however, that an 'explicit' performative is distinguished by the particular form characterised above. If a Speech Act is 'the performance of an act *in* saying something', then its Negation, for example, will not constitute the performance of that act. Therefore, Negated transformations of performative *qātal* in fact employ *qōtēl* or *yiqtōl*.[149] Both of these forms also occur in the Affirmative in contexts where they have been confused by modern scholars with the performative as follows.

The Contemporaneous Constative, *qōtēl hû'*, is, like the English performative 'I hereby name ...', defined as [-MOD, -PAST, -PROG], though it is, interestingly, incompatible with הנה.[150] One might compare:[151]

אמר אני	45:2	≈	אמרתי	31:15; 140:7; 142:6
שאל אני אתך	Jer 38:14	≈	שאלתי מאתך	Prov 30:7
ועתה ... מודים אנחנו לך	1 Chron 29:13	≈	הודינו לך ... הודינו	75:2

Joosten describes these participial forms as utterances which 'describe themselves: the utterance is at the same time an action and the description of that action',[152] so only very narrowly (perhaps deliberately!) avoiding calling them performative.[153] However, each example can be read differently, in a way which is more true to the constative nature of *qōtēl hû'* (circumstantial, conditional and 'activity of the inner person' respectively).

Even the Contemporaneous Cursive, *hû' qōtēl* [+PROG], appears to be used comparably to performative *qātal*.[154]

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[140]Hillers, D.R., 'Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew', *JBL* 86 (1967) 320-24, who himself fails to identify delocutives as a subclass of performatives. Hillers' own treatment has been badly misunderstood by Waltke–O'Connor, 402-4 §24.2f-h; 438-39 §27.2e.

[141]Waltke–O'Connor, 402-3 §24.2f cite קלל, showing that their misunderstanding of Hillers lies in their taking 'delocutive' as a *functional* category, rather than (so Hillers) a reference to a particular formal derivation. They go on (p. 403 n. 25) to equate Hillers's 'delocutive' with Jenni's 'deklarativ', causing great confusion among their examples.

[142]Or, rather, non-imperfective—as a perfect *tense*, it does not have its own aspectual value, but is subject to a 'perfective default' (so DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*).

[143]Gesenius–Kautzsch, 322 §106i.

[144]Schneider, *Grammatik*, 204 §48.6.2.3.

[145]Hendel, 'In the Margins', 156: '... the performative ... in which an action is effected pragmatically by verbal declaration'; compare Joüon–Muraoka, 363 §112h, on the 'prophetic' perfect.

[146]See ch. 1, section 2.1.2. above.

[147]Translation from Hillers, 'Some Performative Utterances', 764.

[148]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 73.

[149]Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II', 28.

[150]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 135.

[151]Several of the following examples of performative *qātal* are from Hillers, 'Some Performative Utterances', 761-4, and those of the constative participle are from Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 150-51.

[152]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 150-51.

[153]On 1 Chron 29:13, Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 151, goes further, saying '"We thank you" performs the act of thanking and informs about this performance'. Compare Gunkel's comment that 'Der ... Psalm beginnt in *hymnischem* Ton ...—zwar nicht in der dafür üblichen Form der Aufforderung zum Jubeln, aber in der selteneren einer Beschreibung des Preisens I Sam 2,1; Ps 19,2.'; Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 327.

[154]The examples of *hû' qōtēl* here are my own.

נתתי	*passim*[155]	≈	הנני נתן	Num 25:12
קראתי	17:6; 119:145-46	≈	הנני קרא	Jer 34:17[156]
והקמתי את־בריתי	Gen 6:8; 9:11	≈	ואני הנני מקים את־בריתי	Gen 9:9
כרתי ברית	89:4	≈	הנה אנכי כרת ברית	Exod 34:10
ראה למדתי אתכם	Deut 4:5	≈	אנכי מלמד אתכם	Deut 4:1
הגדתי	Deut 30:18	≈	אני מגיד	Isa 42:9

Several of these forms have been read as performative by the translators of the NRSV, which reads, for example, 'I hereby grant him ...' (Num 25:12) and 'I hereby make a covenant' (Exod 34:10). But all these forms can be better understood within the normal function of the Contemporaneous Cursive as progressive, *futurum instans* or circumstantial.

Performative *qōṭēl hû'* is explained by Joosten diachronically, as gradually replacing *qāṭal* in this function.[157] But such a solution seems unnecessary in the light of reservations already expressed by Austin:

> ... sometimes, if somebody says 'I am sorry', we wonder whether this is just the same as 'I apologize'—in which case of course we have said it's a performative utterance—or whether perhaps it's to be taken as a description, true or false, of the state of his feelings. If he had said 'I feel perfectly awful about it', then we should think it must be meant to be a description of the state of his feelings. If he had said 'I apologize', we should feel this was clearly a performative utterance, going through the ritual of apologizing. But if he says 'I am sorry' there is an unfortunate hovering between the two. This phenomenon is quite common. We often find cases in which there is an obvious pure performative utterance and obvious other utterances connected with it which are not performative but descriptive, but on the other hand a good many in between where we're not quite sure which they are. ... on some occasions they seem positively to revel in ambiguity.[158]

Thus there is a scale of:

	Performative [-PROG] —>	'grey area' —>	Descriptive [+PROG]
English	'I apologize'	'I am sorry'	'I feel perfectly awful about it'
Hebrew	*qāṭalti*	*qōṭēl 'aⁿnî*	*'aⁿnî qōṭēl*

Without compromising our theory, then, we can acknowledge that there is 'ambiguity' in *qōṭēl 'aⁿnî*. There remain two further problems for the performative, both stemming from comparisons of Hillers's performative *qāṭals* and Joosten's *qōṭēls*.

Firstly, the verb שלח is cited by both Hillers[159] and Joosten[160] as follows:

שלחתי	1 Kgs 15:19 // 2 Chron 16:3;	≈	שולח אני	Ezek 2:3
	2 Kgs 5:6; 2 Chron 2:12			

but here both scholars are wrong to describe these as performative. Hillers's *qāṭals* are epistolary,[161] not referring to a Speech Act ('I hereby send you'), but to the sending of gifts or royal subjects with a letter ('I am sending to you herewith'); a truly performative שלחתי may be found in הלא שלחתיך ... זה בכחך לך (Judg 6:14), where the Directive force is also marked by the opening imperative לך. Joosten's *qōṭēl 'aⁿnî* form, constative שולח אני אתך, is shown to be a *futurum instans* (like the English present progressive 'I am sending you') by its repetition in v. 4 in the cursive אני שולח אתך, and by the fact that the command to go, לך, does not appear until 3:1, 4, 11.[162]

Secondly, we considered above Joosten's example:

מודים אנחנו לך ... ועתה	1 Chron 29:13	and הודינו לך ... הודינו 75:2

But this particular verb occurs most often neither in the *qāṭal* nor the constative *qōṭēl 'aⁿnî*, but in the cohortative *yiqṭōl* [+MOD. +VOL], as in:

אודה יה (9:2; 7:18; 109:30; 111:1), אודה יהוה (54:8), אודה שמך (18:50; 35:18; 71:22), אודך (118:19), אודה ליהוה (32:5).

It was noted above that both *qōṭēl* and x-*yiqṭōl* provide Negative equivalents to performative *qāṭal*, but here we are dealing with a Deontic form [+MOD, +VOL] functioning very similarly to a performative [-MOD]. Functionally, this is not surprising, since Deontic forms are often related to performatives, but formally it seems highly problematic; the difference can probably not be reflected in English. Perhaps an explanation might be found in Austin's description of Deontics such as אודך as 'primitive forms', later supplanted by a social convention with an explicit performative, הודינו. This would suggest that 75:2 is a relatively late Psalm and that the use of הודינו belongs to some formalised procedure of acknowledgement of God.

This latter question is probably the greatest irony of the entire verbal system—that the one form which is *by definition* Indicative bears such close links to Deontic forms. We now consider how non-Deontic forms can perform Deontic function.

2.4.6. Deontic Function

The E-system [-VOL] is sometimes used Deontically [+VOL]—the 'preceptive imperfect',[163] 'injunctive'[164] or 'heischendes Präsens'.[165] This occurs especially in divine pronouncements in

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[155]See examples in Hillers, 'Some Performative Utterances', 762, and my note above.

[156]Here a performative reading may be supported by reading the parallel term נתתי in the same way.

[157]Joosten, pers. comm. (letter of 12-6-97).

[158]Austin, 'Performative Utterances', 246-47.

[159]Hillers, 'Some Performative Utterances', 764.

[160]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 151.

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[161]These same examples of *qāṭal* are adduced by Pardee, 'The "Epistolary Perfect"', 37.

[162]Compare also the future perfect, 'I will have sent you' in Ex 3:12.

[163]MacKenzie, R.A.F., 'The Formal Aspect of Ancient Near Eastern Law', in McCullough, W.S. (ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom* (FS Meek; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964) 31-44 (42).

[164]Williams, *Syntax*, 32 §173.

[165]Fensham, F.C., 'Law', in Douglas, J.D. and Hillyer, N. (eds.), *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, part 2 (Leicester: IVP, 1980) 882-89 (882).

early legal texts,[166] and is distinctive of *Biblical* apodictic law, being unknown in cuneiform texts.[167] Long-form x-*yiqṭōl* (even with markedly non-volitional *nun paragogicum*[168]) is used in place of short-form *yiqṭōl*-x ('jussive' and 'cohortative'), 'prohibitive' *lōʾ tiqṭōl* in place of 'vetitive' *ʾal-tiqṭōl*, and infinitive absolute in place of imperative.[169] Hence, in the Decalogue for example, we find, for the Negative Deontic, the form לא־יהיה instead of אל־יהי (so also 81:10) and, for the Affirmative Deontic, infinitive absolute זכור instead of imperative זכר:

Exod 20:2-17   לא־יהיה ... לא־תעשה ... לא תשא ... זכור ... כבד ...

לא תרצח ... לא תנאף ... לא הגנב ... לא־תענה ... לא תחמד ...

In the same context, we also find forms with *nun paragogicum* used Deontically, such as לא תעשון (v. 23). Lastly, we should perhaps also list here Deontic use of the E-system's continuation form *wəqāṭal*.[170]

Deut 6:4-9   שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד ... ואהבת ...

... והיו [על־לבבך] ... ושננתם ... ודברת ... וקשרתם ...והיו ... וכתבתם

Hear, O Israel: The LORD is our God, the LORD alone. ... You shall love ... Keep [in your heart] ... Recite them ... and talk ... Bind them ... fix them ... and write them.... (NRSV)

Lev 11:44   כי אנ יהוה אלהיכם והתקדשתם והייתם קדשים כי קדוש אני

ולא תטמאו את־נפשתיכם בכל־השרץ הרמש על־הארץ

I am the LORD your God, so make yourselves holy; and be holy for I am holy; and do not make yourselves unclean with any swarming creature that crawls on the earth. (ALW)

All of these E-system forms occur Deontically in all three grammatical persons.[171] A 1st-person example may be seen in Eve's

Gen 3:2   מפרי עץ־הגן נאכל

"We may eat of the fruit of the trees in the garden." (NRSV)

Here, the Deontic force (also that of God's original תאכל אכל in 2:16) is not obligative but permissive.[172] It is this permissive function which is present in the Negative 'prohibitive' form (*i.e.* 'you cannot', not 'you don't have to').

This Deontic use of the E-system has generally perplexed grammarians. In the light of the above discussion of E-system *yiqṭōl*, however, it is not surprising—it is simply the Deontic counterpart (obligation/permission) to Epistemic (necessity/possibility) long-form *yiqṭōl*, as for example in 'present *potentialis*'. This Deontic use of long-form *yiqṭōl* may be compared with the use of English 'may' and 'must' both Epistemically and Deontically,[173] and Deontic use of the infinitive absolute may be compared with the Deontic use of infinite forms in several other languages, *e.g.* Italian infinitive: *Non fumare*; English participle: *No smoking*.[174]

Most striking, however, is the use of the Indicative Anterior *qāṭal* [-MOD] Deontically [+VOL]—the 'precative [or more strictly, optative] perfect'.[175] Just as Deontic use of the E-system is most often restricted to address *by God to men* (strong neustic—command), so Deontic use of the Indicative Anterior form is most often restricted to address *by men to God* (weak neustic—request);[176] it is characteristic of the Psalms.[177] The context is always otherwise marked as Deontic, since this use is

> ... invariably found alternating with the imperfect or the imperative; it is by this outward sign that the precative perfect may unfailingly be identified.[178]

Between them, Buttenwieser[179] and Dahood[180] list up to 30 precative perfects,[181] though many of these have been challenged.[182] From the context, Buttenwieser argues quite convincingly:

> 'Is it conceivable that any sane writer, when turning from the gloom of the present to the glory of the past, should fail to indicate the change of scene and leave it to the reader to divine what he means to say? We

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[166]This has been shown separately for *nun paragogicum* (Driver, S.R., *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd rev. edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 30-31) and the infinitive absolute (Finley, 'The Proposal', 9). It occurs also in human speech in Ruth 1:8b (*kətîb*).

[167]Mackenzie, 'The Formal Aspect', 42-43.

[168]Interpreted as 'contrastive' in Hoftijzer, J., *The Function and Use of the Imperfect Forms with Nun Paragogicum in Classical Hebrew* (The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1985). See also more recently the phonological explanation in Kaufman, S.A., 'Paragogic nun in Biblical Hebrew: Hypercorrection as a Clue to a Lost Scribal Practice', in Zevit, Z., Gitin, S. and Sokoloff, M. (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 95-99 (98), where *wayyiqṭōl* and *qāṭal* forms are discussed.

[169]The infinitive absolute shares the incompatibility with Negation exhibited by the imperative (Finley, 'The Proposal', 6). Volitional use of the infinitive absolute is also attested in Arabic *qatāli* (Wright, *Grammar* 1, 62).

[170]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*'.

[171]*Contra* Finley, 'The Proposal', 8.

[172]*Contra* Finley, 'The Proposal', 9, suggesting that all Deontic uses of the infinitive absolute (also part of the E-system) 'can be described as commands'.

[173]See above ch. 1, section 2.1.3.2. Gesenius–Kautzsch, 329 §107r-s, similarly write of the 'lizitativ' use of *potentialis* long-form *yiqṭōl* (though they generally confuse primary and 'skewed' functions of long-form *yiqṭōl*).

[174]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 114.

[175]The suffix conjugation is used Deontically also in Ugaritic, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic; Moran, W.L., 'The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background', in Wright, G.E. (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (FS Albright; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) 54-72 (65). Waltke–O'Connor, 494 §30.5.4c, actually claim (following Ginsberg) that this is 'one of the original functions of the perfect'. As I show below, it should better be seen as an obligatory *secondary* function.

[176]Finley, 'The Proposal', 10; Hendel, 'In the Margins', 171.

[177]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 494-95 §30.5.4d.

[178]Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 21; Dahood, *Psalms* 1, 20.

[179]Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 18-25.

[180]Dahood, *Psalms* 1, 20.

[181]3:8; 4:2, 8; 7:7; 9:14, 18; 17:3; 22:22; 31:6; 39:10; 44:27; 54:9; 55:19; 56:9; 57:7c; 61:4, 6; 63:3; 67:7; 73:23; 83:11; 85:2-4; 94:17; 102:18; 110:3; 119:121. One further good example not cited by them is 1 Chron 17:27 ועתה הואל וברך which is shown to be Deontic by the parallel 2 Sam 7:29 ועתה הואלה לברך.

[182]See the discussion in Finley, 'The Proposal', 7-8.

may be sure that the Hebrew writers of old were governed by the same rules of elementary logic and common sense as present-day authors.'[183]

Essential to the argument of Dahood, one of the major proponents of the precative perfect, is an optative (a variety of 'emphatic') interpretation of *kî*.[184] What has been largely overlooked in the extensive discussion of emphatic *kî*[185] is the relationship which naturally exists between, on the one hand, the conjunctive functions of conditionality ('*if* ...') and complementiser ('he said *that* ...'), and on the other, the main clause modal function 'optative'. The link may be seen in the dual function of modal particles and Deontic moods in several languages:

	Conjunction	Optative
English	'If you had been here, ...' (conditional)	'If only you had been here!'
	'I knew ... that you would come.' (complementiser)	'Oh that he would come!'
German	'Wärst du da gewesen ...' (conditional)	'Wärst du nur da gewesen!'
French	'Je savais ... que tu viendrais.' (complementiser)	'Qu'il vienne!'

In the terms of the Performative Hypothesis,[186] one can say that such optative clauses are governed in deep structure by a higher clause of wishing which is not realised in surface structure. Given this inherent relationship between subordinating and main-clause functions, it is not necessary to consider emphatic *kî* a separate category from its conditional and complementising functions;[187] rather, it should be viewed as following naturally from them. The modal function of *qātal* under *kî* (and elsewhere) is then an example of the same 'mood neutralisation' which we see in *wəqātal* and *wayyiqtōl* (see below).[188]

The difference between the Deontic force of *lō' tiqtōl* (E-system) and *'al-tiqtōl* (D-system) is usually characterised as *aspectual*, the former expressing 'a more permanent prohibition',[189]

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[183]Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 22. Compare Aejmelaeus's argument against emphatic *kî* that 'One should not impose the logical structure of one's own language on Hebrew and categorically regard it as impossible for a causal connective to appear in contexts like those where ‫כי‬ is found. ... I ... regard ‫כי‬ as a connective rather than an emphatic or asseverative particle. In this statement I include the instances in the imperative hymns as well as those in complaint prayers.'; Aejmelaeus, A., 'Function and Interpretation of ‫כי‬ in Biblical Hebrew', *JBL* 105 (1985) 193-209 (205).

[184]Dahood, *Psalms* 2, 404.

[185]For a survey of views on emphatic *kî*, see Claassen, W.T., 'Speaker-Orientated Functions of kî in Biblical Hebrew', *JNSL* 11 (1983) 29-46 (29-36). Both Claassen and, later, Aejmelaeus, 'Function and Interpretation of ‫כי‬', argue against an emphatic interpretation.

[186]See ch. 1, section 2.1.2.

[187]On the relationship between the various subordinating functions of ‫כי‬, see Givón, T., 'The Evolution of Dependent Clause Morpho-Syntax in Biblical Hebrew', in Traugott, E.C. & Heine, B. (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, vol. 2 (Typological Studies in Language 19; Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1991) 257-310.

[188]Compare Aejmelaeus's comment that, 'Just as ‫ו‬ is used in narration [*i.e.* Narrative] as a universal connective to introduce clauses, ‫כי‬ appears in argumentative types of texts [*i.e.* Discourse] as a kind of argumentative coordinator'; Aejmelaeus, 'Function and Interpretation of ‫כי‬', 205.

[189]Finley, 'The Proposal', 6; Williams, *Syntax*, 32 §173; Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 81 §66; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 567 §34.2.1b; most extensively, Bergsträsser, *Einführung*, 11-12: 'Gemeinsemitisch ist, daß der Imperativ

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that is, more 'imperfective'. Similarly, it has also been suggested that Deontic uses of *qātal* (I-system) may be considered more 'perfective' Deontic than the D-system itself.[190] In rhetorical terms, then, the most solemn, permanent legal pronouncements will be expressed with the E-system, the most urgent, panicky cries for help with the I-system, and everything inbetween with the usual D-system. Hence the following interpretation of the three alternatives for Deontic function:

	E-system	D-system	I-system
Forms:	long-form *yiqtōl, lō' tiqtōl, qātōl*	short-form *yiqtōl, 'al-tiqtōl, qatōl*	*qātaltā*
	'preceptive imperfect'	'jussive'	'precative perfect'
Aspect:	Imperfective —>	Unmarked —>	Perfective

Whilst this interpretation fits the facts well, its weakness lies in that it introduces an *aspectual* parameter to the interpretation of forms which we have already shown to be *modally* distinguished. A more consistent interpretation may lie in noting from a sociolinguistic standpoint that the 'preceptive imperfect' is most often used by *God to man* and the 'precative perfect' most often by *man to God*. Thus one might profitably consider the distinction as modal—just as the formal systems (E-system, D-system, I-system) are distinguished in the 'tropic' ('sign of mood'—modal quality) element, so the corresponding Deontic functions are distinguished in the 'neustic' ('sign of subscription'—modal force) element[191] on a scale of command (directive) to request (precative):[192]

Verbal System (tropic):	E-system	D-system	I-system
Use:	God to man		man to God
Modal strength (neustic):	directive —>	—>	precative

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die punktuelle Stammform hat: ein Befehl "setze dich in Bewegung!" ist naheliegender und natürlicher als ein Befehl "gehe eine Stunde lang spazieren!" Für den nicht punktuellen Befehl verwendet das Semitische aussagende Formen durativen Charakters. Aussagende Formen dienen auch dem Ausdruck des Verbots; der Imperativ selbst kann nicht negiert werden.'

[190]See Hendel, 'In the Margins', 171; Muraoka, T., *Emphatic Words And Structures In Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press & Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985) 84-85.

[191]See ch. 1, section 2.1.2.

[192]Compare Finley, 'The Proposal', 11.

This interpretation is confirmed by the co-occurrence of 'weak' modal particles with the 'precative perfect', such as optative *kî* (as shown above), desiderative מִי יִתֵּן and *lû*[193], precative כִּי אִם (Gen 40:14), *'im-nā'* (Gen 18:3)[194] and *-nā'*,[195] and Epistemic כִּמְעַט.[196]

In all of the above cases, Deontic function is still marked by verb fronting.

2.4.7. Epistemic Function

Just as the E-system was shown above to have Deontic function in certain (especially formal) contexts, so it appears that, as a politeness form in an informal context, the D-system can have Epistemic function:

Gen 22:5 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֶל־נְעָרָיו שְׁבוּ־לָכֶם פֹּה עִם־הַחֲמוֹר

וַאֲנִי וְהַנַּעַר נֵלְכָה עַד־כֹּה וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנָשׁוּבָה אֲלֵיכֶם

Then Abraham said to his young men, "Stay here with the donkey;

the boy and I will go over there; we will worship, and then we will come back to you." (NRSV)

Here, נֵלְכָה is clearly from the D-system morphologically, and is preceded by a topicalised subject (*i.e.* this is not the E-system x-*yiqtōl* structure). Though volition is grammaticalised here, the cohortatives cannot be Directive–precative[197] 'request' (since Abraham is addressing slaves), Directive–hortative (since the slaves are not going with him) nor Expressive (since they refer to a future extra-linguistic act). They must therefore be Commissive–promissive, the point at which the D-system shades into the Epistemic, losing its volitional force.

The Indicative *qātal* form has Epistemic[198] function especially in the form of *wəqātal*,[199] though this form may also function Deontically, sequential to an imperative,[200] cohortative,[201] or—most famously in the *Šəmaᶜ*, as above—to an Indicative nominal clause. The mutual form-to-function cross-matching of the sequential forms (I-system *qātal ... wayyiqtōl vs.* E-/D-system *yiqtōl ... wəqātal*) has been central to most recent study of the Hebrew verbal system, and, together with forms such as past *yiqtōl* (after *'āz*) and the 'prophetic perfect', the source of

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[193]Hendel, 'In the Margins', 172; Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 20-21. See *e.g.* Num 14:2 לִי־מֵהָנוּ.

[194]Hendel, 'In the Margins', 173. It should be noted that Hendel's examples of supposedly 'real-remote Epistemic *qatal*' are all faulty. Gen 43:9 is Negative, so unreal. Judg 16:17 is unreal ('If I *had been* shaved, ...'), in contrast to the real ('If they/you tie ...' *etc.*) *yiqtōls* in vv. 7, 11 and 13. Jer 37:10 is unreal ('If you *had* defeated ...'), since the fighting is over—the Babylonians have withdrawn (vv. 5, 11). Hendel himself (n. 88) shows how 2 Sam 15:33 can be explained. His further examples are all questions—an unreal category.

[195]*-nā'* does have a tendency in this direction (so Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*''), though see my discussion in ch. 6, section 2.1. below.

[196]Wehrle, J., 'Die PV *k'=mᶜat* als Indikator für den Satzmodus in Sprechakten', in Groß, W., Irsigler, H. and Seidl, Th. (eds.), *Text, Methode und Grammatik* (FS Richter; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991) 577-94.

[197]For the terms used here, see ch. 6, section 4 below.

[198]Niccacci, *Syntax*, 73-96.

[199]This is essential to the view of the Hebrew Verbal System represented here, as it is to a part of its initial argumentation by Joosten: 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqātal*'.

[200]Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 200.

[201]*E.g.* Ruth 2:2.

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much speculation.[202] It centres around the nature and origin of the form *wa=*. To the range of past solutions reviewed by Kustár[203] have most recently been added, for *wəqātal*,[204] the radically anti-'etymologizing'[205] theories of Washburn ('the וְ prefix is an inflection, not a conjunction'[206]) and Joosten ('... *wᵉqātal* is not to be equated in any way with simple *qātal*; it should be considered as a separate formal category with its own function.'[207]) and, on the other hand, that of DeCaen ('wayyPRE2 is subject to decomposition',[208] 'the abstract formative /-'-/ of the wayyPRE2 is analyzed as a COMP bearing the modal feature [-IMP]'[209]). The function of the particle(s) may be seen in comparative perspective to be 'tense [more properly, mood[210]] neutralizing',[211] indeed in DeCaen's main example, Zulu, the 'determining factor [is] the difference between realis and irrealis in the head of the neutralization chain',[212] prompting him to characterise *wayyiqtōl* as 'sequential realis' and *wəqātal* as 'sequential irrealis',[213] thus supporting the *modal* (as opposed to his own tense-based) distinction between *qātal/wayyiqtōl* and *yiqtōl/wəqātal* proposed here.[214] The functional range of *wayyiqtōl* for present[215] and pluperfect[216] is accommodated by this analysis, since it does not attribute to *wayyiqtōl* any TA features.

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[202]Consider, for example, a characteristic popular Jewish comment published recently: "'In the Bible time is reversed," said Steinsalz, noting an odd quirk in the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament. "The future is always written in the past tense, and the past is always written in the future tense." "Why?" I asked. "No one knows," he said. "We may be moving against the stream of time," said Steinsalz, noting that the laws of physics are "time-symmetric," that they run just as well backwards as forwards in time.'; Drosnin, M., *The Bible Code* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997) 175.

[203]Cited in Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 544-45 §33.1.2b.

[204]The case is not completely the same for *wəqātal* and *wayyiqtōl*, since the latter may begin an episode, whilst the former never does. Niccacci, *Syntax*, 82, considers this 'proof that [*wəqātal*] is always a continuation form.'

[205]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqātal*', 3.

[206]Washburn, D.L., 'Chomsky's Separation of Syntax and Semantics', *HS* 35 (1994) 27-46.

[207]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqātal*', 7. See also his arguments against other views, pp. 3, 6.

[208]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 290.

[209]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 296. Compare Michel's reference to 'ein demonstratives Präfix *וַן*'; Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung*, 47 §5,9 citing Köhler-Baumgärtner.

[210]DeCaen himself refers to 'the tense-mood neutralization in Zulu'; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 2.

[211]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 284-89; *contra* Joosten. Much work has been done recently, especially by SIL linguists working on formerly undescribed languages, on 'serial verb constructions' in which (as has often been claimed for Hebrew), the entire series bears the MTA-features of the head verb.

[212]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 285.

[213]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 293.

[214]Still, the cross-matching can only be explained as 'selectional restrictions'; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 296.

[215]Groß, W., wayyiqtol *für die Gegenwart?*

[216]Collins, C.J., 'The wayyiqtol as 'pluperfect': when and why', *TynBul* 46.1 (1995) 117-40.

This 'mood neutralisation' of the Indicative Anterior *qātal* is not solely a feature of 'consecutive' *wāw*, however.[217] Several other clause types involve mood neutralisation, including Deontic '*kî etc.* + *qātal*' (see above), unreal conditional '*'im* + *qātal*', real conditional '*lû* + (D- or E-system) *yiqtōl*'[218]. It should be noted that these sequential forms under mood neutralisation bear the same feature of verb topicalisation as the D-system.

Our adoption of DeCaen's argument for why the continuation forms should cross-match with the main-clause forms remains problematic. DeCaen does not show clearly how he has moved from mood-*neutralisation* to the ascription of new modal values to *wəqātal* and *wayyiqtōl*. It appears that, as is often done,[219] he is identifying a feature of 'remoteness' in both modality and the [+PAST] feature of *qātal*. This fits well with my analysis, however the converse is not the case, since short-form *yiqtōl* is not marked for tense, but is simply modal (Deontic). The best solution we can suggest thus far is therefore that after mood-neutralisation of *qātal* and *yiqtōl* upon their being placed in a sequential position after the conjunction (as *wəqātal* and *wayyiqtōl*), the pastness of *qātal* attracted *wəqātal* to the E- and D-systems, and *wayyiqtōl* then moved by analogy to accompany *qātal* in the I-system.

Having now considered the two principal verbal forms in Biblical Hebrew (*yiqtōl* and *qātal*), a definitively Indicative function (perfective) and the two types of modal function (Deontic and Epistemic), we are almost ready to draw up our conclusions on the verbal system. First, however, we must look at a pragmatic feature which is distinctive of Discourse such as the Psalter and which may often result in irregular usages.

2.4.8. yiqtōl *and* qātal *in Discourse*

It has already been noted above that the 'precative perfect' is

> ... invariably found alternating with the imperfect or the imperative; it is by this outward sign that the precative perfect may unfailingly be identified.[220]

As Buttenwieser continues,

> A similar alternation of the perfect and imperfect marks the use of the prophetic perfect; it is a sure sign by which true prophecies may be distinguished from *vaticinia ex eventu*.[221]

Thus both precative (Deontic) and prophetic (Epistemic) functions of *qātal* only occur where their secondary modal function is indicated by nearby *yiqtōl* forms. As has been noted above, the performative function of *qātal* similarly tends to occur in context with forms from the D-

system. There are two other major forces also at work in the Psalms, however, which bring together *yiqtōl* and *qātal*.

Firstly, there is the alternation of *qātal* and *yiqtōl* within a bicolon *for purely poetic reasons.* This may involve *qātal-(way)yiqtōl* or *(way)yiqtōl-qātal*; the order of elements and the use of the *wayy-* conjunction does not appear to affect the meaning. This pattern is frequent in Psalms and appears in many cases to involve no semantic distinction between the cola—Dahood[222] lists *qātal-yiqtōl* alternations functioning as past, present, future and optative. It may even involve alternation with the same root (38:12; 93:3).[223] A good example, where the time-frame is clearly past,[224] is:

81:8 בְּצָרָה קָרֵאתָ וָאֲחַלְּצֶךָּ אֶעֶנְךָ בְּסֵתֶר רַעַם אֶבְחָנְךָ עַל־מֵי מְרִיבָה סֶלָה׃

In distress you called (*qātal*), and I rescued you (*wayyiqtōl*); I answered you (*yiqtōl*) in the secret place of thunder; I tested you (*yiqtōl*) at the waters of Meribah. Selah (NRSV)

Kugel interprets this phenomenon as 'completion or complementarity ... the integration of A and B into a single whole'[225] or 'the sort of intermeshing represented in English by a subordination',[226] translating, for example:[227]

111:5 טֶרֶף נָתַן לִירֵאָיו יִזְכֹּר לְעוֹלָם בְּרִיתוֹ׃

Giving food to his worshippers / he keeps his covenant forever // (Kugel)

In some cases, however, it might be argued that the opposition *does* carry semantic weight:

Isa 63:16 כִּי־אַתָּה אָבִינוּ כִּי אַבְרָהָם לֹא יְדָעָנוּ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יַכִּירָנוּ

For you are our father, though Abraham does not know us and Israel does not acknowledge us ... (NRSV)

Read in the light of Kugel's characterisation of synonymous parallelism as 'A is so, and *what's more,* B',[228] we might translate in a way which retains the non-modal/modal opposition:

> ... though Abraham does not know us (*qātal* stative), and even if Israel were not to acknowledge us (*yiqtōl*).

In the light of the references to אָבִינוּ, it appears that 'Abraham' is probably not to be understood as synonymous with 'Israel' here, but as a reference to the historical figure, so that one might in fact translate 'Abraham did not know us'. Then the modal distinction lies in the

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[217]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, iii: 'Tense neutralization ... involv[es] a complex interaction between tense, mood and pragmatico-discourse factors.'

[218]Hendel, 'In the Margins', 172 and n. 82.

[219]Hendel, 'In the Margins', 171-72; Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 209-10.

[220]Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 21.

[221]That is, 'prophecies after the event'—what others have termed 'apophecy' (*e.g.* Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Les Tragiques*); Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 21.

[222]Dahood, *Psalms* 3, 420-22.

[223]Held, M., 'The *YQTL-QTL (QTL-YQTL)* Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and in Ugaritic', in Ben-Horin, M., Weinryb, B.D. and Zeitlin, S. (eds.), *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962) 281-90; Berlin, A., *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) 35-36.

[224]The view of short-form *yiqtōl* as orginally a preterite (so Held, 'The *YQTL-QTL (QTL-YQTL)* Sequence', with reference to Ugaritic; see also Kienast, B., 'Das Punktualthema *japrus und seine Modi', *Or* 29 (1960) 151-67) is generally opposed in the present work, though it cannot be completely ruled out.

[225]Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 19.

[226]Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 17.

[227]Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 18.

[228]Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 1-58.

expectation that though hopes cannot be set on Abraham (past), they might have lain with Israel (present). נכר and ידע may be read as functionally equivalent.[229]

Secondly, there is the (closely related) adaptation of set formulas. This may be seen functioning within a Psalm:

26:1-11   שָׁפְטֵנִי יְהוָה כִּי־אֲנִי בְּתֻמִּי הָלַכְתִּי ... וַאֲנִי בְּתֻמִּי אֵלֵךְ פְּדֵנִי וְחָנֵּנִי׃

... for as for me, I have walked in my integrity ... But as for me, I walk in my integrity ...

It also occurs across a major formulaic complex such as that consisting of קרא and ענה:[230]

... when I cry, ... and answer me!	ו ... אקרא	ענני	27:7
answer me ... when I call	אקרא ...	ענני	102:3
I cry ..., and he answers me	אקרא ו	יענני	3:5
I cry ..., but you do not answer	אקרא ... ולא	העֵנה	22:3
I call on you, for you will answer me	כי אקראך	תענני	86:7
When they call to me, I will answer them	ו יקראני	אענהו	91:15
I cry; answer me	קראתי ...	ענני	119:145
... I called, you answered me	קראתי ו	תענני	138:3
I called ...; ... answered me	קראתי ...	ענני	118:5
I cry ..., that he may answer me	קראתי ו	יענני	120:1
I call upon you, for you will answer me	כי קראתיך	תענני	17:6
you called ...; I answered you	קראת ...	אענך	81:8
Answer me when I call	בקראי	ענני	4:2
They cried ..., ... he answered them.	קראים ...	יענם	99:6
answer us when we call	קראנו	יעננו ...	20:10

Verb forms represented here include *yiqṭōl, wəyiqṭōl, wayyiqṭōl, qāṭal, qōṭēl*, imperative, infinitive absolute; clause types include circumstantial, causal, adversative, purpose, result, consecutive. Such grammatical variation within a formula is analogous to the lexical variation which Culley highlights as the heart of oral formulaic composition.[231]

There are therefore both grammatical and poetical forces at work within the Psalter which result in otherwise unexpected juxtapositions of *qāṭal* and *yiqṭōl* forms. These account for the vast majority of forms in the Psalter which do not accord with the view of the verbal system presented here.

2.4.9. Conclusions on the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System

Modality in Semitic languages has often been described in terms of secondary functions or diachronic change:

> The evolution from a semantic to a syntactic mood, from a verbal category whose choice depends solely on the speaker's attitude to the predication to a form only used in a set of subordinate clauses, is known from

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[229]So also 142:4-5 and Deut 33:9.

[230]Of course there are many other factors at work in these texts, including subordination, nominalisation, adverbs of instrument (קולי) and temporal adverbs/conjunctions (בצר לי, ביום). Translations are from the NRSV.

[231]Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language*, 30.

Indo-European and Afroasiatic languages and represents one of the features of syntactization as a diachronic process, of "genesis of syntax ex discourse."[232]

Similarly Joosten refers to the extended (present *potentialis*, past iterative, past prospective) and modally-qualified (present Negative, Interrogative, conditional) uses of *yiqṭōl*, together with stative and performative uses of *qāṭal* as 'traces of an earlier stage of the language'.[233] He explains what DeCaen calls 'the paradox of the imperfective ... excluding the progressive'[234] diachronically:

> At a certain moment in the history of the Hebrew language the present tense function was renewed through the use of the predicative participle. ... PC [*yiqṭōl*] and SC [*qāṭal*] lost their present-tense functions almost completely ... The SC was pushed to one side to become a past tense (more exactly: a form expressing anteriority to the moment of speaking), the PC moved over to the other side to become a form expressing modality.[235]

Though Joosten's ensuing examples of continuing functional overlap are impressive, this diachronic perspective may weaken our appreciation of how the various elements function together in a synchronic system.

The system of Hebrew verbal inflection is tripartite, opposing by mood: *qāṭal*, long-form x-*yiqṭōl* and short-form *yiqṭōl*-x.[236] These form the basis for three systems, which also have associated person-unmarked forms and continuation forms:[237]

System	Paradigm forms	Supplementary forms
I-system	*qāṭal* ('perfective')	Negation: *lōʾ qāṭal*; *ʾēn qōṭēl*
		Continuation: *wayyiqṭōl*
		Person-unmarked: *qōṭēl* ('predicative participle')
E-system	long-form x-*yiqṭōl* ('imperfective')	Negation: *lōʾ tiqṭōl* ('prohibitive' when used Deontically)
	(±*nun paragogicum*)	Continuation: *wəqāṭal*
		Person-unmarked: *qāṭōl* ('infinitive absolute')
D-system	short-form *yiqṭōl*-x ('jussive')	Negation: *ʾal-tiqṭōl* ('vetitive')
	ʾæqṭəlâ ('cohortative')	Person-unmarked: *qəṭōl* ('imperative'), *qåṭlâ* ('adhortative')

The I-system has a perfective default,[238] so that *qāṭal* cannot bear further aspectual distinctions.[239] This has, however, led to the introduction of the participle (as in English) for

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[232]Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 82

[233]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 157, referring to the Actual/Cursive Present function as passing from *yiqṭōl* to *hûʾ qōṭēl* and the Factual/Constative Present passing from *qāṭal* to *qōṭēl hûʾ*. Pre- and Suffixing morphology supports this view. Compare also Austin's description of Deontics as 'primitive' as against the performative (see 2.4.5 above).

[234]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 267.

[235]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 157.

[236]Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 19-20; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 105.

[237]Joosten, 'The Indicative System'.

[238]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 184 *etc*. Similarly, Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 20: 'Being static, it is also *aterminal*, that is, there is no analysis of the verbal content in a continuum between given limits'.

[239]See above on the relationship between [+PAST] and [+PERFECTIVE].

imperfective aspect in all time frames.[240] Progressive aspect is expressed by the participle, which occurs, in the present, alone and after the subject (*hû* *qōṭēl* [-PROG] cf. *qōṭēl hû* [-PROG]), and in the Deontic system and the Indicative Anterior,[241] together with the MT-marking 'placeholder' verb היה (*yəhî qōṭēl* and *hāyāh qōṭēl* respectively).[242]

The D-system is closely related to the E-system, and is characterised by verb-topicalisation (*yiqṭōl*-x vs. x-*yiqṭōl*) and vowel reduction (short-form *yiqṭōl* vs. long-form *yiqṭōl*; imperative vs. infinitive absolute).

Starting with the branching of functions given in 2.4.2 above, the system may be presented as in the diagram opposite. The most *realis* forms appear on the right—formally, a verbal noun lacking inflection in a subject-initial nominal clause, and functionally [-MOD]. The most *irrealis* forms appear on the left—formally, a fully inflected verb in a verb-intial verbal clause, and functionally [+MOD, +VOL].

It should be clear from this presentation and the above discussion of MTA relationships how the Hebrew verbal system has come to be analysed differently. It is quite true that *qāṭal* is past [+PAST] and perfective (under a 'perfective default'), whilst x-*yiqṭōl* is future [+MOD, -VOL]. But both tense- and aspect-based theories err crucially in sometimes reading *yiqṭōl* as Indicative non-past [-MOD, -PAST] i.e. present. Hence the space devoted above to demonstrating the basically modal meaning of x-*yiqṭōl*.

The above discussion has presented an analysis of a *formal system*; it is not claimed that it accounts for all uses of the Hebrew forms. As Kurylowicz comments in dismissing the category of aspect from Hebrew morphology,

> It is of course not the possibility of *expressing* certain meanings and shades—they may be expressed in any language—but the existence of verbal *categories* which interests us here.[243]

We have been looking for what he calls 'system-conditioned' (that is, primary) functions, rather than 'context-conditioned' (or secondary) ones,[244] and it is in this sense that Joosten can say that

> From the point of view of the system, the indicative functions of *yiqṭōl* are negligible.[245]

It is a 'Morphocentric Fallacy'[246] to suggest that MTA values are completely determined by verbal morphology. MTA values need to be understood in terms of both verbal morphology and features of the sentence, as is clear already from the above distinctions of modal system (x-

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[240]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*; Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle'.
[241]That is, in the presence of TA-features; see 2.1.1. above.
[242]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 222. It has been suggested that the use of the auxiliary is characteristic of spoken language; Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 145-49.
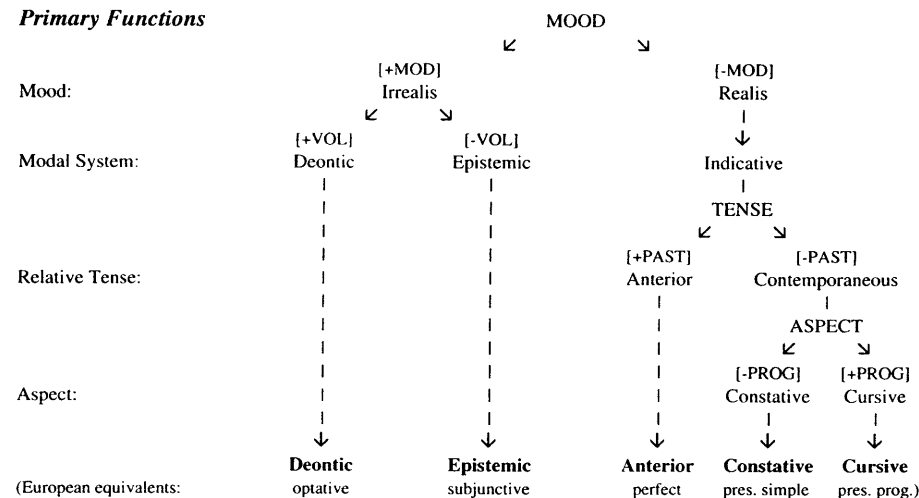[243]Kurylowicz, 'Verbal Aspect in Semitic', 115.
[244]Kurylowicz, 'Verbal Aspect in Semitic', 115.
[245]Joosten, 'Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal*', 14 n. 82.
[246]DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 68.

Primary Functions

MOOD

	[+MOD] Irrealis		[-MOD] Realis
Mood:			
Modal System:	[+VOL] Deontic	[-VOL] Epistemic	Indicative
			TENSE
Relative Tense:			[+PAST] Anterior / [-PAST] Contemporaneous
			ASPECT
Aspect:			[-PROG] Constative / [+PROG] Cursive
	Deontic	**Epistemic**	**Anterior** / **Constative** / **Cursive**
(European equivalents:	optative	subjunctive	perfect / pres. simple / pres. prog.)

Secondary Functions

	present *potentialis*	Performative
	past iterative	Epistolary
	past prospective	
	Int, Neg, cond	

Verbal Forms

	D-system	E-system	I-system
Paradigm Forms:	short-form *yiqṭōl*-x *ʾæqṭəlâ* 'jussive', 'cohortative'	long-form x-*yiqṭōl* (±*nun paragogicum*) 'imperfect(ive)'	*qāṭal* 'perfect(ive)'
Negation:	*ʾal-tiqṭōl* 'vetitive'	*lōʾ tiqṭōl* 'prohibitive'	*lōʾ qāṭal* *ʾēn qōṭēl*
Continuation Forms:		*wəqāṭal* '*perf. consecutivum*'	*wayyiqṭōl* '*impf. consecutivum*'
Person-unmarked Forms:	*qəṭōl, qåṭlâ* 'imperative', 'adhortative'	*qāṭōl* 'infinitive absolute'	*qōṭēl hû* / *hû qōṭēl* 'predicative participle' 'classifying' 'identifying'

'Skewing'

	Deontic	Epistemic	Indicative
	'precative perfect' 'preceptive imperfect'	'prophetic perfect' Epistemic *yiqṭōl*-x	
Conditional:		*ʾim qāṭal* *kî qāṭal*	*ʾim yiqṭōl* *lû yiqṭōl*
Sequential:		*wəqāṭal*	*wayyiqṭōl* *ʾaz yiqṭōl*

Relative modality:

irrealis —> —> —> —> —> *realis*

yiqṭōl vs. yiqṭōl-x) and aspect (*hû' qōṭēl vs. qōṭēl hû'*), not to speak of other pragmatic factors.

Joosten argues from Benveniste's *niveaux de l'analyse linguistique*:

> A verbal form as such—meaning: a verbal form as one element in a verbal paradigm—expresses an abstract function which should be described in terms of tense, aspect and modality. With this basic, 'morphological' function, the verbal form can be deployed in several 'text-linguistic' or discourse functions.
>
> These discourse functions are not to be played down: they are real, and they should be described in a grammatical treatment of BH [Biblical Hebrew]. From the point of view of the individual verbal forms, however, discourse functions are secondary, contextual applications of a more basic temporal, aspectual or modal function.
>
> Discourse functions are not inherent to the verbal form, but to the clauses within which the verbal form is incorporated.[247]

Lyons comments similarly in cross-linguistic perspective:

> It is an empirical fact ... that tense, like person, is commonly, though not universally, realized in the morphological variations of the verb in languages. Semantically, however, tense is a category of the sentence.[248]

Thus the recognition of a broader functional range does call for explanation (as has been given above for *yiqṭōl*), but does not necessarily affect the 'system'.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this presentation by comparison with more traditional treatments is the crucial role played by word order. x-*yiqṭōl vs. yiqṭōl*-x distinguishes Epistemic and Deontic modal systems (Niccacci's 'Neglected Point in Hebrew Syntax'[249]) and *hû' qōṭēl vs. qōṭēl hû'* distinguishes Cursive and Constative aspects in the Contemporaneous (Joosten's great contribution[250]). We therefore turn now to consider word order.

2.5. Syntactical Morphemes

Moscati uses the term 'syntactical morphemes' to refer to 'the order of words or ... independent elements'.[251] We have seen in the above how the copular verb הי׳ה has come to function as just such an independent element—as an 'auxiliary verb' similarly to Moscati's example, the Arabic future particle *sawfa*. In this section, we will be principally concerned with syntactical clause modification in terms of word order (especially verb-subject [VS]).

The predominant view on Hebrew verb order is currently that it is VS. So, for example, Waltke-O'Connor:

248Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 678; similarly Comrie, *Tense*, 12.
249Niccacci, A., 'A Neglected Point'.
250Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle'.
251Moscati, *Comparative Grammar*, 72.

> For verbal clauses the basic Hebrew word order is *verb + subject* (VS). This verb-first word order usually obtains where a clause has no introductory material, where a clause begins with a *waw*-relative (traditionally "*waw*-consecutive") construction, or where a clause begins with adverbial materials.[252]

DeCaen has, however, drawn attention to the often neglected distinction between 'basic' and 'dominant or statistically prevalent' word order,[253] which legitimates, via a theory of transformations, a view of the statistically *less* prevalent word order (SV) as basic. The SV view has been held most famously by Joüon (though this section of his grammar was changed to VS in Muraoka's revision), as well as Blau and, most recently, DeCaen; Loprieno considers VSO original in all Semitic languages, shifting to SVO in Arabic and Hebrew and to SOV in modern Ethiopic languages.[254] Some of the strongest arguments in favour of SV are the clear modal distinction in dependent clauses between SV (coordinate, *realis*) and VS (subordinate, *irrealis*), and the link between this fact and the dependent nature of sequential *wayyiqṭōl*.[255] VS thus appears to be used only for Deontic main clauses (as above) or dependent clauses. The strange concepts of 'inverted verbal clause'[256] or 'complex noun clause' are thus no longer needed.

Since, then, word order distinguishes between the two modal systems (*yiqṭōl*-x *vs.* x-*yiqṭōl*) and between aspects in the Contemporaneous (Cursive *hû' qōṭēl vs.* Constative *qōṭēl hû'*), and marks the 'mood neutralised' functions of *yiqṭōl* and *qāṭal* (*wayyiqṭōl* and *wəqāṭal*), it is above all the *pragmatic* value of word order with which we are concerned here.[257] This is acknowledged even from a VS perspective by such as Loprieno:

> one of the main functions of a topicalized VP is precisely the definition of the diathetic, temporal or modal features governing the higher predication; in other words, since the thematized VP is assigned all the verbal features of the utterance, the inevitable consequence of the concentration of semantic functions on the head VP is the pragmatic emphasis on the rheme[258]

and (making an almost opposite point) Givón:

> a VSO language is 'pragmatically schizophrenic', since the *new information* portion of the sentence is scattered on both sides of the topic/subject.[259]

The two principal VS structures in Biblical Hebrew (Deontic *yiqṭōl*-x and sequential *wayyiqṭōl*) are subject to this 'pragmatic schizophrenia'.

252Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 129 §8.3b.
253DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 136.
254Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 3.
255Compare the general rule in Proto-Indo-European, that unaccented words are placed in second position in main clauses, and the verb is accented in subordinate clauses.
256Jenni, E., *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Basel & Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1981) 71 §6.3.1.6.
257See Ljungberg above on the 'pragmatic' nature of modality.
258Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 124.
259Givón, T., 'The drift from VSO to SVO in biblical Hebrew: The pragmatics of tense-aspect', in Li, C.N. (ed.), *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977) 181-254 (241).

A word should be added on auxiliary verbs. It has already been noted that היה has this function, however there are a number of other verbs which also function modally in various different contexts. אבה, 'to want to' is interestingly restricted to Negative, Interrogative and conditional clauses.[260] יכל 'to be able to' is often used in parallel with a modal *yiqtōl* form (*e.g.* Deut 1:9//12; 2 Sam 22:39 // Ps 18:39; Ps 78:20). Verbs such as הלך, בוא, קום and יהב are often used in the imperative to modify modally another imperative.[261] הטיב and גדל represent modal modification only in terms of the Speaker's attitude to an action. חדל, חלל, שכם, שוב, יסף and מהר have been described as 'relative verbs';[262] though requiring a complement like modal verbs, they are most often translated into English with an adverb.[263] Finally, a similar function to that normally expressed in English by modal verbs may be expressed in Hebrew by means of the use of a cognate or synonymous infinitive (*e.g.* Num 17:28 האם תמנו לגוע, 'Must we all die?'); this function might alternatively be described as aspectual, as is clearly the case with the auxiliary verb כלל [+PFV].

2.5.1. *Postverbal Syntax*

Two main word-order types have been identified in the languages of the world: 1. those which tend towards Dependent–Head structures, and 2. those which prefer Head–Dependent structures.[264] These two theoretical types can be characterised as either:

1. DH:
   SOV
   VP —> Object–Verb–Auxiliary
   PP —> Noun–Postposition
   NP —> Standard of Comparison–Adjective/Genitive/Determiner/Relative Clause/Numeral–Noun

2. HD:
   (S)V(S)O
   VP —> Auxiliary–Verb–Object
   PP —> Preposition–Noun
   NP —> Noun–Adjective/Genitive/Determiner/Relative Clause/Numeral–Standard of Comparison

When *predominant* structures are compared (DH/HD), no natural language corresponds consistently to one of these types (secondary structures are given in lower case):[265]

Latin[266]	OV/vo	—/PN	gn/NG	AN/NA	reln/NRel	sta/ASt
French	—/VO	—/PN	gn/NG	an/NA	—/NRel	—/ASt
English	—/VO	—/PN	GN/ng	AN/—	—/NRel	—/ASt
Biblical Hebrew	—/VO	—/PN	—/NG	—/NA	reln/NRel	—/ASt

This is to say that Biblical Hebrew usually *postposes* an object to its governing verb (וישמע שועתי 40:2), a noun to a governing *preposition* (ויעלני מבור 40:3), a *nomen rectum* to its *nomen regens* (טיט היון 40:3), an adjective to its noun (שיר חדש 40:4), a relative clause to its *ante*cedent (הגבר אשר-שם יהוה מבטחו 40:5) and a standard of comparison to a comparative adjective (טוב-יום בחצריך מאלף בחרתי 84:11). Biblical Hebrew can therefore be characterised as a surprisingly consistent Head-Dependent language.[267]

2.5.2. *Word-Order Rules*

A standard cross-linguistic inventory of particular classes of Word-Order Rules may help in characterising Biblical Hebrew:[268]

1.	*Relational* word order rules:	S, O, V
2.	*Stylistic-prosodic* word order rules:	stressed, heavy (usually second and final positions)
3.	*Pragmatic* word order rules:	focus, topic (usually first position)
4.	Other word order rules:	S ⎫ ⎧ O Animate ⎬ precedes ⎨ Inanimate Agent ⎭ ⎩ Patient

We may apply these in turn:

1. SVO is the normal word order in independent Indicative main clauses, and VSO in dependent clauses (Epistemic and 'mood neutralising') or Deontic main clauses.

2. Heavy NPs (whether S or O) are frequently put in final position.

3. Object-topicalisation (OV) is common in Discourse, and verb-topicalisation (VS) in Narrative. OS is extremely rare (as in other world languages).[269]

4. Subject-topicalisation, in the form of an independent pronoun or a noun in *casus pendens*, is frequently employed in the Psalter, particularly, as a pragmatic-rhetorical feature to highlight shifts in topic. The topic is usually animate and is the Agent. Thus frequently *wa'ʾanî* or *wa'ʾnaḥnû*).

[260]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 137 n. 40.

[261]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 574-5 §34.5.1a. See below ch. 6, section 2.3.

[262]Schneider, *Grammatik*, 220-21 §50.5-6.

[263]'Formverbum', 'relatives Verbum' or 'ergänzungsbedürftige Verben'; Jenni, *Lehrbuch*, 255-6 §23.3.3.

[264]Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax* , 196-239

[265]Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax* , 230-32, give Latin, French and English; the analysis of Biblical Hebrew is my own.

[266]Preposed relative clauses: *e.g.* 'Quod potuimus, id fecimus.' Also with no antecedent: 'Qui numquam timet stultus est'.

[267]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 137 §9.1c. Similarly consistent HD languages include Samoan and Swahili; DH languages include Japanese and Turkish; Radford, A., *Transformational Grammar. A First Course* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 39.

[268]Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 238.

[269]Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 238.

2.5.3. Traditional Word Order

Having considered some of the pragmatic and universal aspects of word order, we are now in a better position to look back to traditional treatments of Biblical Hebrew. The traditional view of Arabic grammar completely neglected any distinction between dominant (statistically-prevalent) and basic (systemic) word order:

> any clause beginning with a verb is a verbal clause (VC); any clause beginning with a noun is a nominal clause.[270]

It was valuable, however, in that it concentrated on 'theme-rheme' or 'known-new' rather than 'subject-predicate'. Here, we have seen that Verb-Subject is characteristic of Deontic or dependent clauses, and Subject-Verb of Epistemic main clauses and Indicative clauses. The Predicate–Subject order of the Contemporaneous Constative is not a problem for this classification, since the participle is not inflected and so does not qualify for full verbal status. In any case,

> Su-Ptcp (the actual present) is in Biblical Hebrew the normal sequence. Statistically it is about four times as frequent as Ptcp-Su.[271]

Deontic verbal modality corresponds to the 'Imperative' clause types discussed below in chapter 6. 'Negative' and 'Interrogative' clausal modality involve transformations which make NEG or INT the head of the clause, to which the verb is then attracted. Thus all three types of clausal modality with which we are concerned in this thesis (also COND) involve verb-topicalisation and hence a strong pragmatic focus. This is a key element of the rhetorical force so often noted in the Psalms.

3. Subordination

Having considered the modification of main clauses, we now turn to the non-main, or 'subordinate' status of some clause types, which may be considered a kind of textlinguistic modification of the clause. It has been commented by many scholars that clausal dependency should not be seen in black-and-white terms; Loprieno, for example, distinguishes between parataxis, hypotaxis (semantic dependency), subordination (syntactic dependency) and embedding (unmarked subordination—circumstantial/adverbial).[272] It has even been argued that there is no true parataxis:

> the mere fact that clauses are conjoined in discourse ipso facto makes them dependent on each other ... there [can] be no purely paratactic relationship between clauses, at least in the sense that neither

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[270]Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I', 169-70. See also Schneider, *Grammatik*, 160-61 §44.1.2; Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 471 §140f.

[271]Joosten, 'The Predicative Participle', 140.

[272]Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 165, 189-90, 225.

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determine[s] the other, and ... the only possible conception of parataxis [is] that in which dependence between clauses [is] mutual.[273]

Thus the Hebrew continuation forms (*wayyiqtōl* and *wəqātal*) are properly hypotactic or 'co-subordinate',[274] and probably (as argued above) will not bear their own MTA features.

Since we are here concerned primarily with main clauses, we will consider just one special type of clausal embedding which is particularly important for study of the Psalter—direct speech or 'direct discourse'.[275]

3.1. Direct Discourse

Many modern European languages mark *indirect* ('reported') *speech* grammatically, with shifts in both reference (deictic pronouns and time and place adverbs) and mood (from *realis* to *irrealis*).

> e.g. He said, '*I will* meet *you here tomorrow*'. —> He said that *he would* meet *her there the next day*.

Biblical Hebrew marks indirect speech with the referential shift alone, and even the complementiser (אשר[-את]),[276] 'that') is usually absent. This kind of indirect speech is not attested in the Psalms, though it is possible that *kî* after verbs such as ידה is to be interpreted in this way:[277]

> 136:1 הודו ליהוה כי־טוב כי לעולם חסדו:

> Acknowledge before the LORD that He is good, for his covenant love is eternal. (ALW)

Direct speech, by contrast, is frequent in the Psalms, though both introductory particles such as לאמר (*e.g.* 71:11) and ויאמר (*e.g.* 35:27),[278] and even introductory verbs of speaking are often omitted (11:1; 22:9; 46:10-12). Direct speech may be marked by preceding אמר:

> in the Anterior form: 12:5; 30:7; 32:5; 16:2; 31:15; also אמר בלבו: 10:6, 11, 13; 14:1//53:1;
> in a Deontic form: 35:3, 21, 25, 27
> in *yiqtōl* in a vow of praise: 35:10
> in *yiqtōl* in a subordinate clause: פן יאמר 13:5

אמר may also occur in the middle of the direct speech:

> 12:6 משד עניים מאנקת אביונים עתה אקום יאמר יהוה אשית בישׁע יפיח לו:

> "Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, I will now rise up," says the LORD; "I will place them in the safety for which they long." (NRSV)

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[273]Haiman, J., *Natural Syntax: Iconicity and Erosion* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 217 n. 1, reporting the work of Paul (1880).

[274]Winther-Nielsen cited in Eskhult, 'The Old Testament and Text Linguistics', 94.

[275]See also O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 409-414 §8.1.

[276]Givón, 'Evolution'. The use of *'æt-* in these contexts (*e.g.* 2 Kgs 8:5) seems strange (or proves that *'æt-* marks not the direct object, but focus), since the expression אמר כזות shows that the complement of אמר is an adverbial ('how?'), not a direct object ('what?').

[277]Similarly 54:8. כי טוב only ever occurs after verbs of speaking. Note Blau's description of כי טוב as a 'completive clause'; Blau, *Grammar*, 82-3.

[278]Meier, S.A., *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in The Hebrew Bible* (SVT 46; Brill, 1992).

Certain other verbs appear to refer to specific speech acts (קרא to questions and mands) and התחנן to the prayer (חנני):

30:9-11   אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה אֶקְרָא וְאֶל־אֲדֹנָי אֶתְחַנָּן:

מַה־בֶּצַע בְּדָמִי בְּרִדְתִּי אֶל־שָׁחַת הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר הֲיַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ:

שְׁמַע־יְהוָה וְחָנֵּנִי יְהוָה הֱיֵה־עֹזֵר לִי:

To you, O LORD, I cried, and to the LORD I made supplication:

"What profit is there in my death, if I go down to the Pit? Will the dust praise you? Will it tell of your faithfulness? Hear, O LORD, and be gracious to me! O LORD, be my helper!" (NRSV)

There are then many other ways of marking direct speech, such as:

10:4   ... אֵין אֱלֹהִים כָּל־מְזִמּוֹתָיו:

'There is no God' is all his thoughts.

which is, of course, equivalent to:

14:1   אָמַר ... בְּלִבּוֹ אֵין אֱלֹהִים

He has thought, 'There is no God'.

Very often, however, the speech is completely unmarked (*e.g.* 46:11), a distinctive feature of Biblical poetry.[279] It is therefore to referential shift that we must look in order to distinguish direct speech.[280]

In Psalm 2, for example, the shift from 3rd (v. 2) to 1st person (v. 3) marks a shift in Speaker, the Enemy moving from 3rd-person subject of v. 2 to Speaker of v. 3; similarly (though this time marked with ידבר), God moves from 3rd-person subject of vv. 4-5 to Speaker of v. 6. The same shift may occur, however, between a 3rd-person subject (vv. 4-5) and a 1st-person Speaker-subject. The identification of Direct Discourse within the Psalms is therefore bound up with the question of subject shift considered in chapter 2 above. 1st-person Direct Discourse *by the Psalmist* may be distinguished for our purposes from Narrative (*e.g.* vv. 1-2) as involving 1st (*e.g.* v. 7a) or 2nd-person (*e.g.* v. 10-12aα) reference. Thus Psalm 2 may be analysed as follows:

vv. 1-2	Narrative	subject = Enemy
v. 3	Direct Discourse	Speaker = Enemy
vv. 4-5	Narrative	subject = God
v. 6	Direct Discourse	Speaker = God
v. 7	Direct Discourse	Speaker = Psalmist
vv. 7b-9	Direct Discourse	Speaker = God
vv. 10-12b[281]	Direct Discourse	Speaker = Psalmist

In Psalm 31:23, we find a similar subject shift taking place:

31:23   וַאֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי בְחָפְזִי נִגְרַזְתִּי מִנֶּגֶד עֵינֶיךָ אָכֵן שָׁמַעְתָּ קוֹל תַּחֲנוּנַי בְּשַׁוְּעִי אֵלֶיךָ:

I had said in my alarm, "I am driven far from your sight."

But you heard my supplications when I cried out to you for help. (NRSV)

It seems most likely that וַאֲנִי here does not link the time of speaking with the expression in the preceding verse, הִפְלִיא חַסְדּוֹ לִי בְּעִיר מָצוֹר, *i.e.* 'he made wonderful his faithfulness to me when I was in a besieged city and I said ...', but emphasises the contrast (also frequently attested elsewhere[282]) between אמרתי and אכן,[283] so suggesting translation as 'Though I ...' or 'Whilst I ...'. The special referential and temporal frame of the direct-speech colon aα (בחפזי locates it in the context described in v. 13a) means firstly that God, who was referred to in the 3rd person in vv. 22-23aα (חסדו), is here referred to in the 2nd person (עיניך). Secondly, the 1st-person subject of נגרזתי must also be conceptualised as distinct from that of אמרתי (the person being described in the past, and the Speaker/Psalmist in the present).[284] Thirdly, the *qāṭal* forms in aα and b will be translated as English simple past, since they refer to the time/location of vv. 11-13 (בחפזי) and vv. 14-18 (בשועי) respectively, whilst the *qāṭal* form in aβ will be translated as English present perfect. None of these distinctions would apply to *indirect* speech. What is striking is that the 2nd person reference to God is then continued into the next bicolon, in an almost imperceptible shift back to the present time frame:

v. 22-23aα	Mainline	3rd person
v. 23aβ	Direct Discourse	2nd person
v. 23b	Mainline	2nd person

Thus I translate:

Though I thought in my alarm, "I have been driven out of your sight",
in fact you heard the sound of my prayers when I called out to you.

A striking example of deictic shift may be observed in Psalm 11:1:

11:1   בַּיהוָה חָסִיתִי אֵיךְ תֹּאמְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי נוּדִי [ק נוּדוּ] הַרְכֶם צִפּוֹר:

I have put my hope in the LORD, how can you (pl.) say to my soul, 'Flee (pl.) to your (pl.) mountain like a bird!' (ALW[285])

The direct speech takes the referential *locus* away from that of נפשי, hence the plural *kətîb*, which was perhaps a common battle taunt (addressed to a 'representative' plural).[286] There is a

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[279] Meier, *Speaking of Speaking*, 32-37 §1.6.2.

[280] The direct speech may report the words of God (46:10), the Enemy (42:11; often marked with the taunt הֵאָח: 35:21, 25; 40:16; 70:4) or the self (42:10).

[281] One might make a break here at v. 12aα, though v. 12aβ clearly functions as a warning and v. 12b אשרי functions in my view (unlike ברוך) as directive.

[282] Isa 49:4b; Jer 3:20; Zeph 3:7b; Ps 82:7; Job 32:8.

[283] Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 670-71 §39.3.5d.

[284] Just as in 4:7 ... רַבִּים אֹמְרִים מִי־יִרְאֵנוּ טוֹב, where the 3rd-person רבים and 1st-person נו- have the same referents. Similary Ps 39.

[285] This reading renders the singular *qərê* and emendations such as (BHS) הַר כְּמוֹ unnecessary by reading צִפּוֹר as an adverbial accusative; its lack of agreement with נודו is unproblematic with this interpretation.

[286] Compare, for example, 124:7: 'We have escaped like a bird from the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we have escaped.' (NRSV). See also the discussion above in ch. 2, section 2.1.

special rhetorical effect in this displacement of the situation. It is 'intertextual' in that it evokes the military context in which it would normally be spoken.

A fourth example of referential shift may be seen clearly in a conversational exchange:

27:8   לְךָ אָמַר לִבִּי בַּקְּשׁוּ פָנָי אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ יְהוָה אֲבַקֵּשׁ:

"Come," my heart says, "seek his face!" Your face, LORD, do I seek. (NRSV)

The complex reference has resulted in textual problems, including the 2nd-person sg. לְךָ, the plural בַּקְּשׁוּ and the 1st-person פָנָי. The NRSV has emended to לְךָ ... בַּקֵּשׁ פָנָיו, so that the Speaker of the a-colon ('my heart') is not the same as the Addressee of the b-colon ('LORD'), and the use of direct speech involves person shift in the object of בַּקֵּשׁ ('his face'; 'your face').

These four examples have shown how direct speech is primarily governed by shifts in grammatical and rhetorical person, so that this particular element of clausal or textual modification is shown to be bound up with the referential texturing of the Psalms.

4. Scope

It has already been noted above that modal features such as Interrogative, Negative and Imperative do not carry over into subordinate clauses; this is because subordination itself involves a type of modality, as can be seen from the paradigmatic relationship of conditional with these three other features, and the suggested Interrogative origin of some types of subordination). In other words, the scope of modal features is standardly limited to the clause in which they occur.[287] It is especially when modal features occur together that problems may arise, as can be seen from the English modal verbs:

> The main problem of interpreting, in a regular way, negation with modals is that there is often no formal way of indicating whether it is the main verb or the modal that is negated. Thus in English *can't* and *may not*, if used epistemically, negate the modal (no permission), while *mustn't* negates the main verb (obligation not to).[288]

Amongst the features which may have extended scope[289] or do 'double duty'[290] in the Psalter are prepositions (*e.g.* בְּ):

48:2   גָּדוֹל יְהוָה וּמְהֻלָּל מְאֹד בְּעִיר אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַר־קָדְשׁוֹ:

Great is the LORD and most highly praised in the city of our God, His holy mountain (ALW)

the *nomen regens* in a construct relationship (*e.g.* יְדֵי):

141:9   שָׁמְרֵנִי מִידֵי פַח יָקְשׁוּ לִי וּמֹקְשׁוֹת פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן:

Keep me from the trap that they have laid for me, and from the snares of evildoers. (NRSV)

and the relative marker (אֲשֶׁר):

31:20   מָה רַב־טוּבְךָ אֲשֶׁר־צָפַנְתָּ לִּירֵאֶיךָ פָּעַלְתָּ לַחֹסִים בָּךְ נֶגֶד בְּנֵי אָדָם:

O how abundant is your goodness that you have laid up for those who fear you, and accomplished for those who take refuge in you, in the sight of everyone! (NRSV)

There are also, of course, the characteristic 'double-duty suffixes'.[291]

Extended scope may also be seen in the features with which we are concerned here.

Interrogative force may extend over two cola:[292]

42:6   מַה־תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי נַפְשִׁי וַתֶּהֱמִי עָלָי ...

Why are you cast down, O my soul, and why are you disquieted within me? ... (NRSV)

or the particle may be repeated:

42:12   מַה־תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי נַפְשִׁי וּמַה־תֶּהֱמִי עָלָי ...

Why are you cast down, O my soul, and why are you disquieted within me? ... (NRSV)

The same is true of the Interrogative particle itself:

50:13   הַאוֹכַל בְּשַׂר אַבִּירִים וְדַם עַתּוּדִים אֶשְׁתֶּה:

Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? (NRSV)

77:8   הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח אֲדֹנָי וְלֹא־יֹסִיף לִרְצוֹת עוֹד:

Is it for ever that the Lord will reject ...

though on this see also the discussion of disjunctive questions in chapter 4.

Negative force may also have extended scope:[293]

38:2   יְהוָה אַל־בְּקֶצְפְּךָ תוֹכִיחֵנִי וּבַחֲמָתְךָ תְיַסְּרֵנִי:

O LORD, do not rebuke me in your anger, or discipline me in your wrath. (NRSV)

or the particle may be repeated:

6:2   יְהוָה אַל־בְּאַפְּךָ תוֹכִיחֵנִי וְאַל־בַּחֲמָתְךָ תְיַסְּרֵנִי:

O LORD, do not rebuke me in your anger, or discipline me in your wrath. (NRSV)

Imperative force, lastly, is 'obstinat' (Weinrich)—it is almost always marked on the verb, and so is not subject to the same problem of scope.

5. Vocative

Vocatives are formally nominal—the naming or description of the Addressee; they have therefore been considered already in chapter 2 above. However, they are discussed here because their *pragmatic force* may be that of Directive or Expressive speech acts.[294] First, we consider some problems with the form and typical occurrence of vocatives, then their rhetorical function.

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[287]Compare Weinrich's use of the term 'obstinat' with reference to person-marking, the article and tense.
[288]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 220.
[289]'Ausdehnung der Rektionskraft'; Gesenius–Kautzsch, 401 §119hh.
[290]See the many examples in Dahood and Penar, 'Grammar of the Psalter', 429-444.

[291]See Dahood and Penar.
[292]See also Dahood and Penar, 438-39. For another interesting example with the cohortative, see Jer 4:21.
[293]See also Dahood and Penar, 437-39.
[294]'Funktionen, die ... zur Leistungsfunktion der Kundgabe gehören'; Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 159.

5.1. Syntactical Status

Two main contrasting proposals have been made for the syntactical status of vocatives. The first views them as often part of the clause, relating to a Deontic verb form like a subject to a non-Deontic verb form. The second views them as forming a clause in their own right.

5.1.1. Clausal Subject

Considering the *form* of vocatives, we may draw an analogy between:

the minimal prayer:	יהוה ברך	'LORD, bless!'	vocative + Deontic verb [+VOL]
the minimal sentence:	יהוה יברך	'The LORD will bless.'	subject + non-Deontic verb [-VOL].

Seen in this way, a vocative 'functions, from the standpoint of surface structure, as the subject'.[295] However, this raises the question of the grammatical person of a vocative, since vocatives occur not only with Imperatives, but with 1st, 2nd and 3rd-person Deontic forms.[296]

Vocatives do not function as subjects to 1st-person Deontics (cohortatives),[297] since in Directive ('May I ...') and Expressive ('I will ...') cohortatives, the Addressee is not the same as the verbal subject, and in hortative cohortatives ('Let us ...'), the Addressee(s) constitute only a part, with the Speaker, of the inclusive 1st-person subject. Self-address is normally in the form of (3rd-person) psycho-physical substitutes such as נפשי or לבי.

Vocatives do function as subjects to both imperatives (despite their lack of person-marking) and to other 2nd-person Deontics (jussives).

e.g.	יהוה ברך	'LORD, bless!'
	יהוה תברך	'LORD, may you bless!'

Vocatives have been argued to function as subjects to 3rd-person Deontics (jussives) as in יהי אור.[298] However, it seems strange to read אור here as vocative at all, and I would refer to it rather as a normal subject within the D-system as discussed above.

i.e.	יהי אור	'Let light exist!'	Deontic
cf.	אור יהי	'Light will exist.'	Epistemic

It should also be noted, however, that vocatives do have a further link with the 3rd person in that this is the person in which they are modified:[299]

Mic 1:2   שמעו עמים כלם

Hear, nations, all of you!

This ambiguity in the person status of vocatives may be compared with the ambiguous case status of Arabic vocative (nominative without nunation, or accusative if first term in an *idafa*).

295Finley, 'The Proposal', 9. Compare the development of the Egyptian vocative marker (referential) into an anaphoric deictic particle (relational) and then into a definite article; Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 68. Compare ch. 6, section 5.1. below.

296Finley, 'The Proposal', 9.

297*Contra* Finley, 'The Proposal', 9.

298Finley, 'The Proposal', 9.

299Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 77 §4.7d.

5.1.2. Minor Clause Predicator

In deep structure terms, 'vocatives occur with predicates, but are not related to them as arguments'.[300] O'Connor therefore terms vocatives 'minor clause predicators'[301] or 'the remnants of a predication', 'remnants of clauses which are uniformly reduced before they appear in an utterance',[302] coinciding with their theoretical status (under the Performative Hypothesis[303]) as governed by a higher clause of saying.[304] He claims that this explains the (rare) vocative marker ל—it is in fact the normal preposition 'to', which marks the Addressee of a higher clause of speaking and is normally deleted together with that higher clause. Thus Zeph 3:16b לירושלם אל־תיראי, for example, is to be read '(He says) to Jerusalem, "Don't be afraid"'.[305] Dahood presents a long list of examples from the Psalms,[306] though many of these, like Zeph 3:16b, could easily be read as not vocative at all.[307]

5.2. Rhetorical Function

Underlying the frequent occurrence of vocatives in the Psalter is an important theological consideration—specification of the divine Addressee in a polytheistic environment:

> Diese Sitte erklärt sich aus einer Urzeit, da die Betenden viele Götter kennen, und das Gebet daher zunächst den Namen des Gottes nennen muß, an den es sich richtet, damit dieser es vernehme und herbeikomme.[308]

For this reason, vocatives occur most often at the start of a Psalm. They also occur—perhaps for the same reason—at the start of new units of discourse, and thus signal a change of theme,[309] a shift of Addressee or a greater intensity of address.

Vocatives may also occur medially, between 'relative' verbs and their complements:

6:5   ... שובה יהוה חלצה נפשי

Turn, O LORD, save my life ... (NRSV)

or between two repeated cola:

57:8   ... נכון לבי אלהים נכון לבי

My heart is steadfast, O God, my heart is steadfast. ... (NRSV)

300O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 80.

301O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 79-82.

302O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 306. This is a generativist 'higher predicate analysis'; O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 79.

303Referred to in passing by O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 80.

304Similar arguments apply to 'focus-markers' such as *wa'ᵃnî* (see ch. 2, section 2.2.3. above, and O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 79-82) and interjections (see Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 158-59).

305O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 80-81.

306Dahood and Penar, 'Grammar of the Psalter', 407-8.

307Nevertheless, this is a remarkable conjunction of synchronic and diachronic linguistics in addressing an otherwise unresolved problem.

308Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 121-22 §4.4. See also Begrich, 'Die Vertrauensäußerungen'.

309So also rhetorical questions and modal forms; see the quotation from Beekman and Callow at the start of this chapter; *Translating the Word of God*, 279-80.

or in the middle of a sentence:

89:50   אַיֵּה חֲסָדֶיךָ הָרִאשֹׁנִים אֲדֹנָי נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לְדָוִד בֶּאֱמוּנָתֶךָ׃

Where are your former acts of covenant love, Lord, which in your faithfulness you swore to David? (ALW)

137:5   אִם־אֶשְׁכָּחֵךְ יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם תִּשְׁכַּח יְמִינִי׃

If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither! (NRSV)

These latter types have been termed 'double-duty vocatives'.[310]

Multiplication of vocatives usually occurs clause-final:

3:8   קוּמָה יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי אֱלֹהַי

Rise up, O LORD! Deliver me, O my God! (NRSV)

We have seen that, in its simplest form, a prayer may consist of just two components: an address (vocative) and a plea (imperative), *e.g.* "O God, help!".[311] In the Psalms, vocatives and Imperatives do in fact most commonly co-occur.[312] However, the minimal prayer may be even smaller—the Directive/Expressive function of an Imperative alone ("Help!") can under certain circumstances[313] be effected by the vocative alone ("O God!"). Whilst an Imperative becomes a true prayer only when accompanied by a vocative, a vocative can be a true prayer by *implying* an Imperative.[314] This implied function lies behind many vocatives in the Psalms. Thus, having considered the status of vocatives as clausal subjects or independent predications, and having seen how they define the Addressee and structure discourse, it should be noted that they are most often loaded with the appeal to God for his attention and aid. Unencumbered as they are with the flattering epithets of babylonian psalms,[315] the address of the biblical Psalms relies not on a *captatio benevolentiae*, but on the force of the vocative itself to move God to respond.

6. Conclusion

The major part of this chapter has been devoted to presenting an analysis of the Hebrew verbal system centred around three subsystems, distinguished by mood: I-system (*qāṭal*), E-system (long-form *yiqṭōl*) and D-system (short-form *yiqṭōl*). This analysis, as well as the comments above on word order, vocative *etc.*, will be fundamental to the following discussion of Interrogative, Negative and Imperative sentence-types in the Psalms.

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[310]By analogy with double-duty suffixes *etc.*; for more examples, see Dahood and Penar, 'Grammar of the Psalter', 439-41.

[311]Antturi, A., 'How do the Psalms Mean Pray?—An Essay on the Use of Verbal Conjugations in the Hebrew Psalter', Presented at the University of Hamburg (1996) 5.

[312]Vocatives also co-occur with other Deontic forms such as cohortatives and jussives (see below) and Interrogatives. It has been suggested that vocatives are most easily identified by their juxtaposition with a 2nd-person pronoun or an imperative; Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 130 §8.3d.

[313]Felicity conditions; see ch. 1, section 2.1.2. above.

[314]Antturi, 'How do the Psalms mean pray?', 5 n. 18.

[315]Begrich, 'Die Vertrauensäußerungen', esp. 184.

Chapter 4
INTERROGATIVE

Having shown how Epistemic and Deontic modality function within the Hebrew verbal system as a whole, we here turn to one of our three modal sentence-types to consider how the use of distinct Interrogative forms interacts with modal verbal forms and features of unreality or non-assertivity. Since Interrogative and Imperative are mutually exclusive, we will be concerned here primarily with Epistemic modality and the E-system. However, at the pragmatic level, both Epistemic and Deontic force are carried by Interrogatives.

1. Introduction

Interrogative forms can be distinguished according to the element questioned, whether that be:

1. the entire clause (S'),
2. a nominal argument (pronominal subject or object—NP), or
3. an adverbial adjunct (AdvP)

These categories form the basis for the present discussion.

1.1. Basic Morphemes

Clausal Interrogation is (optionally) marked with the deictic particle *hᵃ*. Nominal Interrogation prototypically takes the *m-* morpheme, an indefinite (dubitative) nominal, which is distinguished for human/non-human. Adverbial Interrogation prototypically takes the *'ê-* morpheme, an alternative adjectival. These latter two morphemes are highly productive in Biblical Hebrew, generating a range of Interrogative (and hence also relative and indefinite) pronouns and adverbs.

		Indefinite *m-*		Alternative *'ê-*
		Human	Non-Human	
Nominal	Subject	מי	מה	אֵי־זֶה
	Direct Object	אֶת־מי	מה	
	Indirect Object	אֶל־מי	אֶל־מה	
	Adnominal	לְמי, בֶן מי		
	Indefinite/Negative		מְאוּמָה	אִין
Adverbial	Time		מָתַי, עַד מה	עַד־אָנָא, אָנָא
	Manner			אֵיךְ, אֵיפֹה
	Place			אִין, אֵי(ה), אֵיפֹה
	Purpose		עַל־מה, לְמה, מה	
	Quality		כַּמָּה	
	Dislocative			אֵי־מִזֶּה
	Cause	בְּשֶׁלְמי, בַּאֲשֶׁר לְמי	מַדּוּעַ, יַעַן מה	
	Instrument	בַּמי	בַּמֶּה	
	Other	מִמִּי, לְמי, עַל־מי, אַחֲרֵי מי	תַּחַת מה	

As can be seen from the top-right and bottom-left corners of this table, there is some 'skewing' of terms. Adjectival *'ê-* functions nominally in combination with a qualified pronoun (אי־זה), whilst nominal *m-* functions adverbially when governed by a preposition. Each of the three primary morphemes, *h*[a], *m-* and *'ê-* may also function as a complementiser, as is predictable from both the Performative Hypothesis (see above, chapter 1) and cross-linguistic studies which have shown that object and relative clauses tend always to derive from Interrogatives.[2]

2. Clausal: *ha, 'im*

Clausal Interrogation is known variously as 'yes-no', 'polar' or 'nexus' questions. It is usually marked with *h*[a], though *'im* may also be used (especially in Interrogative coordination), or there may be no marking.

h[a] may be formally cliticised to a Noun Phrase [subject]:

94:9-10   הֲנֹטַע אֹזֶן הֲלֹא יִשְׁמָע

    Doesn't the ear-planter hear?

a Noun Phrase [object]:

78:20b   הֲגַם־לֶחֶם יוּכַל תֵּת

    ... can he give even bread?

a Prepositional Phrase [time]:

85:6   הַלְעוֹלָם תֶּאֱנַף־בָּנוּ

    Is it for ever that you will be angry with us?

a Prepositional Phrase [indirect object]:

88:11   הֲלַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא

    Is it for the dead that you do wonders?

a Verb Phrase:

30:10   הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר הֲיַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ

    Will dust acknowledge you?

an Adverb Phrase:

58:2   הַאֻמְנָם אֵלֶם צֶדֶק תְּדַבֵּרוּן

    Do you indeed decree what is right, you gods?

or an existential particle:

14:2   לִרְאוֹת הֲיֵשׁ מַשְׂכִּיל דֹּרֵשׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים

    ... to see if there are any who are wise, who seek after God.

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[1]Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 70, reads the Egyptian correspondent, *jt*, as focalising and translates with a cleft sentence: 'which messenger is the one who came to you?'.

[2]Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, ch. 10.

Interrogative function is not thereby attached to the particular phrase, but is most often linked to the entire clause. This may be seen in the repetition of the particle before the subject and (with לא) before the verb:

94:9-10   הֲנֹטַע אֹזֶן הֲלֹא יִשְׁמָע אִם־יֹצֵר עַיִן הֲלֹא יַבִּיט׃

        הֲיֹסֵר גּוֹיִם הֲלֹא יוֹכִיחַ הַמְלַמֵּד אָדָם דָּעַת׃

    He who planted the ear, does he not hear? He who formed the eye, does he not see?

    He who disciplines the nations, he who teaches knowledge to humankind, does he not chastise? (NRSV)

In contrast to this marking of both subject and verb, the particle may have extended scope, leaving a second Interrogative clause unmarked:

77:8   הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח אֲדֹנָי וְלֹא־יֹסִיף לִרְצוֹת עוֹד׃

    Must the Lord reject for ever and not again be favourable? (ALW)

2.1. Syntactic Functions

In addition to the independent main-clause function of Interrogation, Interrogative morphemes may function as complementisers and in Interrogative coordination.

2.1.1. Complementiser

It is clear in many languages that relative and object clauses are related to questions. In English:

Question:	Who's been sitting on my chair?
Relative clause:	He suddenly saw Goldilocks, who was sitting in his chair.
Object clause:	He asked who'd been sitting on his chair.

The marker of clausal Interrogation may also be related to that for an object clause. In colloquial German:

Question:	Ob du noch fertig bist?	Are you ready yet?
Object clause:	Sie fragte ihn, ob er noch fertig sei.	She asked him if he was ready yet.

In Hebrew, both *h*[a] and *'im* may have this function after verbs of perceiving:

14:2   יְהוָה מִשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁקִיף עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם לִרְאוֹת הֲיֵשׁ מַשְׂכִּיל דֹּרֵשׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים׃

    The LORD looks down from heaven on humankind to see if there are any who are wise, who seek after God. (NRSV)

139:24   וּרְאֵה אִם־דֶּרֶךְ־עֹצֶב בִּי וּנְחֵנִי בְּדֶרֶךְ עוֹלָם׃

    See if there is any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting. (NRSV)

2.1.2. Coordination

Double questions may be formally conjunctive or disjunctive. We may compare conjunctive and disjunctive forms for affirmative, Negative and Interrogative sentence-types:

	Conjunctive		Disjunctive	
Affirmative	X וְ Y	(Both) X and Y	X אוֹ Y	(Either) X or Y
Negative	לֹא X וְלֹא Y	Neither X nor Y	לֹא X כִּי אִם Y	Not X but Y
Interrogative	הֲ X וְ Y	X? Y?	הֲ X אִם Y	(Whether) X or Y?

In the Psalter, within a line, the disjunctive pattern is used (h^a ... $'im$ ...), or a single question with internal conjunction (h^a ... $w\partial$ ...); between lines, apposition is used (h^a ... h^a ...).

There may be form-to-function 'skewing', with the disjunctive pattern having conjunctive function:

> Doppelfragen [führen] mit (ואם — ה) nicht notwendig Gegensätze ein; vielmehr dient die Disjunktion
> (so namentlich in dichter. *parallelismus membrorum* ...) häufig nur dazu, dieselbe Frage mit anderen
> Worten zu wiederholen und auf dieser Weise nachdrücklicher zu gestalten.[3]

There are no functionally disjunctive Interrogatives in the Psalter.[4]

The longest string in the Psalter consists of six[5] full questions:

77:8-10   הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח אֲדֹנָי וְלֹא־יֹסִיף לִרְצוֹת עוֹד: ה ... ו

הֶאָפֵס לָנֶצַח חַסְדּוֹ גָּמַר אֹמֶר לְדֹר וָדֹר: ∅ ... ה

הֲשָׁכַח חַנּוֹת אֵל אִם־קָפַץ בְּאַף רַחֲמָיו סֶלָה: אם ... ה

Is it for ever that the Lord will reject? And will he not continue to take pleasure?

Has his love stopped for ever? Has his word ended for all time?

Has God forgotten what being gracious is? Or has he in anger shut up his compassion? (ALW)

Here, we seen Negation occurring in just one of two coordinated questions (v. 8), apposition within the scope of Interrogative (v. 9) and a disjunctive form with conjunctive (in fact appositive) function.

The second longest string in fact contains only one true biclausal sentence.

88:11-13   הֲלַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא אִם־רְפָאִים יָקוּמוּ יוֹדוּךָ   אם ... ה

הַיְסֻפַּר בַּקֶּבֶר חַסְדֶּךָ אֱמוּנָתְךָ בָּאֲבַדּוֹן: ה ...

הֲיִוָּדַע בַּחֹשֶׁךְ פִּלְאֶךָ וְצִדְקָתְךָ בְּאֶרֶץ נְשִׁיָּה: ה ...

Is it for the dead that you do wonders? Or do the shades rise to acknowledge you?

Is your love talked about in the grave? Your faithfulness in Destruction?

Are your wonders known in the darkness? And your righteousness in the land of forgetfulness? (ALW)

Here, we see a subject-shift within a conjunctive sentence of disjunctive form. Since the second action conceptually results out of the first, it might be suggested that the verse be translated with a purpose clause:

> Is it for the dead that you do wonders, so that the shades (will) rise to acknowledge you?

There are at least two reasons why both of these reading are possible. The first is related to the double potential of the affirmative Declarative equivalent:

*   לַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא וּרְפָאִים יָקוּמוּ יוֹדוּךָ

It is for the dead that you do wonders, and the shades rise to acknowledge you.

It is for the dead that you do wonders, so that the shades (will) rise to acknowledge you.

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[3]Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 497 §150h; similarly, Andersen, *Sentence*, 149. This is what Andersen, *Sentence*, 57, describes as apposition; when all the following material is new, he terms it 'asyndetic coordination'.

[4]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXIX.

[5]Somehow Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 339, sees seven.

These alternatives exist because of the close relationship between sequential and result clauses. The second concerns the modality of the a-colon הֲלַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא, which appears to be *potentialis* (Epistemic: 'Can you do wonders for the dead?!'), shading into volition (Deontic: 'Do you want to do wonders for the dead?!'). Similarly, the b-colon may have alternative readings as Epistemic ('Or do [*i.e.* can] the shades rise to acknowledge you?') or Deontic ('Or do you intend the shades to rise to acknowledge you?'; read as subordinate: 'so that the shades (will) rise to acknowledge you?').

The remaining Interrogative strings in the Psalter exhibit a number of these features:

78:19-20   וַיְדַבְּרוּ בֵּאלֹהִים אָמְרוּ הֲיוּכַל אֵל לַעֲרֹךְ שֻׁלְחָן בַּמִּדְבָּר: ה

הֵן הִכָּה־צוּר וַיָּזוּבוּ מַיִם וּנְחָלִים יִשְׁטֹפוּ

הֲגַם־לֶחֶם יוּכַל תֵּת אִם־יָכִין שְׁאֵר לְעַמּוֹ:   אם ... ה

Can God lay out a table in the wilderness? ... can he give even bread, or provide meat to his people? (ALW)

94:9-10   הֲנֹטַע אֹזֶן הֲלֹא יִשְׁמָע אִם־יֹצֵר עַיִן הֲלֹא יַבִּיט: אם ... ה

הֲיֹסֵר גּוֹיִם הֲלֹא יוֹכִיחַ הַמְלַמֵּד אָדָם דָּעַת: ה

The ear-planter, doesn't he hear, or the eye-former, doesn't he see?!

The discipliner of nations, doesn't he punish, the teacher of knowledge to men? (ALW)

50:13   הַאוֹכַל בְּשַׂר אַבִּירִים וְדַם עַתּוּדִים אֶשְׁתֶּה: ה ... ו

Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? (ALW)

It is thus clear that $'im$ may stand in place of h^a in both Interrogative complements and coordinate Interrogatives. Related to this are the uses of $'im$ as a conditional marker and in the oath formula.[6]

2.2. Semantic Functions

Interrogation may be used with the modal types Indicative, Epistemic possibility and Epistemic necessity.

2.2.1. Indicative

Interrogative with Indicative modality is only attested in an existential clause:

14:2   יְהוָה מִשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁקִיף עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם לִרְאוֹת הֲיֵשׁ מַשְׂכִּיל דֹּרֵשׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים:

The LORD looks down from heaven on humankind to see if there are any who are wise, who seek after God. (NRSV)

2.2.2. Epistemic Possibility ('can')

h^a may be used with E-system *yiqtōl* to express either one of the two types of *potentialis* discussed in chapter 3 above—ability or liability.

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[6]Irrespective of the origins of the oath formula, it should be noted that in most oaths, $'im$ could be replaced by h^a.

2.2.2.1. Potentialis *of Ability*

Subjectively-based *potentialis* of personal ability was discussed above as an important secondary function of E-system *yiqtōl*[7] and in terms of a distinct 'Dynamic' modality.[8] It may also be lexicalised in the modal verb יכל.

78:19-20   וַיְדַבְּרוּ בֵּאלֹהִים אָמְרוּ הֲיוּכַל אֵל לַעֲרֹךְ שֻׁלְחָן בַּמִּדְבָּר:

הֵן הִכָּה־צוּר   וַיָּזוּבוּ מַיִם וּנְחָלִים יִשְׁטֹפוּ

הֲגַם־לֶחֶם יוּכַל תֵּת אִם־יָכִין שְׁאֵר לְעַמּוֹ:

Can God lay out a table in the wilderness? ... can he give even bread, or provide meat to his people? (ALW)

A contrast is established here between the historical fact of God's having provided water (הֵן הִכָּה ... וַיָּזוּבוּ) and the questioned possibility of his also providing food (הֲ]גַם[יוּכַל לְ] vv. 19b, 20aα). The three *potentialis* clauses have similar structure:

Verb Phrase	Modal Verb	Verb Form	Interrogative	
ערך שלחן	יכל ל	*yiqtōl*	ה	19b
נתן לחם	יכל	*yiqtōl*	ה	20bα
כון שאר	—	*yiqtōl*	אם	20bβ

Thus יכין is parallel to יוכל תת and means 'can provide'—*potentialis* force is carried by the *yiqtōl* form alone. Between these clauses, there appears to be some fluctuation in the focus of the Interrogation—in vv. 19b and 20bβ, the verb is initial, showing that the community are questioning God's ability (the modality of the clause); in v. 20bα, the object is topicalised and topic-marked with *gam*. Thus there is both modal contrast between a *realis* past action (*hēn* + *qātal*) and a *potentialis* question (*h^a* + *gam* + *yiqtōl*), and referential contrast between שלחן/לחם/שאר and מים/נחלים.

Further examples include:

44:22   הֲלֹא אֱלֹהִים יַחֲקָר־זֹאת כִּי־הוּא יֹדֵעַ תַּעֲלֻמוֹת לֵב:

Cannot God perceive this?! For he knows heart-secrets. (ALW)

30:10   הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר הֲיַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ:

Can dust acknowledge you? Can it declare your truth? (ALW)

2.2.2.2. Potentialis *of Liability*

Objectively-based *potentialis* of liability or logical possibility is particularly related to inanimates.

94:20   הַיְחָבְרְךָ כִּסֵּא הַוּוֹת יֹצֵר עָמָל עֲלֵי־חֹק:

Can an evil throne be allied with you ... ? (ALW)

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[7]Ch. 3, section 2.4.3.2.1.

[8]Ch. 1, section 2.1.3.4.

88:13   הֲיִוָּדַע בַּחֹשֶׁךְ פִּלְאֶךָ וְצִדְקָתְךָ בְּאֶרֶץ נְשִׁיָּה:

Can your wonders be known in the darkness, and your righteousness in the land of forgetfulness? (ALW)

However, it may also concern the inherent characteristics of animates:

88:11   הֲלַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא

Is it for the dead that you do wonders? (ALW)

58:2   הַאֻמְנָם אֵלֶם צֶדֶק תְּדַבֵּרוּן

Do you indeed decree what is right, you gods? (ALW)

2.2.3. *Epistemic Necessity ('must')*

77:8   הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח אֲדֹנָי וְלֹא־יֹסִיף לִרְצוֹת עוֹד:

Must the Lord reject for ever and not again be favourable? (ALW)

85:6   הַלְעוֹלָם תֶּאֱנַף־בָּנוּ

Must you be angry with us for ever? (ALW)

2.3. *Pragmatic Functions*

Most Interrogative sentences in the Psalter are rhetorical, that is, they have an Expressive rather than Social communicative function—they do not expect an answer. Their pragmatic–rhetorical function is usually related to their semantic function.

2.3.1. *Interrogative*

True Interrogative is only attested in an Indicative existential clause:

14:2   יְהוָה מִשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁקִיף עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם לִרְאוֹת הֲיֵשׁ מַשְׂכִּיל דֹּרֵשׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים:

The LORD looks down from heaven on humankind to see if there are any who are wise, who seek after God. (NRSV)

2.3.2. *Negative Epistemic*

Interrogative Epistemic Possibilitive sentences ('Can?') function pragmatically as Negative Epistemic utterances ('Cannot'; equivalent to *lō'*):

30:10   הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר הֲיַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ:

Can dust acknowledge you? Can it declare your truth? (ALW)

≈ *לֹא יוֹדְךָ עָפָר לֹא יַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ, Dust cannot acknowledge you. It cannot declare your truth.

2.3.3. *Negative Deontic*

Interrogative Epistemic necessitative sentences ('Must?') function pragmatically as Negative Deontic utterances (equivalent to *'al-*) when addressed to the subject ('Doesn't have to', implying 'Don't let it happen!').

77:8   הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח אֲדֹנָי וְלֹא־יֹסִיף לִרְצוֹת עוֹד:

Must the Lord reject for ever and not again be favourable? (ALW)

≈ *אַל־יִזְנַח, Do not reject for ever, Lord, and be favourable again!

This pragmatic function is not prescribed by the modal verb form *yiqṭōl*—it may also be effected by *qāṭal*:

77:10   הֲשָׁכַח חַנּוֹת אֵל אִם־קָפַץ בְּאַף רַחֲמָיו סֶלָה׃

Has God forgotten what being gracious is? Or has he in anger shut up his compassion? (ALW)

אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח ... אַל־תִּקְפֹּץ ... ≈, Do not forget what being gracious is! Do not in anger shut your compassion!

2.4. Negative: hᵃlōʾ

Since Interrogative is in many cases rhetorically equivalent to Negative, when combined with *lōʾ*, it is susceptible to the 'Law of Double Negation'.[9]

הֲלֹא leitet rhetorische Fragen ein, die den Charakter einer bekräftigenden Behauptung annehmen können.[10]

i.e. 77:8   יֹסֵף = יֹסֵף + לֹא + הֲ   or   INT x NEG = AFF

This strong Affirmative function of *hᵃlōʾ*, which we have also seen as marking a speech act,[11] has been suggested by some to be optional, *e.g.* Eskhult:

The particle *hᵃlōʾ* vacillates between being interrogatory (=*nonne*) and asseverative.[12]

Usually, as in the case of Eskhult, this view that it 'vacillates' is based upon a suspicion that some occurrences of *hᵃlōʾ* are 'a remnant of a Hebrew interjectory *hal*'.[13] Such a conjecture is unnecessary in the light of the quite predictable interaction of Negation and Interrogation to produce an affirmative force.

Brongers's survey of the functions of *hᵃlōʾ* distinguishes in a similar way to Eskhult:[14]

1. *nonne*: genuine questions expecting an affirmative answer
2. *hinnê*: asking attention

(Brongers's further suggestions should mostly be subsumed under these two.)

2.4.1. Affirmative Indicative

Examples of Brongers's *hinnê* meaning of *hᵃlōʾ* might be:

56:9   נֹדִי סָפַרְתָּה אָתָּה שִׂימָה דִמְעָתִי בְנֹאדֶךָ הֲלֹא בְּסִפְרָתֶךָ׃

You have kept count of my tossings; put my tears in your bottle. Are they not in your record? (NRSV)

56:14   כִּי הִצַּלְתָּ נַפְשִׁי מִמָּוֶת הֲלֹא רַגְלַי מִדֶּחִי לְהִתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים בְּאוֹר הַחַיִּים׃

For you have delivered my soul from death, and my feet from falling, so that I may walk before God in the light of life. (NRSV)

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[9] Mathematically, -p x -p = p²; in logic, ~~p infers p and vice versa; Horn, L.H., *A Natural History of Negation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989) xiii.

[10] Schneider, *Grammatik*, 226 §51.3.5.

[11] See ch. 3, section 2.4.5. above.

[12] Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 82.

[13] Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 86

[14] Brongers, 'Some Remarks on the Biblical Particle *hᵃlōʾ*'.

2.4.2. Affirmative Deontic

Interrogative Negative Epistemic sentences function pragmatically as affirmative Deontic utterances when addresssed to the subject:

85:7   הֲלֹא־אַתָּה תָּשׁוּב תְּחַיֵּנוּ וְעַמְּךָ יִשְׂמְחוּ־בָךְ׃

Will you not revive us again, so that your people may rejoice in you? (NRSV)

שׁוּב־נָה חַיֵּנוּ ≈, Revive us again, so that your people may rejoice in you!

2.4.3. Negative Deontic

Interrogative Negative Indicative sentences function pragmatically as Negative Deontic utterances (equivalent to *ʾal-*) when addressed to the subject:

60:12   הֲלֹא־אַתָּה אֱלֹהִים זְנַחְתָּנוּ וְלֹא־תֵצֵא אֱלֹהִים בְּצִבְאוֹתֵינוּ׃

Have you not rejected us, O God? You do not go out, O God, with our armies. (NRSV)

אַל־תִּזְנָחֵנוּ ≈, Do not reject us, O God! Go out, O God, with our armies!

This is the Negative equivalent to 77:10 above:

| 60:12 | אַל־תִּזְנָחֵנוּ ≈ הֲלֹא זְנַחְתָּנוּ | 'Have you not rejected us?' ≈ 'Do not reject us!' |
| 77:10 | אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח ≈ הֲשָׁכַח | 'Has God forgotten?' ≈ 'Do not forget!' |

2.4.4. Exclamative

Brongers's Interrogative *nonne* examples are almost all exclamative, as in:

94:9-10   הֲנֹטַע אֹזֶן הֲלֹא יִשְׁמָע אִם־יֹצֵר עַיִן הֲלֹא יַבִּיט׃

הֲיֹסֵר גּוֹיִם הֲלֹא יוֹכִיחַ הַמְלַמֵּד אָדָם דָּעַת׃

The ear-planter, doesn't he hear, or the eye-former, doesn't he see?!

The discipliner of nations, doesn't he punish, the teacher of knowledge to men? (ALW)

The 'undertone of some reproach'[15] to which Brongers refers may be seen when *hᵃlōʾ* occurs in a motivation for divine intervention, protesting the Psalmist's righteousness:

139:21   הֲלוֹא־מְשַׂנְאֶיךָ יְהוָה אֶשְׂנָא וּבִתְקוֹמְמֶיךָ אֶתְקוֹטָט׃

Do I not hate those who hate you, O LORD? And do I not loathe those who rise up against you? (NRSV)

The reproach may be directed to an absent Enemy:

14:4   הֲלֹא יָדְעוּ כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן אֹכְלֵי עַמִּי אָכְלוּ לֶחֶם יְהוָה לֹא קָרָאוּ׃

Have they no knowledge, all the evildoers who eat up my people as they eat bread, and do not call upon the LORD? (NRSV)

2.5. Unmarked

Under some circumstances, a clausal Interrogative may be unmarked:

Eine Frage braucht nicht durch ein besonderes Fragewort (Pron. oder Adverb) eingeführt zu werden. Häufig genügt schon die entsprechende Betonung der Worte, einen Fragesatz als solchen zu kennnzeichen. ... So besonders, wenn der Fragesatz durch וְ an einen vorhergeh. Satz angeknüpft ist ... oder wenn er ... ein negativer ist (הֲלֹא = לֹא *nonne?*).[16]

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[15] Brongers, 'Some Remarks on the Biblical Particle *hᵃlōʾ*', 179.

[16] Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 495 §150a.

An example from the Psalter (with Epistemic necessitative *yiqtōl*) is:

אֲשֶׁר לֹא־גָזַלְתִּי אָז אָשִׁיב׃ 69:5

What I did not steal must I now restore? (NRSV)

3. Nominal: *mâ, mî*

Nominal Interrogatives are often referred to as 'wh-' or 'x-questions', and are marked in Biblical Hebrew with the *m-* or *'ê* morphemes. *mâ* refers to an indefinite non-human; *mî* refers to an indefinite human.

3.1. Non-Human: *mâ*

In addition to its nominal uses, *mâ* may function adverbially as equivalent to *lāmmâ* (purpose) or *kammâ* (manner);[17] related to this is the non-occurrence of *'æt-mâ* and (in the Psalter at least) of *mâ* as a verbal subject.[18]

It may function as a complementiser after verbs of knowing (ידע 39:5; זכר 89:48), hearing (שמע 85:9) and fearing (ירא 56:5, 12; 118:6), for example:

בֵּאלֹהִים אֲהַלֵּל דָּבָרוֹ בֵּאלֹהִים בָּטַחְתִּי לֹא אִירָא מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה בָשָׂר לִי׃ 56:5

In God (I praise his word!), in God I have put my trust—I do not need to be afraid of what flesh can do to me.

3.1.1. Interrogative

mâ clearly functions as a true factual question when followed by an answer (even if given by the same Speaker):

וְעַתָּה מַה־קִּוִּיתִי אֲדֹנָי תּוֹחַלְתִּי לְךָ הִיא׃ 39:8

"And now, O Lord, what do I wait for? My hope is in you. (NRSV)

מַה־יִּתֵּן לְךָ וּמַה־יֹּסִיף לָךְ לָשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה׃ 120:3-4

חִצֵּי גִבּוֹר שְׁנוּנִים עִם גַּחֲלֵי רְתָמִים׃

What shall be given to you? And what more shall be done to you, you deceitful tongue?

A warrior's sharp arrows, with glowing coals of the broom tree! (NRSV)

Aside from the adverbial Interrogatives below, there is one example of *mâ* within a prepositional phrase:

בַּמֶּה יְזַכֶּה־נַּעַר אֶת־אָרְחוֹ לִשְׁמֹר כִּדְבָרֶךָ׃ 119:9

How can young people keep their way pure? By guarding it according to your word. (NRSV)

3.1.2. Negative Indicative

It may function as equivalent to a Negative Indicative (equivalent to *'ên*) in both nominal clauses and verbal clauses:

מַה־בֶּצַע בְּדָמִי בְּרִדְתִּי אֶל־שָׁחַת הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר הֲיַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ׃ 30:10

What profit is there in my death, if I go down to the Pit? Will the dust praise you? Will it tell of your faithfulness? (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין־בֶּצַע בְּדָמִי, There is no profit.

כִּי הַשָּׁתוֹת יֵהָרֵסוּן צַדִּיק מַה־פָּעָל׃ 11:3

If the foundations are destroyed, what can the righteous do?" (NRSV)

≈ *צַדִּיק אֵין־פָּעַל, The righteous can do nothing.

מָה־אָשִׁיב לַיהוָה כָּל־תַּגְמוּלוֹהִי עָלָי׃ 116:12

What can I give back to the LORD for all his benefits to me? (ALW)

≈ *אֵין־אָשִׁיב, I can't give back anything.

mâ with 'lamed of interest'[19] may be equivalent to a rhetorical question or to Negation:

מַה־לְּךָ הַיָּם כִּי תָנוּס הַיַּרְדֵּן תִּסֹּב לְאָחוֹר׃ 114:5

Why is it, O sea, that you flee? O Jordan, that you turn back? (NRSV)

וְלָרָשָׁע אָמַר אֱלֹהִים מַה־לְּךָ לְסַפֵּר חֻקָּי וַתִּשָּׂא בְרִיתִי עֲלֵי־פִיךָ׃ 50:16

But to the wicked God says: "What right have you to recite my statutes, or take my covenant on your lips? (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין לְךָ, You have no right

The construction ... מַה־[NP] כִּי is equivalent to English 'nothing' (compare מִי כְּ... below):[20]

מָה־אֱנוֹשׁ כִּי־תִזְכְּרֶנּוּ וּבֶן־אָדָם כִּי תִפְקְדֶנּוּ׃ 8:5

What are human beings that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them? (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין־אֱנוֹשׁ כִּי ..., Humans are nothing that you should ...

3.2. Human: *mî*

Unlike *mâ*, *mî* can also occur marked by *'æt-* (אֶת־מִי).

It may function as a complementiser after verbs of knowing (ידע 39:7), for example:

אַךְ־בְּצֶלֶם יִתְהַלֶּךְ־אִישׁ אַךְ־הֶבֶל יֶהֱמָיוּן יִצְבֹּר וְלֹא־יֵדַע מִי־אֹסְפָם׃ 39:7

Surely everyone goes about like a shadow. Surely for nothing they are in turmoil; they heap up, and do not know who will gather. (NRSV)

3.2.1. Interrogative

mî clearly functions as a true factual question when followed by an answer. The answer may be given by the same or another Speaker in the context of an entrance liturgy:[21]

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[17]See below, sections 4.4. and 4.5.

[18]In comparative Semitic perspective, the particle may have a very wide range of functions. For Arabic, Baalbaki, R., 'Reclassification in Arab Grammatical Theory', *JNES* 54 (1995) 1-13 (2), lists nominal functions: interrogative, exclamative, conditional, fully definite, relative, qualified indefinite; and particle functions: otiose, compensatory, restringent, verbal noun, negation.

[19]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 323 §18.3b.

[20]Also 144:3.

[21]Similarly 15:1-2 and 24:8.

מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְהַר־יְהוָה וּמִי־יָקוּם בִּמְקוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ׃ 24:3-4

נְקִי כַפַּיִם וּבַר־לֵבָב אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נָשָׂא לַשָּׁוְא נַפְשִׁי וְלֹא נִשְׁבַּע לְמִרְמָה׃

Who shall ascend the hill of the LORD? And who shall stand in his holy place?

Those who have clean hands and pure hearts, who do not lift up their souls to what is false, and do not

swear deceitfully. (NRSV)

מִי הוּא זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכָּבוֹד יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הוּא מֶלֶךְ הַכָּבוֹד סֶלָה׃ 24:10

Who is this King of glory?

The LORD of hosts, he is the King of glory. Selah (NRSV)

3.2.2. Indefinite Epistemic

mî may have indefinite function, equivalent to English 'whoever':[22]

מִי־זֶה הָאִישׁ יְרֵא יְהוָה יוֹרֶנּוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ יִבְחָר׃ 25:12

Who are they that fear the LORD? He will teach them the way that they should choose. (NRSV)

≈ Whoever fears the LORD will be taught the way he should choose.

מִי־הָאִישׁ הֶחָפֵץ חַיִּים אֹהֵב יָמִים לִרְאוֹת טוֹב׃ 34:13-4

נְצֹר לְשׁוֹנְךָ מֵרָע וּשְׂפָתֶיךָ מִדַּבֵּר מִרְמָה׃

Which of you desires life, and covets many days to enjoy good?

Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit. (NRSV)

≈ Whoever desires life ... should guard his tongue ....

3.2.3. Negative Indicative

It may function as Negation in nominal clauses (equivalent to *'ên*):

אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ לִלְשֹׁנֵנוּ נַגְבִּיר שְׂפָתֵינוּ אִתָּנוּ מִי אָדוֹן לָנוּ׃ 12:5

those who say, "With our tongues we will prevail; our lips are our own—who is our master?" (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין* אָדוֹן לָנוּ, We have no master.

This occurs especially in conjunction with כ...:[23]

וְצִדְקָתְךָ אֱלֹהִים עַד־מָרוֹם אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתָ גְדֹלוֹת אֱלֹהִים מִי כָמוֹךָ׃ 71:19

and your righteousness, O God, reach the high heavens. You who have done great things, O God, who is

like you? (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין* כָמוֹךָ, There is none like you.

אֱלֹהִים בַּקֹּדֶשׁ דַּרְכֶּךָ מִי־אֵל גָּדוֹל כֵּאלֹהִים׃ 77:14

Your way, O God, is holy. What god is so great as our God? (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין־אֵל* גָּדוֹל כֵּאלֹהִים, There is no god as great as God.

or with זוּלָת/מִבַּלְעֲדֵי:[24]

כִּי מִי אֱלוֹהַּ מִבַּלְעֲדֵי יְהוָה וּמִי צוּר זוּלָתִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ׃ 18:32

For who is God except the LORD? And who is a rock besides our God? (NRSV)

≈ *אֵין* אֱלוֹהַּ מִבַּלְעֲדֵי יהוה וְאֵין צוּר זוּלָתִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ, There is no God ... There is no rock ...

In fact, Interrogatives and *'ên* may occur together:

מִבַּלְעָדַי אֵין אֱלֹהִים וּמִי כָמוֹנִי Isa 44:6-8

הֲיֵשׁ אֱלוֹהַּ מִבַּלְעָדַי וְאֵין צוּר בַּל־יָדָעְתִּי

... besides me there is no god. Who is like me?

... Is there any god besides me? There is no other rock; I know not one. (NRSV)

mî may also function as Negation in verbal clauses (equivalent to *'ên*), especially with

potentialis yiqtōl (Possibility):

כִּי מִי בַשַּׁחַק יַעֲרֹךְ לַיהוָה יִדְמֶה לַיהוָה בִּבְנֵי אֵלִים׃ 89:7

For who in the skies can be compared to the LORD? Who among the heavenly beings is like the LORD

(NRSV)

≈ *אֵין* בַּשַּׁחַק יַעֲרֹךְ לַיהוָה, No one in the skies can be compared to the LORD.

This structure may be used by the Psalmist to lament human frailty: מִי יַעֲמֹד, 'Who can

stand?' (76:8; 130:3; 147:17; similarly 19:12; 89:49; 90:11; 106:2); the Enemy may boast

מִי יִרְאֶה, 'Who can see?' (64:6; similarly 59:8). The modality may also be Epistemic

necessity:

יְהוָה אוֹרִי וְיִשְׁעִי מִמִּי אִירָא יְהוָה מָעוֹז־חַיַּי מִמִּי אֶפְחָד׃ 27:1

The LORD is my light and my salvation—whom need I fear? The LORD is the stronghold of my life—of

whom need I be afraid? (ALW)

≈ I need not be afraid of anyone.

or even Deontic:

מִי־יָקוּם לִי עִם־מְרֵעִים מִי־יִתְיַצֵּב לִי עִם־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן׃ 94:16

Who will [wants to] rise up for me against the wicked? Who will stand up for me against evildoers? (ALW)

≈ No one is prepared to rise up for me ... No one is prepared to stand up for me ...

Interrogatives and *'ên* may occur in synonymous parallelism:

כִּי אֵין בַּמָּוֶת זִכְרֶךָ בִּשְׁאוֹל מִי יוֹדֶה־לָּךְ׃ 6:6

For in death there is no remembrance of you; in Sheol who can give you praise? (NRSV)

≈ ... in Sheol no one can give you praise.

3.2.4. Affirmative Deontic

Desiderative *mî* occurs most perhaps famously in David's

מִי יַשְׁקֵנִי מַיִם מִבֹּאר בֵּית־לֶחֶם אֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׁעַר 2 Sam 23:15

"O that someone would give me water to drink from the well of Bethlehem that is by the gate!" (NRSV)

This case is particularly interesting because it shows how easily Expressive–desiderative force

can be mistaken for Directive—David's mighty men do in fact fetch him some water, to his

great displeasure.[25] Examples in the Psalter are:

מִי יֹבִלֵנִי עִיר מָצוֹר מִי נָחַנִי עַד־אֱדוֹם׃ 60:11

Who will bring me to the fortified city? Who will lead me to Edom? (NRSV)

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[22]Similarly 107:43.

[23]מִי כָמוֹךָ similarly 35:10; 71:19; 89:9; 113:5.

[24]Similarly 73:25 with ellipsis.

[25]See also 2 Sam 15:4 מִי־יְשִׂמֵנִי שֹׁפֵט בָּאָרֶץ, "If only I were judge in the land!".

4:7   רַבִּים אֹמְרִים מִי־יַרְאֵנוּ טוֹב נְסָה־עָלֵינוּ אוֹר פָּנֶיךָ יְהוָה:

There are many who say, "O that we might see some good! Let the light of your face shine on us, O LORD!" (NRSV)

Most characteristically, desiderative *mî* occurs in the formula מִי יִתֵּן, which occurs in the Old Testament in progressive stages of fossilisation, 'von der reinen Frage über die wünschende Frage zur reinen Wunschpartikel';[26] the latter form has a clausal object and is usually best translated with the modal verb 'permit', rather than 'give'.[27] Only the 'wünschende Frage' is attested in the Psalter:

14:7   מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן יְשׁוּעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל ...

O that deliverance for Israel would come from Zion! (NRSV)

55:7   וָאֹמַר מִי־יִתֶּן־לִי אֵבֶר כַּיּוֹנָה אָעוּפָה וְאֶשְׁכֹּנָה:

And I say, "O that I had wings like a dove! I would fly away and be at rest. (NRSV)

4. Adverbial

4.1. Time: mātay, ʿad-mātay, ʿad-ānâ, ʿad-mâ, kammâ

mātay may be a complementiser after a verb of desire (צמא) in:

42:3   צָמְאָה נַפְשִׁי לֵאלֹהִים לְאֵל חָי מָתַי אָבוֹא וְאֵרָאֶה פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים:

My soul thirsts for God, for the living God, as to when I will be able to go in and see the face of God. (ALW)

ʿad-mātay is more clearly a complementiser after a verb of knowing (ידע) in:

74:9   אוֹתֹתֵינוּ לֹא רָאִינוּ אֵין־עוֹד נָבִיא וְלֹא־אִתָּנוּ יֹדֵעַ עַד־מָה:

We do not see our emblems; there is no longer any prophet, and there is no one among us who knows how long. (NRSV)

4.1.1. Affirmative Deontic: mātay

mātay occurs with Permissive *yiqṭōl* (markedly E-system *e.g.* 42:3; 94:8) in all grammatical persons (1st-person 42:3 מָתַי אָבוֹא; 2nd-person 94:8 מָתַי תַּשְׂכִּילוּ; 3rd-person 41:6 מָתַי יָמוּת). It often occurs in parallel with a D-system form (cohortative 42:3; 101:2; imperative 94:8).[28]

94:8   בִּינוּ בֹּעֲרִים בָּעָם וּכְסִילִים מָתַי תַּשְׂכִּילוּ:

Understand, O dullest of the people; fools, when will you be wise? (NRSV)

≈ ... be wise!

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[26]Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen*, 91.

[27]Jongeling, B., 'L'expression *my ytn* dans l'ancien testament', *VT* 24 (1974) 32-40 (34).

[28]Also 41:6; 119:82, 84.

101:2   אַשְׂכִּילָה בְּדֶרֶךְ תָּמִים מָתַי תָּבוֹא אֵלָי אֶתְהַלֵּךְ בְּתָם־לְבָבִי בְּקֶרֶב בֵּיתִי:

I will study the way that is blameless. When shall I attain it? I will walk with integrity of heart within my house (NRSV)

≈ ... may it come to me!

4.1.2. Negative Deontic: ʿad-mātay, ʿad-ānâ, ʿad-mâ, kammâ

Other temporal Interrogatives occur with necessitative *yiqṭōl* (markedly E-system *e.g.* 4:3; 13:3) in all grammatical persons (1st-person 13:3 עַד־אָנָה אָשִׁית; 2nd-person 79:5 עַד־מֶה ...; 3rd-person 94:3 יַעֲלֹזוּ ... עַד־מָתַי).[29] Their pragmatic function is that of a Negative Deontic (equivalent to *ʾal-*):

74:10   עַד־מָתַי אֱלֹהִים יְחָרֶף צָר יְנָאֵץ אוֹיֵב שִׁמְךָ לָנֶצַח:

How long, O God, is the foe to scoff? Is the enemy to revile your name forever? (NRSV)

≈ *אַל־יְחָרֶף צָר*, May the enemy not scoff!

35:17   אֲדֹנָי כַּמָּה תִּרְאֶה הָשִׁיבָה נַפְשִׁי מִשֹּׁאֵיהֶם מִכְּפִירִים יְחִידָתִי:

How long, O LORD, will you look on? Rescue me from their ravages, my life from the lions! (NRSV)

≈ *אַל־תִּרְאֶה*, Do not look on!

The same function is shown once by *qāṭal*:

80:5   יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת עַד־מָתַי עָשַׁנְתָּ בִּתְפִלַּת עַמֶּךָ:

O LORD God of hosts, how long will you be angry with your people's prayers? (NRSV)

≈ *אַל־תֶּעְשַׁן*, Do not be angry!

4.1.3. Exclamative

ʿad-mātay may be used alone as an interjection:[30]

6:4   וְנַפְשִׁי נִבְהֲלָה מְאֹד וְאַתָּ יְהוָה עַד־מָתָי:

My soul also is struck with terror, while you, O LORD—how long? (NRSV)

4.2. Manner: ʾêk, ʾêkâ

4.2.1. Negative Indicative

ʾêk with *qāṭal* functions as a Negative statement, 'Surely not!' (equivalent to *lōʾ*):

73:11   וְאָמְרוּ אֵיכָה יָדַע־אֵל וְיֵשׁ דֵּעָה בְעֶלְיוֹן:

And they have said, "How does God know?" and "Is there knowledge in the Most High?"

≈ *לֹא יָדַע אֵל*, God doesn't know ... There is no knowledge ...

4.2.2. Negative Epistemic

Deuteronomy 1:12 אֵיכָה אֶשָּׂא, 'How can I carry', was cited above in support of the present *potentialis* reading of *yiqṭōl*,[31] since it is parallelled by Deuteronomy 1:9 לֹא־אוּכַל ... שְׂאֵת, 'I

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[29]Also 13:2; 62:4; 82:2; 89:47; 119:84. Compare 1 Sam 16:1, where the verb is in the Contemporaneous Cursive form (*futurum instans*): עַד־מָתַי אַתָּה מִתְאַבֵּל אֶל־שָׁאוּל, 'How long are you going to grieve over Saul?'.

[30]Also 74:9; 90:13.

[31]Ch. 3, section 2.4.3.2.1.

cannot carry'. These two texts show the equivalence not only of *yiqṭōl* and the modal verb יכל, however, but also of *'êkâ* and *lō'*. An example from the Psalter with Possibilitive modality is:

אֵיךְ נָשִׁיר אֶת־שִׁיר־יְהוָה עַל אַדְמַת נֵכָר: 137:4

> How could we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land? (NRSV)

≈ **לֹא נָשִׁיר*, We can't sing …

4.2.3. Negative Deontic

'êk with *yiqṭōl* addressed to the subject may have Negative Deontic force (equivalent to *'al-*):

קׂ נֻדֹי   11:1 בַּיהוָה חָסִיתִי אֵיךְ תֹּאמְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי נוּדִי הַרְכֶם צִפּוֹר:

> In the LORD I take refuge; how can you say to me, "Flee like a bird to the mountains"? (NRSV)

≈ **אַל־תֹּאמְרוּ*, Don't say to me …

4.2.4. Exclamative

Exclamative function may be borne by *'êk* in a way similar to *kammâ*:

אֵיךְ הָיוּ לְשַׁמָּה כְרָגַע סָפוּ תַמּוּ מִן־בַּלָּהוֹת: 73:19

> How they are destroyed in a moment, swept away utterly by terrors! (NRSV)

Most famously, of course, this occurs in Lamentations.

4.3. Place: *'ayyê*, me*'ayin*, *'ānâ*

'ayyê may be a complementiser to a verb of seeing in:

אֶשָּׂא עֵינַי אֶל־הֶהָרִים מֵאַיִן יָבֹא עֶזְרִי: 121:1-2

עֶזְרִי מֵעִם יְהוָה עֹשֵׂה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ:

> I lift up my eyes to the hills [to see] where my help might come from.
> My help is from the LORD, maker of heaven and earth. (ALW)

4.3.1. Interrogative

This same text is most often read as a direct question:

אֶשָּׂא עֵינַי אֶל־הֶהָרִים מֵאַיִן יָבֹא עֶזְרִי: 121:1-2

עֶזְרִי מֵעִם יְהוָה עֹשֵׂה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ:

> I lift up my eyes to the hills—from where will my help come?
> My help comes from the LORD, who made heaven and earth. (NRSV)

4.3.2. Negative Indicative

The common taunt אַיֵּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ / אַיֵּה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם (42:4, 11; 79:10; 115:2) is pragmatically equivalent to אֵין אֱלֹהֶיךָ—the question is not where he is, but whether he really exists:

הָיְתָה־לִּי דִמְעָתִי לֶחֶם יוֹמָם וָלַיְלָה בֶּאֱמֹר אֵלַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אַיֵּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ:   42:4

> My tears have been my food day and night, while people say to me continually, "Where is your God?" (NRSV)

≈ **אֵין אֱלֹהֶיךָ*, Your God doesn't exist.

4.3.3. Negative Epistemic

With possibilitive *yiqṭōl*, a locative Interrogative functions as 'Not anywhere' (equivalent to *lō'*):

אָנָה אֵלֵךְ מֵרוּחֶךָ וְאָנָה מִפָּנֶיךָ אֶבְרָח: 139:7

> Where can I go from your spirit? Or where can I flee from your presence? (NRSV)

≈ **לֹא אֵלֵךְ … לֹא אֶבְרָח*, I cannot go away from your spirit. I cannot flee from your presence.

4.3.4. Affirmative Deontic

The nominal clause structure of 42:4 above may be used as a challenge to reveal something by questioning its presence. It thus gains Deontic force:

אַיֵּה חֲסָדֶיךָ הָרִאשֹׁנִים אֲדֹנָי נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לְדָוִד בֶּאֱמוּנָתֶךָ:   89:50

> Lord, where is your steadfast love of old, which by your faithfulness you swore to David? (NRSV)

4.4. Purpose: *lāmmâ*, *mâ*, *ʿal-mâ*

Various functions of 'Why' in Biblical Hebrew have been discussed at length by James Barr.[32] Here, we do not need to consider *maddûaʿ*, since it does not occur in the Psalter.[33]

Interrogatives of purpose occur with necessitative *yiqṭōl* (markedly E-system *e.g.* 68:17) in all grammatical persons (1st-person 49:6 לָמָּה אִירָא; 2nd-person 10:1 לָמָה יְהוָה תַּעֲמֹד בְּרָחוֹק; 3rd-person 79:10 לָמָּה יֹאמְרוּ הַגּוֹיִם אַיֵּה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם).

4.4.1. Negative Epistemic

lāmmâ can have Negative Epistemic force (equivalent to *lō'*):

לָמָּה אִירָא בִּימֵי רָע עֲוֹן עֲקֵבַי יְסוּבֵּנִי: 49:6

> Why should I fear in times of trouble, when the iniquity of my persecutors surrounds me? (NRSV)

≈ **לֹא אִירָא*, I do not need to fear. (so 56:5 *etc.*)

4.4.2. Negative Deontic

lāmmâ can have Negative Deontic force (equivalent to *'al-*) when addressed to the subject—James Barr refers to these as 'hypothetical deprecations'.[34] Examples include:[35]

לָמָּה־פָנֶיךָ תַסְתִּיר תִּשְׁכַּח עָנְיֵנוּ וְלַחֲצֵנוּ:   44:25

> Why do you hide your face? Why do you forget our affliction and oppression? (NRSV)

≈ **אַל־תַּסְתֵּר פָּנֶיךָ*, Don't hide your face! Don't forget …!

עַל־מֶה נִאֵץ רָשָׁע אֱלֹהִים אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ לֹא תִדְרֹשׁ:   10:13

> Why do the wicked renounce God, and say in their hearts, "You will not call us to account"? (NRSV)

≈ **אַל־יְנַאֵץ רָשָׁע*, Let not the wicked renounce God …

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[32] Barr, 'Why?'.

[33] See also the comments of O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 304.

[34] Barr, 'Why?', 19-22.

[35] Also 2:1b; 10:1; 42:6, 10b; 43:2b, 5; 44:24; 52:3; 68:17; 74:1b, 11; 79:10; 88:15; 115:2.

42:12   מַה־תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי נַפְשִׁי וּמַה־תֶּהֱמִי עָלָי הוֹחִילִי לֵאלֹהִים כִּי־עוֹד אוֹדֶנּוּ

יְשׁוּעֹת פָּנַי וֵאלֹהָי:

Why are you cast down, O my soul, and why are you disquieted within me? Hope in God; for I shall again praise him, my help and my God. (NRSV)

≈ אַל־תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי ... אַל־תֶּהֱמִי*, Don't be cast down! Don't be disquieted!

The last of these shows its relation to Deontic force by the parallel imperative.

lāmmâ + *qāṭal* has the same Negative Deontic function, and almost always occurs parallel to a clause with E-system *yiqṭōl*:[36]

42:10   אוֹמְרָה לְאֵל סַלְעִי לָמָה שְׁכַחְתָּנִי לָמָּה־קֹדֵר אֵלֵךְ בְּלַחַץ אוֹיֵב:

I say to God, my rock, "Why have you forgotten me? Why must I walk about mournfully because the enemy oppresses me?" (NRSV)

≈ אַל־תִּשְׁכָּחֵנִי ... אַל־אֵלְכָה*, Don't forget me! May I not have to walk …!

74:1   לָמָה אֱלֹהִים זָנַחְתָּ לָנֶצַח יֶעְשַׁן אַפְּךָ בְּצֹאן מַרְעִיתֶךָ:

God, why have you cast us off for ever? Why must your anger smoke against the sheep of your pasture? (ALW)

≈ אַל־תִּזְנַח ... אַל־יֶעְשַׁן*, Don't cast us off for ever! May your anger not smoke …!

This latter text may be compared with an equivalent with *yiqṭōl*:

88:15   לָמָה יְהוָה תִּזְנַח נַפְשִׁי תַּסְתִּיר פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי:

LORD, why must you cast my soul off? Why must you hide your face from me? (ALW)

≈ אַל־תִּזְנַח ... אַל־תַּסְתֵּר*, LORD, don't cast my soul off! Don't hide your face …!

4.5. Quality: kammâ, mâ

Though *kammâ* might be thought to be an Interrogative of Manner, it does not in fact refer to quality, but only to quantity. This is show most clearly by its collocation with terms such as גדל (92:6), מאד (92:6), רב (3:2) and comparative מן (119:103).

4.5.1. Exclamative

kammâ may qualify a verb, in which case it is usually *qāṭal*:[37]

92:6   מַה־גָּדְלוּ מַעֲשֶׂיךָ יְהוָה מְאֹד עָמְקוּ מַחְשְׁבֹתֶיךָ:

How great are your works, O LORD! Your thoughts are very deep! (NRSV)

139:17   וְלִי מַה־יָּקְרוּ רֵעֶיךָ אֵל מֶה עָצְמוּ רָאשֵׁיהֶם:

How weighty to me are your thoughts, O God! How vast is the sum of them! (NRSV)

kammâ may occur with *yiqṭōl*:[38]

21:2   יְהוָה בְּעָזְּךָ יִשְׂמַח־מֶלֶךְ וּבִישׁוּעָתְךָ מַה־יָּגֶל מְאֹד:

LORD, in your strength a king can be happy and in your salvation how greatly he can rejoice! (ALW)

kammâ may also qualify a predicative adjective:[39]

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[36] Also 2:1; 22:2; 43:2; 80:13.

[37] Also 3:2; 104:24; 119:97; 119:103.

[38] Also 78:40, though not possibilitive but past habitual *yiqṭōl*.

[39] Also 8:10; 31:20; 36:8; 66:3; 84:2.

8:2   יְהוָה אֲדֹנֵינוּ מָה־אַדִּיר שִׁמְךָ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר תְּנָה הוֹדְךָ עַל־הַשָּׁמָיִם:

O LORD, our Sovereign, how majestic is your name in all the earth! You have set your glory above the heavens. (NRSV)

133:1   הִנֵּה מַה־טּוֹב וּמַה־נָּעִים שֶׁבֶת אַחִים גַּם־יָחַד:

How very good and pleasant it is when kindred live together in unity! (NRSV)

kammâ qualifies a noun within a Prepositional Phrase:

89:48   זְכָר־אֲנִי מֶה־חָלֶד עַל־מַה־שָּׁוְא בָּרָאתָ כָל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם:

Remember how short my time is— for what vanity you have created all mortals! (NRSV)

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have considered all the questions in the Psalter. Distinct syntactic functions of Interrogative morphemes include use as a complementiser and in Interrogative coordination. However, it is at the pragmatic level that we find a wide range of distinct functions, springing, in particular, from the Epistemic modality of *yiqṭōl*.

Interrogative force was found in:

ה + nom. cl.	Is there a wise person? …	14:2 הֲיֵשׁ מַשְׂכִּיל
מה [obj.]	What do I wait for? …	39:8 מַה־קִּוִּיתִי
מי + *yiqṭōl*	Who shall ascend the hill of the LORD? …	24:3 מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְהַר־יְהוָה
א etc. + *yiqṭōl*	From where will my help come?	121:1 מֵאַיִן יָבֹא עֶזְרִי

Affirmative Indicative force (equivalent to *hinnê*) was found in:

הלא + nom. cl.	Are they not in your record?	56:9 הֲלֹא בְּסִפְרָתֶךָ

Negative Indicative force (equivalent to *'ên* or *lō'*) was found in:

מה + nom. cl.	What profit is there in my death?	30:10 מַה־בֶּצַע בְּדָמִי
מי + nom. cl.	Who is like you?	71:19 מִי כָמוֹךָ
איך + *qāṭal*	How does God know?	73:11 אֵיכָה יָדַע־אֵל
איה etc. + nom. cl.	Where is your God?	42:4 אַיֵּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

Indefinite Epistemic force was found in

מי + nom. cl.	Who is it that desires life?	34:13 מִי־הָאִישׁ הֶחָפֵץ חַיִּים

Negative Epistemic force (equivalent to *lō'*) was found in:

ה + *yiqṭōl*	Can dust acknowledge you?	30:10 הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר
איך + *yiqṭōl*	How could we sing?	137:4 אֵיךְ נָשִׁיר
איה etc. + *yiqṭōl*	Where can I go from your spirit?	139:7 אָנָה אֵלֵךְ מֵרוּחֶךָ
למה + *yiqṭōl*	Why should I fear?	139:7 לָמָה אִירָא

Affirmative Deontic force (equivalent to '*im*, *lû* or *kî*) was found in:

הלא + *yiqtōl*	Will you not revive us again?	הלא־אתה תשוב תחינו	85:7
מי + *yiqtōl*	Who will show us good?	מי־יראנו טוב	4:7
מתי + *yiqtōl*	When will you be wise?	מתי תשכילו	94:8
איה *etc.* + nom. cl.	Where is your steadfast love?	איה חסדיך	89:50

Negative Deontic force (equivalent to '*al*-) was found in:

ה + *yiqtōl*	Must the Lord reject for ever?	הלעולמים יזנח אדני	77:8
ה + *qātal*	Has God forgotten what being gracious is?	השכח חנות אה	77:10
הלא + *qātal*	Have you not rejected us, God?	הלא־אתה אלהים זנחתנו	60:12
עד־מתי *etc.* + *yiqtōl*	How long, God, is the enemy to scoff?	עד־מתי אלהים יחרף צר	74:10
עד־מתי *etc.* + *qātal*	How long will you be angry?	עד־מתי עשנת	80:5
איך + *yiqtōl*	How can you say?	איך תאמרו	11:1
למה *etc.* + *yiqtōl*	Why must you hide your face?	למה־פניך תסתיר	44:25
למה + *qātal*	Why have you forgotten me?	למה שכחתני	42:10

Exclamative force was found in

הלא + *yiqtōl*	The ear-planter, doesn't he hear?!	הנטע אזן הלא ישמע	94:9
עד־מתי + Ø	How long?!	עד־מתי	6:4
איך + *qātal*	How they are destroyed!	איך היו לשמה	73:19
כמה + *qātal*	How great are your works!	מה־גדלו מעשיך	92:6

Negative Deontic is clearly the most frequent function of Interrogative forms in the Psalter and, together with the equivalent Negative Deontic form in '*al*-, it cuts across several formulae. So with סתר:

Negative	אל־תסתר פניך	27:9; 69:18; 102:3; 143:7
Interrogative [purpose]	למה־פניך תסתיר	44:25; 88:15
Interrogative [time]	עד־אנה תסתיר את־פניך	13:2
Interrogative [time]	עד־מה תסתר	89:47

with זנח:

Negative	אל־תזנח	44:24
Affirmative (marked)	אף־זנחת	44:10
Affirmative (unmarked)	ואתה זנחת	89:39; 60:3
Interrogative [purpose] + *yiqtōl*	למה תזנח נפשי	88:15
Interrogative [purpose] + *qātal*	למה זנחתני	43:2; 74:1
Interrogative [clausal]	הלעולמים יזנח אדני	77:8
Interrogative [clausal]–Negative	הלא־אתה זנחתנו	60:12; 108:12

or with שכח:

Negative	אל־תשכח	10:12; 74:19, 23
Interrogative [time]	עד־אנה תשכחני	13:2
Interrogative [purpose] + *yiqtōl*	למה תשכח	44:25
Interrogative [purpose] + *qātal*	למה שכחתני	42:10
Interrogative [clausal]	השכח חנות אל	77:10

At several points, both *yiqtōl and qātal* forms have been listed, whilst it has at the same time been commented that the pragmatic force is particularly associated with the modal potential of *yiqtōl*. A solution to this apparent problem may lie in noticing that many of the *qātal* forms are of verbs of stative character, which have no *yiqtōl* option (ידע, היה, גדל).[40] This suggestion is clearly partially right, though it is belied by parallel texts such as 74:1 למה זנחת and 88:15 למה תזנח, as well as the general frequency of זנח and שכח in the *yiqtōl* form.

Amongst the various forms discussed above, it is striking that Negative Indicative force is most often carried by nominal Interrogatives *mî* and *mâ*, whilst Negative Deontic force is most often carried by verbal Interrogatives (* halō'*, *'ad-mātay*, *'êk* and *lāmmâ*). There is clearly more work to be done on this. The fact that Interrogatives can also carry affirmative force has earnt this type the name 'queclaratives'.[41]

The term 'rhetorical question' has been avoided in the above discussion.[42] It has become clear that there is a wide range of pragmatic functions which can be fulfilled using Interrogative morphemes—many more than is commonly assumed. To refer to these all as 'rhetorical questions' would be to misrepresent their overwhelming preponderance over the very few real ('unskewed') Interrogatives in the Psalter. It would also be to neglect the significance of clausal modality for the interpretation of such 'skewed' forms.

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[40] Wolter Rose, pers. comm.

[41] Levinson, 373.

[42] Surveyed in Beekman and Callow, *Translating the Word of God*, ch. 15; see also O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 12.

Chapter 5

NEGATIVE

Negative particles are discussed above in the context of Interrogative $h^a l\bar{o}$ ' (ch. 4) and below in the context of jussive *'al-tiqṭōl* and cohortative *'al-'æqṭəlâ* (ch. 6). Here, we briefly consider the interrelationship of different types of Negation and how they relate to modal verbal forms.

1. Introduction

Hebrew appears to have a full system of Negation for nominal clauses (*'ên*), non-Deontic verbal clauses (*lō'*), Deontic verbal clauses (*'al-*), and final clauses, both finite (*pæn*) and infinite (*ləbiltî*).[1] In the Psalms in particular there is also the mood-unmarked *bal*. These morphemes exhibit significant differences in syntactical status, though not in semantic load.[2]

1.1. Basic Morphemes

There is no unifying basis for the Negative morphemes comparable to that which we have seen for Interrogative morphemes. *'ên* and *'al-* appear to be related to the Interrogative *'ayy* morpheme, *'al-* may be read as 'a compound of **'ayy* with asseverative **la* ... before a jussive verb',[3] *bal* and *ləbiltî* may be related to *'abāl*.[4]

2. Syntactic Function

2.1. lō' *and* 'al-

In verbal clauses, non-Deontic modality takes the adverb *lō'*:

53:6 שָׁם פָּחֲדוּ־פַחַד לֹא־הָיָה פָחַד ...

There they shall be in great terror, in terror such as has not been. ... (NRSV).

Deontic clauses take the proclitic[5] *'al-*:

109:12 אַל־יְהִי־לֹו מֹשֵׁךְ חָסֶד וְאַל־יְהִי חֹונֵן לִיתֹומָיו׃

May there be no one to do him a kindness, nor anyone to pity his orphaned children. (NRSV)

These particles have different syntactic status, Negating quite different parts of the predication.

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[1]Compare the extensive system in Egyptian, covering contradiction, non-existence and contrariety, and attaching Negation to verbs ('Negative verbs'), complement infinitives ('not to hear'), conjunctions ('that not') and even relative pronouns ('who/which not'—'functionally equivalent to a positive relative pronoun controlling a negative predication'); Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 70, 73, 89-90, 101, 126-28.

[2]Swiggers, P., 'Paradigmatical Semantics', *ZAH* 6 (1993) 44-59 (52).

[3]Faber, 'The diachronic relationship', 422.

[4]On etymologies, see Faber, 'The diachronic relationship' and Tromp, N.J., 'The Hebrew Particle *bal*', *OTS* 21 (1981) 277-87.

[5]Like the monosyllabic prepositions and particles אֶל, עַל, עַד, עִם, מִן, פֶּן. Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 64 §4.2.1a.

We will start by looking at Latin. It is well known that Latin purpose (functionally modal) and result (functionally non-modal) clauses are in the affirmative formally indistinguishable, taking '*ut* + subjunctive'. In the Negative, however, we see the following pattern:

Purpose   *non ... ne* + subjunctive

Result   *non ... ut non* + subjunctive

In other words, *ne* (Greek μή;[6] Hebrew *'al-*) is Deontic (D-system), as against *non* (Greek οὐ; Hebrew *lō'*), which is non-Deontic (E-/I-system). As a modal particle, *ne* also appears with the subjunctive for a prohibition, postclitically in Interrogatives and preclitically with some verbs (*e.g. nescire*, to not know; *nelle*, to not want). The Negative Deontic in Latin or Greek with the subjunctive/optative corresponds to the Hebrew jussive. Thus we can distinguish between the syntactic roles of *'al-* and *lō'*:

'al- is a proclitic particle for propositional Negation. It relates to the propositional content of the verb in the same way as agreement (person, gender, number), mood (modal verbs or verbal modality) and aspect marking. In phrase-structural terms, *'al-* is a functional term,[7] and appears in the INFL(ection) position.

lō' is an adverb for clausal Negation. It relates to the clause in the same way as adverbs of time, manner, place. In phrase-structural terms, *lō'* is a lexical term, and appears in the Adjunct position.

This distinction is similar to that made in Greek:

μή ... is the negative of will, wish, doubt. If οὐ denies the fact, μή denies the idea[8]

Though there are some surprising positions of *'al-*, what is *not* normally attested is the collocation of E-system *lō'* with D-system forms[9] or D-system *'al-* with E-system forms. The Negators belong consistently to their respective formal paradigms. This coherence of formal systems is seen also in the non-occurrence of D-system *-nā'* with the infinitive absolute (E-system) or precative perfect (I-system).[10]

2.2. Non-Negatables

Certain forms in Biblical Hebrew resist Negation. These are the person-unmarked imperative (D-system) and infinitive absolute (E-system) and the continuation forms *wəqāṭal* (D/E-systems) and *wayyiqṭōl* (I-system).

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[6]Interestingly, μή also occurs with Interrogative; *e.g.* John 8:53.

[7]See Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*: 'the functional layer'.

[8]Robertson, A.T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd edn., 1919 (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914) 1167. Compare also Lyons *Semantics* 2, 771 on the Negation of phrastic *vs.* tropic.

[9]Though see section 4.3.1. below.

[10]Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.

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3. Argumental: *lō'*

The Negation of clausal elements other than the Verb Phrase does not usually interact with modality, and so is not particularly significant for the present study. However, it is interesting for its variety of syntactical structures and their relationship to Interrogation.

A Negative Noun Phrase may appear within a Prepositional Phrase

44:13   תִּמְכֹּר־עַמְּךָ בְלֹא־הוֹן וְלֹא־רִבִּיתָ בִּמְחִירֵיהֶם:

You have sold your people for a trifle, demanding no high price for them. (NRSV)

We saw a similar phenomenon in Interrogation [nominal]:

119:9   בַּמֶּה יְזַכֶּה־נַּעַר אֶת־אָרְחוֹ לִשְׁמֹר כִּדְבָרֶךָ:

How can young people keep their way pure? By guarding it according to your word. (NRSV)

Within a Prepositional Phrase, the Negator is moved outside of a construct phrase.

17:1   שִׁמְעָה יְהוָה צֶדֶק הַקְשִׁיבָה רִנָּתִי הַאֲזִינָה תְפִלָּתִי בְּלֹא שִׂפְתֵי מִרְמָה:

Hear a just cause, O LORD; attend to my cry; give ear to my prayer from lips free of deceit. (NRSV)

An oblique Noun Phrase may also be Negated with *lō'*:

59:4   כִּי הִנֵּה אָרְבוּ לְנַפְשִׁי יָגוּרוּ עָלַי עַזִים לֹא־פִשְׁעִי וְלֹא־חַטָּאתִי יְהוָה:

Even now they lie in wait for my life; the mighty stir up strife against me. For no transgression or sin of mine, O LORD (NRSV)

An Adverbial or Prepositional Phrase may be Negated with *lō'*. The deictic adverb כֵּן is Negated in 1:4 (לֹא־כֵן הָרְשָׁעִים). Negation is further attached to Prepositional Phrases of time (לֹא לָנֶצַח 9:19), instrument (לֹא בַחֶרֶב 44:4), delocative (לֹא מִמּוֹצָא 75:7) or cause (לֹא עַל־ 50:8).[11]

An Adjective Phrase may be Negated with *lō'*: דֶּרֶךְ לֹא־טוֹב 36:5 or גּוֹי לֹא־חָסִיד 43:1.

4. Clausal

4.1. Nominal: *'ên, lō'*

Existential clauses were considered as an example at the beginning of chapter 3 above. Unlike the Affirmative *yeš*, the Negative *'ên* can take subject clitics and occurs with both existential/locative clauses and copular nominal clauses.[12]

14:3   הַכֹּל סָר יַחְדָּו נֶאֱלָחוּ אֵין עֹשֵׂה־טוֹב אֵין גַּם־אֶחָד:

They have all gone astray, they are all alike perverse; there is no one who does good, no, not one. (NRSV)

37:36   וַיַּעֲבֹר וְהִנֵּה אֵינֶנּוּ וָאֲבַקְשֵׁהוּ וְלֹא נִמְצָא:

Again I passed by, and they were no more; though I sought them, they could not be found. (NRSV)

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[11]לֹא־בָרָע 10:6 may require emendation.

[12]Andersen, *Sentence*, 82-85; Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXVI; for modern Hebrew, see Shlonsky, *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic*, 58-81.

lō' sometimes appears in this function.[13]

74:9   אוֹתֹתֵינוּ לֹא רָאִינוּ אֵין־עוֹד נָבִיא וְלֹא־אִתָּנוּ יֹדֵעַ עַד־מָה:

We do not see our emblems; there is no longer any prophet, and there is no one among us who knows how long. (NRSV)

22:3   אֱלֹהַי אֶקְרָא יוֹמָם וְלֹא תַעֲנֶה וְלַיְלָה וְלֹא־דוּמִיָּה לִי:

O my God, I cry by day, but you do not answer; and by night, but find no rest. (NRSV)

5:5   כִּי לֹא אֵל־חָפֵץ רֶשַׁע אָתָּה לֹא יְגֻרְךָ רָע:

For you are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil will not sojourn with you. (NRSV)

4.2. *I-System Verbal:* *'ên, lō'*

The Indicative Anterior is Negated with *lō'*:

30:2   אֲרוֹמִמְךָ יְהוָה כִּי דִלִּיתָנִי וְלֹא־שִׂמַּחְתָּ אֹיְבַי לִי:

I extol you, LORD, for you have lifted me up, and have not let my enemies rejoice over me. (ALW)

The Indicative Contemporaneous is Negated with *'ên*:

33:16   אֵין־הַמֶּלֶךְ נוֹשָׁע בְּרָב־חָיִל גִּבּוֹר לֹא־יִנָּצֵל בְּרָב־כֹּחַ:

A king is not saved by his great army; a warrior is not delivered by his great strength. (NRSV)

One might compare with this latter example the way in which Deontic passivity is also usually expressed using the *qōṭēl* form.

4.3. *E-System Verbal:* *lō'*

The relationship between Negation and modality is shown clearly by the large number of occurrences of *lō'* with modal verbs in the Psalter, including Possibilitive יכל (*e.g.* 18:39; 36:13; 40:13; 101:5; 129:2; 139:6; compare Interrogative in 78:19-20) and Permissive נתן ל (*e.g.* 16:10; 66:9; 121:3; 140:9). The structure יסף ל is also related to Negation, since it involves Affirmativity (*e.g.* 41:9; 77:8).

Possibilitive *yiqtōl* occurs with *lō'*:

115:5-7   פֶּה־לָהֶם וְלֹא יְדַבֵּרוּ עֵינַיִם לָהֶם וְלֹא יִרְאוּ:

אָזְנַיִם לָהֶם וְלֹא יִשְׁמָעוּ אַף לָהֶם וְלֹא יְרִיחוּן:

יְדֵיהֶם וְלֹא יְמִישׁוּן רַגְלֵיהֶם וְלֹא יְהַלֵּכוּ לֹא־יֶהְגּוּ בִּגְרוֹנָם:

They have mouths, but cannot speak; they have eyes, but cannot see.

They have ears, but cannot hear; they have noses, but cannot smell.

They have hands, but cannot feel; legs, but cannot walk; they cannot make a noise in their throats. (ALW)

115:17   לֹא הַמֵּתִים יְהַלְלוּ־יָהּ וְלֹא כָּל־יֹרְדֵי דוּמָה:

It is not the dead that can praise the LORD, nor anyone that goes down into silence. (ALW)

This latter text may be compared with one of our Interrogative examples:

30:10   הֲיוֹדְךָ עָפָר הֲיַגִּיד אֲמִתֶּךָ:

Can dust acknowledge you? Can it declare your truth? (ALW)

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[13]Sappan, *Syntax of Biblical Poetry*, XXXII.

Necessitative *yiqtōl* occurs very frequently with *lō'*, especially with 1st-person forms of ירא 'I need not be afraid' (*e.g.* 56:5; 56:12; 118:6; 26:1; also 27:3; 91:5; 112:7-8), בוש 'I need not be ashamed' (*e.g.* 119:6, 46, 80; also 127:5) and מוט 'I need not stumble' (*e.g.* 62:3, 7; 118:17; also 112:6; 125:1).

27:3   אִם־תַּחֲנֶה עָלַי מַחֲנֶה לֹא־יִירָא לִבִּי אִם־תָּקוּם עָלַי מִלְחָמָה בְּזֹאת אֲנִי בוֹטֵחַ:

If a camp should set up against me, my heart does not need to be afraid. If a battle should rise up against me, I am going to trust in this. (ALW)

4.3.1. *'Skewing':* *Deontic* lō'

The Deontic use of the E-system, especially in apodictic legal texts, was noted in chapter 3 above. It was also shown that the difference between the 'vetitive' *'al-* + jussive, and the 'prohibitive' *lō'* + long-form *yiqtōl* is not one of urgency *vs.* permanence, but of strength of Directive force.

There are most surprisingly also instances where *lō'* occurs with the jussive.[14] This mixing of E-system and D-system forms must be considered quite exceptional.

Neither of these types is attested in the Psalter.

4.4. *D-System Verbal:* *'al-*

The non-Negation of the imperative and complementary distribution of imperative and '*'al-* + 2nd-person jussive' may be explained with reference to the distinction between 'not necessary' and 'necessary not':[15]

> ... denial of permission is equivalent to giving instructions not to act, since 'Not-possible' is equivalent to 'Necessary-not' in a logical system. ... The imperative thus expresses 'necessity', but the negated subjunctive, jussive, etc., 'no possibility'.[16]

In Deontic terms, 'Not Permitted that *p*' is equivalent to 'Obliged that not *p*'. Since Negation tends to attach itself to the modality of the clause ('neustic'—Permission/Obligation) rather than to the propositional content ('phrastic'—*p*), it is therefore the former pattern which is

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[14]Brockelmann, C., *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956) 3-4 §5a.

[15]I rely in the following on Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, *passim* and Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 725-849.

[16]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 113, referring to Latin, Greek, Syrian Arabic and Amharic. Some proviso must be made, however. As Palmer writes, '... it would be a mistake to emphasize these logical relations too much, for there is a difference .... In purely logical terms, 'not possible' (*may not*) is equivalent to 'necessary not' (*mustn't*), but denying permission is not the same as obliging someone not to act. We only deny permission if we are in a position to grant it, but can lay an obligation not to act when it is not normally up to us to give permission.' (Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 99); similarly: 'There is clearly a complementary relationship between possibility and necessity in epistemic modality (possible that not = not necessary that; not possible that = necessary that not), and possibility forms (may, can) are primary, since they are used in both kinds of Negation in both possibilty and necessity. By contrast, in deontic modality, there is no complementary relationship (not permitted that ≠ obligatory that not), and the default appears to be necessity (must, need).' (Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 58, 98).

preferred. This can be best illustrated in languages where the modality is lexicalised in a modal verb:

	'Not Permitted that *p*'		'Obliged that not *p*'	
	Negative neustic	*phrastic*	*neustic*	*Negative phrastic*
French	tu ne peux pas	faire	*tu dois	ne pas faire
German	du darfst nicht	tun	*du mußt	nicht-tun
English[17]	you cannot	do	*you have to	not do

Thus the Biblical Hebrew prohibition *'al-tiqṭōl* is in fact 'Negative + Permissive'. This Permissive understanding of the jussive explains the infrequent occurrence of the affirmative 2nd-person jussive (since the imperative will be preferred for Obligative). It also supports our view of the Hebrew verbal system, since the Epistemic equivalent of Deontic Permission is Possibility, and this (in the form of present *potentialis*) we showed to be key to understanding long-form *yiqṭōl*.

Detailed discussion of Negated cohortatives and jussives is saved until we have considered affirmative equivalents.[18]

4.4.1. 'Skewing': Non-Deontic Function

'al- appears in some unexpected contexts. Joüon–Muraoka comment,

> In poetry we encounter some cases where אל is used instead of לא, whether in order to give a more energetic nuance or for stylistic embellishment.[19]

Their examples include:

קׄ וַאֲשֶׁר 41:3   יְהוָה יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ וִיחַיֵּהוּ יֻאֻשַּׁר בָּאָרֶץ וְאַל־תִּתְּנֵהוּ בְּנֶפֶשׁ אֹיְבָיו:

The LORD protects them and keeps them alive; they are called happy in the land. You do not give them up to the will of their enemies. (NRSV)

50:3   יָבֹא אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאַל־יֶחֱרַשׁ אֵשׁ־לְפָנָיו תֹּאכֵל וּסְבִיבָיו נִשְׂעֲרָה מְאֹד:

Our God comes and does not keep silence, before him is a devouring fire, and a mighty tempest all around him. (NRSV)

Both of these could be debated, especially in the light of our distinction between E- and D-systems, however, Joüon–Muraoka may be right that the 'vocative' nature of *'al-* (usually occurring with Deontics) is here used for 'a more energetic nuance'. This might be compared with our description of *-nā'* as a 'vocative intensifier'.

Even more strikingly, *'al-* 'occasionally … occurs before a strongly emphasized member of the sentence other than the verb':[20]

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[17]Strangely, the prototypical English examples, 'may' and 'must', permit both readings—'You may not do'='You must not do'!

[18]See ch. 6 below.

[19]Joüon–Muraoka, 604 §160f; also 377 §114k.

[20]Waltke–O'Connor, 567 §34.2.1e.

6:2   יְהוָה אַל־בְּאַפְּךָ תוֹכִיחֵנִי וְאַל־בַּחֲמָתְךָ תְיַסְּרֵנִי:

LORD, may you not strike me in your anger and may you not punish me in your fury. (ALW)

38:2   יְהוָה אַל־בְּקֶצְפְּךָ תוֹכִיחֵנִי וּבַחֲמָתְךָ תְיַסְּרֵנִי:

LORD, may you not strike me in your wrath or punish me in your fury. (ALW)

In the light of the many possible positions we have seen for Interrogative *hᵃ*, and our demonstration that *'al-* relates similarly to the verb, this should perhaps not be so surprising. It is then not necessary to read *'al-* here, with some commentators, as relating to the Prepositional Phrase: 'Let it not be in anger that you punish me!'.[21] Instead, *'al-* belongs to the clause irrespective of its position.

4.5. D-System Final: pæn

Although the present work is primarily concerned with main-clause functions, it is worth commenting on the Negative Deontic final conjunction *pæn*, which marks a Negative purpose.

pæn standardly occurs with E-system *yiqṭōl* following an imperative:[22]

13:4-5   הַבִּיטָה עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי הָאִירָה עֵינַי פֶּן־אִישַׁן הַמָּוֶת:

פֶּן־יֹאמַר אֹיְבִי יְכָלְתִּיו צָרַי יָגִילוּ כִּי אֶמּוֹט:

Consider and answer me, O LORD my God! Give light to my eyes, or I will sleep the sleep of death, and my enemy will say, "I have prevailed"; my foes will rejoice because I am shaken. (NRSV)

91:12   עַל־כַּפַּיִם יִשָּׂאוּנְךָ פֶּן־תִּגֹּף בָּאֶבֶן רַגְלֶךָ:

On their hands they will bear you up, so that you will not dash your foot against a stone. (NRSV)

In two cases, however, *pæn* appears to stand at the head of a Deontic main clause, where we would normally expect *'al-*:

38:17   כִּי־אָמַרְתִּי פֶּן־יִשְׂמְחוּ־לִי בְּמוֹט רַגְלִי עָלַי הִגְדִּילוּ:

For I pray, "May they not rejoice over me!" Whenever my foot stumbles, they boast. (ALW)

28:1   אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה אֶקְרָא צוּרִי אַל־תֶּחֱרַשׁ מִמֶּנִּי

פֶּן־תֶּחֱשֶׁה מִמֶּנִּי וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי עִם־יוֹרְדֵי בוֹר:

To you, LORD, I cry. My rock, do not keep silent from me! Do not be quiet from me lest I become like those who go down to the pit. (ALW)

This should not be as surprising as is often suggested. We saw in chapter 4 above how the Interrogative/conditional subordinating conjunction *'im* can function as an Interrogative complementiser or coordinating conjunction. Similarly here, we find a subordinating conjunction taking a main-clause function.

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[21]So, for example, Gunkel on 6:2: 'den Gegensatz zu dem Wunsche: "nicht in deinem Zorn strafe mich" bildet: "strafe mich במשפט nach dem Rechte" Jer 10,24.'; Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 21-22.

[22]Also 2:12; 7:2-3; 13:4; 50:22; 59:12;

4.6. Unmarked Verbal: bal

Almost half of all Biblical occurrences of *bal* are to be found in the Psalter (31 out of 68); the remainder are nearly all in Isaiah and Proverbs.[23] Two particular uses should be mentioned. Firstly, *bal* occurs very frequently with the verb מוט, more frequently, in fact, than the otherwise more frequent *lō'* (10:6; 17:5; 21:8; 30:7; 46:6; 93:1; 96:10; 104:5; with *lō'*: 15:5; 112:6).[24] Secondly, it occurs at four points in the Psalter where בל־אמים should almost certainly be emended to בלאמים (44:15; 57:10; 149:7; 108:4). Thus this particle is unusually restricted in both the idiom to which it belongs and its syntagms.

At the same time, however, *bal* is in fact the most multi-functional of all the Negative particles—it can stand in place of *'ên, lō', 'al-* or *pæn*.

4.6.1. Nominal: *'ên*

16:2   אָמַרְתְּ לַיהוָה אֲדֹנָי אָתָּה טוֹבָתִי בַּל־עָלֶיךָ:

I say to the LORD, "You are my Lord; I have no good apart from you." (NRSV)

4.6.2. I-System: lō'

21:3   תַּאֲוַת לִבּוֹ נָתַתָּה לּוֹ וַאֲרֶשֶׁת שְׂפָתָיו בַּל־מָנַעְתָּ סֶּלָה:

You have given him his heart's desire, and have not withheld the request of his lips. Selah (NRSV)

4.6.3. E-System: lō'

bal occurs within the full range of the E-system, from possible:

93:1   יְהוָה מָלָךְ גֵּאוּת לָבֵשׁ לָבֵשׁ יְהוָה עֹז הִתְאַזָּר אַף־תִּכּוֹן תֵּבֵל בַּל־תִּמּוֹט:

The LORD has become king—he has clothed himself in majesty; the LORD has clothed himself—he has girded himself with strength. Surely the world is established—it cannot move. (ALW)

104:9   גְּבוּל־שַׂמְתָּ בַּל־יַעֲבֹרוּן בַּל־יְשׁוּבוּן לְכַסּוֹת הָאָרֶץ:

You set a boundary that they may not pass, so that they might not again cover the earth. (NRSV)

to necessary:

30:7   וַאֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי בְשַׁלְוִי בַּל־אֶמּוֹט לְעוֹלָם:

As for me, I said in my prosperity, "I can never be moved." (ALW)

4.6.4. D-System: 'al-

141:4   אַל־תַּט־לִבִּי לְדָבָר רָע לְהִתְעוֹלֵל עֲלִלוֹת בְּרֶשַׁע אֶת־אִישִׁים פֹּעֲלֵי־אָוֶן

וּבַל־אֶלְחַם בְּמַנְעַמֵּיהֶם:

Do not turn my heart to any evil, to busy myself with wicked deeds in company with those who work iniquity; do not let me eat of their delicacies. (NRSV)

This reading seems convincing in the light of the preceding אַל־תַּט, though the cohortative is unmarked.

[23]Tromp, 'The Hebrew Particle *bal*', 277-78.

[24]Culley's formula 46.

4.6.5. D-System Final: pæn

10:18   לִשְׁפֹּט יָתוֹם וָדָךְ בַּל־יוֹסִיף עוֹד לַעֲרֹץ אֱנוֹשׁ מִן־הָאָרֶץ:

to do justice for the orphan and the oppressed, so that those from earth may strike terror no more. (NRSV)

5. Affirmative

It was noted briefly at the end of chapter 5 that the marked Affirmative I-system אַף־זָנַחְתָּ (44:10) can function pragmatically as equivalent to Negative D-system אַל־תִּזְנַח (44:24). This perhaps surprising result is analogous to the equivalence of certain focus markers such as *hinnê* and *wə'attâ*, and Interrogative *hᵃ* or *hᵃlō'*.

6. Conclusion

It has been shown above how Negative markers belong fairly consistently to each of the three verbal subsystems we have identified, and that the various Negators have different syntactic status. In contrast to Interrogation, which has a wide range of pragmatic–rhetorical functions in Biblical Hebrew, Negation does not tend to function in such a variety of ways as it does in European languages. Rhetorical features of Negation such as *litotes* (Affirmation by Negation of the contrary) are not common.

Chapter 6

IMPERATIVE

The term 'Imperative' in this chapter refers not only to the verbal form *qətōl* ('imperative'), but also to its lengthened form *qåṭlâ* ('adhortative') and to the entire D-system, centred on short-form *yiqṭōl-x* ('jussive') and also including: *'æqṭəlâ* ('cohortative'), the Negative *'al-tiqṭōl* ('vetitive') and the continuation form *wəqāṭal* (more properly germane to the E-system). The chapter begins by considering those morphemes which are often considered to mark Deontic force and ends by looking at Deontic uses of nominal clauses.

1. Introduction

In his comparison of Babylonian, Egyptian and Old Testament psalms, Westermann writes:

> Während in den ägyptischen Psalmen die Vokabeln des Lobens ganz überwiegend indikativisch sind, also schildern, sind sie im Alten Testament in ihrer ganzen Fülle fast nur imperativisch. In den ägyptischen Psalmen wird ständig in der betrachtenden Haltung das Loben und Preisen der Götter als geschehend beschrieben; in den Psalmen des Alten Testaments wird fast nur dazu gerufen. Dort ist es Faktum, hier Forderung; dort das Gott Gegebene, hier das Gott geschuldete; dort ist Gott der, der das Lob bekommen hat und bekommt; in Israel ist Gott der, dessen Tun immer neu zum Lob ruft.[1]

This should alert us to the primary rhetorical importance of this grammatical type in the Psalter, and it is in the light of this functional importance that we consider the various Deontic forms of expression.

Longacre-style[2] formal identification of main- and off-line clauses necessitates the establishment of a 'verb-rank cline'. These clines must be text-type-specific, however, and none have been offered yet for poetry. Dawson suggests it will not be possible:

> poetic concerns displace text-type features sufficiently that text-type identification of highly poetic passages is nearly impossible, or at best, irrelevant.[3]

However, some attempts can be made at identifying a main line in the grammar of the Psalms. I would begin by considering imperatives a likely candidate for the role of main-line verb forms. This is supported by the suggestions, considered in chapter 1 above,[4] that the imperative might be considered 'deontically non-modal', and that the main line of discourse is Deontic. Thus Discourse would have a Deontic main-line (Searle's Directives) for which the unmarked form is the imperative, whilst Narrative has an Indicative main-line (Searle's Assertives) for which the unmarked form is *qāṭal*. Support comes from Michel, who, having rejected narrative texts as a guide to the meaning of the tenses in Hebrew, looks to the Psalms, 'deren Handlungen in

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[1] Westermann, *Lob und Klage*, 38-9. Compare similarly the Qumran *hodayyot*, New Testament hymns, Psalms of Solomon and the *Qur'ān*.

[2] Longacre, *Joseph*; see also ch. 1, section 2.2.3.2. above.

[3] Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, 191 n. 69.

[4] Section 2.1.3.5, following Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 29.

allen drei Zeitstufen liegen'.[5] It is just this fact that the Psalms are in many ways not temporally framed that suggests the primacy of Deontic forms.

Three terms used in this chapter, almost synonymously, for both forms and functions are:

'Deontic'	formally, the D-system, as distinct from E-system and I-system; functionally [+MOD, +VOL] as distinct from Epistemic [+MOD, -VOL]. (from Greek δεῖ, 'there is need')
'Imperative/-al'	chosen as a Latinate counterpart to Interrogative and Negative; lower case 'imperative' refers to the form *qɔtōl*, the morphological imperative. (from Latin *impero*, 'to command')
'volitional'	a less technical equivalent[6] (from Latin *volo*, 'to want')

Terms used as full or partial equivalents by other scholars (but *not* here) include:

'volitive'	DeCaen[7], Gibson,[8] Joüon–Muraoka,[9] Niccacci[10]; here used to refer to a sub-type of Deontic modality analogous to Expressive illocutionary force, including in particular optative, desiderative, fear and intention clauses.[11]
'voluntative'	Gesenius–Buhl[12] for 'cohortative', Brown–Driver–Briggs[13] for 'cohortative or jussive'; not used here.
'Directive'	here used to refer to a type of illocutionary force corresponding to the utterance type 'Mand', a sub-type of Deontic modality.
'desiderative'	Gesenius–Kautzsch–Cowley[14] from the German *Wunschsätze*;[15] here, a subclass of volitive.

1.1. Formal Types

It has already been shown that Biblical Hebrew has a distinct D-system, centering on short-form *yiqtōl*. This provides 2nd and 3rd-person 'jussive' forms directly, and the 1st-person 'cohortative' by addition of a paragogic *-â* syllable. The 'imperative' may be understood synchronically as also stemming from short-form *yiqtōl*, with aphaeresis of the initial person-marking;[16] however, it is most likely the reverse which is true diachronically, since a range of cross-linguistic observations indicate the primacy of the imperative form itself.[17] The imperative may be lengthened by the same paragogic *-â* syllable that we see in the cohortative, to form the 'adhortative'. Here, we therefore consider the 'volitional class'[18] to consist of the D-system, supplemented by the imperative and adhortative forms. The class may therefore be presented as follows (together with E-system counterparts):[19]

Name		Derivation from short-form yiqtōl	Form name	Person	D-system Singular	Plural	E-system Singular	Plural
D-system (person-marked)								
1c	cohortative	paragoge	*ʾæqtəlâ*	1	אקטלה	נקטלה	אקטל	נקטל
2j	jussive		*yiqtōl*	2 m.	תקטל	תקטלו	תקטל	תקטלו
				f.	תקטלי	תקטלנה	תקטלי	תקטלנה
3j	jussive		*yiqtōl*	3 m.	יקטל	יקטלו	יקטל	יקטלו
				f.	תקטל	תקטלנה	תקטל	תקטלנה
Imperative (person-unmarked)								
2i	imperative	aphaeresis	*qɔtōl*	2 m.	קטל	קטלו	תקטל	תקטלו
				f.	קטלי	קטלנה	תקטלי	תקטלנה
2a	adhortative	aphaeresis, paragoge	*qåtlâ*	2	קטלה		תקטל	

Thus the class has three distinct forms for the 2nd-person: with person-marking ('jussive'), without person-marking ('imperative') and without person-marking but with lengthening ('adhortative').[20]

This presentation of the Deontic forms treats them as a distinct 'volitional class', as distinct from the several other forms which may in particular contexts be used with Deontic force (*e.g.* 'precative perfect', 'preceptive imperfect'). One important recent contribution to the study of Biblical Hebrew Deontic function (Finley, 'The Proposal'[21]) has suffered from its lack of a

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[5] Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung*, 13.

[6] See Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 565 §34.1b.

[7] DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 112.

[8] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 80-83 §65-68.

[9] Joüon–Muraoka, 373 §114.

[10] Niccacci, *Syntax*, *passim*.

[11] See ch. 1, section 2.1.3.5. above.

[12] Gesenius, W. and Buhl, F., *Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament*, unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1962) 190.

[13] Brown, F., Driver, S.R. and Briggs, C.A., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906) 254.

[14] Gesenius, W. and Kautzsch, E., *Hebrew Grammar*, tr. A.E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910) 476 §151.

[15] Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 499 §151.

[16] So Wright, *Grammar* 1, 61: 'The *Imperative* ... may be described as formed from the Jussive by rejecting the prefix of the 2d pers. sing.'; similarly Finley, 'The Proposal', 5: 'From a synchronic perspective, it is convenient to describe the imperative form as consisting of the PC base plus endings without the personal prefix'; similarly Bravmann, cited in Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 567 §34.2.2a n.9.

[17] For some of these, see ch. 1 and the discussion below. Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 567 §34.2.2a n.9 describe the *yiqtōl*-first view as dominant, but this is certainly not true in cross-linguistic perspective. Compare Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 1 §2, who considers the infinitive absolute 'die älteste Form des Befehls'! Similarly Finley, 'The Proposal', 5: 'From a diachronic viewpoint, ... the Hebrew imperative developed from an infinitival form which had no prefixes'. Such suggestions of a relationship between the imperative and the infinitive absolute support the present view of there being distinct D- and E-systems, with often parallel functions.

[18] So also Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 565 §34.1b; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 112; Kennett, R.H., *A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses* (Cambridge: CUP, 1901) 24.

[19] Four forms are considered here, all of which can be considered in some sense volitional. They are all based on the *yiqtōl* forms and all take the *yiqtōl* forms of pronominal suffixes.

[20] On the relationship between person-marked and person-unmarked forms, see Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 109, 111.

[21] Finley, 'The Proposal'.

clear view of the system.[22] By failing to distinguish between short-form *yiqṭōl* and long-form *yiqṭōl*, he fails to notice the several pairings of true D-system forms with Deontic *uses* of forms from the E-system ('preceptive imperfect') and I-system ('precative perfect').[23] These pairings include, for example, the person-unmarked, non-Negatable forms—imperative (D-system) and infinitive absolute (E-system)—and the Negation forms—'vetitive' *'al-tiqṭōl* (D-system) and 'prohibitive' *lō' tiqṭōl* (E-system).

Diachronic study, based especially on Arabic,[24] sees in this variety of forms three distinct Proto-Semitic Deontic conjugations—hortative (as distinct from 'cohortative', which refers to the 1st person only), imperative and jussive, which stand alongside the indicative forms:

Form	Conjugation (Characteristic)	Proto-Semitic (B-L / Moran)	Arabic correspondent
'æqṭəlâ	hortative (paragogic *hê*)	Affekt-Aorist/'emphatic' juss.	subj. *yaqtula*, energ. *yaqtulanna*
qəṭōl	imperative (person-unmarked)		imperative *'uqtul*
short *yiqṭōl*	jussive (apocopation)	Kurz-Aorist/jussive	jussive *yaqtul*
long *yiqṭōl*	prefix conj. (person prefix)	Voll-Aorist/durative	indicative *yaqtulu*
wayyiqṭōl	w-prefix conj. (*wāw* + juss.)	Waw-Aorist	
qāṭal	suffix conj. (person suffix)	punctual	*qatala*

This view may be supported by the presence in Biblical Hebrew of occasional 1st-person jussives and 3rd-person cohortatives (*e.g.* 20:4).[25] It is clear, however, that jussive and cohortative were later, at least, perceived as belonging to one class, since it is the lengthened form of the cohortative which is used to form the 1st-person of *wayyiqṭōl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[26] Though Biblical Hebrew usage is otherwise preserved in Qumran,[27] by the time of Mishnaic Hebrew, cohortative and adhortative had died out completely, as well as jussive in all but a few cases.[28]

1.2. Syntactic Function and Argument Structure

The two basic formal types considered here (person-marked cohortative and jussive, and person-unmarked imperative and adhortative), in conjunction with the categories of person and number, produce a great variety of different argument structures, involving a range of thematic

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[22]Finley, 'The Proposal', 8.

[23]Thus Finley's 1A, 2A, 2B1, 2C and 2D are true D-system forms; 1B, 2B2 and 2E are from the E-system which may be used Deontically (the 'preceptive imperfect', including the 'prohibitive'); 2F is the I-system used Deontically (the 'precative perfect'). The 'skewing' of functions was discussed in ch. 3, section 2.4.6. above.

[24]Moran, 'The Hebrew Language', 64.

[25]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 82 §67 Rem. 1; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 564 §34.1a

[26]Qimron, E., *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harvard Semitic Series; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986) 44-46 §310.122, 129.

[27]Kesterton, J.C., 'Cohortative and Short Imperfect Forms in Serakim and Dam. Doc.', *RdQ* 47 (1986) 369-82.

[28]Segal, M.H., *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958) 72-3.

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roles (syntactic functions[29]), and affecting agreement relations and participant reference. Basic formal distinctions, and the conventional distinction between cohortatives of resolve and request, yield the following five standard types:

Type		Example		Thematic role of Addressee (God)
1c	resolve-cohortative	אודה יהוה	'I acknowledge you!'	Agent
1c	request-cohortative	אל־אבושה	'May I not be put to shame!'	'Causer'
2i	imperative	הושיעה	'Save!'	Agent
2j	2nd-person jussive	אל־תסתר פניך	'May you not hide your face!'	Agent
3j	3rd-person jussive	יגל לבי	'May my heart rejoice'	'Causer'

From the examples given here, it should be noted that these are all fairly common formulaic phrases (reflecting the high frequency of all five types), that the Negative form has been chosen for the request-cohortative and the 2nd-person jussive (since both of these rarely occur in the affirmative form), and that the translations with 'May' locate the modal force outside of the clause (showing that the Addressee is not necessarily identical with the subject).

The argument structure of a verb is normally dictated by its inherent valency, that is, whether it has a direct object, indirect object, location *etc.* (hence here, in order to simplify discussion, only active or stative examples have been chosen). However, there may be participants in an action who are not explicitly referred to (not realised at surface structure) but nonetheless require the assignment of a a thematic role. This is the case of the Addressee with some D-system forms.[30]

The Addressee is grammaticalised as the subject of the verb in in all 2nd-person forms irrespective of person-marking (*i.e.* both imperative and jussive) and mood (*i.e.* also in the Indicative), and in the resolve-cohortative, where Addressee=Speaker=1st person.[31] In such cases, the Addressee simply bears the thematic role of Agent.

In the case of request-cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives, however, there is no reference to the Addressee in the surface structure of the text. We know that אל־אבושה and יגל לבי are addressed to God,[32] and in fact, that he is expected to act to ensure that these things happen, but

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[29]See ch. 1, section 2.1.4. above.

[30]For a similar discussion, see Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', 160.

[31]Hence Richter, *Grundlagen* 3, 137, describes the imperative and resolve-cohortative as 'einpolig' in that they have just one argument. The situation with the 2nd-person jussive is in fact rather more complicated, since there is a distinction between the Addressee and the subject, as shown by the way in which 'May …' in English locates the modal force outside the clause.

[32]In linguistic terms, the Addressee is essential to the proper functioning of the utterance on the pragmatic level—Grice's conversational maxim of relevance requires that imperatives have such a context (Levinson, *Pragmatics* 107) and the performative hypothesis for speech acts puts the volitional clause below a higher D-structure clause of 'I (hereby) V_p you (that) S', where, of course, the 2nd person is as explicit as for a normal imperative.

there is no explicit reference to him.[33] We may therefore say that the Addressee in such cases has a *pragmatically-determined* thematic role.[34]

I term this thematic-role 'Causer' to correspond with the 'causative' relationship which it represents,[35] and leave it in inverted commas to indicate that it is pragmatically assigned. The 'Causer' of a stative *qal* or passive *niph'al* request-cohortative corresponds to the Agent of a *hiph'il* 2nd-person Deontic:[36]

binyān	function	form	God	Psalmist	Example	
qal	stative	1c (req)	'Causer'	Experiencer	אל־אבושה	31:2
hiph'il	causative	2j	Agent	Patient	אל־תבישני	119:31

Both may be present in one verse in synonymous parallelism, both when the cohortative is passive:

69:15   הַצִּילֵנִי מִטִּיט וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה אִנָּצְלָה מִשֹּׂנְאַי וּמִמַּעֲמַקֵּי־מָיִם׃

Save me from mire so that I don't sink; may I be saved from those who hate me and from depths of water. (ALW)

and when it is stative:

39:5   הוֹדִיעֵנִי יְהוָה קִצִּי וּמִדַּת יָמַי מַה־הִיא אֵדְעָה מֶה־חָדֵל אָנִי׃

Let me know, LORD, my end and what the measure of my days is! May I know how fleeting I am! (ALW)

Similarly, the 'Causer' of a fientive *qal* 3rd-person jussive corresponds to the Agent of a *hiph'il* 3rd-person Deontic:

binyān	function	form	God	Enemies	Example	
qal	fientive	3j	'Causer'	Experiencer	יפלו ממעצותיהם	5:11
hiph'il	causative	3j	Agent	Patient	יפלם במהמרות	140:11[37]

A good example of the interplay of syntactic and pragmatic thematic roles can be seen in 5:11:

5:11   הַאֲשִׁימֵם אֱלֹהִים יִפְּלוּ מִמֹּעֲצוֹתֵיהֶם בְּרֹב פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם הַדִּיחֵמוֹ כִּי־מָרוּ בָךְ׃

Make them bear their guilt, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; because of their many transgressions cast them out, for they have rebelled against you. (NRSV)

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[33]Further, the subjects of these verbs are not Agents (as in the resolve-cohortative), but Experiencers—the prayer is not that God would make the Psalmist himself or his heart *do* something (This would require a 3-place predicate), but that he would make them *experience* something.

[34]For this addition of arguments to an utterance beyond those of its lexical verb, I refer to Grice's idea of *non-natural meaning* or *meaning-nn*, which distinguishes a *speaker-meaning* from the inherent *sentence-meaning*; Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 16-17. See also below on 'Competence roles'.

[35]Halliday comes to a similar conclusion in a very different way through his discussion of ergativity in modern English; Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', 157. In affirmative request-cohortatives (*i.e.* requests for permission), it is better termed 'permitter'.

[36]See Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 355-57 §21.2.2d-m.

[37]The textual questions often raised here do not need to affect our discussion, since this is undoubtedly a possible form. It has seemed advantageous to take an example of the same verb, נפל, since it must have the same argument structure.

binyān	function	form	God	Enemies	Example	
hiph'il	caus-stat.	2i	Agent	Experiencer	האשימם	'be guilty'
qal	fientive	3j	'Causer'	Experiencer	יפלו	'fall'
hiph'il	caus-fient.	2i	Agent	Patient	הדיחמו	*'go away'

Whether or not אשם is considered as having an implicit active sense (Gesenius-Buhl: 'büßen'), its basic meaning is stative ('to be guilty'), thus the object of האשים is in fact an Experiencer and the subject of the *hiph'il* form is an Agent of the state. The subject of the verb נפל is not an Agent, but an Experiencer, since this verb is not truly fientive but 'middle', like intransitive 'break' in English (*e.g.* 'The window broke' as against causative 'He broke the window'). Thus the variation in the verb types of 5:11 from stative אשם to middle נפל to fientive נדח involves a variation in the thematic role of God (the Addressee) from Agent of a *hiph'il* imperative (האשים) to 'Causer' of a 3rd-person jussive (יפלו) to Agent of a *hiph'il* imperative (הדיח), and of the Enemies from Experiencer of a state ('being guilty') to Experiencer of an action ('falling'), to Patient of an action ('causing to go away'). It interacts with variation in prepositional phrase types (מן, ב, ב), forms of 3rd-person reference (including possessive suffixes and two forms of object suffix), and—most distinctly—alternation in subject from 2nd person (God) to 3rd person (Enemies) to 2nd person (God) to 3rd person (Enemies). This is an aspect of the rhetorical dynamic of the Psalms that has not been given systematic treatment before.

It should be noted that the thematic role 'Causer' is consistently assigned to the Addressee in request-cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives, irrespective of the voice of the form. The subject may be an Agent when the verb is active (*e.g.* 'May he kill ... !'), an Experiencer when the verb is stative (*e.g.* 'May he be ashamed!') or a Patient when the verb is passive (*e.g.* 'May he be killed!').

In terms of conventional rhetorical analysis, this use of a thematic role of 'Causer' can be helpfully compared to the use of the '*passivum divinum*' or '*passivum theologicum*', defined as:

> die Meidung des Gottesnamens durch Gebrauch einer passiven Konstruktion, bei welcher der Agens nicht genannt wird, der aber nach dem Kontext nur Gott sein kann[38]

This is the primary use of the passive in Wright's discussion of Arabic.[39] An example from the Psalter can be found in the a-colon of:

37:17   כִּי זְרוֹעוֹת רְשָׁעִים תִּשָּׁבַרְנָה וְסוֹמֵךְ צַדִּיקִים יְהוָה׃

For the arms of the wicked shall be broken, but the LORD upholds the righteous. (NRSV)

I therefore refer to the grammaticalising-away of reference to God in the request-cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives as the rhetorical figure of '*causativum divinum*'.

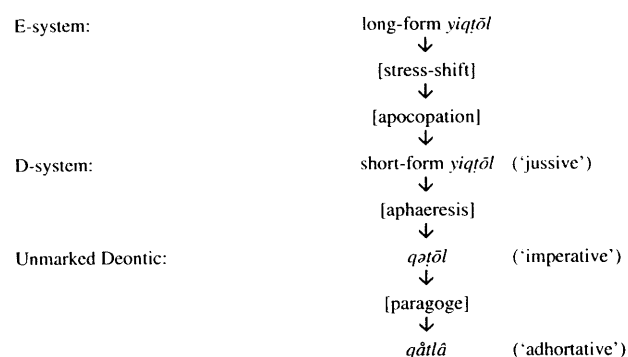[38]Pax cited in Bühlmann and Scherer, *Stilfiguren der Bibel*, 85.

[39]Wright, *Grammar*, 50.

1.3. Semantic Function

We have already considered the imperative as 'unmarked' or 'neutral' with respect to the D-system. It is formally unmarked in that, in Hebrew as in most known natural languages, it is the shortest verbal form and has no person marking.[40] Though—probably mistakenly—considering the person-marked forms earlier, Driver offers a characteristic non-technical explanation of why the imperative should be the shortest verbal form:

> The parallelism of form between the jussive and the imperative ... makes it probable that the origin of this abbreviation or apocopation is to be traced to the quickened and hasty pronunciation of a person issuing a command: the curtness and compactness of the form corresponding to the abrupt and peremptory tone with the language of one in such a situation would naturally assume.[41]

In fact, in the light of the present view of the Hebrew verbal system, we may think in terms of a progression:

E-system:	long-form *yiqtōl*
	↓
	[stress-shift]
	↓
	[apocopation]
	↓
D-system:	short-form *yiqtōl* ('jussive')
	↓
	[aphaeresis]
	↓
Unmarked Deontic:	*qǝtōl* ('imperative')
	↓
	[paragoge]
	↓
	qåtlâ ('adhortative')

Though, as has been noted, it is unlikely that this reflects a historical progression, it does both rightly reflect the formal relationships with which we are concerned, as well as corresponding to some of functional features. It has already been seen above[42] that Deontic use of the E-system tends to be directive, whilst that of the I-system tends to be precative; the D-system itself covers the whole range. Here, we can compare the directive formality at the top of the scale ('preceptive imperfect') with the urgency at the bottom (paragogic *hê* in cohortative and adhortative; *-nā'*). Further, we may note the rhetorical effect of person-marking—person-unmarked forms topicalise the action more fully than D-system forms with their person-marking prefix.[43]

The putative primitive nature of the imperative *form* coincides with claims by many scholars that Deontic *function* is primitive:

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[40]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 29.

[41]Driver, *Tenses*, 52.

[42]See above ch. 3, section 2.4.6.

[43]This is not to say that is in any sense 'more urgent' (*contra* Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571 §34.4a).

> ... the imperative, as the principal mood of will and desire, is ontogenetically more basic than the indicative, the mood of statement.[44]
>
> many authors refer to this as the instrumental function of language and think of it as being especially basic or primitive[45]

It should be noted, however, that this function is not concerned only with commands, but with 'will and desire' (Expressive communication) and 'instrumental' function (Vocative/Conative communication).[46]

> The 'core' of the Deontic system is Directive. A Directive is an
>
> [utterance] by means of which the speaker gets the listener to do something for him.[47]

It involves much more than straightforward commands, however:

> The imperative seems to do no more than express, in the most neutral way, the notion that the speaker is favourably disposed towards the action. He merely 'presents' a proposition, just as with the declarative, but for action, not merely for acceptance as true, by the hearer.[48]

Thus recent descriptions offer listings such as the following:

> command, prohibition, permission, request, exhortation, entreaty[49]
>
> command, specific or general, ... advice or admonition, ... giving permission or an invitation, ... making a request or entreaty[50]

Such descriptions are rarely formalised, since the factors which result in one form (whether imperative, cohortative or jussive) having this range of meanings belong to a field which has only quite recently received formal description—that of 'pragmatics'.

Starting with the assumption of 'univocality' (the principle of 'one form—one meaning'), it should be the case that,

> ... for each ... grammatical category, lexical item, and perhaps syntactic construction ..., one can establish a set of necessary and sufficient conditions such that every permitted use of the form will be allowed by these conditions, and every rejected use of the form will be disallowed by these conditions. In different contexts, the form in question might be given different interpretations, but these would always be predictable on the basis of the interaction of the meaning of the item (as given by the necessary and sufficient conditions) with features of the context, i.e. the meaning itself would be invariable.[51]

Lyons lists six such 'features of the context', which he terms 'different kinds of knowledge or competence which have a bearing on the situational appropriateness of utterances'.[52] The first of these is key to the interpretation of Hebrew Deontic forms:

> (i) Each of the participants must know his role and status.

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[44]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 746.

[45]Lyons, *Semantics* 1, 130. Similarly, 'giving commands, rather than making statements, is the more 'basic' function of language.'; Lyons, *Introduction*, 307.

[46]For these terms, see ch. 1, section 2.1.1.

[47]Lyons, J., *Semantics* 1, 130.

[48]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 29-30.

[49]Finley, 'The Proposal', 11.

[50]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 80-81 §66.

[51]Comrie, *Tense*, 18.

[52]Lyons, *Semantics* 2, 574-85; Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 23.

'Role' and 'Status' were discussed in informal terms above in chapter 2; here, they need to be specified in more detail.

By 'Role', Lyons means two distinct features:

1. *Deictic roles* are those of Speaker and Addressee as represented by the grammatical feature of person.
2. *Social roles* are culture-specific, institutionalised functions which affect the use of, for example, the 'Royal *we*', politeness forms, or the *tu/vous* distinction.

By means of Deictic roles it is indicated who is issuing a Mand (the Speaker) and who is expected to hear it (though this is not necessarily the same as the one expected to act upon it—it may be the Speaker himself). Social roles do not affect the interpretation of Deontic forms, though they do affect certain linguistic features of the Psalms such as the *plurale majestatis*, the *passivum divinum* and what I have termed the *causativum divinum*.[53] We also need to specify a third feature for our purposes here:

3. *Competence roles* are concerned with the ability or inability of an actant to realise the proposition expressed.

It is this latter feature which has already been used tacitly to distinguish between 'request-cohortatives' (Addressee is competent) and 'resolve-cohortatives' (Speaker is competent); it also distinguishes between the function of a 3rd-person jussive ('May my heart rejoice'—Addressee is competent) and its Epistemic counterpart ('My heart will rejoice'—3rd-person subject is competent). It is this competence which results in the Addressee being assigned the thematic role 'Causer' in the case of 1st and 3rd-person Deontic forms as shown above.

'Status' is the *relative* social standing of the actants—the Speaker is a superordinate, subordinate or peer with respect to the Addresse.

These two features put us in a position to distinguish between several types of Directive force. Firstly, directive (command) and precative (request) utterances are those in which the Addressee is competent; they are usually distinguished by status—superordinate Speakers use directives and subordinate Speakers use precatives. Secondly, in the case of hortative (exhortation) utterances, both Speaker and Addressee are competent, and there is no reference made to status. Thirdly, obligative (demand) and permissive (permission) utterances[54] are the Deontic equivalents of Epistemic necessary and possible;[55] obligatives are Speaker-oriented (disregarding Hearer volition), whilst permissive are Hearer-oriented (disregarding Speaker-volition).[56] Lastly, prohibitive (prohibition) is the Negative form of permissive (*i.e.* 'you may not', *not* 'you don't have to') and—it should be noted—is Speaker-oriented.

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[53]See above, ch. 2.

[54]Compare here causativity, which may similarly be permissive or obligative—'let me' or 'make me'. On the relationship between causative and the D-system, see above on argument structure.

[55]*I.e.* just as English 'must' and 'may' can have Epistemic and Deontic functions (see ch. 1, section 2.1.3.2. above), so also Hebrew *yiqtōl*.

[56]See the discussion with binary parameters in Warren, 'Did Moses permit Divorce?', 52.

Alongside Directivity, Deontic function also includes Commissive and Expressive speech acts. Commissives include promises and threats (often expressed in Hebrew with 'resolve-cohortatives'). Expressives include volitives, that is, optative (realisable hopes), desiderative (non-realisable wishes),[57] and expressions of fear and purpose (intentional); and also evaluatives, that is, predictions/warnings, and some expressions of surprise and regret.

2. Modification

There are certain types of clause modification specifically associated with volitional modality, including syntactical morphemes such as the modal clitics *-nā'* (Affirmative) and *'al-* (Negative); grammatical morphemes such as stress-shift and apocopation in the jussive (short-form *yiqtōl* from long-form *yiqtōl*), aphaeresis in the imperative, and paragogic *hê* in the cohortative and adhortative; and syntactical morphemes such as the use of particular auxiliary verbs. Most of these are dealt with elsewhere in the present work; here, we are concerned with the clitic *-nā'*, paragogic *hê*, and the use of modal auxiliaries.

2.1. The Affirmative Modal Clitic -nā'

The clitic *-nā'* is generally accepted as having broadly Deontic force, and it is often commented that it occurs almost always in the context of Deontic force.[58] Its distribution in the Psalter raises some interesting questions, however, since it occurs cliticised to cohortative (122:8):

122:8 לְמַ֫עַן אַחַ֥י וְרֵעָ֑י אֲדַבְּרָה־נָּ֖א שָׁל֣וֹם בָּֽךְ׃

For the sake of my relatives and friends I will say, "Peace be within you." (NRSV)

imperative (50:22; 80:15; 118:25 [2x]; 119:108):

50:22 בִּֽינוּ־נָ֣א זֹ֭את שֹׁכְחֵ֣י אֱל֑וֹהַּ פֶּן־אֶ֝טְרֹ֗ף וְאֵ֣ין מַצִּֽיל׃

Mark this, then, you who forget God ... (NRSV)

3rd-person jussive (7:10; 118:2-4 [3x]; 119:76; 124:1; 129:1):

7:10 יִגְמָר־נָ֬א רַ֨ע רְשָׁעִים֮ וּתְכוֹנֵ֪ן צַ֫דִּ֥יק ...

O let the evil of the wicked come to an end, but establish the righteous... (NRSV)

Interrogative (115:2):

115:2 לָ֭מָּה יֹאמְר֣וּ הַגּוֹיִ֑ם אַיֵּה־נָ֝֗א אֱלֹהֵיהֶֽם׃

Why should the nations say, "Where is their God?" (NRSV).

Negative (116:4, 16; 118:25 [2x]—in the form אנה/אנא, a contraction of אל־נא[59]):

118:25 אָנָּ֣א יְהוָ֭ה הוֹשִׁ֘יעָ֥ה נָּ֑א אָֽנָּ֥א יְ֝הוָ֗ה הַצְלִ֘יחָ֥ה נָּֽא׃

Save us, we beseech you, O LORD! O LORD, we beseech you, give us success! (NRSV)

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[57]Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 116.

[58]Finley, 'The Proposal', 8.

[59]The full form אל־נא is common elsewhere in the Old Testament (especially Genesis and Numbers). Some have suggested, however, that אנא in fact originates from אהה.

and prepositions (116:14, 18)

116:14, 18 נְדָרַי לַיהוָה אֲשַׁלֵּם נֶגְדָה־נָּא לְכָל־עַמּוֹ:

I will pay my vows to the LORD in the presence of all his people. (NRSV)

Thus 13 of the 20 occurrences are clearly volitional, as well as the 4 Negative occurrences (since they are bound with *'al-* and occur in context with adhortatives); it can also be seen that throughout the Old Testament, אַל־נָא, אִם־נָא and הִנֵּה־נָא always precede an explicit or implicit request. However, it cannot be simply stated that *-nā'* is an all-purpose volitional particle. Firstly, it occurs in the clearly non-volitional contexts of אַיֵּה־נָא and נֶגְדָה־נָא. Secondly, it has cooccurrence restrictions with Deontic uses of E-system forms such as the infinitive absolute ('preceptive imperfect') and of the Indicative Anterior ('precative perfect');[60] these cooccurrence restrictions of the Affirmative particle might be compared with those of the Negative particle *'al-* with the imperative and Deontic use of its E-system counterpart, the infinitive absolute.

This remarkable distribution of *-nā'* invites questions as to its meaning. Standard grammars tend to describe it as having

> a usually weak entreating nuance, which is roughly equivalent to a stressed and lengthened *Please* in English.[61]

Variations on this traditional view of *-nā'* as precative are held by Joüon–Muraoka, Gibson,[62] Blau,[63] Finley[64] and Wilt,[65] the latter having quite convincingly repudiated Lambdin's[66] and Waltke-O'Connor's[67] more recent and quite unusual view of *-nā'* as a logical particle. However, further analysis of the function of this particle is required, and we will therefore consider in detail two recent sociolinguistic discussions before turning to a treatment in terms of speech-acts.

2.1.1. Sociolinguistic Treatments: Finley and Wilt

In his broader discussion of 'the proposal',[68] Finley comments that whilst *-nā'* may be precative,

> *N'* is often translated "please": 1) a request ... 2) an exhortation ... 3) an entreaty,[69]

it is rarely directive

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[60] Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.
[61] Joüon–Muraoka, *Grammar*, 350 §105c.
[62] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 80 §65: 'impart[s] a mild precative nuance which scarcely needs to be represented in Engl.'.
[63] Blau claims that *-nā'* has the same function as לְכָה; Blau, *Grammar*, 87 n. 1-2.
[64] Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.
[65] Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*'.
[66] Lambdin, *Introduction*, 170.
[67] Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 578 §34.7a.
[68] Finley, 'The Proposal'.
[69] Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.

> Only rarely does *n'* indicate a command, in which case it stresses resignation on the speaker's part to something not really desired ... or displeasure.[70]

Normally, of course, Deontic function will be precative when the Speaker is subordinate to the Addressee, and directive when the Speaker is superordinate. However, the particle *-nā'* may, he suggests, subvert this:

> The post-positive *n'* and the pre-positive *'n'* or *'nh* either deflect attention from the authority of the speaker if the listener is subordinate, or stress submissiveness if the listener has greater authority. The pre-positive form could be called a particle of exhortation. ... When the speaker has greater authority, the particle *n'* perhaps indicates close identification with the listener, almost in an empathetic sense.[71]

Thus Finley is suggesting that *-nā'* is essentially precative, irrespective of the speech situation in which it is used. It is definable semantically and not susceptible to reinterpretation by sociolinguistic factors such as Speaker-Addressee relations.

More recently, Wilt has argued that the meaning of *-nā'* is definable, though only within the sociolinguistic dimension. Though he makes no reference to Finley, and his viewpoint is very different, his conclusion is remarkably similar. What Finley viewed as precative/exhortation, even to the point of 'deflect[ing] attention from the authority of the speaker', Wilt describes as 'redress' or 'giving face' to the Addressee.

Like the present study, Wilt's paper is concerned above all with the relationships pertaining between the primary actants in the speech situation, and the factors he identifies are 'relational desires, power relationships, emotional duress, and minimal threat to face.'[72] A request is a 'Face Threatening Act', since it threatens the Addressee's face by exerting power over him. A 'bald' request is therefore made only:[73]

1. in situations of particular urgency or strong emotion, disputes and warnings,
2. in (inherently non-threatening) offers, suggestions *etc.*, particularly 'approval of a request made by H', and
3. where S is 'vastly superior' to A, particularly when God addresses mortals and when a political (though not domestic) head addresses his subjects.

In other words, a request is made without redress only when there is no threat to the face of the Addressee (2), or where the question of face-threatening is obscured by particularly great strength of Deontic force (1) or Speaker status (3). On the other hand, 'redress' may be made, that is, 'face' given to the Addressee; this may be achieved by means of *-nā'*[74] or, for example, self-denegrating עַבְדְּךָ or אֲמָתְךָ (*e.g.* 116:16; 1 Sam 11).[75] In Wilt's corpus, this happens almost always when man addresses God, and—because of 3 above—very rarely when God

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[70] Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.
[71] Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.
[72] Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*' 251.
[73] Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*' 244-46.
[74] Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*' 242.
[75] See the discussion of metonymy in ch. 2 above.

addresses man.[76] It has been commented elsewhere that this exceptional divine use of -*nā'* may be restricted to requests to do something 'that transcends human comprehension'.[77]

Wilt finds that 42% of the occurrences of -*nā'* and 16% of the non-occurrences function to 'enhance the relationship' between Speaker and Addressee, that is, for the benefit of both. This category includes reconciliation, comfort and offers of and requests for a blessing; it corresponds roughly to Finley's 'precative'. Many of the remaining occurrences of -*nā'* involve requests which exceed 'the normal expectations/obligations of the relationship'; these may be summarised as those which disadvantage the Addressee, benefit the Speaker considerably more than the Addressee, or test the Addressee's commitment to the Speaker.[78]

An interesting applications of Wilt's finding can be seen in his treatment of cohortatives:

> -*nā'* is used generally, if not always, with exclusive cohortatives and never with inclusive ones. ... The inclusive cohortative is inherently a positive-face appeal that minimizes face threat: "I want you to do X but, don't worry, I'll do it with you." The exclusive cohortative, however, in proposing a group action that excludes the addressee, would encourage use of a politeness marker in order to minimize the threat that the addressee might feel.[79]

Expressed in my terms, then, hortatives (inclusive cohortatives) have inherently weak Deontic force, whilst directives (exclusive, request-cohortatives) may require redress in the form of the particle -*nā'*.

Wilt concludes:

> That *nā'* is indeed a politeness marker seems evident from the above analysis. ... "please" would probably be an appropriate rendering in most, if not all, of the occurrences that we have considered.

This is an impressive conclusion to a very persuasive paper; however, it does not go far enough for our purposes here. In considering modality, giving translational equivalents is not sufficient, since we can easily sense the difference between English 'please' in:

> Please leave the room at once!   (directive—a command by a superordinate),
>
> Please can I have a biscuit?   (precative—a request by a subordinate), and
>
> Please take a seat!   (permissive—an invitation by a superordinate)

Further, the occurrences of -*nā'* with 3rd-person jussives cannot be idiomatically translated into English with 'Please' (which is restricted in English to directives where Addressee = agent):

7:10   ... יִגְמָר־נָא רַע רְשָׁעִים

*O let the evil of the wicked come to an end, please

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[76]Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*'' 245.

[77]Hamilton, V.P., *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1-17* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990) 394, referring to Gen 13:14; 15:5; 22:2; Ex 11:2.

[78]Some others, such as 'S asks H to disguise H's identity' (Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*'', 248) are not relevant to the present discussion. Wilt's note that bargaining is usually bald can be best explained in modal terms—these clauses are effectively conditional protases, followed by an apodosis, and are so not marked for volition.

[79]Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*'' 250.

This may be because 3rd-person jussives are *formally* expressive (not directive), in that they do not grammaticalise the Addressee.

We therefore now turn to consider the occurrences of -*nā'* in the Psalter in terms of their Deontic force, whether strong (directive) or weak (precative).

2.1.2. *Directive*

In the Psalms, -*nā'* is most often used with 3rd-person jussives, calling the community to praise (118:2, 3, 4; 124:1) or lament (129:1).

In Psalm 118, the first jussive 'stage-direction' יֹאמַר־נָא follows a plural imperative הֹודוּ, which presumably has the same referent as the jussive's own collective singular subject, יִשְׂרָאֵל. The subsequent plural jussives refer to sub-groups of the whole—Israel's priests and God-fearers:

Number of subject/verb	
pl./—	118:1-4 הֹודוּ לַיהוָה כִּי־טֹוב כִּי לְעֹולָם חַסְדֹּו:
sg./sg.	יֹאמַר־נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי לְעֹולָם חַסְדֹּו:
pl./sg.	יֹאמְרוּ־נָא בֵית־אַהֲרֹן כִּי לְעֹולָם חַסְדֹּו:
pl./pl.	יֹאמְרוּ־נָא יִרְאֵי יְהוָה כִּי לְעֹולָם חַסְדֹּו:

> O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good; his steadfast love endures forever!
> Let Israel say, "His steadfast love endures forever."
> Let the house of Aaron say, "His steadfast love endures forever."
> Let those who fear the LORD say, "His steadfast love endures forever." (NRSV)

The options of singular and plural reference to Israel are both used similarly in the Psalms of Ascent:

124:1   לוּלֵי יְהוָה שֶׁהָיָה לָנוּ יֹאמַר־נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל:

> If it had not been the LORD who was on our side—let Israel now say ... (NRSV)

129:1   רַבַּת צְרָרוּנִי מִנְּעוּרַי יֹאמַר־נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל:

> "Often have they attacked me from my youth"—let Israel now say ... (NRSV)

The occurrence of the formula יֹאמַר־נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל only at the *beginning* of Psalms necessitates a Deontic, rather than logical, understanding of -*nā'*,[80] consistent with the probable cultic origin of the formula. However, the precative 'entreating nuance' seen by Joüon–Muraoka is not present, but rather an authoritative *directive* force. This is supported by the particle's only other use in the Psalms by a superordinate—here, God is speaking to the Enemy:

50:22   בִּינוּ־נָא זֹאת שֹׁכְחֵי אֱלֹוהַּ פֶּן־אֶטְרֹף וְאֵין מַצִּיל:

> Mark this, then, you who forget God, ... (NRSV)

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[80]*Contra* Lambdin, *Introduction*, 170.

2.1.3. Precative

In lament contexts, the particle appears to have an entreating tone much like that described by Joüon–Muraoka. It occurs always in combination with a 'Beweggrund des göttlichen Einschreitens', an element which

> [soll] auf JHWH Eindruck machen, sie [soll] aber zugleich, indem sie ausgesprochen werden, *des Klagenden Herz* trösten und der Hilfe Gottes versichern.[81]

Examples are:

7:10   ... יִגְמָר־נָא רַע רְשָׁעִים וּתְכוֹנֵן צַדִּיק

O let the evil of the wicked come to an end, but establish the righteous... (NRSV)

80:15   ... אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת שׁוּב־נָא

Turn again, O God of hosts ... (NRSV)

119:76   ... יְהִי־נָא חַסְדְּךָ לְנַחֲמֵנִי

Let your steadfast love become my comfort ... (NRSV)

119:108   ... נִדְבוֹת פִּי רְצֵה־נָא יְהוָה

Accept my offerings of praise, O LORD ... (NRSV)

It can be combined with the free-standing particle אָנָּא to further intensify the appeal

118:25   אָנָּא יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא אָנָּא יְהוָה הַצְלִיחָה נָּא:

Save us, we beseech you, O LORD! O LORD, we beseech you, give us success! (NRSV)

This precative tone is quite distinct from the strongly directive nature of the examples in the previous section.

2.1.4. Vocative

We have seen that the force of *-nā'* is neither in itself directive nor precative (that is, it has no inherent semantic value), though it appears to intensify the directive or precative force of the clause to which it is attached. I therefore borrow a term from communication theory[82] and refer to the force of *-nā'* as that of a 'vocative intensifier', that is, it intensifies not the type of Deontic modality, but the act of communication itself.

This may related interestingly to the question of grammatical number. It is striking that, both in commands and requests, only about 18% of Old Testament occurrences of *-nā'* accompany a plural Agent/'Causer'.[83] Though there are more singular than plural Deontic forms in the Old Testament anyway, this still indicates a stronger tendency to use *-nā'* with a singular

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[81]Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 231 §6.18.

[82]As introduced in ch. 1, section 2.1.1. above.

[83]Gen 19:2, 7; 37:6; 40:8; 45:4; 47:4; 50:4; Ex 10:11; 12:9; Num 12:6; 16:8, 26; 20:10; 22:19; Josh 2:12; 22:26; Judg 8:5; 9:2; 11:19; 19:9, 23; 1 Sam 14:7, 29; 16:17; 22:7; 23:22; 2 Sam 2:14; 13:17, 28; 20:16; 24:14; 1 Kgs 20:7; 2 Kgs 4:10; 5:7; 6:2; 7:13; 9:34; 18:19; Isa 1:18; 5:3; 7:13; 19:12; 36:4; 47:13; 5:1, 21; 7:12; 18:11; 18:13; 25:5; 27:18; 30:6; 35:15; Ezek 18:25; 33:30; Mic 3:1, 9; 6:1; Hag 2:15, 18; Zech 1:4; Mal 1:8, 9; 3:10; Job 6:29; 13:6; 17:10; Cant 7:9; Lam 1:18; Ezra 10:14; Neh 5:10, 11; 1 Chr 29:20. (In Ex 3:18; 5:3; Num 20:17; 2 Sam 13:25; Jon 1:14, the subject is plural, but he permitter is singular. Further, in the case of a plural cohortative, the fact that one thing is being said by everyone means that there is not really a plural focus.)

Agent/'Causer'. This may support our argument for a 'vocative intensifier' understanding of *-nā'*, since the vocative force cannot be so strong when distributed to a plural Addressee.

To take an example, then, שׁוּב־נָא (80:15, cited above) is not intensified action like adhortative שׁוּבָה (6:5) and some uses of the D-stem and *figura etymologica*,[84] nor is it emphatic personal reference like some uses of the vocative or 3rd-person jussive, but an intensified Deontic. It is not the nature of the modality which is affected but its intensity. Thus it is perhaps Seow who comes closest of the grammarians to the true meaning of *-nā'* when he describes it as occurring 'for emphasis or to express urgency or immediacy.'[85] His non-technical terminology corresponds to the 'vocative intensifier' analysis presented here.

2.1.5. Expressive

When *-nā'* occurs in conjunction with resolve-cohortatives, interpersonal force can play no part, since the Speaker and Addressee are identical. Therefore, it may be best viewed as performing an intensifying function similar to that of *figura etymologica* (see also below),

Isa 61:10   שׂוֹשׂ אָשִׂישׂ בַּיהוָה תָּגֵל נַפְשִׁי בֵּאלֹהַי

I will greatly rejoice in the LORD, my whole being shall exult in my God ... (NRSV)

The intensification lies with the volition itself (propositive), rather than with the vocative force.

e.g.   122:8   לְמַעַן אַחַי וְרֵעָי אֲדַבְּרָה־נָּא שָׁלוֹם בָּךְ:

For the sake of my relatives and friends I will say, "Peace be within you." (NRSV)

In the psalms, pleonasm is often used to the same effect, especially in the expression אָשִׁירָה וַאֲזַמְּרָה.

57:8   נָכוֹן לִבִּי אֱלֹהִים נָכוֹן לִבִּי אָשִׁירָה וַאֲזַמֵּרָה:

My heart is steadfast, O God, my heart is steadfast. I will sing and make melody. (NRSV)

101:1   חֶסֶד־וּמִשְׁפָּט אָשִׁירָה לְךָ יְהוָה אֲזַמֵּרָה:

I will sing of loyalty and of justice; to you, O LORD, I will sing. (NRSV)

Similarly simple repetition and the feature of parallelism itself:

1 Sam 2:1   ... עָלַץ לִבִּי בַּיהוָה רָמָה קַרְנִי בַּיהוָה רָחַב פִּי עַל־אוֹיְבַי כִּי

My heart is triumphant in the LORD, my head is raised in the LORD; my mouth laughs over my enemies (ALW[86])

2.1.6. Conclusion

The present interpretation of *-nā'* as a 'vocative intensifier' explains several of the problems mentioned above.

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[84]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 584-85 §35.3.1a-c and n. 23.

[85]Seow, C.L., *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987) 173. See, however, Wilt's criticism; Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ'* 239.

[86]Translation from Warren, A.L., *The Song of Hannah, 1 Sam 2:1-10. A Textual Study focussing on Liturgical Use* (Unpublished MPhil dissertation; Cambridge, 1994).

Firstly, it explains the otherwise inexplicable אי־ה־נא (115:2) and נגד־ה־נא (116:14, 18) cited at the beginning of this discussion. אי־ה־נא is an example of vocative intensification of an Interrogative. נגד־ה־נא may be described as a b-colon modal intensification of an Epistemic a-colon—righteousness becomes sacrifice, as relationship to God becomes relationship to the community; in more specific terms, the vocative force of -nāʾ here might be read as part of the call for witnesses to the repayment of his vow.

Secondly, it explains the clause-initial use of אנה/אנא, which almost always in the Old Testament occurs with the imperative.[87] Since Negative ʾal- cannot appear with the imperative, -nāʾ is to be interpreted here as a placeholder for ʾal- in an exclamation:

116:4 ... אָנָּה יְהוָה מַלְּטָה נַפְשִׁי׃

"No, LORD! Save my life!" (ALW)

116:16 אָנָּה יְהוָה כִּי־אֲנִי עַבְדֶּךָ אֲנִי־עַבְדְּךָ בֶּן־אֲמָתֶךָ פִּתַּחְתָּ לְמוֹסֵרָי׃

"No, LORD! For I'm your servant, the son of your servant girl! Loose my fetters!" (ALW)[88]

Thirdly, my interpretation is compatible with Wilt's sociolinguistic analysis. It should be noted that the English "Please!" can also have the function of a vocative intensifier, standing alone as an appeal for the Addressee's attention, rather like the expression, "Excuse me!".

Fourthly, since a vocative intensifier is compatible with a range of modal functions, we can see how it functions within an entire speech turn rather than restricted to the clause.[89] Hence it may be cliticised in principle to any part of speech, including prepositions, for example.

Lastly, it becomes clear that the incompatibility of -nāʾ with the infinitive absolute or precative perfect[90] is for the same reason as the incompatibility of ʾal- with these forms. The Affirmative clitic -nāʾ and the Negative clitic ʾal-, though not having inherently Deontic meaning, both belong to the Linguistic Attitude of Discourse, that sphere of language in which participant reference is determined by the roles of Speaker and Addressee, and which admits both Deontic and vocative functions (unlike Narrative). In terms of the linguistic system, the E-system and I-system forms which lie behind the 'preceptive imperfect' and the 'precative perfect' belong to the Linguistic Attitude of Narrative.

2.2. Paragogic hê

The paragogic hê in the cohortative (where it distinguishes E-system and D-system forms) and in the adhortative (where it appears simply to strengthen the Deontic force) appear to be related functionally/synchronically, albeit not necessarily formally/diachronically.[91]

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[87]Finley, 'The Proposal', 8.

[88]Reading as 'precative perfect'.

[89]Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of NĀ" 242-43.

[90]Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.

[91]See, however, Waltke–O'Connor, Syntax, 568 §34.2b: 'The cohortative, like the alternative Qal imperative with ה־ suffix, is derived from an earlier Canaanite yaqtula volitional conjugation.'

2.2.1. Adhortative

The adhortative ending occurs approximately as often in Tsevat's psalmic corpus as in prose, which is, as he notes a very much higher level of occurrence proportionate to amount of text:

> קָטְלָה is relatively more than eight times more frequent in the psalms as it is in the rest of the Bible. Moreover, it occurs in the psalms more often than the simple form קְטֹל. For the psalms, קָטְלָה is the normal imperative.[92]

Though this is true statistically, it should be noted that the figures are offset by a number of verbs which occur very frequently in the Psalter in the longer form. As Gibson says,

> in some verbs the longer form has become fixed, as חוּשָׁה hasten, עוּרָה awake, הַגִּישָׁה bring near, הִשָּׁבְעָה swear, and others.[93]

Similarly, Finley has discovered that the adhortative is especially common with 'weak verbs, especially middle-weak roots'.[94] This phenomenon may also account for the much more frequent use in the Psalter of the long form of the imperative of נטה (hiphʿil), which is usually apocopated.[95]

With respect to function, Waltke–O'Connor claim that

> No differentiation is possible between the regular and long (ה־) forms of the imperative, since they occur in similar contexts.[96]

Particularly in the light of Tsevat's observations on the distribution of adhortatives in the Psalter, this would seem to be a correct observation. Several suggestions have been made as to the function of the suffix; Joüon–Muraoka alone mention 'emphatic ... honorific ... euphony'.[97] It therefore seems likely that paragogic hê has a similar function to that we have established for -nāʾ, as a 'vocative intensifier', unspecified with regard to type of Deontic force.

2.2.2. Cohortative

Within the D-system it is striking that the 1st-person form (cohortative) should be lengthened and the 2nd and 3rd-person forms apocopated. This may be explained diachronically, but there are also clear reasons on the synchronic level why a 'vocative intensifier' should be systematically added to 1st-person expression of volition—there is a significant interplay here between reference and questions of modality.

A question is raised in the first place by 1st-person Epistemic forms for the future, since it will often be the case that 1st-person futures (especially of fientive verbs) will carry an element of volition. By analogy, it is natural that 1st-person expressions of volition, where the Speaker

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[92]Tsevat, Language of the Biblical Psalms, 24-25 no. 159.

[93]Gibson, Davidson's Syntax, 81 §66 Rem. 1. Waltke–O'Connor, Syntax, 571 §34.4.

[94]Finley, 'The Proposal', 5 n. 13.

[95]Tsevat, Language of the Biblical Psalms, 25 no. 160.

[96]Waltke–O'Connor, Syntax, 571 §34.4.

[97]Joüon–Muraoka, Grammar, 143 §48d.

is also the subject, whether they be precative, directive, optative *etc.*, should attract forms for vocative intensification such as paragogic *hê*. In this perspective, the cohortative and jussive truly do form a 'volitional class' or D-system.

2.3. Deontic Auxiliaries

As has already been noted,[98] there are various types of auxiliary verb functions in Biblical Hebrew, some of which are specifically related to Deontic modality. In particular, there is the use of the imperative of a verb of motion functioning '[f]ormelhaft und als eine Art Tempuszeichen [*i.e.* mood marker]',[99] or 'as an auxiliary or interjection',[100] followed by another verb in a Deontic form. The dependent verb may be joined syndetically (*e.g.* 66:5 לכו וראו) or asyndetically (*e.g.* 46:9 לכו־חזו), though in the Psalter asyndesis is much more common. Such auxiliary verbs include, most commonly, קום and מהר in the singular addressed to God, and בוא and הלך in the plural addressed to the community; they are most often translated with adverbial expressions.

Since the auxiliary is most often in the imperative, the dependent verb may be in any other Deontic form which has a Deontic element, though it is in fact most often another imperative:

143:7   מַהֵר עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה כָּלְתָה רוּחִי ...

Answer me quickly, O LORD; my spirit fails. ... (NRSV)

31:3   הַטֵּה אֵלַי אָזְנְךָ מְהֵרָה הַצִּילֵנִי הֱיֵה לִי לְצוּר־מָעוֹז לְבֵית מְצוּדוֹת לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי:

Incline your ear to me; rescue me speedily. Be a rock of refuge for me, a strong fortress to save me. (NRSV)

There may be 'gapping' across two cola, especially where a vocative intervenes:

3:8   קוּמָה יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי אֱלֹהַי כִּי־הִכִּיתָ אֶת־כָּל־אֹיְבַי לֶחִי שִׁנֵּי רְשָׁעִים שִׁבַּרְתָּ:

Rise up, LORD, to save me, my God! May you strike all my enemies on the cheek, may you break the teeth of the wicked! (ALW)

34:12[101]   לְכוּ־בָנִים שִׁמְעוּ־לִי יִרְאַת יְהוָה אֲלַמֶּדְכֶם:

Come, O children, listen to me; I will teach you the fear of the LORD. (NRSV)

The dependent verb may be an inclusive (hortative) cohortative:

95:1   לְכוּ נְרַנְּנָה לַיהוָה נָרִיעָה לְצוּר יִשְׁעֵנוּ:

O come, let us sing to the LORD; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation! (NRSV)

95:6   בֹּאוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה נִבְרְכָה לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה עֹשֵׂנוּ:

O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the LORD, our Maker! (NRSV)

83:5   אָמְרוּ לְכוּ וְנַכְחִידֵם מִגּוֹי וְלֹא־יִזָּכֵר שֵׁם־יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד:

They say, "Come, let us wipe them out as a nation; let the name of Israel be remembered no more." (NRSV)

or a 3rd-person jussive:

79:8   אַל־תִּזְכָּר־לָנוּ עֲוֹנֹת רִאשֹׁנִים מַהֵר יְקַדְּמוּנוּ רַחֲמֶיךָ כִּי דַלּוֹנוּ מְאֹד:

Do not remember against us the iniquities of our ancestors; let your compassion come speedily to meet us, for we are brought very low. (NRSV)

There are a few examples of the auxiliary occurring in the jussive:

71:20-21 ק   אֲשֶׁר הִרְאִיתַנִי צָרוֹת רַבּוֹת וְרָעוֹת תָּשׁוּב תְּחַיֵּינִי וּמִתְּהֹמוֹת הָאָרֶץ תָּשׁוּב תַּעֲלֵנִי:

תֶּרֶב גְּדֻלָּתִי וְתִסֹּב תְּנַחֲמֵנִי:

Just as you have shown me many difficulties and evils, (so now) revive me again, and from the depths of the earth, bring me up again!

Increase my greatness and comfort me again. (ALW[102])

The dependent verb may sometimes appear in the form of a lamedised infinitive or even a nominalisation[103] under ל (*i.e.* קומה הושיעני* —> קומה להושיעני* —> קומה לישעתי*).

Both of these alternatives occur in one verse:[104]

40:14   רְצֵה יְהוָה לְהַצִּילֵנִי יְהוָה לְעֶזְרָתִי חוּשָׁה:

Graciously, LORD, deliver me; LORD, hurry to my aid! (NRSV)

A further alternative involves '*hê-locativum*' in place of the preposition ל:[105]

44:27   קוּמָה עֶזְרָתָה לָּנוּ וּפְדֵנוּ לְמַעַן חַסְדֶּךָ:

Rise up to our help! And redeem us for the sake of your steadfast love! (NRSV)

These structures appear to have three main functions.

Firstly, auxiliaries such as קום and מהר in addressing God appear to express urgency.[106]

Secondly, auxiliaries such as בוא and הלך in addressing the community appear to express exhortation. The fact that these can be distinguished from קום, בוא *etc.* in address of God belies Andersen's claim that,

> The first verb becomes semantically empty, functioning merely as a hortatory particle.[107]

Thirdly, there are certain auxiliaries which function as politeness forms.[108]

40:14   רְצֵה יְהוָה לְהַצִּילֵנִי יְהוָה לְעֶזְרָתִי חוּשָׁה:

Graciously, LORD, deliver me; LORD, hurry to my aid! (NRSV)

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[98]See ch. 3, section 2.5. above.

[99]Schneider, *Grammatik*, 202 §48.5.4.

[100]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 574-5 §34.5.1a.

[101]Compare 66:16 לכו־שמעו ואספרה.

[102]Reading the E-system long-form *yiqṭōl*s in v. 20 as jussives too.

[103]A nominalisation is defined as a NP with the argument structure of a verb. *E.g.*

'help':   \<agent\> possessive genitive, \<theme\> of-genitive

ישועה: \<agent\> possessive genitive *e.g.* 1 Sam 2:1 שמחתי בישועתך

       \<theme\> possessive genitive *e.g.* Ps 22:2 אלי אלי למה עזבתני רחוק מישועתי.

In Ps 22:2, the external thematic role is absorbed as in the case of a passive verb—by the raising of the object to the genitive position.

[104]Compare 106:4-5.

[105]80:3 לכה לישעתה לנו appears to have both *lǝ* and this additional *hê*.

[106]Interestingly, these occur only very rarely together with -*nā*': Wilt, 'A Sociolinguistic Analysis of *NĀ*'' 239-40.

[107]Andersen, *Sentence*, 56-57 §3.10.1.

[108]Compare 119:108.

2 Sam 7:29[109]   וְעַתָּה הוֹאֵל וּבָרֵךְ

now therefore may it please you to bless the house of your servant ... (NRSV)

Of the use of הוֹאֵל, it has been said,

> Man umschreibt ... den blossen Imperativ mit einem Ausdruck, der den Gedanken enthält, dass das
> Verlangte dem Andern vielleicht nicht angenehm sein könnte, und erhöht dadurch den Wert des
> Gewährens.[110]

Thus this is the best equivalent in Biblical Hebrew to English 'please'.

3. Imperative

3.1. Form

The minimal form of the imperative has already been noted. Like the English imperative, it lacks both mood-marking (such as paragogic *hê*) and person-marking (such as within the *yiqṭōl* paradigm), retaining only number- and—in cross-linguistic perspective, quite distinctively—gender-marking. With only one full vowel in the Ø-marked masculine singular form, the imperative is the shortest verbal form in the language, as is also the case in most other inflected languages (including all the Semitic languages).

3.2. Syntactic Function and Argument Structure

The imperative has certain characteristic features in its argument relations.

Firstly, it should be noted that 2nd-person objects will not be attested. Imperative forms are inherently 2nd-person themselves and so express a 2nd-person object by means of a reflexive stem (*hitpaᶜel*; *e.g.* הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ, 'sanctify yourselves') or metonymy (*e.g.* קַדְּשׁוּ לְבַבְכֶם, 'sanctify your hearts').

The occurrence of the particular verbal forms in the G- (*qal, niphᶜal*) and corresponding D-stems (*piᶜel, puᶜal*) at all is purely a question of lexis, even in the case of those verbs which occur in both. Of syntactical importance is whether passivity (*niphᶜal, puᶜal, hophᶜal*), causativity (*hiphᶜil, hophᶜal*) and reflexivity (*hitpaᶜel*) can occur together with volitional modality.

True *passivity* is inherently incompatible with directivity, since the former is patient-oriented and the latter agent-oriented. Nevertheless, there are *niphᶜal* Deontics in the Psalter.

2:10   וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ:

Now therefore, O kings, be wise; be warned, O rulers of the earth. (NRSV)

Certain verbs in the *niphᶜal* in fact have stative meaning:

90:13   שׁוּבָה יְהוָה עַד־מָתָי וְהִנָּחֵם עַל־עֲבָדֶיךָ:

Turn, O LORD! How long? Have compassion on your servants! (NRSV)

And the verb נשא occurs in the *niphᶜal* several times:

7:7   קוּמָה יְהוָה בְּאַפֶּךָ הִנָּשֵׂא בְּעַבְרוֹת צוֹרְרָי וְעוּרָה אֵלַי מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ:

Rise up, LORD, in your anger; be lifted up at the fury of my enemies; and wake up, my God; may you appoint a judgment. (ALW[111])

94:2   הִנָּשֵׂא שֹׁפֵט הָאָרֶץ הָשֵׁב גְּמוּל עַל־גֵּאִים:

Be lifted up, judge of the earth; give the proud back what they deserve! (ALW)

24:7   שְׂאוּ שְׁעָרִים רָאשֵׁיכֶם וְהִנָּשְׂאוּ פִּתְחֵי עוֹלָם וְיָבוֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכָּבוֹד:

Lift up your heads, O gates! and be lifted up, O ancient doors! that the King of glory may come in. (NRSV)

The parallel between שְׂאוּ and הִנָּשְׂאוּ in the last of these examples shows that there may not be a great difference in meaning between the *qal* and *niphᶜal* forms of some verbs.[112]

In fact, the form for true passive directivity in Biblical Hebrew is the passive participle in a Deontic nominal clause.[113]

Causativity is fundamental to the semantics of certain verbs which often occur in Deontic forms in the Psalms, such as ישׁע, נצל, קשׁב and נטה. Others verbs which occur most often in the *qal* also occur in the *hiphᶜil*, such as, from the ה-stanza of Psalm 119, ירה, בין, דרך, עבר, קום. In these eight verses, there are three 1st-person objects (vv. 33-35) and two metonymous 1st-person references (v. 36-37), several of which could equally have been expressed with cohortatives.[114]

Reflexivity is unattested with Deontic modality in the Psalter, however certain terms are common in other forms of Old Testament literature, *e.g.* התקדשׁ.

Finally, even *stativity* is occasionally compatible with Deontic modality:

71:3   הֱיֵה לִי לְצוּר מָעוֹן לָבוֹא תָּמִיד צִוִּיתָ לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי כִּי־סַלְעִי וּמְצוּדָתִי אָתָּה:

Be to me a rock of refuge, a strong fortress, to save me, for you are my rock and my fortress. (NRSV)

30:11   שְׁמַע־יְהוָה וְחָנֵּנִי יְהוָה הֱיֵה־עֹזֵר לִי:

Hear, O LORD, and be gracious to me! O LORD, be my helper!" (NRSV)

However, it could well be argued that these forms are better read as ingressive aspect: '*become* ...'.

3.3. Semantic Function

The imperative can fulfil most Deontic functions. For example, Finley shows that it fulfils five out of his six Directive functions (the only exception being Negative):[115]

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[109]With a parallel in 1 Chron 17:27 which appears to be 'precative perfect'.
[110]Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen*, 106.

[111]Reading as 'precative perfect'.
[112]Middle or reflexive readings are possible; see also the question of ergativity in Biblical Hebrew.
[113]See section 6 below.
[114]See the above discussion on the relationship of cohortative to causative.
[115]Adapted from the table in Finley, 'The Proposal', 11.

Function	Form
command	imperative[116]
prohibition	2nd-person jussive
permission	imperative, 2nd-person jussive
request	imperative, 3rd-person jussive, cohortative
exhortation	imperative, 3rd-person jussive, cohortative
entreaty	imperative, 3rd-person jussive

Here, we consider the use of the imperative form within the modal categories we have established above, making Directive and Expressive speech acts.

3.3.1. Directive, Precative and Hortative

Directive, precative and hortative utterances equate Addressee and Agent; they are therefore the natural realm of the imperative form.

It has already been noted that directive utterances will tend to be made by a superordinate, precatives by a subordinate and hortatives by an equal (also that there are 'face-saving' strategies such as the use of the particle -nā' which, in the opinion of some scholars, subvert this). Thus most imperatives addressed to the Enemy will be directive:

6:9 סורו ממני כל־פעלי און כי־שמע יהוה קול בכיי:

Depart from me, all you workers of evil, for the LORD has heard the sound of my weeping. (NRSV)

Thus most imperatives addressed by the Psalmist to God will be precative:

6:5 שובה יהוה חלצה נפשי הושיעני למען חסדך:

Turn, O LORD, save my life; deliver me for the sake of your steadfast love. (NRSV)

Most imperatives addressed by the Psalmist to the community will be hortative:

95:6 באו נשתחוה ונכרעה נברכה לפני־יהוה עשנו:

O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the LORD, our Maker! (NRSV)

There are certain situations in which normal Speaker–Addressee relations are subverted. This happens, for example, when the Psalmist speaks directively to God:

44:24 עורה למה תישן אדני הקיצה אל־תזנח לנצח:

Rouse yourself! Why do you sleep, O Lord? Awake, do not cast us off forever! (NRSV)

In this case, it is the semantics of the verb עור which have determined our reading as directive—the Psalmist has arrogated the right to call God to wake up. There are many other cases too, however, where the Psalmist appears to attempt to exercise authority over God (threatening his 'face'). The basis for these is the *covenant* relationship which exists between God and the Psalmist, and it is by means of 'motivations for divine intervention' that the Psalmist reminds God of his responsibilities:

119:116 סמכני כאמרתך ואחיה ואל־תבישני משברי:

Uphold me according to your promise, that I may live, and let me not be put to shame in my hope. (NRSV)

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[116]Also the infinitive absolute, from the E-system.

Thus terms referring to God's responsibilities, such as כדברך here, those referring to his nature, such as כחסדך and בצדקתך, express the Psalmist's sense of entitlement to a hearing. The Deontic force of the utterances which they modify is therefore best termed directive. There are other forms of 'motivation for divine intervention' which accompany precative utterances, however, in particular, references to the Psalmist's distress:

142:7 הקשיבה אל־רנתי כי־דלותי מאד הצילני מרדפי כי אמצו ממני:

Give heed to my cry, for I am brought very low. Save me from my persecutors, for they are too strong for me. (NRSV)

A second situation in which normal Speaker–Addressee relations are subverted is where God speaks hortatively (that is, for the Addressee's benefit), making an invitation to the community:

81:11 אנכי יהוה אלהיך המעלך מארץ מצרים הרחב־פיך ואמלאהו:

I am the LORD your God, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt. Open your mouth wide and I will fill it. (NRSV)

or to the King:

2:8 שאל ממני ואתנה גוים נחלתך ואחזתך אפסי־ארץ:

Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession. (NRSV)

110:1 נאם יהוה לאדני שב לימיני עד־אשית איביך הדם לרגליך:

The LORD says to my lord, "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool." (NRSV)

In many such cases, the hortative is followed by a apodosis (as here, ואתנה and ואמלאהו) which shows how the action of opening, asking *etc.* will work to the Addressee's benefit.

3.3.2. Obligative, Permissive and Prohibitive

Obligative, permissive and prohibitive utterances all allow an Agent other than the Addressee. They are therefore normally expressed in English with 'must', 'may' or 'must not / may not' rather than an imperative, and in Hebrew they are properly the domain of the jussive (D-system; of course, prohibitive force *cannot* be expressed using the imperative). However, it *is* possible to use the imperative to express the granting of permission:

139:23 חקרני אל ודע לבבי בחנני ודע שרעפי:

(Go ahead and) search me, O God, and know my heart; (go ahead and) test me and know my thoughts. (ALW/NRSV)

Waltke-O'Connor's 'sarcastic' imperatives belong to this category.[117]

3.3.3. Volitives

Optative and desiderative utterances may occur in any grammatical person. Like obligatives, permissives and permissives, they allow an Agent other than the Addressee, and are therefore properly the domain of D-system forms, rather than imperatives.

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[117]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571 §34.4b.

2nd-person optative imperatives occur especially where the verb is stative or in the *niph'al*, since the subject of such forms is not an Agent.

57:6   רוֹמָה עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם אֱלֹהִים עַל כָּל־הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדֶךָ׃

Be exalted, O God, above the heavens. Let your glory be over all the earth. (NRSV)

Even dynamic, transitive imperatives may have optative force when the ultimate deep-structure Agent—in fact, in the terms introduced above, a 'Causer'—is other than the Addressee:[118]

128:6   וּרְאֵה־בָנִים לְבָנֶיךָ שָׁלוֹם עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

May you see your children's children. Peace be upon Israel! (NRSV)

110:2   מַטֵּה־עֻזְּךָ יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן רְדֵה בְּקֶרֶב אֹיְבֶיךָ׃

May the LORD send out from Zion your mighty sceptre! May you rule in the midst of your enemies! (ALW)

In the latter of these two examples, both Waltke-O'Connor[119] and Gibson[120] read רדה in the light of ישלח, which they read as future. Hence the imperative is described as an example of 'heterosis'[121] or 'equivalent to a strong subjective expression of fut.'.[122] I instead read ישלח as jussive (with topicalised object) and the imperative as Deontic–volitive. Joüon–Muraoka come close to this interpretation:

> the imperative, along with the jussive and cohortative, is essentially a form for expressing the speaker's will, wish or desire. Thus הָאֹסְרוּ ... signifies: "I want you to be incarcerated."[123]

However, in this example (spoken by Joseph to his brothers, Gen 42:16) there is a further important element present, namely the authority of the Speaker to effect changes in the world merely by expression of his will. In other words, these are *performative* utterances. Thus 'be incarcerated!' in fact means 'May you be incarcerated!', which in the context of Joseph's authority means 'I hereby incarcerate you!'. Similarly, turning to the New Testament, we may say that Jesus's 'Be healed!' (Mark 5:34)[124] in fact means 'May you be healed!', which in the context of Jesus's authority means 'I hereby heal you!'. Looking back to the above examples from the Psalter, these optatives are performative in the context of the Psalmist's own authority to bless, even to bless a superordinate such as the king himself.[125]

The use of the imperative with optative function (not only the jussive, as is often assumed) explains one question in the Psalms which has drawn much comment—address of the

personified natural world.[126] Psalm 148 provides an extended example. The הללו calls to praise in this psalm are addressed consecutively to:

> (unspecified)–angels–earth, heaven and sea–elements–flora–fauna–people–(unspecified).

At several points, it could be argued that literal vocal expressions of praise are expected from animals, or (under metonymy) from the human or other animate inhabitants of the earth, sea *etc.*. However, in the light of the jussive יהללו in vv. 5 and 13, and what has been shown here of the optative use of the imperative, it would seem better to understand as optative: '*Let them praise* the LORD'. In the above examples, we saw that since Joseph had power to incarcerate, Jesus to heal and the Psalmist to bless, these were also Declarative speech acts. This is not the case here, since the Psalmist does not have power to declare the LORD praised by the creation. Psalm 148 is therefore Expressive–optative, as should already have been clear from the unspecified Addressee in vv. 1 and 14.

This conclusion contrasts with those of many grammarians, who discuss personification as a particular characteristic of imperatives or jussives.[127] In fact, there is personification here, but it consists solely in the reference to inanimates praising, not in their being addressed. The Psalmist in Psalm 148 is not addressing anyone, but expressing his desire that the whole creation should praise the LORD. In the words of Finley,

> ... imperative forms can sometimes be used in a rhetorical way. That is, even as a rhetorical question is not really asking for information, so the "rhetorical imperative" is not really making a proposal [*i.e.* Directive utterance].[128]

4. Cohortative

Having considered the person-unmarked imperative form, we now turn to the person-marked D-system forms. The view of the Hebrew verbal system presented in chapter 3 above is foundational to the present discussion, in particular its demonstration that x-*yiqtōl* is properly an Epistemic form and the basis of a 'E-system', whilst *yiqtōl*-x is properly a Deontic form, the basis of a 'D-system'. The cohortative belongs to this D-system, though not strictly to the same paradigm as 2nd and 3rd-person jussives, since it has the paragogic *hê* suffix (discussed above, section 2.2.).

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[118]Further examples: 119:115; 139:19.

[119]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 572 §34.4c.

[120]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 81 §66 Rem. 2.

[121]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 572 §34.4c.

[122]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 81 §66 Rem. 2.

[123]Joüon–Muraoka, *Grammar*, 379 §114o.

[124]Another passive example; for a stative example, see Matt 8:3: 'Be clean!'.

[125]This analysis may also explain the highly debated אֲשֶׁר תְּנָה הוֹדְךָ 8:2.

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[126]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 81 §66 Rem. 2.

[127]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 81 §66 Rem. 2; 82 §67 Rem. 4; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 570 §34.3d; 572-73 §34.4c.

[128]Finley, 'The Proposal', 12.

4.1. Form

The cohortative is distinct from its E-system counterpart in all stems and weak-verb types except III-ה (except אֶהְמָיֶה 77:4; אָשִׂעָה 119:117; Isa 41:23) and III-א verbs (except בוא). Attested irregular forms include:

1. Paragogic *hê* bears *segol* instead of *qamaes* ('Abstumpfung'[129]) in Ps 20:4 and 1 Sam 28:15
2. 2nd-person cohortative: no examples, despite earlier suggestions.
3. 3rd-person cohortative: Deut 33:16; Isa 5:19 (twice); Ezek 23:16ק, 20; Job 11:17; Job 22:21; Ps 20:4.

Upon object cliticisation, the cohortative becomes indistinguishable from its E-system counterpart. Therefore, many commmon forms such as אוּדְךָ cannot appear in the present discussion, although it is likely that, by analogy with forms such as אוֹדֶה יהוה and אָשִׁירָה אוּדְךָ, ואזמרה hides a cohortative form.

4.2. Syntactic Function and Argument Structure

Like the imperative, the cohortative may occasionally occur (contrary to expectations) in a passive form.[130] The synonymous 'save' verbs, ישׁע and נצל, which usually occur in the *hiph'il* stem, occur occasionally in the *niph'al* with passive meaning:

80:4   אלהים הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ וְנִוָּשֵׁעָה:

Restore us, O God; let your face shine, that we may be saved. (NRSV)

119:117   סְעָדֵנִי וְאִוָּשֵׁעָה וְאֶשְׁעָה בְחֻקֶּיךָ תָמִיד:

Hold me up, that I may be safe and have regard for your statutes continually. (NRSV)

As the NRSV translations show, these are both result clauses. There is one apparently main-clause passive (*niph'al*) cohortative in the Psalter:

69:15   הַצִּילֵנִי מִטִּיט וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה אִנָּצְלָה מִשֹּׂנְאַי וּמִמַּעֲמַקֵּי־מָיִם:

Save me from mire so that I don't sink; may I be saved from those who hate me and from depths of water. (ALW)

Even this example, however, is shown to be subordinate by Held's argument for a set factitive-passive sequence in Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry.[131] Thus the only three examples of passive cohortatives occur in subordinate clauses. Though this is striking, it is probably not significant, since Deontic force occurs in the passive voice in several passive imperatives (see above) and in Deontic nominal clauses (see below). The type of Deontic force which is compatible with passivity is optative, since this does not equate Addressee and Agent; the forms most commonly used will therefore be request-cohortatives and 3rd-person jussives (as shown above, section 1.2.), as well as nominal clauses, where the Addressee is 'Causer'.

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[129]Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 137 §48d.

[130]*Contra* Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 137 §48c.

[131]Held, M., 'The Action-Result (Factitive-Passive) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic', *JBL* 84 (1965) 272-82. One might compare also the imperatives in 24:7, 9.

4.3. Semantic Function

4.3.1. Introduction

The term 'cohortative' is derived from the Latin '*cohortor ut* + subjunctive', meaning 'to encourage, exhort'; this is properly just one of several types of cohortative force.

According to Driver, paragogic *hê* in the cohortative

has the effect of marking with particular emphasis the concentration of the will upon a particular object— נלכה *let us go, we would fain go*, the idea being expressed with more keenness and energy, and with a deeper personal interest or emotion, than by the mere imperfect נלך.[132]

Similarly, recently, Waltke-O'Connor:

The cohortative expresses the will or strong desire of the speaker.[133]

Similarly, in diachronic perspective, Bauer–Leander:

Der *Affekt-Aorist* [*i.e.* cohortative] ... entstand vielleicht durch das Zusammenwachsen der Verbform mit der (im Arab. in Ausrufsätzen häufig gebrauchten) Interjektion *ā, die zum Ausdruck der Absicht oder der beabsichtigten Folge diente.[134]

A 'weaker' view of paragogic *hê* as an optional emphatic particle added to long-form *yiqtōl* has been gradually replaced since Gesenius and increasing comparative study of Semitic languages (especially Arabic) with an appreciation of it as marking a distinct verbal conjugation.[135] Thus Driver is in fact referring to a function of Deontic modality which is given full grammatical expression in Hebrew verbal morphology. It remains debated whether the cohortative originates from the Proto-Semitic subjunctive *yaqtula*, or from the 1st-person singular ethical dative *-ja* suffix[136] which produces the Akkadian ventive[137] and Arabic energetic *yaqtulanna*.[138] This possible 'ethical dative' origin is instructive in that it demonstrates the subjective, Speaker-oriented force of the suffix.

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[132]Driver, *Tenses*, 51 §45.

[133]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a.

[134]Bauer, H. and Leander, P., *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes*, I. Band (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962) 273 §36d.

[135]Driver, *Tenses*, 61-2 §58 Obs. 1. See also above, 2.2.

[136]von Soden comments that this 'ursprünglich nur eine Bewegung zu "mir" her ausdrückte, sehr frühzeitig aber auch schon für entsprechende Bewegungen zu anderen hin gebraucht wurde, wenn diese von ihrem Zielpunkt aus angesehen wurden.'; von Soden, W., *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Analecta Orientalia 33/47; Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1969) 107 §82a.

[137]From Latin *venire*, 'to come', *i.e.* direction towards (originally 'towards me').'Energic' is 'the etymological term for what in Assyriology is called, from one of its functions, the ventive.'; Bergsträsser, G., *Introduction to the Semitic Languages: Text Specimens and Grammatical Sketches*, tr. P.T. Daniels (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 27 §2.1.1. n. e.

[138]Probably related to *epenthetic* ('*energic*') *nun* in Hebrew, particularly since *energic nun* does not normally occur with short-form *yiqtōl* or *wayyiqtōl*; associated by some with the particle *-nā*'.

All the various views of the cohortative reviewed in the following have in common an understanding of its basic meaning as optative, nuanced pragmatically according to role and status as discussed above.[139]

4.3.1.1. Main Clauses

Gibson distinguishes three main-clause cohortative uses by the Speaker's freedom to act:

> When the speaker is free the cohort. expresses intention or resolve [1] ... When he is dependent on others it expresses a wish or entreaty [2] ... . In the plur. a note of mutual encouragement is often present ... Especially if preceded by, as a kind of auxiliary, the plur. imper. of a verb of motion [3].[140]

The *'resolve-cohortative'* [1] is referred to variously as 'I will ...',[141] 'intention or resolve',[142] 'Selbstaufforderung',[143] 'Affekt-Aorist' expressing 'Absicht oder ... Wunsch',[144] 'optative',[145] 'where the speaker has the ability to carry out an inclination',[146] 'we promise ...'.[147] I refer to it in terms of its illocutionary force: 'Commissive' when it involves an Addressee-oriented promise (such as in a 'vow of praise'):

אוֹדְךָ בְּקָהָל רָב בְּעַם עָצוּם אֲהַלְלֶךָּ׃   35:18

Then I will acknowledge you in the great assembly; in a great multitude I will praise you. (ALW)

or a Speaker-oriented purpose (indirect volition):

אָמַרְתִּי אֶשְׁמְרָה דְרָכַי מֵחֲטוֹא בִלְשׁוֹנִי אֶשְׁמְרָה לְפִי מַחְסוֹם בְּעֹד רָשָׁע לְנֶגְדִּי׃   39:2

I said, "I will keep my ways from sinning with my tongue; I will keep a muzzle over my mouth as long as there's a wicked man before me."

or 'Expressive' when it involves a Speaker-oriented utterance with no referential function (purely Interpersonal communication):

אוֹדֶה יְהוָה בְּכָל־לִבִּי אֲסַפְּרָה כָּל־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ׃   9:2-3

אֶשְׂמְחָה וְאֶעֶלְצָה בָךְ אֲזַמְּרָה שִׁמְךָ עֶלְיוֹן׃

I acknowledge the LORD with all my heart, I recount all your miracles.
I am happy and I rejoice in you. I make music about your name, Most High. (ALW)

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[139] See above, section 1.3.

[140] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 82 §68.

[141] Driver, *Tenses*, 53-54 §49.

[142] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 82 §68.

[143] Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 5 §6c-d; Meyer, R., *Hebräische Grammatik*, 3rd edn. (Berlin, 1966-72) 47 §100,4b.

[144] Bauer–Leander, *Grammatik*, 274 §36m.

[145] Williams, *Syntax*, 34 §184.

[146] Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a.

[147] Niccacci on Exod 20:19 at Tilburg.

The *'request-cohortative'* [2] is referred to as 'Let me ...',[148] 'wish or entreaty',[149] 'Bitte',[150] 'Bitte um Erlaubnis',[151] 'Aufforderung',[152] 'where the speaker cannot effect a desire without the consent of the one addressed'[153]. I term it 'Directive–precative'.

אֱלֹהַי בְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה אַל־יַעַלְצוּ אֹיְבַי לִי׃   25:2

My God, in you I trust—may I not be ashamed, may my enemies not rejoice over me. (ALW)

The *inclusive plural* 1st-person Deontic [3] is referred to as 'mutual encouragement',[154] 'exhortation',[155] 'cohortative',[156] 'de[n] Redende[n] [mit dem Gesprächspartner] zu gemeinsamer Tätigkeit verbinden[d]',[157] where 'the speakers usually seek to instigate or encourage each other to some action'[158]. The plural subject includes both Speaker and Addressee(s). I term it 'Directive–hortative'.

גַּדְּלוּ לַיהוָה אִתִּי וּנְרוֹמְמָה שְׁמוֹ יַחְדָּו׃   34:4

Magnify the LORD with me and let us exalt his name together. (ALW)

Thus the main-clause schema looks as follows:

Speech act (Searle)	Modality	English rendering	Hebrew example
1 Directive	precative ('request')	May I not be ashamed	אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה
	hortative	Let us exalt his name together	נְרוֹמְמָה שְׁמוֹ יַחְדָּו
2 Commissive ('resolve')	promissive	I will acknowledge you	אוֹדְךָ
	purposive	I will keep my ways from sin	אֶשְׁמְרָה דְרָכַי מֵחֲטוֹא
3 Expressive ('resolve')	expressive	I rejoice in you	אֶעֶלְצָה בָךְ

Each of these functions stems from the basic optative meaning of the cohortative:

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[148] Driver, *Tenses*, 53 §49.

[149] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 82 §68.

[150] Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 5 §6d; Meyer, *Grammatik*, 47 §100,4b.

[151] Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 4 §6b.

[152] Bauer–Leander, *Grammatik*, 274 §36n.
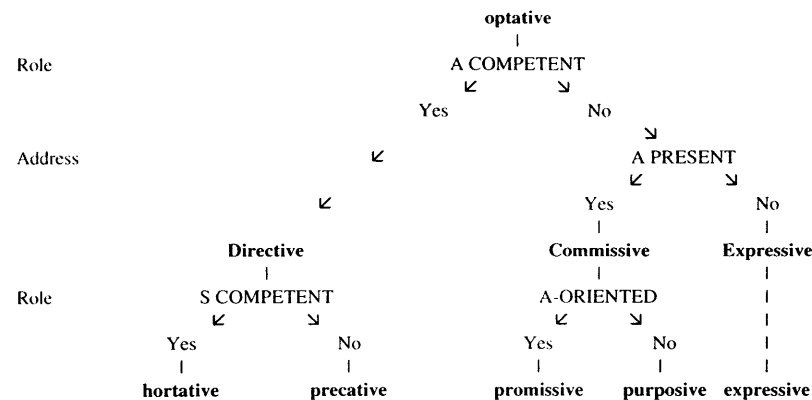
[153] Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a.

[154] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 82 §68.

[155] Finley, 'The Proposal', 10.

[156] Williams, *Syntax*, 34 §185.

[157] Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 4 §6a.

[158] Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a.

```
                         optative
                            |
Role                   A COMPETENT
                      ↙         ↘
                   Yes            No
                                   ↘
Address                          A PRESENT
                    ↙           ↙      ↘
                               Yes       No
                                |         |
            Directive      Commissive   Expressive
                |              |          |
Role        S COMPETENT    A-ORIENTED     |
            ↙        ↘     ↙       ↘       |
          Yes        No   Yes       No     |
           |          |    |         |     |
        hortative  precative promissive purposive expressive
```

Thus hortatives require the competence of both Speaker and Addressee, whilst at the other end, Expressives require the absence of an Addressee at all. It should be noted that the feature of status is not relevant here, since there are no directive cohortatives in the Psalms.

4.3.1.2. Subordinate Clauses

To these main-clause types , we need to add several subordinate uses.

Especially after an imperatival main clause, the cohortative may have the function described as 'Purpose',[159] 'intended result',[160] 'Finalsatz',[161] 'Nachsatz zu einem imp.',[162] 'die sich aus dem Befehl ergebende Folge',[163] which 'often occurs after another volitional form ... and sometimes after a question'[164]. With similar function,[165] it may occur in a conditional apodosis ('then ...'),[166] where it most commonly '[folgt] auf Imperf. im Vordersatz'.[167] I term this use 'final', distinguishing between purpose and result (including conditional apodoses).

More surprising is the use of the cohortative in a conditional protasis ('if ...'),[168] 'Bedingungen',[169] 'Real gedachte Bedingungen' after 'im 'in der Vergangenheit'[170]. This is the Epistemic equivalent of the Deontic (optative) sense—one might compare the use of the

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[159]Driver, *Tenses*, 59 §55; Williams, *Syntax*, 35 §187; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575 §34.5.2a.

[160]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575 §34.5.2b.

[161]Meyer. *Grammatik*, 101-102 §117,1.

[162]Brockelmann, *Syntax*. 134 §135c.

[163]Brockelmann, *Syntax*. 165 §176c.

[164]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575 §34.5.2b.

[165]*Contra* Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.2a, who treat use in protasis and apodosis

[166]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.2a.

[167]Meyer, *Grammatik*, 114 §122,3c.

[168]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 83 §68 *Rem. 2*; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.2a. Blau claims there are just three examples in the Old Testament, Ps 139:8; Job 16:6; Job 19:18; cited in Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575 §34.5.2b n. 23.

[169]Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 134 §135b.

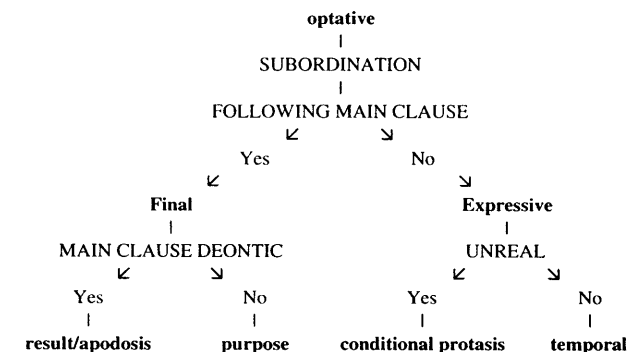[170]Brockelmann, *Syntax*, 156-57 §164bγ.

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usually Deontic English modal verb 'should' in a conditional protasis: 'Should I make my bed in Sheol ...'. Temporal clauses after עד also occasionally use the cohortative.[171]

As with main-clause uses, there are a number of occurrences after *waw*-consecutive[172] where, it is claimed, the cohortative '[konkurriert] mit dem Imperf. cons.'[173] and is 'funktionslos geworden'[174]. Since *wayiqtōl* itself has a measure of final force, these occurrences are not as problematic for a coherent theory of the cohortative as are apparently functionless main-clause uses ('pseudo-cohortative').

Thus the subordinate-clause schema looks as follows:

			English rendering	*Hebrew example*
1 Final		Purpose	I lie down in order to sleep	אני שכבתי ואישנה
		Result/Cond. apodosis	Do good to your servant	גמל על־עבדך
			... and I'll keep your word	ואשמרה דברך ...
2 Expressive		Conditional protasis	If I make my bed in Sheol,	ואציעה שאול
			... there you are[175]	הנך ...
		Temporal	Until I understood their end	עד־אבינה לאחריתם

This presentation may also be seen in terms of binary parameters:

```
                        optative
                           |
                      SUBORDINATION
                           |
                   FOLLOWING MAIN CLAUSE
                    ↙             ↘
                  Yes              No
                 ↙                   ↘
              Final               Expressive
                |                      |
       MAIN CLAUSE DEONTIC          UNREAL
        ↙          ↘            ↙          ↘
      Yes          No         Yes          No
       |            |          |            |
  result/apodosis purpose conditional protasis temporal
```

Finally, one distinctive structure which deserves mention here is Held's 'factitive–passive' sequence of identical verbs. Since the second verb (*niphʿal*) expresses passively the same action as the first (usually, *hiphʿil*), and the object of the first is the subject of the second, there is a very close relationship between the two clauses.

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[171]*E.g.* 73:17. Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 83 §68 *Rem. 2*. The exceptional example of a 3rd-person cohortative with *waw* consecutive in Ezek 23:16 (*qərê*) is also temporal, 'And when she lusted ..., she sent ...'.

[172]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 83 §68 *Rem. 3*.

[173]Meyer, *Grammatik*, 48 §100,4b.

[174]Irsigler, *Einführung*, 95 §17.1.2.

[175]Though 139:8 may suggest a kind of gapping comparable to that in 106:16 as analysed by O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 128-29. If so, the cohortative here may be one of purpose, though ואציעה ... אם־אסק שמים seems strange.

69:15   הַצִּילֵנִי מִטִּיט וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה אִנָּצְלָה מִשֹּׂנְאַי וּמִמַּעֲמַקֵּי־מָיִם:

Save me from mire so that I don't sink; may I be saved from those who hate me and from depths of water. (ALW)

This pattern may also explain many other texts, however, in which a imperative is followed by a cohortative of related meaning.[176] The pattern may be fientive–passive (*e.g.* סעדני ואושעה, 'Help me and may I be saved!' 119:117), fientive–stative (גל־עיני ואביטה, 'Open my eyes and may I see' 119:18), causative–passive (*e.g.* השיבנו ... ונושעה 'Restore us ... and May we be saved!' 80:4, 8, 20) or causative–stative (*e.g.* הודיעני ... אדעה, 'Let me know ... May I know!' 39:5; similarly 119:125). Held refers to this as an 'Action–Result' sequence; I would prefer to view it in terms of synonymous parallelism. Though the level of subordination (if there is any) is therefore debatable, it should be noted that these uses agree with our patterns for both main and subordinate clauses.

Only main-clause uses of the cohortative are considered in the following, since these subordinate uses are related to questions of the *wayyiqtōl*, which has not been treated here.

4.3.1.3. Comparative Studies

4.3.1.3.1. Byblian

By far the most important comparative material for the study of the Hebrew cohortative comes from Byblian as presented by Moran.[177] Byblian shows the cohortative to be, rather than ventive in origin, in fact 'a remnant of the earlier "subjunctive"', since 'the use of the cohortative is substantially identical with that of *yaqtula* in Byblos'.[178] Like Arabic, then, Byblian has a prefix-conjugation mood pattern of *u-a-Ø* representing indicative–subjunctive–jussive. There is also an energic in *-na*, which occurs most frequently in questions.[179]

'Almost two-thirds'[180] of occurrences have a 'jussive-purposive' sense, whether 'direct volitive' (optative, precative, directive)[181] or 'indirect volitive' (purpose or intended result)[182],

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[176]Though I would not, with Held, want to make emendations on the basis of it.

[177]Moran, W.L., 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', *Or* 29 (1960) 1-19; 'The Hebrew Language', 64; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 § 34.5.

[178]Moran, 'The Hebrew Language', 64.

[179]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 9.

[180]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 7, compare 'over seventy per cent', Moran, 'The Hebrew Language', 64.

[181]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 2-5. All of Moran's 36 occurrences are 3rd-person, most being directives, where, however, the Addressee is subject, *e.g.* 'And so may the king give his servant a garrison', though there are also passive forms *e.g. yu-da-nam*, 'may it be given' and optatives *e.g. la yi-iš-pu-ra-am*, 'May he not write'; this contrasts with the situation in Hebrew, where 3rd-person jussives are most often not addressed to the subject, but to the 'Causer', *e.g.* 'May they die!'; the exceptional Hebrew 2nd and 3rd-person cohortatives are all either optative (Deut 33:16; Job 22:21; Isa 5:19; Ps 20:4), or dependent—temporal (Ezek 23:16 *qərê* with *wāw*-consecutive), final–result (Ezek 23:16 with *wāw*-consecutive; Job 11:17).

[182]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 6-7. Moran's 13 occurrences include 1st and 3rd-person forms.

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and about 15% occur in conditional sentences (in either protasis or apodosis). Purpose clauses consistently have 'modal congruence'[183]—either:

Main clause—Purpose clause	*Example*
indicative—indicative	'He is gathering [-*u*] ... that he may [*u*] take [-*u*]'
juss./imp./*yaqtula*—juss./imp./*yaqtula*	'Let him not gather [-*a*] ... that he may [*u*] take [-*a*]'

This is Moran's primary evidence for the 'volitive' (*i.e.* Deontic) nature of *yaqtula*. He concludes that the use of *yaqtula* in purpose clauses 'must ... reflect Canaanite idiom'[184] and that the perfect correspondence with Hebrew usage 'proves conclusively that ... we are dealing with a specifically Canaanite morpheme'[185]. On the use of *yaqtula* in conditional protases, Moran comments:

> In [Hebrew], exactly as in Amarna, cohortative and jussive are frequently employed in conditional sentences of the real type; in [Arabic], the jussive is regular in the same type, and the subjunctive is also possible, though with the restriction that it appears only in the second member of a compound protasis, the first member containing a jussive.[186]

In Byblian, therefore, we see a pattern of uses:

main clause	optative [*i.e.* Expressive], precative [*i.e.* Directive]
subordinate	purpose, intended result
conditional	protasis or apodosis

In Moran's own words,

> The use of *yaqtula* in the Byblos letters is almost without exception that of a volitive, that is, in a main clause it is virtually equivalent to a jussive; in a subordinate clause dependent on a volitive it expresses purpose or intended result. Other uses [conditional, after verbs of fearing[187] *etc.*] can be paralleled by the use of the subjunctive in Arabic.[188]

Hence the following schema:

1. Directive	precative
2. Expressive	optative, conditional protasis
3. Final	purpose, result, conditional apodosis

4.3.1.3.2. Arabic

Until Moran's work on Byblian, there was considerable debate as to whether the Hebrew cohortative corresponded formally to the Arabic subjunctive *yaqtula* or to the energetic *yaqtulanna*. It now seems clear that the energic is represented in Hebrew morphology only by

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[183]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 9. A tempting analogy is the use of Greek subjunctive and optative subordinated to primary and historic sequence main clauses respectively.

[184]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 64.

[185]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 13.

[186]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 15.

[187]In fact, of course, simply Negative purpose.

[188]Moran, W.L., 'New evidence on Canaanite *taqtulū(na)*', *JCS* 5 (1951) 33-35 (33).

the particle -nā'. Functionally, however, it remains the case that the Hebrew cohortative shares much of the semantic range of the Arabic emphatic.

1. *yaqtula*   subjunctive, *i.e.* the grammatical reflex of logical dependence.
2. *yaqtulanna*   emphatic future used in:
         a. asseverations [Commissive]
         b. commands, prohibitions, wishes, and questions [Directive, Expressive, Interrogative]
         c. conditionals: apodosis of correlative clauses introduced by *la* [Commissive]
         d.   protasis after *'immā*[189] [conditional]

4.3.2. Directive–precative ('request-cohortative')

'Request-cohortatives' are Directive in that it is the Addressee who is competent to fulfil the proposition; they are precative in that they are only ever spoken by a subordinate. Because they do not grammaticalise the Addressee, they involve him pragmatically, requesting that he act as a 'Causer' to realise a state in the life of the Speaker, to cause something to happen to him, or to cause him to act in some way. It may be this thematic role of 'Causer' which prevents 'request-cohortatives' and 3rd-person jussives from having directive force—the focus remains on the 1st-person Speaker. Alternatively, it may concern politeness forms—just as the Psalmist often avoids reference to God by using 1st and 3rd-person Deontic forms, so God may deliberately avoid reference to himself

It was shown above (1.2) how 'request-cohortatives' and Directive 3rd-person jussives share a particular argument structure ('May I be … !' / 'May they be … !'). The force of these form is that of *indirect speech acts*—Expressive forms ('May X happen!') used with Directive function ('Make X happen!').[190] Thus these forms may be compared with the optative use of the subjunctive in Romance languages: 'Que j'habite …' 61:5, 'que soit dévasté' 69:26;[191] since this is not available idiomatically in English, English normally uses distinct causative verbs such as 'to tell' הוֹדִיעַ, 'to guide' הַדְרֵךְ.

In direct speech in narrative parts of the Old Testament, the request-cohortative occurs frequently as a politeness form on the lips of a subordinate. There are relatively few examples in the Psalms, perhaps owing to the forceful, direct tone of this *genre*.

17:15   אֲנִי בְּצֶדֶק אֶחֱזֶה פָנֶיךָ אֶשְׂבְּעָה בְהָקִיץ תְּמוּנָתֶךָ:

How good   As for me, may I see your face in (my) righteousness! May I receive satisfaction, when I awake, in your likeness! (ALW)

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[189]Wright, *Grammar* 2, 24 §14; 43 §19d.

[190]The relationship of the 'Causer' to the subject of a causative (*hiph'il*) imperative has already been noted (39:5; 69:15).

[191]Jacquet, L., *Les Psaumes et le coeur de l'homme: Étude textuelle, littéraire et doctrinale*, 3 vols (Belgique: Duculot, 1975) *in loc.*

The preceding v. 14 and the a-colon here are both Directive, and in fact there is a clear contrast made between יִשְׂבְּעוּ, 'may they be satisfied', in v. 14 and אֶשְׂבְּעָה here. Therefore it seems right to read אֶשְׂבְּעָה as Directive. Further שׂבע is translated in terms of an experience, not just an attitude (which might have supported a Commissive reading: 'I will take satisfaction in …').

65:5   אַשְׁרֵי תִּבְחַר וּתְקָרֵב יִשְׁכֹּן חֲצֵרֶיךָ נִשְׂבְּעָה בְּטוּב בֵּיתֶךָ קְדֹשׁ הֵיכָלֶךָ:

How good it is for the one you choose and draw near so that he can live in your courts! May we receive satisfaction in the goodness of your house, the holiness of your temple!

Again, שׂבע is ambiguous. Kraus and Gunkel read Epistemically 'Laben dürfen wir uns …', Dahood Directively 'May we be fully imbued …' and AV and NRSV Commissively 'We shall be satisfied'. My Directive reading is related in part to the term אַשְׁרֵי. Unlike the בָּרוּךְ formula, which is normally Declarative ('I hereby bless you!') or Expressive ('May you be blessed!'), the אַשְׁרֵי formula is exclamative ('How good it is … !') but also conditional ('… for the man who …'). אַשְׁרֵי thus has implied Directive force—it is a prompt to a particular kind of action. In 65:5, this background may support our reading of נִשְׂבְּעָה as Directive—the Psalmist is asking to be included in the good experienced by one who 'is chosen'.

61:4-5   כִּי־הָיִיתָ מַחְסֶה לִי מִגְדַּל־עֹז מִפְּנֵי אוֹיֵב:
אָגוּרָה בְאָהָלְךָ עוֹלָמִים אֶחֱסֶה בְסֵתֶר כְּנָפֶיךָ סֶּלָה:

May you be a refuge to me, a strong tower against the enemy!
May I live in your tent for ever, take refuge in the shelter of your wings. Selah (ALW)

Here, אָגוּרָה is read as Directive in the light of the preceding 'precative perfect' and, indeed, the entire surrounding context, which is precative.

119:45   וְאֶתְהַלְּכָה בָרְחָבָה כִּי פִקֻּדֶיךָ דָרָשְׁתִּי:

And may I walk in freedom, for I have pursued your precepts. (ALW)

Here again, I read Directive because it is in God's hands where the Psalmist walks—the Addressee is competent.

69:15   הַצִּילֵנִי מִטִּיט וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה אִנָּצְלָה מִשֹּׂנְאַי וּמִמַּעֲמַקֵּי־מָיִם:

Save me from mire so that I don't sink; may I be saved from those who hate me and from depths of water. (ALW)

39:5   הוֹדִיעֵנִי יְהוָה קִצִּי וּמִדַּת יָמַי מַה־הִיא אֵדְעָה מֶה־חָדֵל אָנִי:

Let me know, LORD, my end and what the measure of my days is! May I know how fleeting I am! (ALW)

These forms, parallel with causative imperatives, appear to be clear main-clause Directives, however, they may be subordinate according to Held's 'factitive–passive' sequence.[192]

Three further main-clause cohortatives are cited as optative (and thus implicitly Directive) by Michel[193]—נְרַנְּנָה 20:6; אוֹדְךָ 35:18; אֲהַלְלָה 69:31. However, one of our main criteria for distinguishing Directive forms has been the competence of Speaker or Addressee, and verbs of praise such as these usually refer to actions within the Speaker' competence, and so are

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[192]See section 4.3.1.2. above.

[193]Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung*, 155 §25,82-4.

Commissive. Nevertheless, there are a few cases where verbs of praise appear in context to be used Directively:

31:8   אָגִילָה וְאֶשְׂמְחָה בְּחַסְדֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתָ אֶת־עָנְיִי יָדַעְתָּ בְּצָרוֹת נַפְשִׁי׃

May I rejoice and be happy in your love, that you have perceived my affliction, you have known it from the afflictions of my soul. (ALW)

Here, rejoicing is understood as the natural consequence of the main request, which is that God would 'perceive' and 'know'. It should also be noted that the preceding colon, וַאֲנִי אֶל־יְהוָה בָּטַחְתִּי, is normally followed by a request form such as אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה.[194]

Finally, there may be some further complication of Speaker-Addressee relations:

20:6   נְרַנְּנָה בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ וּבְשֵׁם־אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִדְגֹּל יְמַלֵּא יְהוָה כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ׃

May we shout for joy over your victory, and in the name of our God set up our banners. May the LORD fulfill all your petitions. (NRSV)

3rd-person jussives are normally addressed to God ('Causer'), with the Enemy as subject (Patient or Experiencer) of a passive or stative verb: 'May they be destroyed!'; in Psalm 20, however, 3rd-person jussives are addressed to the king (Experiencer), with God as subject (Agent): 'May he answer you!'. Similarly, request-cohortatives are normally addressed to God ('Causer'), with the Speaker as subject (Patient or Experiencer) of a passive or stative verb: 'May I be saved!'; in Psalm 20:6, however, the request-cohortative is addressed to the king ('Causer'), with the Psalmist as subject (Experiencer), though we know that it is in fact not the king who is understood as the final 'Causer', but God. These three thematic roles are related in that a desire is expressed before God that he will cause a victory to be experienced by the king with the result that the people rejoice.[195]

4.3.3. Directive–hortative (true 'cohortative)

True hortative cohortatives are 'inclusive plural' forms, that is, those in which both the Speaker(s) and the Addressee(s) are competent.[196]

> *e.g.*   Caroline said to Justine, "Let's go out to dinner!"
> The Hesseys said to their cell group, "Let's go punting!"

They are therefore not the same as the 'exclusive plural' Expressive or Commissive 'resolve-cohortatives',[197] where the action is effected solely by the Speakers.

> *e.g.*   Caroline and Justine said, "Let's go out to dinner!"
> The Hesseys said, "We'd like to take you out punting!"

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[194]Culley's formula 37 and related forms: 31:2; 25:2; 71:1; 141:8; 13:6; 7:2; 31:15-16.

[195]So Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung*, 157, though he seems to equate 'Wunsch/Bitte' (Directive) and 'Lobgelübde' (Commissive) as against 'Selbstaufforderung' (Commissive)!

[196]Some languages in West Africa and Australia have exclusive ('we and not you') and inclusive ('we/I and you') 1st-person plural forms.

[197]*Contra* Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung*, 155 §25 and Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a, who fail to distinguish.

The presence of two distinct parties (Speaker(s) and Addressee(s)) is often made explicit by the use of an auxiliary imperative, often of a verb of motion:[198]

83:5   אָמְרוּ לְכוּ וְנַכְחִידֵם מִגּוֹי וְלֹא־יִזָּכֵר שֵׁם־יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד׃

They say, "Come, let us wipe them out as a nation; let the name of Israel be remembered no more." (NRSV)

95:1-6   לְכוּ נְרַנְּנָה לַיהוָה נָרִיעָה לְצוּר יִשְׁעֵנוּ׃

נְקַדְּמָה פָנָיו בְּתוֹדָה בִּזְמִרוֹת נָרִיעַ לוֹ׃ ...

בֹּאוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה נִבְרְכָה לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה עֹשֵׂנוּ׃

O come, let us sing to the LORD; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation!
Let us come into his presence with thanksgiving; let us make a joyful noise to him with songs of praise! ...
O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the LORD, our Maker! (NRSV)

The Directive force of these cohortatives is marked not only by paragogic *hê*, but also by their dependence on the modal verbs of motion הלך and בוא.

34:4   גַּדְּלוּ לַיהוָה אִתִּי וּנְרוֹמְמָה שְׁמוֹ יַחְדָּו׃

O magnify the LORD with me, and let us exalt his name together. (NRSV)

Here, the inclusive cohortative is paralleled by an imperative with אתי.

118:24   זֶה־הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה יְהוָה נָגִילָה וְנִשְׂמְחָה בוֹ׃

This is the day that the LORD has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. (NRSV)

That this is hortative is shown by the context of 1st-person praise together with imperative and 2nd-person jussive calls to the community to praise:

הוֹדוּ ... יֹאמַר ... יֹאמְרוּ ... יֹאמְרוּ ... אוֹדֶה ... אוֹדְךָ ... אוֹדְךָ ... אֲרוֹמִמְךָ ... הוֹדוּ ...

Finally, an example where a linguistic explanation improves on cult-functional and etymological answers:

66:6   הָפַךְ יָם לְיַבָּשָׁה בַּנָּהָר יַעַבְרוּ בְרָגֶל שָׁם נִשְׂמְחָה־בּוֹ׃

He turned the sea into dry land; within the river, they went over on foot. Therefore let us rejoice in him! (ALW)

Unless we amend with most translations to נשׂמחו 'we rejoiced' (AV, NRSV), we might have to consider either Kraus's theory of a Jordan festival (for which נהר is most unusual) or Dahood's reading of ים and נהר as a parallel pair (so Byblian) and שׁם as 'behold!' (so Akkadian). Instead, it is worth noting that many languages take (exophoric) place-deictic terms for use in (endophoric) text-deixis. This is most probably the case here, with שׁם meaning 'in this (fact)'; the English 'therefore' is, of course, also derived from place-deictic 'there'.

4.3.4. Commissive/Expressive ('resolve-cohortative')

Up to this point in the discussion, I have usually referred to 'resolve-cohortatives', where the Speaker is competent, as 'Commissive' utterances, that is, those which 'commit the Speaker to some future action' (Searle). In form-critical terms, this is the 'vow of praise':

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[198]See above, section 2.3.

18:50   עַל־כֵּן אוֹדְךָ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲזַמֵּרָה:

For this I will extol you, O LORD, among the nations, and sing praises to your name. (NRSV)

54:8   בִּנְדָבָה אֶזְבְּחָה־לָּךְ אוֹדֶה שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה כִּי־טוֹב:

With a freewill offering I will sacrifice to you; I will give thanks to your name, O LORD, for it is good. (NRSV)

Place (בגוים), reason (על־כן) and manner (*e.g.* בכנור) deixis strengthen this interpretation.

In other cases, especially at the beginning of a Psalm, there is clearly no future reference:

30:2   אֲרוֹמִמְךָ יְהוָה כִּי דִלִּיתָנִי וְלֹא־שִׂמַּחְתָּ אֹיְבַי לִי:

I will extol you, O LORD, for you have drawn me up, and did not let my foes rejoice over me. (NRSV)

145:1   אֲרוֹמִמְךָ אֱלוֹהַי הַמֶּלֶךְ וַאֲבָרְכָה שִׁמְךָ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

I will extol you, my God and King, and bless your name forever and ever. (NRSV)

Here, then, and in the absence of contextual indications to the contrary, it would seem better to choose an Expressive interpretation, translated as an explicit performative:

9:2-3   אוֹדֶה יְהוָה בְּכָל־לִבִּי אֲסַפְּרָה כָּל־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ:

אֶשְׂמְחָה וְאֶעֶלְצָה בָךְ אֲזַמְּרָה שִׁמְךָ עֶלְיוֹן:

I acknowledge the LORD with all my heart, I recount all your miracles.

I am happy and I rejoice in you. I make music about your name, Most High. (ALW)

This ambiguity between Commissive ('vow of praise') and Expressive ('call of praise') has been noted by several scholars:[199]

> [das Gelübde] findet sich auch gewöhnlich am Schluß des babylonischen Klageliedes. Dort folgt es unmittelbar auf Klage und Bitte und erscheint damit als ein abschließendes, besonders wirksames Mittel der Überredung des Gottes. Im hebräischen Klagelied wird das Gelübde von der Bitte durch die Gewißheit der Erhörung getrennt. Damit fällt auf dieses ein anderes Licht. Es ist nicht mehr Mittel der Überredung, es ist Ausdruck eines aufwallenden Dankgefühles. (Gunkel[200])

> אֲסַפְּרָה שִׁמְךָ לְאֶחָי ist nicht die Formel eines Gelübdes, das der Klagende in seinem Lied ablegt, sondern bereits der Einsatz des Dank- und Lobliedes (Ps 66,16; 109,30; 107,32) (Kraus on 22:23[201])

> ... das Lobgelübde, das dann oft übergeht in Gotteslob. (Westermann[202])

In other words, as the Psalmist makes his vow of future praise, he 'overflows' with an expression of praise in the present. Frost terms this 'Asseveration by Thanksgiving'.[203]

> The form of this quite ambiguous utterance is as follows:

> Die Form des Gelübdes ist, da der Beter selbst hier zu handeln gedenkt [*i.e.* future vow], natürlicherweise ein Satz, dessen Verb in der ersten Person steht. Der Modus ist entweder das Imperfekt oder der Kohortativ.[204]

This characterisation from Gunkel bears striking similarities to Austin's initial grammatical definition of explicit performatives:

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[199]Also Frost, 'Asseveration by Thanksgiving'.

[200]Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 248.

[201]Kraus, *Psalmen*, 330.

[202]Westermann, *Lob und Klage*, 44.

[203]Frost 'Asseveration by Thanksgiving'.

[204]Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 248.

> ... what we should feel tempted to say is that any utterance which is in fact a performative should be reducible, or expandible, or analysable into a form, or reproducible in a form, with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active ...[205]

Thus though Gunkel is describing the 'vow of praise', his definition fits perfectly the *grammatical* conditions at least for explicit performatives. Thus we may borrow Austin's first contextual criterion for performatives in order to distinguish between Commissive vow and Expressive call:

> If 'I apologize' is to be happy, the statement must be true that:
> (i) I am apologizing.[206]

The language of speech acts has thus been useful in analysing formally what has previously only received rather vague informal description. However, it may be objected to an Expressive translation of אֲרוֹמִמְךָ as 'I exalt you' that the normal form for this reading should be *qātal*, since it was shown above that performativity is by definition Indicative and therefore takes the *qātal* form [-MOD].[207] The answer lies in the fact that we are here concerned with an Expressive, not a Declarative. Declarative utterances such as נשׁבעתי usually occur in the explicit performative form (here, *qātal*), and have been said to

> effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions.

By contrast, Expressive utterances such as אֲרוֹמִמְךָ may occur in any form (especially interjections or volitional forms), and are concerned with:

> Adopting of an attitude; attitudes and *social behaviour*; express a psychological state in S.

Thus, though an expression such as אברכה is often thought to impart a blessing, it in fact only *expresses* a blessing, since unlike in the case of נשׁבעתי, there is in fact no 'extra-linguistic institutions' for blessing. The existence of speech acts in *qātal* and *yiqtōl* forms of the same verb therefore seems problematic—it is possible that whilst the quite frequent אברכה is Expressive, those few occurrences of ברכתי (Gen 17:20) or ברכנו (118:26) refer to specific ritual context.

Looking back now to our example above (9:2-3), we can see that these verbs fit well with Searle's paradigmatic expressives (thank, congratulate, apologise, condole, deplore, welcome). These are the social (אודך) and expressive (אשׂמחה)[208] terms of Psalmic praise, the substance of 'declarative praise' (Westermann).

Finally, the problem of translation into English remains, since 'I will exalt' sounds future (despite its being derived from German volitional *wollen*, 'to want') and—as we have seen—'I

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[205]Austin, *How to do Things with Words*. Of course, he goes on to include many passive utterances as well as 2nd and 3rd-person forms. It is this definition that is formalised by the performative hypothesis (initially by Austin himself) into a matrix clause for all utterances: I (hereby) V_p you (that) S'; Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 244.

[206]This is elsewhere referred to as the functional test for explicit performatives: 'To say *x* was to do *y*'.

[207]Ch. 3, section 2.4.5 above.

[208]Lyons, *Semantics* 1, 50-1.

exalt' sounds performative. Whichever form is chosen, its Expressive force should be remembered.

4.3.4.1. Commissive–promissive ('vow of praise')

Moran comments that,

> [In Byblian, Hebrew and Arabic], it is only in the context of a conditional sentence that we find *yaqtula* with the force of a future asseverative [*i.e.* Commissive][209]

This may be seen functioning within one colon:

119:145   ... עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה חֻקֶּיךָ אֶצֹּרָה:

... answer me, O LORD. I will keep your statutes. (NRSV)

This is related to the fact that vows of praise tend to occur at the end of a lament.[210]

Typical examples are:

7:18   אוֹדֶה יְהוָה כְּצִדְקוֹ וַאֲזַמְּרָה שֵׁם־יְהוָה עֶלְיוֹן:

I will give to the LORD the thanks due to his righteousness, and sing praise to the name of the LORD, the Most High. (NRSV)

69:31   אֲהַלְלָה שֵׁם־אֱלֹהִים בְּשִׁיר וַאֲגַדְּלֶנּוּ בְתוֹדָה:

I will praise the name of God with a song; I will magnify him with thanksgiving. (NRSV)

There may be explicit reference to the vow:

61:9   כֵּן אֲזַמְּרָה שִׁמְךָ לָעַד לְשַׁלְּמִי נְדָרַי יוֹם יוֹם:

So I will always sing praises to your name, as I pay my vows day after day. (NRSV)

A vow in the middle of a Psalm may attest the Psalmist's 'Gewißheit der Erhörung':[211]

35:18   אוֹדְךָ בְּקָהָל רָב בְּעַם עָצוּם אֲהַלְלֶךָּ:

Then I will thank you in the great congregation; in the mighty throng I will praise you. (NRSV)

The vow is not necessarily one just of praise, but may also involve the making of a sacrifice:

43:4   וְאָבוֹאָה אֶל־מִזְבַּח אֱלֹהִים אֶל־אֵל שִׂמְחַת גִּילִי וְאוֹדְךָ בְכִנּוֹר אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהָי:

Then I will go to the altar of God, to God my exceeding joy; and I will praise you with the harp, O God, my God. (NRSV)

or a vow to testify to what God has done:

51:15[212]   אֲלַמְּדָה פֹשְׁעִים דְּרָכֶיךָ וְחַטָּאִים אֵלֶיךָ יָשׁוּבוּ:

Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will return to you. (NRSV)

Psalm 101 appears to be a royal pledge of obedience (Kraus: 'eine von der Intention des Bekenntnisses durchpulste Loyalitätserklärung'[213]), though only a few 1st-person forms are marked as Deontic.

Finally, promises may also be made by God himself:

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[209]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 15-16.

[210]Gunkel lists 7:18; 27:6; 43:4; 51:15; 57:8; 69:31; 86:12. Westermann lists 79:13; 80:18; 115:16-18. Further examples might include 22:23; 35:27-28; 54:8; 71:22.

[211]Kraus, *Psalmen*, 429. Compare Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 152. Similarly, 144:9.

[212]Similarly 45:18.

[213]Kraus, *Psalmen*, 858.

32:8   אַשְׂכִּילְךָ וְאוֹרְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ־זוּ תֵלֵךְ אִיעֲצָה עָלֶיךָ עֵינִי:

I will instruct you and teach you the way you should go; I will counsel you with my eye upon you. (NRSV)

4.3.4.2. Commissive–purposive (true 'resolve')

As should be clear from the flow-chart above, purposive is distinguished from promissive by the lack of Addressee-orientation. Though a commitment is made *to the Addressee*, it is not for the Addressee's benefit, but purely issuing from the volition of the Speaker. These could be said to be *true* 'resolve' cohortatives, since they are 'resolutions' or 'promises to the self'.

The resolve is perhaps made most clear by the term אָמַרְתִּי, 'I said (to myself)' or 'I decided':

39:2   אָמַרְתִּי אֶשְׁמְרָה דְרָכַי מֵחֲטוֹא בִלְשׁוֹנִי אֶשְׁמְרָה לְפִי מַחְסוֹם בְּעֹד רָשָׁע לְנֶגְדִּי:

I said, "I will keep my ways from sinning with my tongue; I will keep a muzzle over my mouth as long as there's a wicked man before me." (... then I spoke with my tongue ...)

73:15   אִם־אָמַרְתִּי אֲסַפְּרָה כְמוֹ הִנֵּה דוֹר בָּנֶיךָ בָגָדְתִּי:

If I had said, "I will talk on in this way," I would have been untrue to the circle of your children. (NRSV)

The Psalmist may resolve to meditate, שִׂיחַ:[214]

119:15   בְּפִקֻּדֶיךָ אָשִׂיחָה וְאַבִּיטָה אֹרְחֹתֶיךָ:

I will meditate on your precepts, and fix my eyes on your ways. (NRSV)

145:5   הֲדַר כְּבוֹד הוֹדֶךָ וְדִבְרֵי נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ אָשִׂיחָה:

On the glorious splendor of your majesty, and on your wondrous works, I will meditate. (NRSV)

or to praise

34:2   אֲבָרְכָה אֶת־יְהוָה בְּכָל־עֵת תָּמִיד תְּהִלָּתוֹ בְּפִי:

I will bless the LORD at all times; his praise shall continually be in my mouth. (NRSV)

The community may resolve to worship God:

132:7   נָבוֹאָה לְמִשְׁכְּנוֹתָיו נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַהֲדֹם רַגְלָיו:

"Let us go to his dwelling place; let us worship at his footstool." (NRSV)

The Enemy may resolve to break free from the dominion of God's king:

2:3   נְנַתְּקָה אֶת־מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ וְנַשְׁלִיכָה מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵימוֹ:

"Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us." (NRSV)

The Enemies' resolve may be marked with אָמַר:

83:13   אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ נִירֲשָׁה לָּנוּ אֵת נְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים:

who said, "Let us take the pastures of God for our own possession." (NRSV)

Finally, God himself may express his resolve

60:8   אֱלֹהִים דִּבֶּר בְּקָדְשׁוֹ אֶעְלֹזָה אֲחַלְּקָה שְׁכֶם וְעֵמֶק סֻכּוֹת אֲמַדֵּד:

God has promised in his sanctuary: "With exultation I will divide up Shechem, and portion out the Vale of Succoth. (NRSV)

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[214]Similarly, 119:48.

4.3.4.3. Expressive ('call of praise')

Finally, Expressive utterances are those which have *no* Addressee, but are solely an expression of the Speaker's attitude.

Most typically, Expressive utterances occur at the beginning of a Psalm, in an initial expression of praise. In songs of thanksgiving (Westermann's 'declarative' praise), this has been considered by Gerstenberger (following Crüsemann) as an offertory formula ('I am giving thanks to you').[215] This cannot be correct, since it interprets as Indicative forms which are markedly Deontic.

אוֹדֶה יְהוָה בְּכָל־לִבִּי אֲסַפְּרָה כָּל־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ׃　9:2-3

אֶשְׂמְחָה וְאֶעֶלְצָה בָךְ אֲזַמְּרָה שִׁמְךָ עֶלְיוֹן׃

I praise the LORD with all my heart, I recount all his miracles
I am happy and rejoice in you, I make music to your name, Most High. (ALW)

These forms do not describe the Speaker (self-description, which would require *hû' qōtēl*, the Cursive present), nor the speech itself (explicit performative, which would require *qātal*), nor do they refer to some future act of praise (Commissive). Instead, they are simply an *expression* of praise, comparable with expressions such as בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה or כַּמֶּה טוֹב אַתָּה.

The song of thanksgiving may begin with the formula אָשִׁירָה וַאֲזַמְּרָה:

נָכוֹן לִבִּי אֱלֹהִים אָשִׁירָה וַאֲזַמְּרָה אַף־כְּבוֹדִי׃　108:2-4

עוּרָה הַנֵּבֶל וְכִנּוֹר אָעִירָה שָּׁחַר׃

אוֹדְךָ בָעַמִּים יְהוָה וַאֲזַמֶּרְךָ בַּל־אֻמִּים׃

My heart is steadfast, God; I sing and make music, even my glory![216]
Awake, O harp and lyre! I call the the dawn to awake!
I acknowledge you among the nations, LORD, and I make music about you among the peoples. (ALW)

though it may also end a hymn (104:33).

In hymns ('descriptive' praise), an expressive cohortative appears to stand in a similar place to an imperative:

הַלְלוּ־יָהּ הַלְלִי נַפְשִׁי אֶת־יְהוָה׃　146:1-2

אֲהַלְלָה יְהוָה בְּחַיָּי אֲזַמְּרָה לֵאלֹהַי בְּעוֹדִי׃

Praise the LORD! Praise the LORD, my soul!
I praise the LORD throughout my life; I make music to my God as long as I live. (ALW)

חַסְדֵי יְהוָה עוֹלָם אָשִׁירָה לְדֹר וָדֹר אוֹדִיעַ אֱמוּנָתְךָ בְּפִי׃ ...　89:2-6

וְיוֹדוּ שָׁמַיִם פִּלְאֲךָ יְהוָה אַף־אֱמוּנָתְךָ בִּקְהַל קְדֹשִׁים׃

I sing the loving acts of the LORD forever; to every generation I recount your faithfulness with my mouth.
And may the heavens acknowledge your wonder, LORD, and your faithfulness in the assembly of holy ones. (ALW)

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[215]Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 73-74. Compare Eskhult's "coincident" *qātal*; Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 21. See also the discussion of performativity in ch. 3, section 2.4.5. above.

[216]Reading as coordinated binomination, *i.e.* 'My heart is steadfast; I sing and make music, God even my glory.'; O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 112-13, 128.

For this, see the discussion of הַלְלוּ־יָהּ above (section 3.4.1.) and that on the relationship between calls to praise and vows to praise below (section 7.1.).

Meditation may also be the subject of an Expressive utterance:[217]

וְהָגִיתִי בְכָל־פָּעֳלֶךָ וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיךָ אָשִׂיחָה׃　77:13

I contemplate all your work, and on your deeds I meditate. (ALW)

Or the declaration of a formal statement:[218]

אוֹכִיחֲךָ וְאֶעֶרְכָה לְעֵינֶיךָ׃　50:21 ...

... But now I rebuke you, and lay the charge before you. (NRSV)

4.3.5. Epistemic Functions

It was argued in chapter 3 above that long-form *yiqtōl* forms the basis of an Epistemic system, whilst short-form *yiqtōl* ('jussive'), together with *'æqtalâ* ('cohortative'), forms the basis of a Deontic system. 'Skewed' forms were noted, such as the Deontic 'precative perfect' and 'preceptive imperfect', and the Epistemic 'prophetic perfect' and *wəqātal*. One unusual use of a D-system form was noted—נֵלְכָה, 'we will go' in Genesis 22:5, and it was commented that this was related to the Commissive–promissive function, though 'shading into' the Epistemic.

Here, we consider two Epistemic functions of the cohortative, possibility and necessity. Gibson comments that,

... it is not likely that notions of obligation, compulsion or possibility are present in the form itself.[219]

This may be well illustrated by considering his examples of *can* (Exod 32:30, Jer 6:10) and *must* (Isa 38:10, Jer 4:21), all of which in some way express lexically the dubitative context, two of them being Interrogative.[220] They all further involve an *external* possibility or necessity, showing them to be Epistemic.

The relationship between Deontic and Epistemic systems was considered in chapter 1, where it was shown that Deontic permission and obligation are related to Epistemic possibility and necessity respectively.[221] This fact underlies the 'skewed' functions considered in chapter 3, as well as those considered here—since short-form *yiqtōl* has been shown to cover the entire range from permission to obligation, it is to be expected that its 'skewed' uses will cover possibility to necessity.

4.3.5.1. Possibility ('can')

Epistemic Possibility is mentioned briefly in most treatments of the cohortative.[222] In the present work, it has already been considered at length in our discussion of the verbal system,

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[217]Similarly 119:55

[218]Also 2:7 אֶסַפְּרָה; 42:10 אוֹמְרָה; 78:2 אַבִּיעָה ... אַפְתְּחָה; 122:8 אֲדַבְּרָה; 122:9 אֲבַקְשָׁה.

[219]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 83 §68 Rem. 3.

[220]... עַל־מִי ... עוּלִי ... עַד־מָתַי ... אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי. See also Driver, *Tenses*, 59 §55.

[221]Ch. 1, section 2.1.3.2. Studies in Verbal Aspect, ibson,

[222]Driver, *Tenses*, 59 §55; Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 83 §68 Rem. 3; Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a.

though under a different name—*potentialis* as a present Epistemic function of long-form *yiqtōl*.[223] The same term is used by Moran in his treatment of Byblian *yaqtula*, noting that several of his forms which are not otherwise accounted for occur in questions:

> In all of these occurrences a potential meaning would fit perfectly.[224]

Waltke-O'Connor describe this function as 'when the speaker's will involves dubiety, an indefinite potentiality'.[225]

It was shown for long-form *yiqtōl* that the present *potentialis* function can cover not only *ability*,[226] but also *liability*, and this is also the case in Gibson's examples:

Exod 32:30   אוּלַי אֲכַפְּרָה בְּעַד חַטַּאתְכֶם

Perhaps I can atone for your sin. [ability]

Jer 6:10   עַל־מִי אֲדַבְּרָה וְאָעִידָה וְיִשְׁמָעוּ

Against whom shall I speak and testify, that they may hear? [liability]

Jeremiah 6:10 is not concerned with the prophet's ability to speak, but with the liability that when he speaks, people will listen; this is a further example of the conditional element in Epistemic Possibility.

Since, as has been mentioned, Possibility is the Epistemic equivalent of Deontic Permission, it is to requests (for Permission) that this use of the cohortative is most closely related. This is the reason for Waltke-O'Connor's incorrect description of Possibility as 'optative'. One good example from the Psalter is in fact conditioned by the optative modality of the preceding clause:

55:7   וָאֹמַר מִי־יִתֶּן־לִּי אֵבֶר כַּיּוֹנָה אָעוּפָה וְאֶשְׁכֹּנָה׃

So that I say, "O that I had wings like the dove! I could fly away and rest." (ALW)

Another is in fact formally unmarked

137:4   אֵיךְ נָשִׁיר אֶת־שִׁיר־יְהוָה עַל אַדְמַת נֵכָר׃

How could we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land? (NRSV)

4.3.5.2. Necessity ('must')

Necessitative 'must' is discussed at length by Driver,[227] who describes cohortative *must* as 'the *vexatissima quaestio* of Hebrew syntax'. He characteristically gives a good pre-scientific explanation of the relationship between Deontic and Epistemic function:

> ... the intention or wish [volition] which the cohortative properly expresses, appears to be so limited and guided by external conditions imposed upon the speaker that the idea of impulse from within seems to disappear before that of compulsion from without.[228]

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[223]See ch. 3, section 2.4.3.2.1. above.

[224]Moran, 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*', 19 n.1.

[225]Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.1a.

[226]See also Jer 20:10.

[227]Driver, *Tenses*, 55-58 §51-3.

[228]Driver, *Tenses*, 55 §51. Citing also Delitzsch on 55:3: 'ich soll oder ich muss von *Selbsterregungen*, die von aussen bedingt sind'; Driver, *Tenses*, 57 n. 2.

However, he then goes on, on the assumption that the cohortative must always be Deontic, to argue weakly that there is in fact an element of volition present in these cases. Finally, in any examples where no volition is arguable, he refers to the cohortative as having lost its meaning.[229] This is of course not the view taken here—the cohortative of necessity does *not* involve volition, but is an Epistemic function of this D-system form.[230]

The cohortative of necessity occurs most frequently in the Psalms with the verbs שׂיח, 'to moan' and המה, 'to mumble':[231]

55:3   הַקְשִׁיבָה לִּי וַעֲנֵנִי אָרִיד בְּשִׂיחִי וְאָהִימָה׃

... I have to mumble. (ALW)

55:18   עֶרֶב וָבֹקֶר וְצָהֳרַיִם אָשִׂיחָה וְאֶהֱמֶה וַיִּשְׁמַע קוֹלִי׃

... I have to moan and mumble ... (ALW)

It may refer to other expressions of mourning:

42:10   אוֹמְרָה לְאֵל סַלְעִי לָמָה שְׁכַחְתָּנִי לָמָּה־קֹדֵר אֵלֵךְ בְּלַחַץ אוֹיֵב׃

I say to God, my rock, "Why have you forgotten me? Why must I walk about mournfully because the enemy oppresses me?" (NRSV)

88:16   עָנִי אֲנִי וְגֹוֵעַ מִנֹּעַר נָשָׂאתִי אֵמֶיךָ אָפוּנָה׃

I am wretched and have been on the point of death from my youth. I have been weighed down with fear of you and (had to) despair. (ALW)

Or to situations of danger:

57:5   נַפְשִׁי בְּתוֹךְ לְבָאִם אֶשְׁכְּבָה ...

I have to lie down among lions ... (ALW)

4.3.6. Negative

The Negated cohortative occurs principally in one formulaic expression: אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה:[232]

25:2   אֱלֹהַי בְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה אַל־יַעַלְצוּ אֹיְבַי לִי׃

O my God, in you I trust; do not let me be put to shame; do not let my enemies exult over me. (NRSV)

It is usually part of an expression of trust, usually with בָּךְ בָטַחְתִּי or בָּךְ חָסִיתִי (31:2; 71:1), which may be inverted (אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה כִּי קְרָאתִיךָ 31:18) . Other elements which may take the place of the Negated cohortative in this position are jussive (אַל־תַּעַר נַפְשִׁי 141:8; יִגַּל לִבִּי 13:6) and imperative (הַצִּילֵנִי 31:15-16; הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי 7:2), suggesting that אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה should be read as precative, 'May I not be ashamed!'. The 'unmarked cohortative' אַל־אֵבוֹשׁ may occur in the same position:

25:20   שָׁמְרָה נַפְשִׁי וְהַצִּילֵנִי אַל־אֵבוֹשׁ כִּי־חָסִיתִי בָךְ׃

O guard my life, and deliver me; do not let me be put to shame, for I take refuge in you. (NRSV)

Most striking, however, is the occurrence of E-system forms in this position:

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[229]Driver, *Tenses*, 55-6 §51.

[230]For an E-system example, see 81:6.

[231]Also 77:4, 7. This has sometimes been referred to as the 'emphatic indicative' use of the cohortative.

[232]Culley's formula 37. Other forms are precative (69:15) and subordinate (119:158).

56:5 בֵּאלֹהִים אֲהַלֵּל דְּבָרוֹ בֵּאלֹהִים בָּטַחְתִּי לֹא אִירָא מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה בָשָׂר לִי:

In God, whose word I praise, in God I trust; I am not afraid; what can flesh do to me? (NRSV)

This would seem to be a problem. However, two important differences should be noted. Firstly, the D-system form occurs always with 2nd-person address and the E-system form with 3rd-person reference. Secondly, the E-system form occurs mostly followed by *mâ* ... (56:5; 56:12; 118:6; only 26:1 without); it seems likely that this is to be read as a complement clause rather than as a question.[233] We may therefore establish a contrast between:

25:2 אֱלֹהַי בְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה

My God, in you I have put my trust—may I not be ashamed!

and

56:5 בֵּאלֹהִים בָּטַחְתִּי לֹא אִירָא מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה בָשָׂר לִי

In God I have put my trust—I do not need to be afraid of what flesh can do to me.

Thus אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה is Deontic–precative, whilst לֹא אִירָא is Epistemic–necessitative.

4.3.7. 'Skewing' ('unmarked cohortative' and 'pseudo-cohortative')

Throughout the Psalter, we find E-system forms functioning Deontically ('unmarked cohortative') and D-system forms functioning Indicatively ('pseudo-cohortative').

Unmarked forms may in fact have volitional force carried over from a preceding D-system form:

95:1-2 לְכוּ נְרַנְּנָה לַיהוָה נָרִיעָה לְצוּר יִשְׁעֵנוּ:

נְקַדְּמָה פָנָיו בְּתוֹדָה בִּזְמִרוֹת נָרִיעַ לוֹ: ...

בֹּאוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה נִבְרְכָה לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה עֹשֵׂנוּ:

O come, let us sing to the LORD; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation!
Let us come into his presence with thanksgiving; let us make a joyful noise to him with songs of praise! (NRSV)

The form here in v. 2, נָרִיעַ, is clearly meant to be understood as Deontic in the light of the preceding נָרִיעָה and other D-system forms.

60:8 אֱלֹהִים דִּבֶּר בְּקָדְשׁוֹ אֶעְלֹזָה אֲחַלְּקָה שְׁכֶם וְעֵמֶק סֻכּוֹת אֲמַדֵּד:

God has promised in his sanctuary: "With exultation I will divide up Shechem, and portion out the Vale of Succoth. (NRSV)

This 'carrying-over' of Deontic force may be seen functioning at a 'macro' level in Psalm 101, where only the first two verses are marked as Deontic, though the entire Psalm is undoubtedly to be understood as a vow.

The 'pseudo-cohortative' is shown by its context to be non-Deontic.[234] This is normally explained as incorrect use of an archaic feature:

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[233]Culley's formula 140.

[234]Driver, *Tenses*, 57-58 §53; Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 83 §68 Rem. 3; Meyer, *Grammatik*, 47 §100,4b; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573 §34.5.3a.

It appears that authors of late books of the OT were attracted to the cohortative as an eminently archaic feature, but often used it wrongly as it was no longer an integral part of their language.[235]

Of Gibson's examples, 66:6 has already been argued above to be hortative. 55:3, 18; 57:5; 77:4, 7; 88:16 have been classed as Epistemic necessity. This leaves only 42:5, which may be read as Expressive of formal statement:

42:5 אֵלֶּה אֶזְכְּרָה וְאֶשְׁפְּכָה עָלַי נַפְשִׁי כִּי אֶעֱבֹר בַּסָּךְ אֶדַּדֵּם עַד־בֵּית

אֱלֹהִים בְּקוֹל־רִנָּה וְתוֹדָה הָמוֹן חוֹגֵג:

These I bring to remembrance and pour out my soul, how I used to go along with the crowd, I used to lead them to the house of God with the sound of shouts of joy and thanksgiving, a multitude celebrating a feast. (ALW)

There are undoubtedly rare cases where the cohortative does appear to lack Deontic force. This occurs especially where the cohortative stands in poetic parallelism with non-D-system forms such as *wayyiqtōl* (e.g. Prov 7:7), *qātal* (e.g. 119:55) or long-form *yiqtōl* (e.g. 73:17; 75:10; 77:12). Descriptions of these as 'in poetry to give a vivid representation of the past ... indicating ... energy or impulse'[236] may be appropriate, as well as considerations of the relationship to the subordinate functions of the cohortative (such as final) as considered briefly above.[237] The present view has succeeded in integrating many problem cases, however.

5. Jussive

5.1. Form

The jussive is distinct from its E-system counterpart only in singular unsuffixed forms of the *hiphʿil* stem and of weak verbs II-ו, II-*gem.* and III-ה.[238] It only regularly exists in the 2nd and 3rd persons, though attested 1st-person forms include:

1. אֹסֵף Deut 18:16; Ezek 5:16; Hos 9:15; Zeph 1:2-3.
2. √נטה Hos 11:4; Job 23:11.
3. Other apocopated III-ה forms Job 23:9; Neh 1:4; Isa 41:23, 28 (prob. cs.).
4. Reduced *hiphʿil* forms: 1 Sam 14:36 (parallel with cohortatives!); Isa 42:6 (prob. cs.).

The jussive (short-form *yiqtōl*) has already been discussed in terms of its relation, as the basis of the D-system, to long-form *yiqtōl* and the E-system (ch. 3 above). In many (even very recent) treatments, no distinction is made between the D-system and E-system forms (e.g. Finley); in others, the presence of modal markers such as *ʾal-* is used to distinguish. Only

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[235]Jouön–Muraoka, *Grammar*, 375 §114c n. 2.

[236]Driver, *Tenses*, 58 §54. Compare von Soden, *Grundriss*, 107 §82b on Akkadian ventive: 'Die Dichtung einschl. Königsinschriften verwendet den Ventiv z.T. vielleicht aus rhythmischen Gründen weit häufiger als die Prosa, besonders bei den mit *ana* bzw. dem Dativ des Pronomens verbundenen Verben des Sprechens.'

[237]Meyer, *Grammatik*, 47 §100,4b.

[238]Except: Isa 35:4; Deut 32:7.

relatively recently have clear criteria been established for the distinction. In his review of Schneider's *Grammatik*, Talstra clearly formulated the rules for a jussive reading of *yiqtōl*, including most importantly that clause-initial *yiqtōl* is to be read as Deontic.[239] This has been more amply illustrated by Niccacci's paper, 'A neglected point of Hebrew syntax', where it is stated:

> 1.1. A Yiqtol in the first position of a sentence is always jussive; on the contrary, indicative Yiqtol always occupies the second position.[240]

Niccacci therefore refers to x-*yiqtōl* and *yiqtōl*-x. The first belongs to our E-system, and the second to our D-system. Though this result may seem facile, it should be noted that in a case such as Psalm 72, it has completely revolutionised interpretations—whilst KJV and NIV had rendered almost the entire Psalm in the future ('He will judge ...'), NRSV reads optative ('May he judge ...').

The jussive shares this feature of verb-topicalisation on the one hand with the continuation form *wayyiqtōl*,[241] which also exhibits the same apocopation, and on the other with the remainder of the D-system.[242] The jussive can thus be compared with Deontic uses of the subjunctive or modal verbs in modern European languages:[243]

Vive le roi!	*Que* Dieu te bénisse ...
Es lebe der König!	*Möge* Gott dich segnen ...
Long *live* the King!	*May* he bless ...

In fact, the topicalisation of Deontic forms has been shown to operate in cross-linguistic perspective. Givón explains this pragmatically:

> The more presuppositional a clause is, the more likely it is that the subject would be known to both hearer and speaker and thus *high in topicality*.[244]

Topicalisation of Deontic forms has been described as reflecting an intention 'daß der Ausdruck des Befehls auf eine einzige Silbe konzentriert erscheint'.[245] In syntactical terms, it is the realisation of modality at the head of the clause, as shown by our argument for MTAV in chapter 3 above.[246] Because topicalisation is so key to the correct interpretation of jussives, it must also be noted that:

> 1.3. Jussive Yiqtol can also occupy the second position in a sentence.[247]

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[239] Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II', 31.

[240] Niccacci, 'A Neglected Point', 7.

[241] On the *functional* relationship between short-form *yiqtōl* and *wayyiqtōl*, see Givón, 'Drift'.

[242] Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 80 §65.

[243] See similarly ch. 3, section 2.4.6. above on the 'precative perfect' with *ki*.

[244] Givón, 'Drift', 184.

[245] Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 137 §48f.

[246] See also Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 142-43.

[247] Niccacci, 'A Neglected Point', 9; similarly, Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 80 §65; DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 280.

This is the normal feature of subject-topicalisation, as discussed in chapter 2 above:

<div dir="rtl">

29:11   יְהֹוָה עֹז לְעַמּוֹ יִתֵּן יְהֹוָה יְבָרֵךְ אֶת־עַמּוֹ בַשָּׁלוֹם׃

</div>

May the LORD give strength to his people! May the LORD bless his people with peace! (NRSV)

<div dir="rtl">

43:3   שְׁלַח־אוֹרְךָ וַאֲמִתְּךָ הֵמָּה יַנְחוּנִי יְבִיאוּנִי אֶל־הַר־קָדְשְׁךָ וְאֶל־מִשְׁכְּנוֹתֶיךָ׃

</div>

O send out your light and your truth; let them lead me; let them bring me to your holy hill and to your dwelling. (NRSV)

Naturally, it may cause confusion,[248] but it should be noted that the same ambiguity exists in English, where the imperative is identical in form to the present simple indicative (except in the 3rd person singular). Hence a form such as

> Cyclists dismount

is usually most likely to be read as indicative iterative, i.e.

> —What do people do at zebra crossings?
> —Well, mothers take their children's hands, and cyclists dismount.

In the context of a sign at a crossing, however, the expression is easily understood as a vocative followed by an imperative. The force may be strengthened by an exclamation mark, as in Biblical Hebrew often by -*nā*', '*al*- or other Deontic particles:[249]
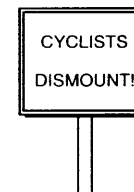
Though it is standard practice that 'der Begriff "Jussiv" wird nur dann gebraucht, wenn es sich wirklich um eigene Formen handelt',[250] we have now shown that we are in fact concerned here with the features of:

1. apocopation (when visible)
2. topicalisation (in the absence of subject-topicalisation)
3. the absence of *nun paragogicum and nun energicum*, which only occur with long-form *yiqtōl* (see ch. 3)
4. the presence of vocatives, and Deontic particles such as -*nā*' and '*al*-.

In the following, we will distinguish between 'marked jussives' (those with apocopation), 'unmarked jussives' (those forms which cannot be apocopated, but which may be argued to be Deontic from context) and 'pseudo-jussives' (apocopated forms with non-Deontic function).

5.2. Syntactic Function and Argument Structure

We considered above how the argument structures of the five basic Deontic types relate together. It was shown that 3rd-person jussives have a similar argument structure to request-

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[248] In fact, it also tends diachronically to promote a shift from VS to SV syntax; Givón, 'Drift', 195.

[249] Kesterton, 'Cohortative', in fact uses '*al*- as a mark of Deontic force.

[250] Schneider, *Grammatik*, 92 §26.2.1. Compare Driver, *Tenses*, 52-3.

cohortatives, requiring the pragmatic assignment of a thematic role 'Causer' for the Addressee. We may consider this in terms of the referential triangle, since in the Psalms, as we have seen, grammatical person and rhetorical person typically coincide (1st person = Psalmist, 2nd person = God, 3rd person = Enemy).
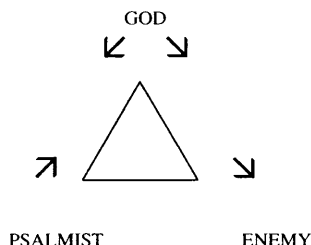
In terms of this triangle, a request-cohortative is addressed up the Psalmist–God axis and functions back down the same axis. A 3rd-person jussive is addressed up the Psalmist–God axis and functions down the God-Enemy axis. Any force *inherent* in the imprecation or curse (that is, and performative function) is based upon a common assumption that God will in fact hear and act (the same is, of course, true for blessings *etc.*[251]).

2nd-person jussives include reference to the 2nd-person alone, and up to this point, they have been considered equivalent to imperatives. A first question, though is the complementary distribution of imperatives and Negated 2nd-person jussives; this has been considered above (ch. 5). A second question is posed by the quite restricted occurrence of affirmative 2nd-person jussives.

Those grammarians who want to be able to view the 1st-person cohortative, 2nd-person imperative, 2nd-person Negated jussive and 3rd-person jussive as 'work[ing] together to form a volitional class'[252] tend to consider affirmative 2nd-person jussives as historical remnants, to be disregarded in the same way as we are here disregarding 1st-person jussives and 2nd and 3rd-person cohortatives.[253] Even if an attempt *is* made to include affirmative 2nd-person jussives, their role is described in such a way as to render them equivalent to Negative imperatives (which of course do not exist!):

> Because of the mutually exclusive relationship between the imperative and the prohibitive [properly, 'vetitive'], the former is unskewed [*i.e.* unmarked] when it appears on the surface for a positive proposal, while the latter is unskewed for a negative proposal.[254]

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[251]See Bruder, 'A pragmatics for human relationship with the divine'.
[252]Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 565 §34.1b. Similarly DeCaen, *Placement and Interpretation*, 112: 'a single "volitive" conjugation' and Lambdin, *Introduction*, 118: 'In meaning these three form a single paradigm'.
[253]They are not considered at all by Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*; Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*; Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*.
[254]Finley, 'The Proposal', 6.

Deontic 2nd-person *yiqṭōl* is shown by Givón to gradually gradually fall out of use during the time period of Biblical Hebrew—though in Early Biblical Hebrew (Genesis), *yiqṭōl* occurs in 27% of 2nd-person Deontics (as against the imperative in 73%), it is then 'on the wane from here onward',[255] occurring in only 3% of cases in 2 Kings,[256] and having died out completely by the time of the book of Esther.[257] Givón's lack of differentiation between long and short-form *yiqṭōl* means that his sample includes many 'skewed' E-system 'preceptive imperfects', rather than true jussives. Nevertheless, the occurrence of such 'skewed' forms in a particular function suggests the simultaneous (or earlier) existence of 'unskewed' forms in that function. Thus the jussive (and—especially on God's lips—the Deontic function of its E-system counterpart), whilst dying out, frequently occurs alongside the imperative; in the Psalter, there are probably about as many affirmative 2nd-person jussives as there are Negated cohortatives or Negated 3rd-person jussives. The view of the system held here is therefore that the D-system consists of cohortative and 2nd and 3rd-person jussive forms, supplemented by the imperative (which is 'Deontically non-modal').

Finally, the argument structure of 2nd-person jussives is different from that of imperatives. An imperative topicalises the VP itself, assigning the 2nd-person Agent only pragmatically; a jussive, on the other hand, topicalises the 2nd-person subject of the verb. Both 2nd and 3rd-person jussives usually have a Patient or Experiencer as subject, and 3rd-person jussives pragmatically assign a 'Causer'.

The relationship between 2nd and 3rd-person jussives can be seen in:

7:10   ... יִגְמָר־נָא רַע רְשָׁעִים וּתְכוֹנֵן צַדִּיק

> O let the evil of the wicked come to an end, but establish the righteous... (NRSV)

Both clauses are unquestionably addressed to God, though he is 'Causer' in the first and Agent in the second. Whilst the Enemies' evil is raised in the first clause to the position of subject of a stative verb, the righteous person is in the second the object of a transitive verb.

The relationship between imperatives and 3rd-person jussives can be seen in:

102:2   יְהוָה שִׁמְעָה תְפִלָּתִי וְשַׁוְעָתִי אֵלֶיךָ תָבוֹא:

> Hear my prayer, O LORD; let my cry come to you. (NRSV)

and in the mixing of forms in:

107   הֹדוּ ... יֹאמְרוּ ... יֹדוּ ... יֹדוּ ... יֹדוּ ... יֹדוּ ... יְרֹמְמוּהוּ ... יַהְלְלוּהוּ

148   הַלְלוּ יָהּ ... הַלְלוּ ... הַלְלוּהוּ ... הַלְלוּהוּ (x6) ... יְהַלְלוּ ... הַלְלוּ ... הַלְלוּ ... יְהַלְלוּ ... הַלְלוּ־יָהּ

Interestingly, forms are also mixed in translation. 117 reads הַלְלוּ ... שַׁבְּחוּהוּ, but is rendered in Romans 15:11 αἰνεῖτε ... ἐπαινεσάτωσαν, 'Praise (2nd-person imperative) ... let them praise (3rd-person imperative)'.

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[255]Givón, 'Drift', 205.
[256]Givón, 'Drift', 214.
[257]Givón, 'Drift', 221.

5.3. Semantic Function

The term 'jussive' is derived from the Latin '*iubere ut* + subjunctive', meaning 'to order'; this is one of its relatively minor functions, and its full range is more restricted than what we have seen of the cohortative. Like the cohortative, the 'basic meaning' of the jussive is optative, and it is by its address that it becomes a Directive utterance. Then it is sociolinguistic factors such as Speaker–Addressee relations which distinguish between directive and precative.[258]

Gibson refers to the 3rd-person jussive as used to express a

command, ... to give advice, encouragement, or permission, ... to express a wish, request, or entreaty ... Or in pronouncing a benediction or malediction.[259]

Waltke-O'Connor list the following:

Superordinate to subordinate   command, exhortation, counsel, invitation or permission
Subordinate to superordinate   urgent request, prayer, request for permission

Such lists are, of course, very similar to those usually given for the cohortative, as well as (as we have seen above) for the imperative.

In the following, we will consider 2nd and 3rd-person jussives separately, in first their affirmative, then their Negative forms.

5.3.1. 2nd-Person Jussive

5.3.1.1. Affirmative

The affirmative 2nd-person jussive is scarcely mentioned by most grammars, as it is so rare. As we have seen above, however, it is clearly present in Biblical Hebrew, albeit 'on the wane'.

There are only four marked jussives in the Psalter, all of which are rendered as non-Deontic in most translations.

ק 71:20-21   אֲשֶׁר הִרְאִיתַנִי צָרוֹת רַבּוֹת וְרָעוֹת תָּשׁוּב תְּחַיֵּינִי

וּמִתְּהֹמוֹת הָאָרֶץ תָּשׁוּב תַּעֲלֵנִי:

תֶּרֶב גְּדֻלָּתִי וְתִסֹּב תְּנַחֲמֵנִי:

Just as you have shown me many difficulties and evils, (so now) revive me again, and from the depths of the earth, bring me up again!
Increase my greatness and comfort me again. (ALW)

Here, the long-form *yiqtōls* in v. 20 speak against a jussive reading, though the context and the fact that both forms in v. 21 are markedly Deontic strongly support it. The function is precative.

67:5   יִשְׂמְחוּ וִירַנְּנוּ לְאֻמִּים כִּי־תִשְׁפֹּט עַמִּים מִישׁוֹר וּלְאֻמִּים בָּאָרֶץ תַּנְחֵם סֶלָה:

May the peoples be happy and and sing for joy; may you judge nations rightly and may you comfort peoples in the earth. Selah (ALW)

The markers we have established for Deontic function are very irregular in this Psalm. The Psalm is undoubtedly primarily Deontic, with a marked 3rd-person jussive in v. 2b and verb-subject word-order in vv. 4-5. However, the subject-verb word-order in v. 2a (which I read as subject-topicalisation) and *qātal* form in v. 7a (which I read as 'precative perfect') have caused some confusion amongst scholars. Here in v. 5, I read כִּי as a Deontic marker (despite its usual occurrence with *qātal*) and v. 5b as optative, since the address to God is not clear enough to really call it directive.

90:3   תָּשֵׁב אֱנוֹשׁ עַד־דַּכָּא וַתֹּאמֶר שׁוּבוּ בְנֵי־אָדָם:

You turn man back to dust, and say, "Turn back, mortals." (ALW)

Since this form is followed by the I-system continuation-form, *wayyiqtōl*, and reports in the *hiph'il* what appears in direct speech in a Deontic *qal*, it seems likely that this is in fact a 'pseudo-jussive' as should be translated non-Deontically.

104:20   תָּשֶׁת־חֹשֶׁךְ וִיהִי לָיְלָה בּוֹ־תִרְמֹשׂ כָּל־חַיְתוֹ־יָעַר:

When you bring down the darkness, it becomes night; it is then that all the forest wildlife are out. (ALW)

After revocalisation to וְיִהִי (which seems almost certain), it would appear to be the conditional context which has provoked use of the jussive form.[260]

Amongst unmarked forms, we see some better examples. 'Permissive' function is clearly seen in:

2:9   תְּרֹעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם:

You may break them with a rod of iron, you may dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." (ALW[261])

This function has already been shown to be fulfilled by the E-system 'preceptive imperfect' (as in Gen 2:16 אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל); it is the Deontic counterpart to Epistemic possibility (*potentialis*—'may').

Directive function is seen in:

68:3   כְּהִנְדֹּף עָשָׁן תִּנְדֹּף כְּהִמֵּס דּוֹנַג מִפְּנֵי־אֵשׁ יֹאבְדוּ רְשָׁעִים מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים:

As smoke is blown away, so blow them away; as wax melts before fire, let the wicked be destroyed before God. (ALW)

Some other forms which have been suggested as 2nd-person jussives are susceptible to emendation (*e.g.* 49:20).

5.3.1.2. Negative ('vetitive')

As has been mentioned, Negated 2nd-person jussives occur in complementary distribution with imperatives. Their combination with the Deontic Negative clitic *'al-* marks them as Deontic,

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[258]Compare Waltke-O'Connor's terms: 'directed from a superior to an inferior' (such as commands, *e.g.* divine jussives) and 'directed to the divine realm (explicitly or implicitly)', which can be benedictions or maledictions; Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568 §34.3a.
[259]Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 81-2 §67.

[260]Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 25. Compare also his comments on Negation: 'when the verbal content is presented as but contingent, the contrast between the cursive [short-form *yiqtōl*] and the constative [long-form *yiqtōl*] form fades away. The opposition is neutralized.' (Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect*, 29).
[261]Following Emerton, J.A., 'The translation of the verbs in the imperfect in Psalm II.9', *JTS* NS29 (1978) 499-503.

hence there are many forms clearly marked as jussive outside of those few which exhibit apocopation. The combination is referred to as the 'vetitive'.

Negated 2nd-person jussives occur especially in two formulaic expressions, אל־תסתר פניך, 'do not hide your face' and אל־תתחר 'do not get anxious'.

27:9   אל־תסתר פניך ממני אל־תט־באף עבדך עזרתי היית

אל־תטשני ואל־תעזבני אלהי ישעי:

Do not hide your face from me. Do not turn your servant away in anger, you who have been my help.
Do not cast me off, do not forsake me, O God of my salvation! (NRSV)

The formula אל־תסתר פניך is often associated with the prayer ענני, 'answer me' (69:18; 102:3; 143:7). It is adapted in 119 into אל־תסתר ממני מצותיך, 'do not hide your precepts from me'.

37:1   אל־תתחר במרעים אל־תקנא בעשי עולה:

Do not fret because of the wicked; do not be envious of wrongdoers (NRSV)

This formula only occurs in 37 (vv. 1, 7, 8), though it is used similarly to the analogous and extremely common (though morphologically unmarked) אל־תירא (*e.g.*, in a similar context, 49:17).

These two formulas show the use of the Negated 2nd-person jussive as both precative and directive. The precative function may concern not doing bad to the Psalmist (119:43; 132:10; 138:8; 141:8) or not doing good to the Enemy (140:8).

A Permissive function may be seen in:

141:4   אל־תט־לבי לדבר רע להתעולל עללות ברשע את־אישים פעלי־און

ובל־אלחם במנעמיהם:

Do not turn my heart to any evil, to busy myself with wicked deeds in company with those who work iniquity; do not let me eat of their delicacies. (NRSV)

A more explicit Permissive rendering of the jussive form might be 'Do not allow my heart to incline ...', understanding נטה as having some causative implication. In other words, the Psalmist is not suggesting that God would ever *make* him incline to evil (Obligative), but that he might *allow* him to (Permissive). This is the point made by Carmignac in his reading of the New Testament parallel as not Obligative ('Do not *cause us to go* into temptation') but Permissive ('*Cause that we do not go* into temptation').[262]

5.3.2. 3rd-Person Jussive

5.3.2.1. Affirmative

As has already been noted, the structure of the 3rd-person jussive is familiar from Deontic use of the subjunctive and optative in classical languages, *que* + subjunctive in French, and certain

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[262]Carmignac, J., '"Fais que nous n'entrions pas dans la tentation": La portée d'une négation devant un verbe au causatif', *RB* 72 (1965) 218-26.

modal verbs in English and German. Like the 'request-cohortative', it has a pragmatically-assigned argument structure which lends itself particularly to precative rather than directive use. So Finley:

> The skewing [pragmatically-assigned argument structure] that takes place with PC3 [3rd-person *yiqtōl*] highlights the stress on the inferiority of the speaker, though in rare instances it can occur for a command or prohibition.[263]

Of those uses which he terms 'command', Finley comments:

> The PC3 with the command seems usually to be associated with a surface structure subject that is inanimate, either for rhetorical effect or for divine creation [e.g. Gen 1:3].[264]

In fact, 3rd-person jussives may have as subject the community, the Enemy, God or elements of the creation.

By metonymy, the *Psalmist* himself may be the subject in an Expressive utterance analogous to Expressive cohortatives:

119:172   תען לשוני אמרתך כי כל־מצותיך צדק:

My tongue responds to your word, for all your commandments are righteousness. (ALW)

13:6   ואני בחסדך בטחתי יגל לבי בישועתך אשירה ליהוה כי גמל עלי:

I will sing to the LORD, because he has dealt bountifully with me. (NRSV)

He may be the subject in a Directive–precative utterance:[265]

119:175   תחי־נפשי ותהללך ומשפטך יעזרני:

Let me live that I may praise you, and let your ordinances help me. (NRSV)

or of a Commissive–promissive ('vow of praise'):

13:6   ואני בחסדך בטחתי יגל לבי בישועתך אשירה ליהוה כי גמל עלי:

As for me, I have trusted in your love. My heart will rejoice in your salvation! I will sing to the LORD because he has been generous to me! (ALW)

The *community* may be the subject of a 'call to praise':[266]

86:9   כל־גוים אשר עשית יבואו וישתחוו לפניך אדני ויכבדו לשמך:

As for all the nations you have made, may they come and worship before you, Lord, and may they glorify your name. (ALW)

or the king of a blessing:

ק 72:17   יהי שמו לעולם לפני־שמש ינון שמו ויתברכו בו כל־גוים יאשרוהו:

May his name endure forever, his fame continue as long as the sun. May all nations be blessed in him; may they pronounce him happy. (NRSV)

By metonymy, the community may be the subject of a call to faithfulness:[267]

31:25   חזקו ויאמץ לבבכם כל־המיחלים ליהוה:

Be strong, and let your heart take courage, all you who wait for the LORD. (NRSV)

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[263]Finley, 'The Proposal', 11; also 9.
[264]Finley, 'The Proposal', 9.
[265]Also 119:80.
[266]Also 22:27, 32; 14:7//53:7; 69:33.
[267]Also 27:14.

The *Enemy* may be the subject of a curse against him:

63:10   וְהֵמָּה לְשׁוֹאָה יְבַקְשׁוּ נַפְשִׁי יָבֹאוּ בְּתַחְתִּיּוֹת הָאָרֶץ:

But as for those who are seeking my life, let them go the depths of the earth! (ALW)

Other imprecations against the Enemy are aimed at things 'possessed' by him (35:6; 37:15; 69:26; 109:13). The Enemy may also be the subject of a self-imprecation by the Psalmist:

7:6   יִרַדֹּף אוֹיֵב נַפְשִׁי וְיַשֵּׂג וְיִרְמֹס לָאָרֶץ חַיָּי וּכְבוֹדִי לֶעָפָר יַשְׁכֵּן סֶלָה:

let the enemy pursue and overtake me, trample my life to the ground, and lay my soul in the dust. Selah (NRSV)

God may be the subject of blessings of the Self:[268]

67:2   אֱלֹהִים יְחָנֵּנוּ וִיבָרְכֵנוּ יָאֵר פָּנָיו אִתָּנוּ סֶלָה:

May God be gracious to us and bless us and make his face to shine upon us. Selah (NRSV)

(Here, we must consider—as above for the cohortative—whether the plural 1st person is inclusive or exclusive). Blessings of the king:

72:8   וְיֵרְדְּ מִיָּם עַד־יָם וּמִנָּהָר עַד־אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ:

May he have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth. (NRSV).

or blessings of the community:[269]

20:4   יִזְכֹּר כָּל־מִנְחֹתֶךָ וְעוֹלָתְךָ יְדַשְּׁנֶה סֶלָה:

May he remember all your offerings, and regard with favor your burnt sacrifices. Selah (NRSV)

25:9   יַדְרֵךְ עֲנָוִים בַּמִּשְׁפָּט וִילַמֵּד עֲנָוִים דַּרְכּוֹ:

May he lead the humble to justice and teach the humble his way. (ALW)

(In this latter case, NRSV reads 'He leads …', failing to note that the proper form for such descriptions is the participle [as in 25:8 and, prototypically, 113]). God may also be subject in curses against the Enemy:[270]

12:4   יַכְרֵת יְהוָה כָּל־שִׂפְתֵי חֲלָקוֹת לָשׁוֹן מְדַבֶּרֶת גְּדֹלוֹת:

May the LORD cut off all flattering lips, the tongue that makes great boasts (NRSV)

By metonymy, God may also be subject of blessings of Him Himself:[271]

113:2   יְהִי שֵׁם יְהוָה מְבֹרָךְ מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם:

Blessed be the name of the LORD from this time on and forevermore. (NRSV)

Elements of the creation may, as Finley says, be the subject of a 3rd-person jussive. In the Psalms, this occurs in (Expressive) 'calls of praise':[272]

96:11   יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ יִרְעַם הַיָּם וּמְלֹאוֹ:

Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice; let the sea roar, and all that fills it (NRSV)

Finally, other common subjects of 3rd-person jussives are the Psalmist's prayer:[273]

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[268]Also 27:5; 47:4; 90:17; 119:76.

[269]Also 9:10; 25:9; 72:13; 91:4; 115:14.

[270]Also 54:7; 140:11.

[271]Also 104:31.

[272]Also 97:1.

[273]Also with בוא: 18:7 79:11; 102:2; 119:170. Similarly, 65:3.

88:3   תָּבוֹא לְפָנֶיךָ תְּפִלָּתִי הַטֵּה־אָזְנְךָ לְרִנָּתִי:

let my prayer come before you; incline your ear to my cry. (NRSV)

and God's blessing:[274]

33:22   יְהִי־חַסְדְּךָ יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר יִחַלְנוּ לָךְ:

Let your steadfast love, O LORD, be upon us, even as we hope in you. (NRSV)

Many other subjects occur in the making of blessings, curses and prayers, as well as expressions of Permission:[275]

24:9   שְׂאוּ שְׁעָרִים רָאשֵׁיכֶם וּשְׂאוּ פִּתְחֵי עוֹלָם וְיָבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכָּבוֹד:

Lift up your heads, gates! and lift up, eternal doors! And the King of glory may enter. (ALW)

(This reading fits much better than the standard translations with the scenario of a procession arriving at the gate of the city.)

5.3.2.2. Negative

Negated 3rd-person jussives are not particularly more rare than Negated cohortatives or 2nd-person jussives.[276] They occur especially in curses of the Enemy:[277]

109:12   אַל־יְהִי־לוֹ מֹשֵׁךְ חָסֶד וְאַל־יְהִי חוֹנֵן לִיתוֹמָיו:

May there be no one to do him a kindness, nor anyone to pity his orphaned children. (NRSV)

but also in prayers for the Self or the community:[278]

119:133   פְּעָמַי הָכֵן בְּאִמְרָתֶךָ וְאַל־תַּשְׁלֶט־בִּי כָל־אָוֶן:

Keep my steps steady according to your promise, and never let iniquity have dominion over me. (NRSV)

(Here, we note again the relationship between 3rd-person jussives and causative imperatives).

5.3.2.3. Metonymy

Primarily responsible for the large number of 3rd-person jussives in the Psalter is the referential skewing effected by metonymy. Metonymy was discussed above, particularly in terms of 'psychophysical substitutes'.[279] Thus the Psalmist may say תִּתְהַלֵּל נַפְשִׁי (34:3) instead of אֶהֱלָלָה, תְּרַנֵּן שְׂפָתַי (71:23) instead of אֲרַנְּנָה (69:31), יָגֵל לִבִּי (13:6) instead of אָגִילָה (9:15), חָסָיָה נַפְשִׁי (57:2) or (20:6) instead of אֶחֱסֶה:

57:2   חָנֵּנִי אֱלֹהִים חָנֵּנִי כִּי בְךָ חָסָיָה נַפְשִׁי וּבְצֵל־כְּנָפֶיךָ אֶחְסֶה עַד יַעֲבֹר הַוּוֹת:

Be merciful to me, God, be merciful to me, for in you my soul takes refuge; in the shelter of your wings I take refuge until the troubles pass. (ALW)

The use of such substitutes may even be accompanied by an imperative, such as in הַלְלִי נַפְשִׁי אֶת־יְהוָה (146:1).[280] As Waltke-O'Connor write,

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[274]Also 80:18; 119:173.

[275]Also 24:7.

[276]*Contra* Finley, 'The Proposal', 9.

[277]Also 69:26, 28.

[278]Also 74:21.

[279]See above, ch. 2, section 4.

[280]See the discussion of calls to praise and calls of praise in section 7 below.

Constructions that differ in grammar on the surface level of the language (e.g., 'May I ...,' first person; 'O my soul, may you ...,' second person; 'May my soul ....,' third person) are at a deeper level semantically equivalent.[281]

Though metonymous forms are usually semantically equivalent to deictic forms, it should be noted that they are structurally distinct in terms of the verbal forms which they select, and often rhetorically distinct, since they distinguish at surface structure between the Speaker and parts of his person ('soul', 'heart', 'lips' *etc.*).

5.3.3. 'Skewing' ('pseudo-jussive')

As for the cohortative above, it has been shown that many jussive forms otherwise read non-Deontically are in fact Deontic in force. There remain however several examples of what one might call the 'pseudo-jussive'.[282]

The 'pseudo-jussive' may be shown by a non-Deontic marker such as *lō'*:

89:23   לֹא־יַשִּׁא אוֹיֵב בּוֹ וּבֶן־עַוְלָה לֹא יְעַנֶּנּוּ׃

The enemy shall not outwit him, the wicked shall not humble him. (NRSV)

by a parallel text:

18:12   יָשֶׁת חֹשֶׁךְ סִתְרוֹ סְבִיבוֹתָיו סֻכָּתוֹ חֶשְׁכַת־מַיִם עָבֵי שְׁחָקִים׃

He made darkness his covering around him, his canopy thick clouds dark with water. (NRSV) (2 Sam 22:12 reads וַיָּשֶׁת). Or by the context:[283]

90:3   תָּשֵׁב אֱנוֹשׁ עַד־דַּכָּא וַתֹּאמֶר שׁוּבוּ בְנֵי־אָדָם׃

You turn man back to dust, and say, "Turn back, mortals." (ALW)

Since this form is followed by the I-system continuation-form, *wayyiqṭōl*, and reports in the *hiph'il* what appears in direct speech in a Deontic *qal*, it seems likely that this is in fact a 'pseudo-jussive' as should be translated non-Deontically.

Several 'pseudo-jussives' occur in subordinate clauses (*e.g.* 58:5) or questions (*e.g.* 121:1).[284] The reasons for this have been mooted above, but certainly bear further investigation.

6. Deontic Non-Verbal Clauses

Having considered here the D-system of Deontic verbal forms, and the related imperative, and having made brief mention of other forms which may have Deontic function in chapter 3

above, we now turn to the Deontic use of non-verbal clauses. This is a particularly common feature in the Psalter and in all Discourse.[285]

In Deontic non-verbal clauses with a prepositional predicate, word order distinguishes between modal functions.[286] Directives have predicate–subject word order:

3:9   לַיהוָה הַיְשׁוּעָה עַל־עַמְּךָ בִרְכָתֶךָ סֶּלָה׃

Deliverance belongs to the LORD; may your blessing be on your people! Selah (NRSV)

57:6 = 108:6   רוּמָה עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם אֱלֹהִים עַל כָּל־הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדֶךָ׃

Be exalted, O God, above the heavens. Let your glory be over all the earth. (NRSV)

whilst optatives have subject–predicate:

128:6   וּרְאֵה־בָנִים לְבָנֶיךָ שָׁלוֹם עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

May you see your children's children. Peace be upon Israel! (NRSV)

34:2   אֲבָרֲכָה אֶת־יְהוָה בְּכָל־עֵת תָּמִיד תְּהִלָּתוֹ בְּפִי׃

May I bless the LORD always! May his praise always be in my mouth! (ALW)

Ruth 2:4   יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם

May the LORD be with you! (ALW)

A non-verbal clause with a passive participial predicate is the most common way of expressing volition in the passive voice. Most common forms are מהלל and ברוך. The subject may be 2nd-person (ברוך אתה יהוה 119:12; ברוכים אתם ליהוה 115:15) or 3rd-person (ברוך שם יהוה 72:19; ברוך הבא בשם יהוה 118:26). Though it is usually clear that the sense of these clauses is Deontic (in fact, optative), there are some debatable cases. 113:3 is clearly optative, as can be seen from the preceding imperative הללו forms.

113:3   מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ עַד־מְבוֹאוֹ מְהֻלָּל שֵׁם יְהוָה׃

From the rising of the sun to its setting the name of the LORD is to be praised. (NRSV)

When put together with גדול (גדול יהוה ומהלל מאד 48:2; 96:4; 145:3), it is normally translated: 'Great is the LORD and greatly to be praised!' (NRSV). This seems highly problematic, since the first predicate must be understood as Indicative, whilst the second is here understood as Deontic. The solution lies perhaps in the idea that passive participles have an inherent modal meaning of *potentialis*, as we see in attributive uses, such as עם נברא 102:19, ('yet to be born') 22:32 or נורא ('to be feared') 76:8.[287] Thus we can read:

96:4   כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמְהֻלָּל מְאֹד נוֹרָא הוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים׃

For great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised; he is to be revered above all gods. (NRSV)

18:47   חַי־יְהוָה וּבָרוּךְ צוּרִי וְיָרוּם אֱלוֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי׃

The LORD lives! Blessed be my rock, and exalted be the God of my salvation (NRSV)

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281 Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 565 §34.1b. Compare also Tsevat on Indicative praise: 'The difference between "He" and "Thou" psalms is merely a stylistic one'; Tsevat, *Language of the Biblical Psalms*, 76 n. 8. In defence of this, he misappropriates Gunkel, who in fact makes both chronological and attitudinal distinctions between 2nd and 3rd-person forms; Gunkel, H., *Einleitung*.

282 Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, 335 §109i-k. 25:9; 47:4; 90:3; 107:29.

283 Also 11:6.

284 On the jussive in deliberative questions in Amharic, see Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 111.

285 Blau, *Grammar*, 84 §57; Buttenwieser, *Psalms*, 20.

286 Compare Gibson's comments on word order; Gibson, *Davidson's Syntax*, 54-55 §49 Rem. 2.

287 Waltke–O'Connor, *Syntax*, 620 §37.4d; Abboud, P.F. et al., *Elementary Modern Standard Arabic* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983) 585.

In all of these examples, the clause may be understood as having an underlying short-form *yiqṭōl* form of היה.[288] In languages such as English, 'to be' and 'to have' are not true verbs, simply placeholders for MTA features; in Hebrew, no placeholder is needed, though it is occasionally present:

יְהִי־חַסְדְּךָ יהוה עָלֵינוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר יִחַלְנוּ לָךְ: 33:22

Let your steadfast love, O LORD, be upon us, even as we hope in you. (NRSV)

יְהִי שֵׁם יהוה מְבֹרָךְ מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם: 113:2

Blessed be the name of the LORD from this time on and forevermore. (NRSV)

7. Calls to Praise and Calls of Praise

The two most common functions of Deontic forms in the Psalter are in 'calls to praise' (Directive imperatives and jussives) and 'calls/vows of praise' (Expressive and Commissive cohortatives). These two functions largely share a common lexis in ידה, שיר, זמר, ספר, שבח and הלל. The most common calls to praise are ברכו, זמרו, שירו, הודו, הללו and הבו; the most common calls/vows of praise are אשמרה, אשיחה, אזמרה, אשירה, אודה. Thus the community and the Self are called upon to do the same thing, with the exception of those forms like הלל which predominate in one category due to formulaic use. The most striking pair is אודה and הודו:[289]

| הודו | 30:5; 33:2; 97:12; 100:4; 105:1; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1, 2, 3, 26 |
| אודה | 7:18; 9:2; 18:50; 28:7; 30:13; 35:18; 42:6, 12; 43:4-5; 44:9; 52:11; 54:8; 57:10; 71:22; 79:13; 86:12; 108:4; 109:30; 111:1; 115:28; 118:19, 21; 119:7; 138:1-2; 139:14[290] |

There is some evidence that these 'calls to praise' and 'calls of praise' may have become in some measure functionally equivalent. Consider, for example:

כִּי שֵׁם יהוה אֶקְרָא הָבוּ גֹדֶל לֵאלֹהֵינוּ Deut 32:3

For I will proclaim the name of the LORD; ascribe greatness to our God! (NRSV)

אֲבָרֲכָה אֶת־יהוה בְּכָל־עֵת תָּמִיד תְּהִלָּתוֹ בְּפִי: 34:2-4

בַּיהוה תִּתְהַלֵּל נַפְשִׁי יִשְׁמְעוּ עֲנָוִים וְיִשְׂמָחוּ:

גַּדְּלוּ לַיהוה אִתִּי וּנְרוֹמֲמָה שְׁמוֹ יַחְדָּו:

I will bless the LORD at all times; his praise shall continually be in my mouth.
My soul makes its boast in the LORD; let the humble hear and be glad.
O magnify the LORD with me, and let us exalt his name together. (NRSV)

אוֹדְךָ ... הוֹדוּ ... קִרְאוּ ... הוֹדִיעוּ ... הַזְכִּירוּ ... זַמְּרוּ ... צַהֲלִי וָרֹנִּי Isa 12:1-6

I will give thanks to you ...
Give thanks ... call ... make known ... proclaim ... Sing praises ... Shout aloud and sing for joy (NRSV)

In each of these cases, there is a progression from Expressive cohortative to Directive imperative. The comparison may be seen also in two Psalms which are otherwise very similar in theme and, we may assume, place in the cult:

לְכוּ נְרַנְּנָה ... נָרִיעָה ... נְקַדְּמָה ... נָרִיעַ ... בֹּאוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה נִבְרְכָה 95

O come, let us sing ... let us make a joyful noise ... Let us come ... let us make a joyful noise ... O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel ... (NRSV)

הַרְנִינוּ ... הָרִיעוּ ... שְׂאוּ ... וּתְנוּ ... תִּקְעוּ 81

Sing aloud ... shout for joy ... Raise ... sound ... Blow ... (NRSV)

A *synchronic* answer to this question is given most eloquently by a non-Hebraist, C.S. Lewis, in his *Reflections on the Psalms*.[291] He asks,

> why ... did praising God so often consist in telling other people to praise Him? Even in telling whales, snowstorms, etc., to go on doing what they would certainly do whether we told them or not?[292]

He answers his own question in part:

> I had not noticed ... that just as men spontaneously praise whatever they value, so they spontaneously urge us to join them in praising it: "Isn't she lovely? Wasn't it glorious? Don't you think that magnificent?" The Psalmists in telling everyone to praise God are doing what all men do when they speak of what they care about.[293]

In other words, these Directive utterances might in fact be better described as Expressive—as exclamations rather than commands. As we have seen above in our discussion of the optative function of the imperative, this accounts for the use of imperatives in apparent address of the natural world.

Considering the question *diachronically*, we may look at two formulaic expressions which, though based on an imperative and so apparently Directive ('call to praise'), appear to be used Expressively ('call of praise'): הוֹשִׁיעָ־נָא and הַלְלוּ־יָהּ.

It seems to me quite likely that the cult-functional school is correct in describing הַלְלוּ־יָהּ as spoken by a choir-leader (such as Kenaniah, שַׂר הַמַּשָּׂא הַמְשֹׁרְרִים, 'leader of the music of the singers' 1 Chr 15:27, also v. 22):

> It is in fact the precentor's exhortation to the choir which re-echoes in this "introit".[294]

Even Mowinckel, however goes on to say that:

> Occasionally the exhortation is inclusive: "O come, let us sing", or still more personally: "I will praise the Lord", and similar expressions. The "I" may originally have meant the leader of the choir or the cultic act, the spokesman of the congregation. But it was also appropriate to express the poet's personal and emotional relation to his theme, his identification of himself with what he had to say.[295]

Thus the 'call to praise' function may be fulfilled by a variety of forms, inlcuding Directive–hortative and Expresssive cohortatives. On the other hand, the imperative form may have other

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[288]So *e.g.* Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, 197: 'the Verbless clause ... presupposes a Jussive form of היה.'

[289]A most striking feature here, though not significant for the present work, is the way in which הודו is usually followed by ל, whilst אודה is not.

[290]Also 32:5 unmarked cohortative.

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[291]See also *Driver*, Tenses, 59-61 §57-58.

[292]Lewis, C.S., *Reflections on the Psalms* (London: HarperCollins, 1958) 77.

[293]Lewis, *Reflections*, 80.

[294]Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 82.

[295]Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 82.

functions—Mowinckel refers at one point to 'the responsory "Hallelujah"'.[296] A progression in use of the term may be seen in at least four stages:

1. Directive הללו־יה as a call to praise integrated within a Psalm (*e.g.* start of 113; 117; 135; 146; 148; 150. End of 115)

2. Expressive הללו־יה as: 1. optative utterance in address of non-humans (see section 3.4.1. above), and 2. a formulaic expression with little meaning at the start and end of many Psalms; taken up as a structuring device in the books—and then book—entitled תהלים (104-106, 111-113, 115-117, 146-150)

3. Formulaic ἀλληλουϊά with little meaning (since not translated) in LXX and NT (Rev 19:1, 3, 4, 6). There may be some residual awareness of its meaning in Rev 19:5: αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, 'Praise our God, all you his servants ...' (though this may simply originate from LXX Ps 113; 134; 135).

4. Formulaic *Hallelujah* with little meaning (since not translated) in many modern churches. A recent popular book on Christian praise has offered an excellent treatment of Psalmic praise language, and of the term הללו־יה in particular, whilst failing to even refer to its formal nature as a call to praise![297]

The term הושיעה נא occurs occurs only once in the Psalter (118:25), and is then used in the Greek transliteration ὡσαννά at Jesus's 'triumphal entry' into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9, 15; Mark 11:9, 10; John 12:13). It seems likely that it underwent a similar process to that we have seen for הללו־יה, and that,

the waving of palm-branches and the cries of Hosanna which welcomed Jesus were a spontaneous gesture of religious exuberance, without any reference to a particular festival and without the supplicatory meaning of the original phrase in Ps. 118.[298]

Again, there may be some residual awareness of its meaning in ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, υἱὸς Δαυίδ, 'Have mercy on us, son of David!' (Matt 9:27; 20:30), and it is striking that the Greek transliterates not a Hebrew form, but an apparently Aramaic one.

These two terms show quite clearly a diachronic tendency for a Directive utterance ('call to praise') to become Expressive ('call of praise'). This fits with the synchronic description by C.S. Lewis above, with the occasional optative function of the imperative (section 3.3.3. above) and the similar tendency for Commissive cohortatives ('vow of praise') to become Expressive ('call of praise') (section 4.3.4. above). This tendency is highly distinctive of the Biblical tradition of worship, and it has been argued to set it apart from that of other religions.[299]

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis began by considering Collins's description of the Psalter in terms of 'variation of the modes of discourse'. It has gone on to consider the range of different forms of participant reference (ch. 2), the relationships between three distinct verbal subsystems (Indicative, Epistemic and Deontic; ch. 3) and the broad functional range and frequent pragmatic equivalence of the sentence types Interrogative, Negative and Imperative (chs. 4-6). Key points in the analysis have been the discussions of: E-system *yiqṭōl* as a key to the reanalysis of the verbal system; the 'skewed' realisation of Performative, Deontic and Epistemic functions; the pragmatic functions of Interrogative sentences; and the functional range of the Deontic particle *nāʾ* and the cohortative.

I have argued, on the one hand, for the univocality of many basic morphemes, that is, that short-form *yiqṭōl*, long-form *yiqṭōl*, *qāṭal*, each set of Interrogative morphemes, the particle *nāʾ*, paragogic *hê* etc. each has a single basic meaning from which others are derived. On the other hand, a great pragmatic overlap has been shown between, for example, all three verbal subsystems being used Deontically ('preceptive imperfect', 'precative perfect') or between Interrogatives and Negative Deontics.

It is hoped that Biblical scholars will take up the two main challenges of this work. *Firstly*, it is neither tense nor aspect nor discourse function which lies at the heart of the Hebrew verbal system, but modality, and an appreciation of *yiqṭōl* as basically Epistemic is essential. *Secondly*, the field of linguistic *pragmatics* has much to teach us about how to differentiate between distinct contextually-governed functions of a given form; if Biblical scholars will learn to use the language of speech acts, implicatures and conversation analysis, the description of Biblical Hebrew grammar will gain greatly in precision.

Finally, it is hoped that linguistic work such as this will inform appreciation of the rhetorical artistry of the Psalms, which are in any case so open to misunderstanding due to their disputed *Sitz im Leben* and many obscure concepts. Linguistics can then better serve, and give authority to, our understanding of the Psalmists' true spirituality.

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[296]Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 82.

[297]Daniels, J.T., *The Hallelujah Factor* (Crowborough: Highland Books, 1985).

[298]Taylor, J.B., 'Hosanna', in Douglas, J.D., Hillyer, N. and Wood, D.R.W. (eds.), *New Bible Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (Leicester: IVP, 1996) 482.

[299]*E.g.* contrasting with the *Qurʾān*: 'The Biblical phrase "Praise ye the Lord," [hallǝlû-yāh] implies personal responsibility, gratitude, activity; the Moslem phrase [ʾalhamdu lilāhī, "the Praise is God's"] expresses submission, inevitableness, passivity, fatalism.'; Zwemer, S.M., *The Moslem Doctrine of God: An Essay on the Character and Attributes of Allah according to the Koran and Orthodox Tradition* (Boston, New York and Chicago: American Tract Society, 1905) 99.

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